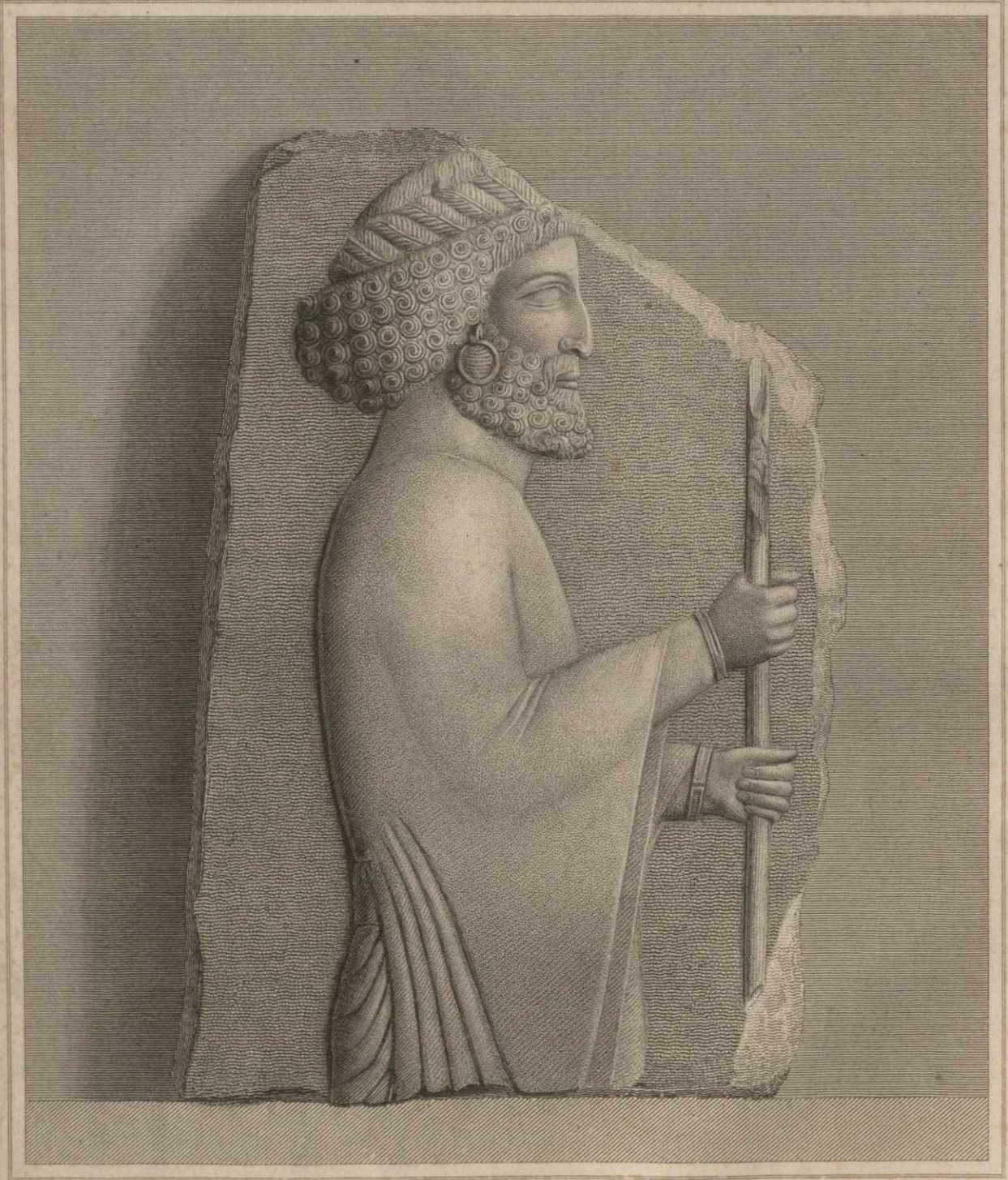


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FRAGMENT OF PERSEPOLITAN SCULPTURE.

In the possession of James Morier Esq.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, London, June 1st 1818.

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A
SECOND JOURNEY

THROUGH

PERSIA,
ARMENIA, AND ASIA MINOR,

TO

CONSTANTINOPLE,

BETWEEN THE YEARS 1810 AND 1816.

WITH

A JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE
BY THE BRAZILS AND BOMBAY TO THE PERSIAN GULF.

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF HIS MAJESTY'S EMBASSY

UNDER

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GORE OUSELEY, BART. K.L.S.

BY JAMES MORIER, Esq.

LATE HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF EMBASSY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
TO THE COURT OF PERSIA.

WITH TWO MAPS,

AND ENGRAVINGS FROM THE DESIGNS OF THE AUTHOR.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
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ARMENIA AND ASIA MINOR
TO
CONSTANTINOPLE

BETWEEN THE YEARS 1810 AND 1815
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WITH THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY AND MANNERS OF THE
TO THE GULF OF PERเซีย

AND OBSERVATIONS UPON THE DEGREE OF THE
WITH TWO MAPS

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.

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TO

ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, Esq. F.R.S. & F.S.A.

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED,

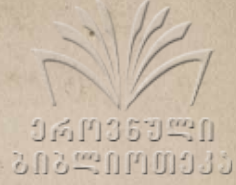
BY

HIS VERY GRATEFUL

AND SINCERE FRIEND,

JAMES MORIER.

18TH MAY, 1818.



changes of Government and of Religion, are still the same: they are living impressions from an original mould; and at every step some object, some idiom, some dress, or some custom of common life reminds the traveller of ancient times, and confirms, above all, the beauty, the accuracy, and the propriety of the language and the history of the Bible. There is perhaps no part of the East to which these observations might not apply; for whatever differences of creed, of government, or of language may exist between them, there is still no line of

PREFACE.

THE following pages are the compressed contents of the Journals of nearly six years. Their principal materials are neither the sciences, the arts, nor even the political institutions of the countries through which we passed, (subjects, each of which would fill a volume); but rather the local scenery and manners of Persia, and the observations which they suggested at the time, and on the spot. Yet, wherever that scenery has before been described, it is but slightly noticed in the following work, however full may be the page of the original MS.; and again, where the proceedings of the Embassy resembled those of the earlier mission which I accompanied, and which I have related in a former work, little more is extracted from my Journal than might be sufficient to connect the parts which have the interest of novelty: while, on the other hand, wherever the coincidence which I observed between the living manners of the East, and the descriptions in sacred or profane writers could tend to elucidate antient history, and more immediately to illustrate the style or the narrative of Scripture, the details of the Journal are left unbroken and unaltered, and the references are enlarged and explained.

The parts of the Journal, indeed, most carefully preserved are the remarks on these subjects: for the manners of the East, amidst all the



changes of Government and of Religion, are still the same: they are living impressions from an original mould; and at every step some object, some idiom, some dress, or some custom of common life reminds the traveller of antient times, and confirms, above all, the beauty, the accuracy, and the propriety of the language and the history of the Bible. There is perhaps no part of the East to which these observations might not apply; for whatever differences of creed, of government, or of language may exist between them, there is still no line of separation between any two Eastern nations so strong, as that which is drawn between Europeans and Asiatics.

The length of my absence from this country, during which my ear was more accustomed to other languages than to English, may in some measure apologize for some foreign idioms which will perhaps be detected in the style of my narrative, and which would have been still more numerous, if they had not been corrected by my friends.

To Mr. Inglis, the editor of my last volume, my obligations have greatly increased, by the assistance which he has rendered me in the publication of this; and I shall ever feel grateful for the help and advice which I have received from the very Reverend Dr. Ireland, the Dean of Westminster.

I am also indebted to Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. K. L. S., late His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Persia, for his communications; and, in general, to all my companions in Persia, particularly to Captain Monteith, of the Madras Engineers, and to Mr. Bruce, the East India Company's Resident at Bushire.



PREFACE.

For the notes on nautical subjects, I am principally indebted to the late Mr. Gawthorpe, Master of His Majesty's Ship the Lion, and afterwards of the Alceste.

In questions connected with geography, in which my information was imperfect, I have to acknowledge the kind advice and ready help of Major Rennell.

With respect to the engravings on copper and on wood, which appear in this work, I may be permitted to add, that alike when executing on the spot the drawings from which they are taken, and when directing in this country the artists employed on the several subjects, it has been my object, that the closest representation of the truth might be produced; and my maps, drawn by myself in the country, but greatly assisted by the ability of the engraver, Mr. Sydney Hall, will, perhaps, be received as affording some new materials towards extending our knowledge of the geography of the northern parts of Persia. As materials for future geographers, and as the evidences on which my own maps have in part been founded, I have subjoined in the Appendix a table of Bearings and Distances.

The spelling of oriental words in European characters will always continue a subject of explanation and apology among travellers; for no uniform standard can be adopted by those of different nations. I will only say, that I have endeavoured to preserve a consistency in the orthography of eastern terms throughout this volume, and not unnecessarily to deviate from that adopted in my former work, or recognized in the more common usage of preceding travellers of my own country.



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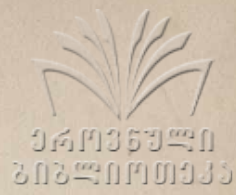
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LIST OF THE WOOD ENGRAVINGS

ERRATA.

- Page 15. note, for *Αγρο ταράγας*, read *Αγρο ταρίχας*.
- 38. line 15. for *indicates*, read *indicate*.
- 50. note, Page 87 and 89, refers to *my last Journal*.
- 62. line 13. for *manes*, read *remains*.
- 66. line 24. for *his*, read *this*.
- 74. line 2. for *navigation*, read *irrigation*.
- 108. note, for اسپران read اسپدان
- 141. note, for *later*, read *Latin*.
- 145. line 2. for *were*, read *was*.
- 154. line 4. *plain and city*, transpose.
- 157. line 32. for *Achmed*, read *Assad*.
- 171. line 15. for *we*, read *he*.
- 177. line 28. for *intrigued*, read *interceded*.
- 200. line 14. after *was*, read *one of*.
- 225. line 16. for *estimation*, read *estimate*.
- 235. note, for *note C.*, read *note D.*
- 243. line 15. omit the first *from*.
- 244. line 27. for *port*, read *post*.
- 261. line 22. after *food*, insert *in vain*.
- 303. line 6. after *call*, insert *in the Turkish language, and for Mountain of Goats, read Goat Castle.*
- 328. line 31. for *entrench*, read *surround*.
- 345. line 26. for *appears*, read *appear*.
- 364. line 13. for *declivity* read *acclivity*.



exclaimed on his return to Persia, in the words of his countryman in Montesquieu, 'L'orient domine à tout le reste du monde.' But a scene of new and distinct adventures was still interposed between him and his home; and he was to complete his probation by passing seven months on the sea, an element to which he had all the antipathy of his ancestors. It must be remarked, that no set of men ever submitted to such a trial with more resignation, or indeed with a better grace, than the Persians, who on their part appeared to be equally leave of their English friends, who on their part appeared to be equally affected. Several would willingly have remained in England; and one in particular, who had been struck with the pure and security of an Englishman's life, compared to that of a Persian, exclaimed, that he could not wish for a better Father than Chahar Hospital, whose for the remainder of his days, he would do nothing and drink as much port as he liked.

A

SECOND

JOURNEY THROUGH PERSIA.

CHAPTER I.

AMONG the few circumstances which can now give novelty to a voyage to the East Indies, may be reckoned the company of a Persian Ambassador and his suite; and, therefore, though I did not obtrude on the public the details of my first voyage with English passengers, I should not be justified in withholding all notice of an expedition undertaken with companions so different and so uncommon.

The Persian Ambassador, whom I had conducted to England by Turkey and the Mediterranean in 1809, and who was known here by the name of Mirza Abul Hassan, to which has since been added the title of Khan, was now to return to his own country. It was settled that he should accompany a British Mission to Persia, and preparations were accordingly made for the reception of the two Ambassadors, with their respective suites, on board the Lion, 64, Captain Heathcote, the same ship which eighteen years before had carried Lord Macartney to China.

A Persian, who had been feasted and exhibited in London for nine months*, and had seen all its objects of curiosity, might almost have

* See Appendix, A.



exclaimed, on his return to Persia, in the words of his countryman in Montesquieu, *Jamais homme n'a tant été vû que moi*. But a scene of new and distinct adventures was still interposed between him and his home; and he was to complete his probation by passing seven months on the sea, an element to which he had all the antipathy of his ancestors. It must be remembered to their honour, that no set of men ever submitted to such a trial with more resignation, or indeed with a better grace, than the Ambassador and his suite. They all left London with lively emotions of grief; many of them shed tears as they took leave of their English friends, who on their part appeared to be equally affected. Several would willingly have remained in England; and one in particular, who had been struck with the quiet and security of an Englishman's life, compared to that of a Persian, exclaimed, that he could not wish for a better Paradise than Chelsea Hospital, where, for the remainder of his days, he could sit under the trees, do nothing, and drink as much porter as he liked.

The Persian Embassy consisted of Mirza Abul Hassan, Envoy Extraordinary, and of eight servants of different capacities; Kerbelai Hassan, a nazir or steward, who also acted as cook; Abbas Beg, a scribe; Hussein and Haushim, valets de chambre; Mahomed Ali Beg, Mahomed Rakheem Beg, jelowdars or grooms; and Abdallah and Saudik, ferashes or spreaders of carpets.

The English Embassy was composed of his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, his Lady and child; his brother, Sir William Ouseley, as his private secretary; and the Honourable Robert Gordon*, attached to the Embassy; Messrs. Price and Sindry, clerks to the Ambassador; three English men and two women servants; besides the Author, as Secretary of the Embassy. On board the Chichester store-ship, which accompanied us, were Major (now Colonel) d'Arcy, and Major Stone, of the artillery, who died in Persia; and ten privates of the artillery.

Arrangements had been made on board to accommodate this large company. The after-cabin on the poop was divided into two parts,

* Now His Majesty's Secretary of Embassy, and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Vienna.

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one for the English and the other for the Persian Ambassador, whilst the fore-cabin was appropriated to our meals. The half-deck was enclosed on each side by bulkheads, the Persian servants on one side and the English on the other ; at the extremity of which were two small cabins, which were occupied by Mr. Gordon and myself. Mine was about nine feet square, with an eighteen pounder in the middle of it, and was bounded on one side by the Persian servants, and on the other by a cow, a much less noisy neighbour than they ; for notwithstanding their sea-sickness, their natural loquacity did not forsake them. It was quite agreeable to remark how soon they accustomed themselves to ship-board, and with what facility they made their way amongst the sailors.

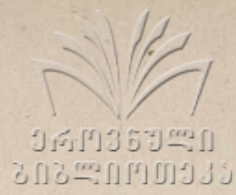
On the 18th of July, 1810, we left Spithead, and after an agreeable passage of eleven days, reached Madeira. Here the Persian Ambassador refused to go on shore, though the curiosity of the people and the politeness of the governor made every effort to prevail on him to alter his determination. His reasons we could not well ascertain, but we guessed that they might be influenced by a little jealousy at the honours paid to the English Embassy. We sailed again on the 1st of August, and on the 28th crossed the line* ; when the operation of shaving was performed with unusual merriment, although the sailors did not take advantage of the additional stock of beards, which they had in the Persians, to exact from them any extraordinary tribute.

1810 made

On the 11th of September we made Cape Frio ; and as we approached the shore we called the Persians to look at the *Yengee Duniah*, or the new world, of which in their country they had heard such wonders, and upon the subject of which they were prepared to believe any thing, however marvellous. They seemed, in consequence, disappointed to behold nothing but common land and common trees, and exclaimed, that it was odd that the new world should be just like the old. When we

1810 comm.

* When our latitude, by dead reckoning at noon, was 24", by observation 1° south ; our longitude by a mean of two chronometers and a lunar observation, 18° 59' 10" ; Cape Frio, in the Brazils, bearing S. 44° W. 1970 miles.



came to an anchor near the fortress of Santa Cruz, at the entrance of Rio di Janeiro, they looked in vain for something which might differ from all that they had hitherto seen ; and they were no otherwise struck with the magnificent scenery that surrounded us, (its wild shaped mountains, clothed to their very summits with the richest vegetation,) than by saying, it looked like their own jungle in Mazanderan. Persians in general take no delight in woody scenery, and the word *jengel*, which they use to denote it, inspires them with the same ideas that we may have of a wilderness.

The Regent of Portugal politely intimated his wish, that the two Ambassadors and their suites might be his guests during their stay, and ordered that a house should be got in readiness for their reception. His Royal Highness's kitchen, cellar, servants, horses, and carriages, were placed at their disposal, and the whole conduct of the Portuguese court on this occasion was in every way handsome. We were conducted to our audience by His Majesty's Minister, Lord Strangford, and were much gratified by our reception. The Prince reminded the Persian Ambassador, that the Portuguese had formerly been the near allies of his country ; that he was happy to be able, through his medium, to offer to the Persian Monarch a renewal of that friendship which had existed between their two states. Indeed, the relations between Portugal and Persia were at one time very intimate ; for when the Portuguese held great sway in India, they were also possessed of the islands of Ormus, Kishmish, Larak, and Bahrein, in the Persian Gulph : on the Persian shore, the ports and fortresses of Bender Abassi, and Congo, also belonged to them ; but these possessions they lost between the years 1610 and 1625. As for a considerable time afterwards they occupied Muscat in Arabia, the possession of which was of great consequence to their commerce in the Persian Gulph, they agreed to cede all their pretensions to their possessions on the coast of Persia, provided they might have a right to fish on the pearl banks of Bahrein, and to receive half of the custom-house duties levied at Congo, a port about three days distance from Ormus.



The Portuguese lost Ormus in 1623, in consequence of a treaty between the English and Shah Abbas ; by which the English agreed to aid the Persians with their ships, and, at a joint expence, to pass them over to the island : and Shah Abbas, on the other hand, agreed that the English should not only be exempt from all duties at Bender Abassi, but should also share equally the profits of the customs, provided that they always kept four men of war, or at least two, in the Persian Gulf, to protect the Persian ports and trading vessels. At present the name of Portugal is scarcely known in Persia.

We passed a fortnight at Rio di Janeiro, in the various employments of public visits and public dinners, and in the examination of the more curious objects in the town and in its environs. The place is large, and well built for a colonial town, possessing several handsome churches and large monasteries. It ought, therefore, to afford a much better residence to the Prince Regent than the mean palace which he at present inhabits. It is not fortified, but has several detached works to protect its harbour ; the most considerable of which is the castle of Santa Cruz, at the entrance, and a smaller castle on an island nearer the anchorage abreast the town. Over the town, on an eminence, is a fortification called the Citadel, and another on the Isola das Cabros ; however, nothing appeared sufficiently formidable to save the town from the dangers of a bombardment from the sea. A great quantity of fruit is produced in the gardens around the city, and much is also brought from the villages. Its oranges are highly esteemed ; some of which, containing within them an incipient orange, were sent as a present from the Prince Regent to the Ambassadors. They have all the tropical fruits here ; but the mango and the pine-apple are said to be inferior to those of the East Indies. Meat and poultry are dear, and we had great difficulty in recruiting our sea stock of the latter. Black pigs were to be seen in great abundance ; and we remarked a race of disgusting looking dogs, without hair, with a black skin, long body, long muzzle, short and crooked legs, and a long curling tail, ranging about through all the filth of the streets, and apparently without masters.

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SLAVE MARKET.

Indeed, after England, we found the filth of St. Sebastian, and its inhabitants, quite disgusting. Even the Persians could exult, for with great truth they said that their towns were clean to what they saw here. It must, however, be allowed, that this is greatly owing to the negro community, who are so much more numerous than the other classes, and who, in certain emergencies, have scarcely a restriction beyond that of the brute creation. Of this we could too well judge, because the Campo di Lampedosa, the large square that was situated before our house, was so constantly infested by them, at all hours of the day, that guards were placed to keep them at a distance.

During the time we were at the Brazils, the slave trade was in its full vigour, and a visit to the slave market impressed us more with the iniquity of this traffic, than any thing that could be said or written on the subject. On each side of the street where the market was held, were large rooms, in which the negroes were kept; and, during the day, they were seen in melancholy groupes, waiting to be delivered from the hands of the trader, whose dreadful economy might be traced in their persons, which at that time, were little better than skeletons. If such were their state on shore, with the advantages of air and space, what must have been their condition on board the ship that brought them hither? It is not unfrequent that slaves escape to the woods, where they are almost as frequently retaken. When this is the case, they have an iron collar put about their necks, with a long hooked arm





extending from it to impede their progress through the woods, in case they should abscond a second time. Yet, amidst all this misery, it was pleasing to observe the many negroes who frequented the churches; and to see them, in form and profession at least, making a part of a Christian congregation.

We saw few of the aborigines, for they shun, rather than court their rulers. Those we saw were of a low stature, of a coppery red colour, with jet black hair, high cheek bones, turned up noses, and broad unexpressive faces. The Queen of a tribe, said to be cannibals, that bordered on the Portuguese possessions, was shown to us. Her countenance was terrific. She was a prisoner, and attempts were made to humanize her; but hitherto, we were assured, without much success. The proportion of blacks to pure European whites at St. Sebastian, is as nine to one: they have, however, so intermarried, that there are complexions to be found of all tints, from downright black to dirty whity brown.

The beautiful environs of Rio di Janeiro have been described so often, that it is scarcely necessary to add another description to the number, unless, indeed, I had visited them as a botanist or a mineralogist.

On the 25th September, the Ambassadors took their leave of the Prince Regent. We went to the palace at about eight o'clock in the evening, and found His Royal Highness just returned from his usual drive. We had put ourselves into full costume, but every one else was in boots, for there is little or no ceremony preserved in the evening audiences. The Prince conversed with the Ambassadors for a considerable time, and appeared greatly amused with the sprightliness of the Persian, whose easy and unembarrassed manners never forsook him. On this occasion, when we were departing from the Prince, and were bowing respectfully to His Highness as we retreated before him, the Persian, without fear or shame, immediately turned his back, and made at once for the door, without once more looking behind him. Such little traits as this are worthy of notice, because they help to mark the character of his countrymen; for he, who never appears before his own King but with great dread and apprehension, and who never even mentioned his name but with awe, here presented himself before a Sovereign

1810 comm.



DEPARTURE FROM BRAZILS.

Prince with an unconcern bordering upon boldness, and spoke a language which would make one suppose that he had been born in a land where liberty reigned in excess. But perhaps this unconcern towards a foreign Sovereign, was but a consequence of his excessive reverence for his own.

On our return from the audience, we found the Persian Ambassador's retinue in a great fermentation, which had been excited by the quarrel of two of its members. A Portuguese lady had made them a present of a parrot, (a bird which, in Persian poetry, may be said to make almost as conspicuous a figure as the turtle-dove in ours,) and when they returned to their comrades, each claimed the distinction of the lady's favour, and each the possession of the pledge. The quarrel of the gallants by degrees warmed the others; one of whom, by way of ending the dispute, very calmly stepped aside and cut the parrot's head off. The storm then fell upon him; and it became so violent, that the Portuguese guards were at length brought in to quell it. As soon as the Ambassador came in, he punished the principal offenders, by causing them to be beaten before him; and those who had spoken their minds a little too unreservedly, he smote upon the mouth with a shoe, which in their idiom, they call *kufsh khorden*, eating shoe. One servant incurred his master's displeasure more than the others, because, during the investigation of the parrot cause, it was proved that he had accused the Ambassador of degrading the dignity of his Sovereign, and debasing the name of a Mussulman, by living so entirely in the company of Christians, drinking wine, and, doubtless, eating pork also. This person was sent in confinement on board the Lion, after having been abundantly beaten on the back with a stick, and on the mouth with a shoe heel.

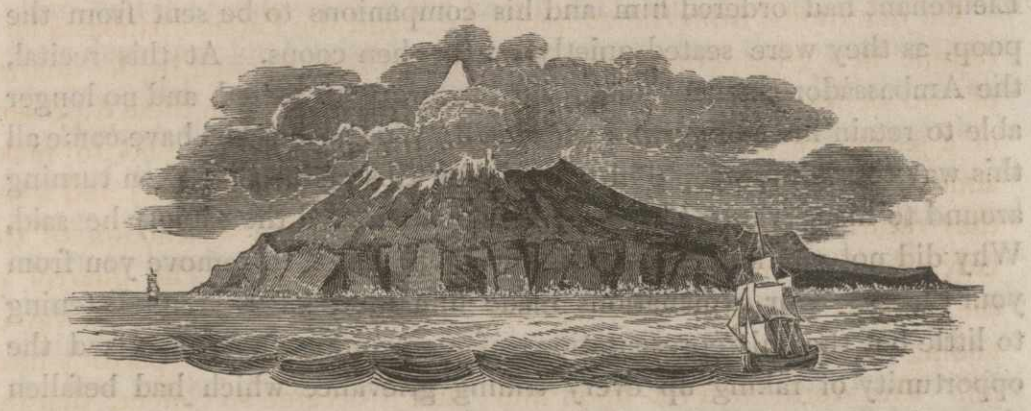
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The Ambassadors embarked on the following day; but owing to light winds, and strong tides, we were three days in getting fairly to sea, having been obliged to anchor several times at the entrance of the harbour. On the 18th of October, we made the islands of Tristan d'Acunha, which were discovered by a Portuguese of that name, and afterwards explored by the Dutch and the French. They consist of three islands,

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TRISTAN D'ACUNHA.

the largest of which is alone called Tristan d'Acunha ; the southernmost, and smallest, Nightingale Island ; and the westernmost, Inaccessible Island. By a mean of the observations of eight different ships, Tristan d'Acunha is in lat. $37^{\circ} 6' S.$ long. $11^{\circ} 44' W.$ It is remarkable that the Lion had anchored here when she carried out Lord Macartney to China.



Tristan d'Acunha is about 15 miles in circumference, Inaccessible Island about 9 miles, and Nightingale 7 or 8. The whole island of Tristan d'Acunha forms the base of a volcanic mountain, whose summit terminates in a peak. That peak is generally covered with snow, but we saw it imperfectly in consequence of the clouds. We calculated its height to be about 7000 feet ; but some observers have called it 11,000, whilst others, again, have reduced it to something near our measurement, and have taken it at 8000 feet. One of our crew, who had been in the American service, and who, on a former occasion, had been left on the island to kill seals, informed us that there is a cascade of fresh water which falls on the beach, on the N. W. side of the island, and that with a syphon, water may be drawn into casks in the boat. The shore is covered with seals and penguins. Ships, on their voyage to China, frequently leave a part of their crew to collect seal skins, and take them up on their return. An American captain procured 5600 skins in eight months, and might have loaded his ship with oil in three months.

Our weather continued uninterruptedly fine until the 31st October, when in lat. $41^{\circ} 8' S.$ long. $27^{\circ} 36' E.$ we were caught by a very severe squall, which some even of the old seamen on board dig-

1810



1810 read.
nified by the name of hurricane, but which passed over without causing us any material damage. On the 20th November, another sort of storm arose. We had nearly finished dinner, when a Persian servant came into the cabin, and stood before his master with a most doleful face. When the Ambassador asked what ailed him, he said, that a Lieutenant had ordered him and his companions to be sent from the poop, as they were seated quietly on the hen coops. At this recital, the Ambassador changed colour, his brow was contracted, and no longer able to retain his feelings, he exclaimed, Woe to me, who have come all this way to see my people ill-treated after this manner! Then turning around to his servants, (for many had now entered the cabin,) he said, Why did not you knock the man down who dared to remove you from your places. Our explanations made him more angry; and listening to little but the misrepresentations of his people, who now seized the opportunity of raking up every trifling grievance which had befallen them since they had left their own country, he abandoned so much both of his Oriental and European politeness, that he flung himself violently out of the cabin, and followed by his men, retired into their berth, where he expressed his determination to remain for the rest of the voyage. I was shortly after deputed by the English Ambassador to explain to him the real state of the case, (in which we allowed that the Lieutenant was to blame,) and to endeavour to moderate his anger. I found him seated on a trunk, smoking his water pipe, (an instrument which the Persians use in moments of irritability,) and giving ear to all the complaints of his servants. The moment I appeared every mouth (Ambassador's and all) was opened upon me, and it was a full half hour before I could obtain an hearing; but the rage of the Persians was now nearly exhausted, and when I agreed that the Lieutenant had treated them hardly, they were soon softened into their usual good humour. The Ambassador, upon talking the subject over afterwards, said, in exculpation of his own conduct, that if he did not appear to take an interest in the welfare of his people, they would not fail to misrepresent his conduct when they got into Persia, and would calumniate him as a Christian, and a despiser of his own countrymen.



On the 21st of December we came to an anchor at Point de Galle, in Ceylon, after having been becalmed in sight of land for the two preceding days. A strong current had set us nearly sixty miles to the southward and westward. Point de Galle is a small fort situated in $6^{\circ} 1' N.$ lat. and $80^{\circ} 19' 20'' E.$ long.; and the town is only remarkable for being clean, and the rendezvous of the East India Company's ships, previous to their departure for England. We were shown into the cinnamon warehouses, which are very extensive, and were built by the Dutch. Walking through the fortifications, we saw a bread tree, seven feet in girth, in full leaf, though without any fruit upon it. Its branches are large, its foliage thick, and its leaf measured twenty inches in breadth, and fifteen in length. The scenery on this coast is very grand; the principal object is Adam's peak, which rises conspicuously from a high chain of mountains, and is a safe landmark for seamen. Columbo is the best market for obtaining specimens of the mineralogical productions of Ceylon. The refuse is brought to Galle, and I bought a cinnamon stone for six rupees from a man who had asked me twenty for it. Our stock of fresh provisions had been entirely exhausted, and as the provisions at Galle were scarce and dear, we only took in a sufficient quantity to last us to Cochin, where they were cheap and in plenty. We sailed for Cochin on the 22d. On Christmas day we were in the Gulf of Manaar, and I was amused in the morning to hear some of the sailors wishing a merry Christmas, and many happy returns of the day to my neighbours, the sectaries of Ali; for to a sailor Christmas day is of all religions. We found ourselves about twenty miles to the north of Cochin on the 28th, and were therefore obliged to bear up, keeping close to the shore, until we anchored in five fathoms, opposite to the town. The great regularity of the coast, which is bordered by a line of cocoa-nut trees close to the water's edge, leaves it unfurnished with any striking land-mark, and it was only by a break in the line of trees, and a flag-staff that is seen above their summit, that we discovered the situation of Cochin. The ship had not yet anchored when she was surrounded by fishing-boats, each of which had some excellent fish for sale, just fresh from the sea. We had rock cod, mullet, and

1810 gen.



barakoota, besides great quantities of oysters. Boats also came out to us laden with fruit, and some with fresh water; and in less than an hour we might have got a sufficient stock to proceed on our voyage, without the trouble of anchoring — such is the confidence which the English flag inspires.

We went on shore, and were a little more than half an hour rowing to the town from our anchorage. About a mile from the landing place it is necessary to cross the bar of a considerable river, which breaks with much surf, as soon as its waters become opposed to the sea. In the morning we found the entrance easy, keeping a mid channel between two reefs; but later in the day, after the sea breeze was set in, the whole entrance became much agitated, and dangerous to timid and unexperienced boatmen. The landing place is close to a clump of trees, which, combined with the turret on which the flag-staff was placed, and the groups of inhabitants on the shore, made a lively picture. We were conducted to the Commandant, a young man, who, by the apathy of his manner, and the wan tint of his complexion, afforded us a strong proof of the pernicious effects of the climate of India. The heat at Cochin, though not great by the thermometer, yet was sufficiently overpowering to destroy the energy of the body. We were told, that in this month the thermometer seldom rises above 87.; and that in March and April, which are reckoned the hottest, it never exceeds 90. It is, however, remarked in the travels of Abraham Parsons, that on the 25th December, 1775, his Fahrenheit stood at 102. from that day to the 5th of January following, and that the nights were so sultry that he could not endure to sleep in a room. Cochin is situated on low ground, and stands on an island, formed by an arm of the river which flows by it into the sea. Its fortifications have been totally demolished, and nothing is now left of them but confused heaps of brick and stone. The style of its building is Dutch; and if it were divested of its Oriental vegetation and inhabitants, the scene would be like one in Flanders. The original Europeans, however, were Portuguese, and their language is the most prevalent, being adopted by those who can boast of the smallest intermixture of European blood. Of



white inhabitants two thousand are reckoned at Cochin; but they call those white who are not decidedly black.* This part of the Malabar coast is much visited by sharks; and as we walked over the green near to the Commandant's house, we saw a large collection of the fins and tail of this fish, which were exposed to the sun to dry; and which, we were informed, were intended for the China market. The roe of the mullet, known by the name of Botargo † in the Levant, and reckoned there so great a dainty, is also esteemed and eaten by the inhabitants.

On the banks of the river are great numbers of fisheries, which consist of a net suspended to long bamboos, mechanically placed, and attended by two fishermen, who reside in a small hut near at hand. Chaussard, in his Table Geographique attached to his translation of Arrian, alluding to the inhabitants of Mekran, the Ichthyophagi of Nearchus, says, "Le poisson qu'ils mangent, c'est le flux et le reflux qui le leur apporte; à cet effet ils tendent sur la côte un fillet soutenu par des pieux dans une longueur de 200 yards, à la marée montante, le poisson vint se prendre au fillet." ‡ This mode of catching fish is practised in the Bosphorus, in the Tay in Scotland, and other rivers.

In stepping into the boat, to return on board, we remarked that amongst the many natives who lined the beach to see us depart, there was scarcely one who had legs equally paired. The people of Cochin are subject to a swelling, unattended with pain, which commences at the knee and descends to the ancle, and which does not hinder them from walking about as well as with both legs perfect. Such a limb is known throughout India by the name of a Cochin leg. Some impute it to the water, others to the fish. The water which the common people drink is very unwholesome, and we were advised not to use it as we valued our health. The English officers, as well as the

* Distinct from these is a tribe of Jews at Cochin, inhabiting a distinct quarter of the town, the investigation of whose history would be curious and interesting.

† Αυγα παραγα.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 367.



black troops under their command, are supplied with water about twenty miles distant up the river.

On the 29th December we weighed our anchor at sunset, but were detained off the coast by a shooting party that had gone into the country early in the morning from the ship, and which, when they returned, brought with them snipes, a king's-fisher, some water fowl, and two flying foxes, which they had killed on the swamps on the opposite side of the Cochin river.

The Persian Ambassador told us that his servants were extremely out of humour at our detention on the coast, and accused him of permitting himself to be led about by the English; who, they affirmed, were doing so expressly to show to him the extent of their dominions, and their power over the Indians.

About this time fifteen of our ship's company were seized with the Cholera Morbus, which was attributed to the Cochin water, but which our medical men said was owing to change of diet. It is a common case, that after a long sea voyage, the sick list is greatly increased; for the fish, fruit, fresh meat, and vegetables, produce an almost instantaneous effect upon stomachs which have been accustomed to salt provisions. The transition ought to be gradual.

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On the 31st December we were off Calicut, which is the most striking part of the Malabar coast; and we remarked, that Vasco di Gama, after a new, and long, and dangerous navigation, must have doubly felt the beauties of a country so grand in appearance, and so mild in its climate. The mountains here rise in most majestic forms behind a succession of hills, which terminate at the sea. As we sailed along the shore, boats came off to us at a distance of eight or ten miles, to sell us fresh provisions, which were cheap almost beyond belief. One of the adventurers, a little Indian, was so elated by the success of his speculation, that as he stepped out of the ship, he exclaimed, Long live the company *bahaudur!* The company, to these people, is something like the *kebleh ahlum* to the Persians; or the grand lama, to the Tartars. They cannot conceive that any thing greater than the company can



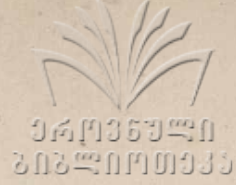
exist amongst Europeans ; but whether it be human or divine, few of them can decide.

We sailed by the Sacrifice Rock, so called from its having been the place of execution of those unfortunate persons who fell into the hands of Angria, the famous pirate of Malabar, who flourished in the middle of last century. It is now the resort of a most numerous and noisy progeny of seafowl, and is easily distinguished, being much whitened by their slime.

On the 8th of January, 1811, we stood close into Geriah, which was the strong-hold of Angria, and which was taken from him in 1756 by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive. The country here ceases to wear the verdant appearance which it has more to the southward, and the line of cocoa nut and other trees of a similar species, which before skirted the shore, are now no longer to be seen. We found the navigation up this coast extremely tedious, owing to the want of strength and regularity in the sea breezes. Although it displeased our navigators, who were sighing after the gales of wind of lat. 40° S., yet it was highly suited to the taste of the indolent and peaceful natives, who were to be seen in great numbers creeping along in their boats, the picturesque sails of which were scarcely filled by the light winds that skimmed the sea. On the 10th of January we passed Fort Vittoria, surrounded by a barren coast, and on the following day at sunset, we distinguished the light-house of Bombay, which can be seen eighteen miles off. The next morning we cast our anchor in Bombay harbour, having completed a voyage which, summed up on the ship's log, amounted to 18,589 nautical miles in the space of five months and twenty-five days.

1811 *sent*

Although long voyages, such as that which we have just completed, are certainly monotonous to a degree that would try the most philosophic mind, yet it by no means follows that they merely consume time. The ocean is indeed a solitude the most awful and solemn that exists, and it may be the means not only of forcing the meditations of a man of the world to his own breast, but also of exciting to sublimer



thoughts and to more enraptured contemplation, the mind already familiar with itself and with its Creator. Uninterrupted by the intrusions of the world, he can converse with God in the midst of His most glorious and awful works.

I have often ventured to talk in this strain to my Persian friend, but did not succeed in making him relish my doctrine, for he would not allow that a voyage could be productive of any thing but misery, inconvenience, and disappointment; and he insisted that he could contemplate God's works just as well on his horse as in a ship. He generally finished his arguments on this head by a quotation from Saadi, his favourite poet, which runs to this effect: "I had rather give one hundred *tomauns* than pass over even one wave of the sea."



CHAPTER II.

THE Ambassadors were received with great distinction by Mr. Duncan, the late governor of Bombay. Previous to landing, a considerable number of Persian merchants came on board to compliment their Ambassador upon his arrival, and according to the custom of their country, brought with them presents of all sorts of fruit. But that which gave most pleasure to the Persian Ambassador was the notification of his Sovereign's entire approval of his conduct in England, to confirm which he received a special firman that invested him with the title of Khan. The uncertainty in which he had so long lived upon this head had so much agitated his mind, that when he received his letters, his countenance evinced all the strongest emotions of hope and fear, which soon were succeeded by those of confirmed joy.

A house was prepared for his reception, a mehmandar appointed to attend upon him, and he and all his suite were treated at the public expense. The great attentions that he had received in England had probably influenced the line of conduct which he adopted towards the Governor of Bombay, from whom he demanded the tribute of the first visit. In vain was urged the precedent that former Persian Ambassadors had paid the first visit; in vain he was told that such a respect was due to the representative character of a Governor: nothing could overthrow the inference which he drew from the fact, that he had been visited not only by what he called the father and grandfather of the East India Company, (meaning the Chairman and Deputy Chairman,) but that he had also received the first visits from all the King of England's viziers, not excepting the Prime vizier*, who all came to see him, clothed in the same dresses with which they went before their own Sovereign. How could he then pay the first visit to a man who was only a servant of the Company which Company was subject to the King?

* The late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.



The Governor at length ceded the point, and a few days after, the Ambassador, arrayed in crimson velvet, with his diamond hilted dagger in his girdle, returned the visit. On entering the fort he found the street lined with soldiers, who saluted him as he passed; and when he stepped out of his carriage, after the Indian mode, he was cheered by acclamations of "*Dowlet ziad*," or, Prosperity attend you. Two pages in red and gold walked by his side, driving away the flies with large bunches of feathers, and several other men called *chubdars* with massive silver sticks, walked before him in a very stately style. The Indians are much more attached to show and parade than the Persians, whose habits are more military. The English government does not discourage this taste in its nabobs, who perhaps more easily forget their loss of power in the glitter of pomp and the high sounding titles which they retain. Yet the Persians are a vain people, and none are more sensible of personal slight. Although I was constant in my visits to the Ambassador, seeing him at least every other day, yet he never accosted me without saying, "Ah, I never see any thing of you now." It was at these visits, where he was surrounded both by Indians and his own countrymen, that he held forth upon his travels; and it was pleasing to hear him express his gratitude for the kindness which he had received during his stay among us, and his enthusiastic admiration of England. With this enthusiasm, added to his natural propensity to exaggerate, he kept his auditors in constant wonder. It would be impossible to enumerate all the amusing things which he said of us, of our women, our amusements, our government, and particularly of what he saw of the troubles excited by Sir Francis Burdett's seizure and lodgment in the Tower in 1810. He ceased to drink wine in public from the time when he arrived at Bombay; and in order that he might not be suspected of having drunk it when he lived with us, he desired me to request those of his friends with whom he was used to drink wine at table, not to ask him to do so again. At the several public entertainments which were given to him at Bombay he courageously did penance with plain water, although champagne was offered to him as grape water.



He invited us to see a notch, or an entertainment of dancing women, and received us in a saloon lighted up with a great profusion of lamps, where, after we had sat a while, the dancing women, escorted by a band of Indian musicians, were introduced. After much preparation and entreaty, (for ladies of this profession are the same in all parts of the world,) one of the women stood up to dance. She first called for the ornaments of her naked feet, consisting of silver chains, which she fastened on her ancles before all the company, as she was seated on the floor. Then standing up, she arranged her dress, which was grotesque enough, for it consisted of a petticoat of more, I should suppose, than an hundred yards of light muslin, which terminated in countless folds at about the swell of the leg; and then of a shawl, which came over her shoulders, and part of her head, and which also fell in folds over the petticoat. Her hair was unornamented, being parted in the middle and kept close down by the oil of the cocoa nut, which added much to its jet and gloss, although it was most disagreeable in smell. Behind her ear was a large bunch of pearls, like a cluster of grapes, and a ring was suspended through one of her nostrils. Her complexion was of a dirty brown; and her face, which to my taste was odious, was by the audience (amongst whom were many English gentlemen who had resided some time in India,) pronounced to be beautiful. This woman, in her dance, was accompanied by a child of about ten years of age, whom she was training up to her profession; and close behind her were two musicians, one a performer on the *siringee*, a sort of violin, and another on two little drums that were struck with the fingers and palms of the hand. There was also a youth who played upon brass castagnets; and an old satyr-like personage, whose theatrical character I could not comprehend, but whose faded eye became greatly animated at particular parts of the song, and who then joined his hoarse and broken voice to the loudest strains of the music.

The dancing consisted in a certain methodical kicking of the right foot, which caused the chains on the ancles to jingle in unison with the music, the dancer now advancing, then retreating, sometimes with the



hands up, and twisting them about ; at others covering the head totally with the shawl. Here was no leaping from the ground, no capers, no pirouettes, all was languor and apathy ; and so unlike was it to our ideas of dancing, that one of our company, a gentleman newly arrived from England, after having sat an hour looking at this sight, gravely asked, When would the dancing commence? Olearius has almost described what we saw, in the narration of a dance in Russia. He says, “ Les hommes et les femmes dansaient d’une même façon, chaqu’un à part faisant bien des grimaces et des gesticulations ; les mouvemens des mains, des épaules, et des hanches étant plus violens que ceux des pieds, dont il ne font que trépigner, ne bougeant presque point de la même place.”* And it may be remarked, that such a description is characteristic of almost all the dancing in the East. The performers, both dancers and musicians, sang the odes of Hafiz ; but what threw the Indian audience into seeming ecstasy, was to us a tiresome succession of monotonous whining, now and then varied by violent screaming.

During our stay at Bombay, we visited the caves of Kanareh, on the island of Salsette. We departed at sunrise, and our road led through some of that enchanting scenery, which renders the island of Bombay one of the most beautiful spots in Asia. A causeway, nearly half a mile in length, connects it with Salsette. Here travellers alight and walk, as it is too narrow to admit two carriages abreast. We travelled in wheeled conveyances as far as the village of Viyar, (which is about seven miles from the caves) where we mounted our horses, and entered upon roads inaccessible to carriages. This part of the country sometimes abounds in tygers ; for it has been remarked that one year is more productive than another, and generally at intervals of six or seven years.

The hill upon which the caves of Kanareh are situated, is seen sometime before reaching it, and they are to be distinguished from the valley

* Voyages en Moscovie, &c. Wicquefort ed. fo. p. 23.



below. Its surface is arid in the extreme, and wears a volcanic appearance. The first cave which presents itself fronts the foot-path leading towards the hill, and is of a more picturesque exterior than the others, being overgrown with wild plants. In this cave only, we observed columns which resembled those of Elephanta, having a cushion-like capital, with similar lines on the shaft. Immediately adjacent to this, opens a cavern formed more by nature than the others, and assisted by art only in its recesses. After this is to be seen the principal and the largest cave, an object of equal curiosity and admiration. In front of it, is a square enclosure leading into a vestibule, the walls of which are ornamented by numerous sculptured figures; and in the right and left recesses are niches, in which are carved in alto relievo, two colossal statues, measuring about thirty feet in height. The vestibule leads into the interior of the cavern, the roof of which is arched, and the sides are ornamented by a row of pilasters, carved into extraordinary shapes, the capitals consisting of elephants, whose heads and trunks are so placed as to form volutes, but whose carcasses are disposed in various attitudes, with small figures of men bestriding them. In the inmost part of the cavern is a circular monument, covered with a cupola, in which some incarnate deity is supposed to reside. On the surface of one of the exterior pilasters of the vestibule, is an inscription which we were informed had not yet been decyphered. We had our breakfast in this cave, which was served up with the same neatness and comfort, as if the spot had been long inhabited by an English family; so expert are the Indian servants at arrangements of this sort.

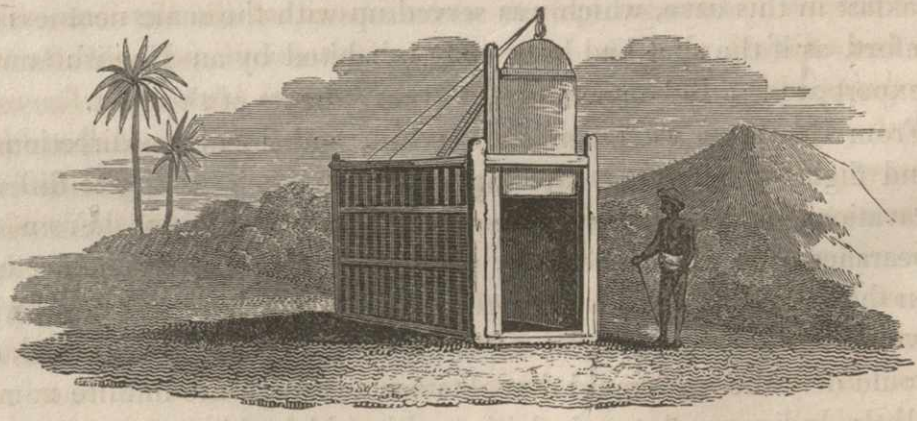
From this cave we ascended the hill, and in every direction we found flights of steps cut into the hard rock, each leading to different excavations, and connecting the whole by easy avenues. From this appearance of convenience, it is plain that this spot must once have been the scene of much religious zeal, and the seat of a great population. It would be useless to enumerate the many caves which we visited, and I would defy the most rapid draughtsman to design the infinite number of little Indian sculptured deities with which they swarm, without

TYGER TRAP.

many months of patient industry. What then must have been the labour of cutting them from the solid rock, and excavating the vast chambers in which they are deposited?

The monuments of Kanareh are esteemed more ancient than those of Elephanta. The figures of the latter can be explained by modern Indians, who point out amongst them the different personages of the Hindu Mythology; but those of Kanareh are left in obscurity, as none of the figures there have the manifold legs, arms, heads, &c. which distinguish those of Elephanta, but appear to be only representations of mere mortals. Indeed we were forcibly struck with this idea on comparing a real and living Indian, who happened to be seated close to a sculptured one, in nearly a similar attitude; for their features, size, and form, were so much alike, that except the motion of the live one, it was difficult, at a distance, to distinguish the one from the other. On the whole, we were of opinion, that the caves of Kanareh, collectively, were more wonderful than those of Elephanta, although not one of the former equals the magnificence of the largest of the latter.

On our return we found a repast spread under a magnificent Banian tree, at a place called Toulsee. Near to it was a large trap, in which, by means of a kid for a bait, the inhabitants sometimes catch a tyger.





A short time after, we visited Elephanta. On reaching the island, our boat was surrounded by the inhabitants, who brought a rude sort of palanquin to convey us on shore. It was composed of a chair, to which were fastened two long bamboo poles, and borne by four men on their naked shoulders. The first object which strangers visit on landing, is the stone elephant, which gives its name to the island, and stands on an eminence not far from the beach. It has undergone a visible decay since I first saw it, which is about two years and a half ago. The fore part of the back was falling in, and the right fore-leg was almost separated from the body. Several symptoms of decay were also remarkable in the caves, and the same has also been noticed of those of Kanareh.

The first thing we perceived on entering the great cave was the Persian Ambassador, with a most serious and collected air, pacing its length with all the gravity of an antiquary, whilst his companion, a Persian merchant, whose calculations never went beyond the profits of his goods, was observing him in great astonishment. He seemed quite wrapped up in wonder at what he saw, and said that the ruins of Persepolis were not to be compared to it. He could only have caught this spirit of investigation from us, for before he left Persia he used to ridicule the pains which we took in the search for antiquities; and this pliability in adopting the customs and manners of thought and action of other people, justifies an opinion often formed of the Persians, that if they had enjoyed all those advantages of situation and converse with Europeans which the Turks possess, they would have been far more than their equals in all the arts of war and peace, and would have had, in consequence, a much larger influence on the politics of Europe.

The same general resemblance of feature which, in my first visit to India, I had noticed between parts of the architecture of Elephanta, and of the architectural orders of Greece, particularly of the Doric, struck me with renewed force upon a second visit to these celebrated caves. By whatever means such a resemblance may have been produced, whether by chance, or more probably by a chain of connection, now imperceptible, between the two countries, it would perhaps be im-



possible to decide ; but it is most certain, that the entablature with its frieze, cornice, and architrave, the column with its shaft and capital, and the base with its plinth and tores, are as strongly delineated here, although in the rudest and most inelegant style, as in the monuments of Greece and Italy.

1811

On the 30th of January, 1811, after a repetition of the same honours that took place on our landing, the Ambassadors again embarked in the Lion, and proceeded to the Persian Gulf. In addition to our original party from England, we were accompanied by Lieut. George Willock and thirty privates of Indian cavalry, forming a body guard for our Ambassador, and by Mr. Sharpe, Assistant Surgeon; by twenty-four palanquin bearers, and a detachment of English serjeants, &c. from the 47th regiment, to discipline the Persian infantry; and a ship belonging to a Persian merchant resident at Bombay, was chartered to take military stores.

On the 8th of February we saw Cape Monze.* At the sight of this land we congratulated the Persian Ambassador upon seeing his native soil once again; for although Fattah Ali Shah has no more control over the territories of Sind and Mekran than he has over China, yet the Persians do not cease to call them a part of their country. In 1739 indeed, the Indus was the limit of Persia, and consequently Cape Monze was included in its territory, but such limits only lasted as long as the power of Nadir Shah lasted, and since then they have retired to the boundaries of the province of Kirman, which on the sea coast terminate at Cape Jasques. According to Arrian the river Arabis, which flows behind Cape Monze, formed the limits of India in the time of Alexander; but in the present wild state of this part of Asia, it would be difficult to establish any specific boundary. Even on the

* Allowing Diu Head in the Guzerat to be on the meridian of 71° 6' E. according to Horsburg and Mac Cluer, it will make Cape Monze to be in 67° 1'. But by our observations, when the Cape bore N. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. taken from the mean of three time-keepers regulated by the meridian of Bombay, and differing only 4" or one mile from each other, we found the longitude of Cape Monze to be 66° 45' 65" E., whilst in the approved Admiralty Chart, by which the ship was worked, it is 66° 15' E.



coast, which is open to nautical surveys, the deficiency of geographical knowledge is great; and although the instructions in directories, East India pilots, &c. for sailing along this coast, are numerous, and although we were supplied with charts "from the latest surveys and best authorities," yet we were obliged to depend almost entirely on our own observations and our own "look out a-head," which after all, is the seaman's best security.

We found that opinions were very various upon the nature and length of our passage up the Gulf at the present season of the year. At Bombay we were told twenty days would be the utmost; our directory informed us that February is one of the good months for sailing to Persia; and the Governor himself assured us that the longer we stayed at Bombay the shorter would be our voyage: but when we arrived on board we were astonished to hear different intelligence from our pilot, a lieutenant in the Bombay marine, who affirmed that we should be lucky to get to Bushire in five weeks.

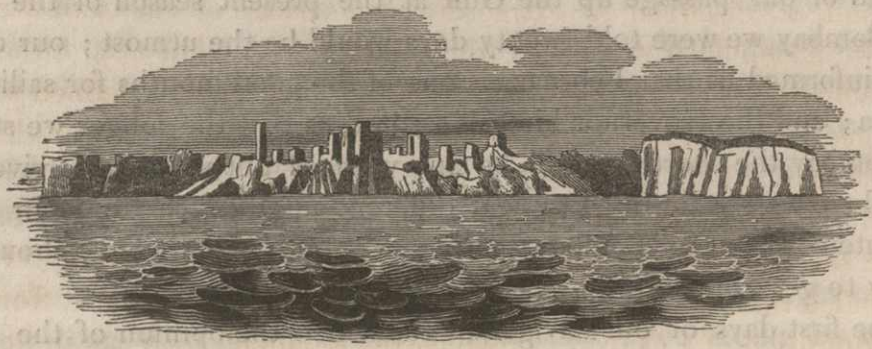
The first days of our navigation confirmed the opinion of the pilot, for we had the wind at N.W.; but on the 8th of February we enjoyed a delightful breeze which filled every sail, and which the directory stated to be common at this season in the Gulf of Cutch.

On the 9th of February, we saw at a considerable distance land which we all took for Cape Arubah, and on the next day in the morning we were near an insulated piece of land, considerably higher at one extremity than the other, which almost all concluded to be the island of Ashtola; but the appearance of the latter is so remarkable, (being a low slip of land, so equal in its surface, that it almost forms a parallel line with that of the horizon,) that I was enabled to say, from having been at anchor close to it in my former voyage, that Ashtola must be still a-head, and that this land must be the real Arubah. This proved to be the case, for at noon we saw Ashtola, and passed it at a distance of about four leagues.* In the evening we made Cape Passenza,

* At nine o'clock in the morning, the extremes of Arubah bore from N. 23° E. to N. 44° E. and our distance from it by cross-bearings was seventeen miles. The latitude of the

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situated four or five leagues to the westward of Ashtola; and on the 11th of February, at noon, we were a-breast of Cape Guadel. The extraordinary shapes of the lands on this part of the coast were not new to me, for I have described them in my former voyage; but the illusion was so strong to those who had never yet seen them, that one of the party persisted in saying that he saw the ruins of a great and magnificent city. We did not approach near enough to ascertain the



nature of the soil, but we judged from its general appearance that it was calcareous, and that it was the ordinary action of the elements which had broken its surface into shapes so irregular and fantastic.

1811

On the 12th of February, our weather was quite overcast, and both felt and looked like a gloomy November day in England. The sailors compared it to sailing up the Channel. The wind blew strong from the southward and eastward, and we dragged our tow through the water at the rate of ten knots in the hour.

Cape we found was $24^{\circ} 59' 15''$ N. and its longitude $64^{\circ} 32' 45''$ E. We then stood $W. \frac{1}{2} N.$ until we brought Ashtola to bear $N. 6^{\circ} E.$ distance by cross-bearings eleven miles, which made the middle of the island in $25^{\circ} 2' N.$ latitude, and in longitude $64^{\circ} E.$ These observations make the difference of longitude between Cape Arubah and the island of Ashtola $32' 45''$, and the difference of latitude three miles; consequently, the distance between the Cape and the island is thirty-five miles, which agrees within a mile of Horsburgh's Instructions, for he calls the distance twelve leagues. The Admiralty Chart, compiled by Dalrymple, has no longitudes assigned.



After a most squally and boisterous night, the wind veered round, and on the morning of the 13th we arose with a strong north-wester, called by the Arabs *shamal*, blowing right in our teeth. We were about twelve miles from the land, which, by our dead reckoning, we supposed to be near to Cape Mucksa, and distant about eighty miles from Cape Jasques. We perceived, in the interior, some high mountains, of fine outline, and remarked that at sun-set they were particularly beautiful in their tints and general colouring. As we stood in towards the land, we observed so extraordinary a change of colour in the sea, that we imagined it proceeded from shoal water. The sea, for a considerable distance, was marked by a strong line, as well defined as any on a geographical chart; on one side of which it was of a dark blue, on the other of a light pea green. On standing in, from the one to the other, we found that we did not shoal our water the more, having above seventy fathoms under us when in the pea-green water. It was concluded that this strange appearance must have proceeded from the decomposition of a chalky soil, which the mountain torrents, in flowing over it, had carried into the sea. On taking up a bucket of the discoloured water, we found that its taste was not so salt as the common sea water.

On the 14th February we saw the Arabian coast, and on the 15th we perceived a sail coming down before the wind, which, on approaching, we found to be an Arabian ship, originally from Bahrein, last from Bender Abassi, and bound to Muscat. From her we learnt that the pirates, who at Bombay we had heard were totally destroyed, were again recruiting their forces, and had collected a fleet of twenty-six vessels, which were cruising about Lengeh, Shahaib, and Kais, places in the vicinities of Ormus and Kishmis. Their head-quarters were, as formerly, at Rassal Kheimh, on the Arabian coast. An Arab, who was brought on board the *Lion* to inform us of the news, told us that their ship had been chased by the pirates, but that a fair wind had saved them. He added, however, that with his own eyes he had seen another vessel taken belonging to a merchant of Bushire.



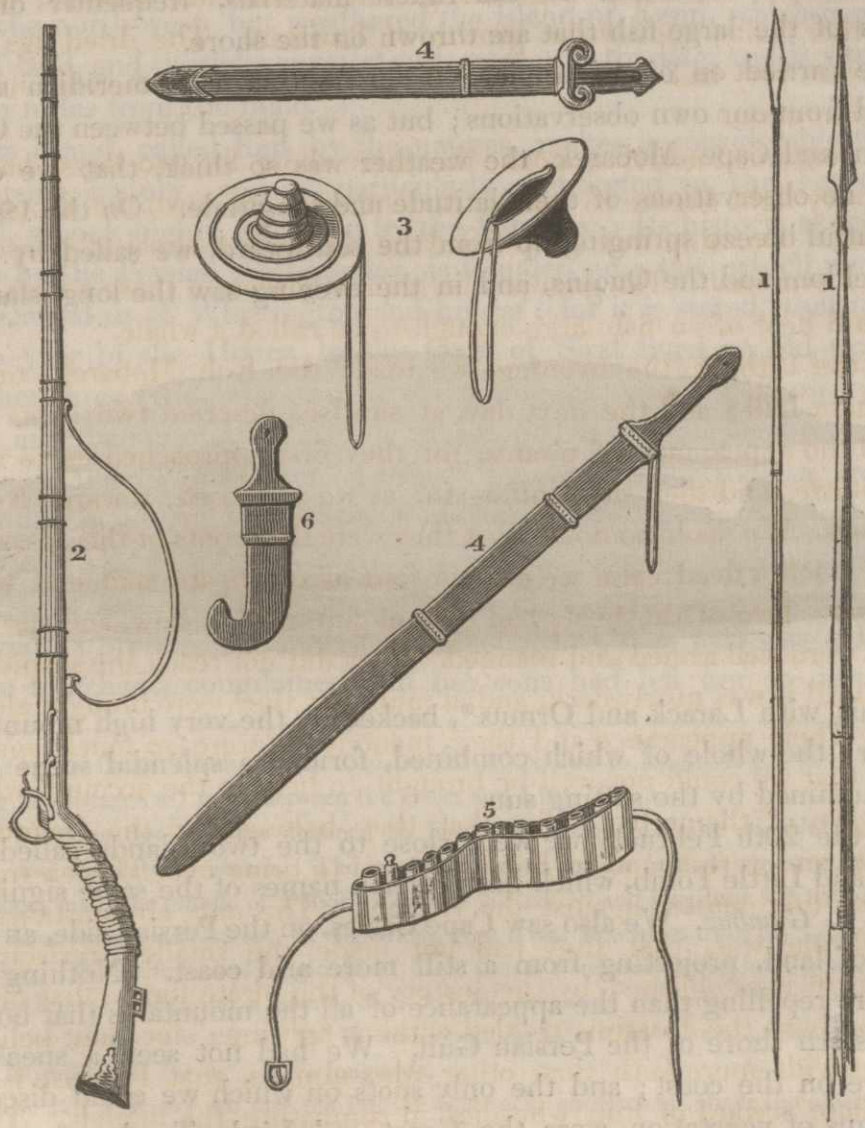
Their ship was laden with oranges, figs, almonds, walnuts, dates, and other fruits, mostly the growth of Laristan. The dried figs and dates were very bad. The oranges, being packed in cases, could not be broken in upon.

We continued nearly opposite the same shore for two days, having but a very light breeze to stem a current that sets down the mouth of the Gulf. Our ship was surrounded by the largest shoal of porpoises which I ever saw. The grampus is frequently seen in these waters, but we could hear of no fish large enough to be called a whale.

1811 404

On the 17th, in the evening, we made the Koh Mobarek, or the Fortunate Hill; and the next day, at sunrise, descried two boats that had all the appearance of pirates, for they first approached us as if to reconnoitre, and then stood off again, as we supposed, towards Rassal Kheimh. We made no doubt that they were the scouts of the Joassims, and as it fell a dead calm we got out four of our boats, and sent them in chase. Two of the boats had each a gun in their bow, and the two others were well armed and manned. They did not reach the suspicious boats until it was nearly dark, and at midnight they were brought alongside. Their appearance and their manœuvres were so much against them, that we could not well be brought to believe the account which they gave of themselves, viz. that they belonged to the Imaum of Muscat, and were bound to Bender Abassi to bring over Persian troops to assist their master against the Wahabi. The only circumstance in their favour was, that they had not made the smallest resistance; whereas it is established by the history of the pirate force, that on no occasion have the Joassims yielded without fighting; for they believe, perhaps with more faith than other Mussulmans, that Paradise is the immediate reward of him who dies in combating the infidels. Their boats were filled with arms of all descriptions, consisting of spears (1), match-lock guns (2), shields for the hand (3), swords (4), belts for cartridges (5), *khanjars*, or daggers (6). The shields were made of the skin of the *hout*, the Arabic word for whale.

ARABIAN PIRATES.

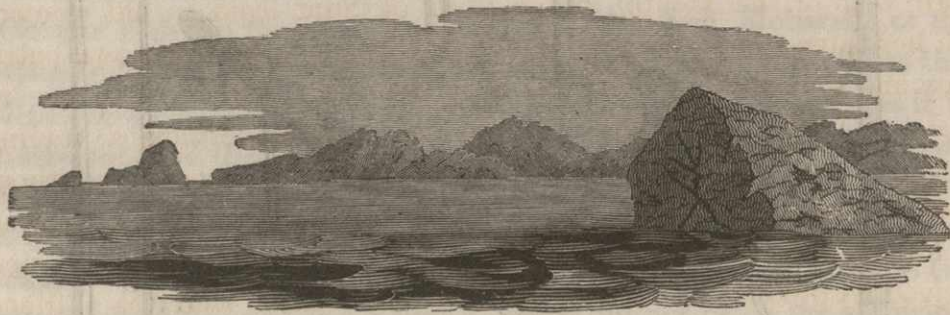


Although we were generally convinced that they were pirates, yet they pleaded their cause so effectually, that our Captain permitted them to be set at liberty. One among the rest was a very intelligent man, and he informed us that the inhabitants of the coast of Mekran, like their predecessors in the description of Arrian, live mostly upon fish,

GREAT AND LITTLE TOMB.

and build their houses of the rudest materials, frequently of the bones of the large fish that are thrown on the shore.

We carried on our time-pieces from Ashtola as a meridian ascertained from our own observations; but as we passed between the Great Quoin and Cape Mobarek, the weather was so thick, that we could make no observations of their latitude and longitude. On the 19th, a delightful breeze springing up from the southward, we sailed by Cape Musseldom and the Quoins, and in the evening saw the long island of



Kishmis, with Larack and Ormus*, backed by the very high mountains of Lar; the whole of which combined, formed a splendid scene as it was illumined by the setting sun.

Feb. 1811

On the 20th February we were close to the two islands called the Great and Little Tomb, which bear Persian names of the same signification, i. e. *Gumbuz*. We also saw Cape Certes, on the Persian side, an arid piece of land, projecting from a still more arid coast. Nothing can be more repelling than the appearance of all the mountains that bound the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf. We had not seen a speck of verdure on the coast; and the only spots on which we could discover any signs of vegetation, were the Great and Little Tomb, where we saw some grass. †

* See Appendix B.

† On the 20th of February, by our bearings and meridional observations we made the latitude of the Little Tomb $26^{\circ} 15' N.$ and by the longitude observed, corrected by our cross-bearings, we found that island to be situated in the meridian of $55^{\circ} 7' 45'' East.$ The



We made little way on the 23d, as the wind continued to blow fresh from the north-west, but weathered the island of Kenn, which is a low slip of land, and partially covered with trees, mostly date, and is situated twelve miles from the main.

This island, called Kais by the natives, makes a considerable figure in Persian history, and is particularly mentioned in the *Tarikh al Wasaf*, a book highly esteemed by the Persians. Its history, as related to me by the Persian Ambassador, is founded on a tale, which perhaps may remind us of Whittington and his cat; for it is stated, that in the 700th year of the Hejira, in the town of Siraf lived an old woman, with her three sons, who turning out profligates, spent their own patrimony and their mother's fortune, abandoned her, and went to live at Kais. A little while after, a Siraf merchant undertook a trading voyage to India, and freighted a ship. It was the custom of those days, that when a man undertook a voyage to a distant land, each of his friends intrusted to his care some article of their property, and received its produce on his return. The old woman, who was a friend of the merchant, complained that her sons had left her so destitute,

latitude of the Great Tomb we found to be $26^{\circ} 14' N.$ and its longitude $55^{\circ} 19' 45''$ East, making the distance 8.7 miles between the Great and Little Tomb.

The following day we were detained by light winds between Polior and Nobfleu, two barren and uninhabited islands. The bearings applied to our latitude observed, reduced from noon, made the middle of Polior in latitude $26^{\circ} 18' N.$ and longitude $54^{\circ} 36' 45''$, and by our observations carried on, we remarked, that it was 25.5 miles from the Little Tomb to Polior. The latitude and longitude of Cape Certes were ascertained from two stations, the base line of which, on a course of $S. 85^{\circ} W.$ measured 24 miles, when at the first station the latitude was $26^{\circ} 32' 15'' N.$ and longitude $54^{\circ} 42' 45'' E.$ and at the second $26^{\circ} 31' N.$ latitude, and $54^{\circ} 42' 15'' E.$ longitude.

On the 22d February we saw the Hill of Charrack, conspicuous above the other mountains, and in the shape of the roof of a barn. At 9 A. M. our latitude was $25^{\circ} 59' N.$ and our longitude by the time-pieces $54^{\circ} 20' 52''$ East. The extremes of the islands of Serdee then bore $S. 60^{\circ} E.$ to $S. 48^{\circ} E.$ which by cross bearings made our distance from the middle of Nobfleu 10.5 miles, bearing $N. 42^{\circ} E.$, and from Serdee 13 miles, which applied to the above bearings, reduced to the true by allowing for the variation of the compass, 8° West, will make the latitude of Nobfleu $26^{\circ} 07' N.$, longitude $54^{\circ} 27' 20'' E.$, and Serdee in latitude $25^{\circ} 53' N.$ and in longitude $54^{\circ} 18' 30''$ East.



that, except a cat, she had nothing to send as an adventure, which yet she requested him to take.

On arriving in India, he waited upon the King of the country, who having granted him permission to trade with his subjects, also invited him to dine. The merchant was surprised to see the beards of the King and his courtiers encased in golden tubes, and the more so, when he observed that every man had a stick in his hand. His surprise still increased, when, upon the serving up of the dishes, he saw swarms of mice sally out from the wall, and make such an attack upon the victuals, as to require the greatest vigilance of the guests in keeping them off with their sticks. This extraordinary scene brought the cat of the old woman of Siraf into the merchant's mind. When he dined a second time with the King, he put the cat under his arm; and no sooner did the mice appear, than he let it go, and to the delight of the King and his courtiers, hundreds of mice were laid dead about the floor. The King, of course, longed to possess so valuable an animal; and the merchant agreed to give it up, provided an adequate compensation were made to its real owner. When the merchant was about his departure, he was shown a ship, finely equipped, laden with all sorts of merchandize, and which he was told was to be given to the old woman for her cat. She of course could scarcely yield credit to his tale; but when she found that he was in earnest, and that she was possessed of such vast wealth, she imparted her good fortune to her sons, who came over to her, and after having made merry with the ready money, embarked with their mother and the rest of the property, and established themselves at Kais. Here they traded with great success, until their name became so famous, that twelve ships, all at one time, were consigned to them. They managed by stratagem to make away with the owners of these ships, seized their property, and commenced pirates. In this new character they were again successful; and became so powerful, that they braved the King of the country, who was too weak to destroy them. In the course of time, indeed, their descendants became the Kings of Kais; and are known in Persian history under the name of the Beni Kaiser. At length their power was



destroyed by Atta Beg, then King of Fars, and since then their possessions have been annexed to the Persian dominions.

It blew so fresh a gale from the N. W. on the 25th February, that we were obliged to close-reef our topsails. Finding that we could make no way against the wind, we determined to anchor under the lee of an island, and kept our wind, hoping to fetch Kenn, which we fortunately did; and at about seven o'clock in the evening anchored at two miles from its shore, in eleven fathoms. One of our Lieutenants went on shore the next morning, to buy fresh provisions, and it was the intention of most of the passengers to follow him after breakfast, when a breeze springing up from the eastward, the ship was again under weigh, and stood on between the island and the main. The Lieutenant returned with a small bullock, for which he had paid twelve rupees, and a sheep which he had purchased for two. He said that there were about one hundred male inhabitants on the island, besides a proportionate number of females. In appearance they resembled those on board the two boats, which we had detained off Cape Musseldom. The women were veiled, just showing their eyes and a part of the nose. Their chief they called Emir. They lived in a small mud fort, chequered at the top with loop-holes for musquetry, and flanked by two towers, which were entered by an aperture, to which, as it was half way from the ground, they ascended by a rope. They complained (and the appearance of the place justified the complaint) that their houses had been ransacked not long ago, by a set of people, who they said were white, and they seemed suspicious of the Lieutenant and his crew. However, as it was difficult for an English Lieutenant, who only spoke English, and an Arabian Emir, who only knew Arabic, to hold much intelligible conversation, we could not comprehend much of the story that was brought on board. The trees which grow on Kenn are chiefly date; besides which they have banian trees, tamarinds, and the cotton plant. At six feet from the surface of the earth they get water, and their habitations are every where well supplied with wells. Many shells are found here; and it would seem that the whole surface of the island has been inundated, for large beds of shells



are seen at a considerable distance from the shore. The coast is lined with coral rocks. This island is quite open to the attacks of the pirates; and our pilot informed us, that six years ago he touched here, and found it totally deserted, although he saw recent traces of inhabitants, whose scattered furniture, poultry, and implements of agriculture were still remaining. The houses appeared to have been ransacked, and the cattle hamstrung. The inhabitants, who possess a few boats, on the first alarm immediately embark, and make to the opposite coast.*

As we sailed between Kenn and the main, we distinguished a large town, situated close to the water's edge, which we took to be Siraf. The colour of its buildings and of the soil upon which it stood are so alike, that it was only by chance that we discovered it. From the size and style of the buildings which were distinguishable, it must have been a place of the consequence attached to it in the Persian annals. Until it was supplanted by Kais it was a flourishing commercial town, and much resorted to by foreign merchants, although its territory was very unproductive, and its climate extremely sultry. The most conspicuous object that met our eye was an octagonal tower, surrounded by a high wall, which some took for a fortification, others for a mosque. On a hill commanding the town we discovered walls, and three round towers; and at some distance beyond, a mausoleum. We saw no mark of vegetation, except the date tree. Many boats were drawn up on the beach. The situation of this place corresponded to that of Siraf, in the map of Dr. Vincent's Nearchus.

Higher upon the coast, about fifteen miles, we distinguished the

* The bearings from our anchorage at Kenn were as follow:—

Extremes of the island, from S. 45° W. to N. 51° W.

Cape Bustion, N. 89½° E.

Cape Certes, S. 82° E.

Chanack Hill, N. 11° E.

Our latitude at anchor was 26° 31' N., longitude by chronometers, 54° 1' 30" E., which by cross-bearings reduced to the true by allowing 7° 30' W. variation, made the S. E. point of the island of Kenn in latitude 26° 30' 18" N., and longitude 53° 59' 30" E.



town of Gillem, more agreeable in its appearance than Siraf, though not so large. It is situated opposite to Inderabia, a small, flat island, which is both barren and uninhabited.

In the night, at about ten o'clock, we were obliged to let go our stream anchor, owing to a sudden alteration in our soundings; for from thirty-two fathoms the leadsman struck fifteen, and soon after, nine. We found that we were upon a bank, that is not laid down in any of our charts.*

February 27. We were in sight of Busheab in the morning, on the eastermost point of which we saw a neat-looking village, surrounded by date trees; but, excepting one or two other clusters of the same tree, all the rest of the country appeared waste. At break of day, several large boats were seen at a distance a-head, and a short time after, the man at the mast-head lost sight of them. About ten o'clock they were seen again, making all sail towards the land. This manœuvre made us suspect them to be the piratical fleet, of which we had received information on the 15th instant. They were twelve in number, three or four *dows*, and the rest *trankies*. The dow is a large vessel, from two to three hundred tons burden, with one mast raking forward, on which is hoisted one large sail: the tranky is of a smaller description, from fifty to one hundred tons, and is rigged nearly in the same manner as the former. It was evident, that having got to a convenient distance from the land, they lowered their sails and waited for our approach, in order to reconnoitre our force; and having found us too

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* At day-light on the 26th February, whilst at anchor, we took the following bearings:—

Carrack Hill, N. 44° E.

Extremes of the island of Inderabia, from N. 45° W. to N. 22° W.

Extremes of Kenn, from S. 70° E. to S. 88° W.

At six o'clock we weighed, and ran out S.W. one mile, with the following soundings:— $\frac{1}{2}$ 8. $7\frac{1}{2}$. 8. $\frac{1}{2}$ 8. 7. $\frac{1}{2}$ 7. $6\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{1}{2}$. $\frac{1}{2}$ 9.; then steered S.W by W. $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, with soundings $\frac{1}{2}$ 12. 14. $\frac{1}{2}$ 15. 19. 21., and at length no bottom with 25 fathoms of line. The bank does not appear to be dangerous to ships of any burden.

Our observations made the east end of Inderabia in latitude 26° 36' 18" N., and longitude 53° 38' 45" E.; and the distance between the west end of Kenn and the east end of Inderabia N. 57° W. 12 miles.



substantial for a prey, they returned to wait for something better adapted to their means. We edged away gradually after them, but owing to their excellent sailing, we despaired of getting up with them, before they reached the land. Although hauled close to the wind, they appeared to make as good way as we who were going large; and when we hauled to the wind after them, we found that they could lie three points higher than we. We expected that they would run between Busheab and the main, where there is a channel of eight or nine miles in breadth; but when they had reached Busheab, they wore (for their large sail will not permit them to tack) and stood close to the shore, over a reef that extends itself four miles to the W. and N. of the island. They doubtless hoped to decoy us on to the reef; but we satisfied ourselves with standing close to the edge of it, and firing two or three broadsides at them; but when we found that our shot did no execution, owing to the distance that separated us, we again stood on our course. Some time after they came to an anchor, when the largest dow, which we supposed to bear their chief, fired five guns, either as a mark of contempt, or as signals to the squadron. It was impossible that we could be mistaken as to the nature of these vessels, for they swarmed with men; and as they took no notice of our shot, it was plain that they were not merchantmen, who lower their sails upon the least appearance of danger.

On the westward of Busheab, where this scene took place, we saw several large villages, and many trees, the inhabitants of which came out in great numbers to see a sight doubtless quite new to them. They had hoisted a red flag (the colour common to the Arabs) on a small round tower, but whether in compliment to us or to the pirates, we could not decide.

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On the 28th of February, a very fine breeze from the southward and eastward carried us past Congoon and the Barn Hill; and before it was dark we had passed the Verdistan Shoal.

On the 1st of March we were about ten miles from Bushire at break of day, and finally got to our anchorage by ten o'clock, in six fathoms, at about four miles from the shore. We found that the longitudes



mentioned in the foregoing journal were to be depended upon; for of the time-pieces, since we left Bombay, one only erred $\frac{2}{3}$ of a second, and the other kept exactly the same rate, by the means of nearly thirty sights of \odot & \cup & \cup & $*$.

The latitude of our anchorage off Bushire, was $28^{\circ} 58' 15''$ N. and longitude $50^{\circ} 54' 15''$ E.



CHAPTER III.

THE town of Bushire rises conspicuous from the surrounding flat, and in spite of its *wind chimnies**, which give it an air of some consequence, is in fact little better than a collection of clay houses, surrounded by walls and towers of the same materials. There is little appearance of cultivation on the shore in its immediate vicinity; and the only object which breaks in upon the uniformity of the white soil, is the lank and perpendicular date tree, tufted at its summit with a little dusty verdure. Seldom is this dull view enlivened by any moving thing. Now and then may be seen a meagre Arab, riding solitary over the desert on his ass, or sitting down under a date tree, whilst his camels are feeding around him.

Dreariness, solitude, and heat, are indeed the chief characteristics, not only of this town, but of all the shores of the Persian Gulf. Although Bushire be the principal Persian sea-port, yet there is none of that bustle and movement which indicates the activity of commerce. Instead of crowds of vessels at anchor, receiving and discharging merchandise, with hundreds of boats passing to and fro between them and the shore, the masts of a solitary vessel may be here and there perceived, and perhaps a single boat creeping along with a flapping sail. The whole of its trade is closely connected with that of Bussora, as almost every ship which navigates the Gulf touches at both places, either to receive or discharge merchandise; but it does not employ annually more than eight ships under English colours, and about six under Muscat, making on an average about 4500 tons of shipping.

The Persians have no navy, either for war or commerce. The only man-of-war ever constructed in Persia was built by Nadir Shah, with the timber of Mazanderan; and the despotism exercised in bringing the materials, by main force, on the backs of men, over a country in

* See my first Journal, p. 57.



some places of very difficult access, is still remembered with horror by the inhabitants. The wreck of that ship is still to be seen in the harbour of Bushire.

It may be conceived that the arrival of the Embassy produced an unusual activity in so dull a place; and as curiosity is a principal feature of the Persian character, it was not long before our ship was filled with the natives. So large a man-of-war as the *Lion* had never before been at Bushire; and report having exaggerated her size, and particularly the number of guns she carried to something marvellous, they were prepared to eye us with feelings of great wonder.

The Governor of the town, who was a genuine Persian, a native of Shiraz, accompanied by a very numerous suite, composed of the chief officers and principal merchants, besides servants, guards, &c. came off to greet the Ambassador on his arrival. We could remark a great difference in general appearance between the Persians of the shore, and those whom we had brought with us, much in favour of the latter; it being evident that these had acquired habits of cleanliness during their stay with us, to which the former could have no pretensions.

Above all things, that which most excited their curiosity, was the circumstance of our Ambassador having brought his *harem* with him; for although the Easterns look upon it as indecorous to make enquiries about each other's women, yet still we could observe how anxious they were to know something about ours. Perhaps their curiosity about the women of Europe is quite as great as that of Europeans about those of Asia. I can state, in confirmation of the last assertion, that one of the first questions put to me by my acquaintances in Europe, has ever been on that subject; and from the conversations I have had with Asiatics upon the same topic, both parties have universally appeared to entertain in their imaginations the highest ideas of the beauty of each other's women. When a Persian wishes to give an high idea of a woman's beauty, he says, she is *Missal Frengui*, like an European; and on the other hand, Europeans pay the same compliment to the fair sex of Georgia and Circassia. The Ambassador introduced the Governor into the separate cabin of his wife, where was also another young lady,



and two servant maids. After he had sat and wondered for some time, he whispered the Persian Ambassador, and asked, “Are all these the *Elchee*’s wives?”

It was now near two years since the Persian Ambassador had quitted his country; and as it was of great importance that he should set foot upon it under the most favourable auspices, he waited until the astrologers had fixed upon a lucky moment, which was at three hours after sunrise on the following morning, viz. the 3d of March. At that hour he quitted the *Lion*, with all the honours due to his rank; and when arrived close to the beach, he evinced a feeling that does credit both to his heart and understanding. Owing to the want of a regular landing place, he was obliged to be carried out of the boat on men’s shoulders. A number of Persians pressed round him offering their services, but he refused them, and desired that the English sailors might bear him on shore, saying, by them he had been brought thus far, and by them he would be landed — a sort of attention well calculated to gain the hearts of the sailors.

Almost every town in Persia has its *munajem*, or astrologer, and frequently great men have one attached to their person, who regulates all the actions of their lives. It will be seen during the course of this narrative, of what universal influence this dependence upon the aspect of the heavenly bodies has upon the lives of the Persians, a custom which can only be accounted for by antiquity. The belief in astrology is not so universal with the Turks, who are greater predestinarians than the Persians, and consequently take less precautions to avert what futurity might have in store for them.

The English Embassy landed on the 5th March. The delay did not proceed from the want of a proper conjunction of the planets, although the Persians pressed us much to employ their astrologers on this occasion; but was owing to the preparations that were making on shore for its reception. A number of tents, of different sizes and denominations, which were destined to be our habitations for many months to come, were pitched outside the town for our reception, and of which we were happy to take possession, in preference to the houses which the country



afforded. In the climate of Persia, a life passed in tents is, perhaps, on the whole, more agreeable than passed in houses; and it is easy to conceive, that those who are accustomed to the freedom that accompanies the former, can ill bear the restraints and confinement of a town.

The reception of the Ambassador was as grand as it was in the power of the Governor to make it; and after we had endured all the miseries of barbarous noises, dust, confusion, and tedious ceremonies, we at length found ourselves installed each in his tent, with a long desert of sand, terminated by the sea, in front of us, and a long desert of sand, terminated by high mountains, in our rear. The desert which, as I said before, was cheered by no other living creature than the Arab and his ass, and the Arab and his camels, was now become a busy scene; and Englishmen, Indians, Arabs, and Persians, were constantly seen passing to and fro, making preparations for our journey into the interior.

It would, perhaps, be impossible to give to an inhabitant of London a correct idea of the first impressions made upon the European stranger on his landing in Persia. Accustomed, as his eye has been, to neatness, cleanliness, and a general appearance of convenience in the exteriors of life, he feels a depression of spirits in beholding the very contrary. Instead of houses with high roofs, well glazed and painted, and in neat rows, he finds them low, flat roofed, without windows, placed in little connection. In vain he looks for what his idea of a street may be; he makes his way through the narrowest lanes, incumbered with filth, dead animals, and mangy dogs. He hears a language totally new to him, spoken by people whose looks and dress are equally extraordinary. Instead of our smooth chins and tight dresses, he finds rough faces masked with beards and mustachios, in long flapping clothes. He sees no active people walking about with an appearance of something to do, but here and there he meets a native just crawling along in slip shod shoes. When he seeks the markets and shops, a new and original scene opens upon him. Little open sheds in rows, between which is a



passage, serving as a street, of about eight feet in breadth, are to be seen, instead of our closely shut shops, with windows gaily decked. Here the vender sits, surrounded with his wares. In a country where there is so little apparent security of property, it is surprising how a man so easily exposes his goods to the pilfer of rogues. Comparisons might be made without end; but however distressing the transition from great civilisation to comparative barbarity may be, yet it is certain that first impressions soon wear off, and that the mind receives a new accession of feelings, adapted precisely to the situation in which it is placed.

It may be supposed, that in the remote part of the world on which we had just landed, there could be little in the daily occurrences of life to interest or agitate the mind; yet such is the Persian character, that we had scarcely been arrived a week before we were involved in disagreeable discussions.

When I was last at Bushire, the hereditary government of the Arab Sheikhs was abolished. Mahomed Nebee Khan, from having been originally a scribe, and successively a shopkeeper, a merchant, an Ambassador, and a Governor of Bushire, at length was raised to the Vizuet of the province of Fars, in which situation we now found him. By his influence he had established his brother, (who had also been a merchant) as the permanent Governor of Bushire, and had succeeded to ruin the fortunes of Sheikh Naser, its former Governor, and even almost to extirpate the Damook tribe, of which that chief was the head. Mahomed Nebee, and our friend the Persian Ambassador, were bitter enemies; and their enmity, notwithstanding the thousand protestations on both sides, of unalterable friendship, soon broke out into open hostility. Some delay in the attentions due from the Prince of Shiraz to the English Ambassador having taken place, Mirza Abul Hassan Khan immediately took advantage of it to lay the whole blame on Mahomed Nebee, and to pass off all his own rage as that of the Ambassador's.

We remained encamped at Bushire until the 27th March, during



which time we experienced one of the discomforts of a tented life, in a gale of wind that blew from the southward and eastward, with such violence, that three of our largest tents were levelled with the ground. The wind brought with it such hot currents of air, that we thought it might be the precursor of the *samoun*, described by Chardin; but, upon enquiry, we found that the autumn was generally the season for that wind, and that its consequences, in the memory of the present inhabitants, had never been so fatal as those mentioned by that traveller. The *sam* wind, as described to me by an old inhabitant of the Dashtistan, commits great ravages in this district, particularly at Dashtiarjan, and is hurtful to vegetation. It blows at night, from about midnight to sunrise, comes in a hot blast, and is afterwards succeeded by a cold one. About six years ago there was a *sam* during the summer months, which so totally burnt up all the corn, then near its maturity, that no animal would eat a blade of it, or touch any of its grain.

The image of *corn blasted before it be grown up*, used by the sacred historian in 2 Kings, xix. 26., was most probably taken from a cause similar to what has just been stated; and in the 7th verse, when speaking of the king of Assyria, the prophet says, *I will send a blast upon him*, the allusion is also perhaps to the pestilential wind. In the Psalms we read of the *wind which passeth over it* (the grass), *and it is gone*, Psal. ciii. 15, 16.

Again, from the 23d to the 26th, the wind blew violently from the south-east, accompanied by a most suffocating heat, and continued to blow with the same degree of strength until the next day at noon, when it suddenly veered round to the N. W. with a degree of violence equal to what it had blown from the opposite point. During all this time, the clouds of dust which arose, and which entered into every part of our tents, totally destroyed either comfort or rest. But when all had again subsided into calm, the weather that succeeded was delightful. Nature, after her agitation, had acquired new beauties, and both man and animals seemed to joy in their existence. The south-east wind constantly brought with it innumerable flights of locusts, but those which fell on this occasion, we were informed, were not of the predatory

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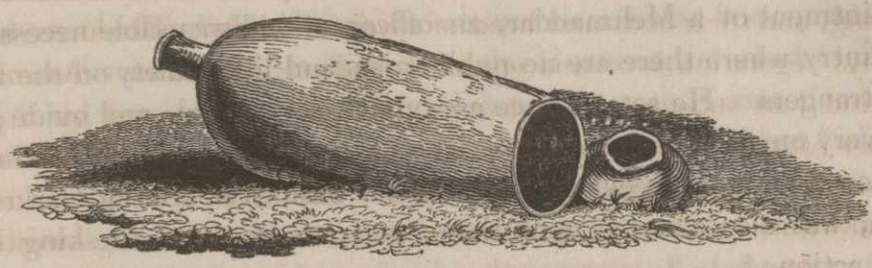


sort.* They were three inches long from the head to the extremity of the wing, and their body and head of a bright yellow. The locust which destroys vegetation is of a larger kind, and of a deep red. As soon as the wind had subsided, the plain of Bushire was covered by a great number of its poorer inhabitants, men, women, and children, who came out to gather locusts, which they eat. They also dry and salt them, and afterwards sell them in the bazars as the food of the lowest peasantry. When boiled, the yellow ones turn red, and eat like stale or decayed shrimps. The † locusts and wild honey, which St. John ate in the Wilderness, are perhaps particularly mentioned to show that he fared as the poorest of men, and not as a wild man, as some might interpret. Indeed the general appearance of St. John, clothed with camels' hair (rather skin), with a leathern girdle around his loins, and living a life of the greatest self-denial, was that of the older Jewish prophets, Zach. xiii. 4.; and such was the dress of Elijah, the hairy man, with a girdle about his loins, described in 2 Kings, i. 8. At the present moment, however, we see some resemblance of it in the Dervishes and *Gousheh nishins*, (or sitters in the corner,) who are so frequently met with in Persia; a set of men who hold forth their doctrines in open places, sometimes almost naked, with their hair and beard floating wildly about their head, and a piece of camel or deer skin thrown over their shoulders. We were struck with the cry of a Dervish, who had taken post for a short time on the desert near to our camp, uttering his piercing exclamations of *hak*, and *hou*. These cries, which are peculiarly wild when heard at a distance, the Dervishes utter to announce their arrival near a town, at the same time sounding a blast of a ram or a cow's horn, which they wear slung at their girdle.

Not far from our encampment on the road to the town, and at about two feet from the surface of the ground, we found two oblong vases, rudely made of baked clay, which were filled with human bones.

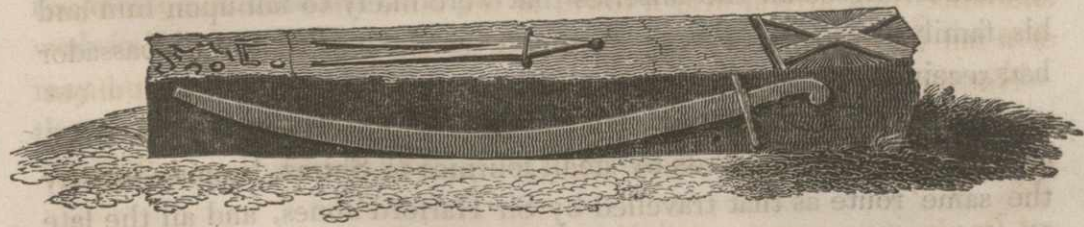
* On almost the same day (12th March), 1674, Chardin, in his journey from Lar to Bender Abassi, saw a flight of locusts, which he says darkened the air. They were very large and red. — *Chardin's Travels*, vol. ix. p. 227. 8vo. ed.

† The locust was a clean meat. Levit. xi. 22.



They were placed side by side, fronting east and west. They had a small cover at one extremity, and were terminated at the other by a handle. In length they were three feet and a half, and the diameter of the orifice eight inches. Our surgeon supposed that the bones were those of a woman and child; the enamel of the teeth was undecayed.

It is not the first time that such vases have been found; for when Mr. Bruce, the resident of the East India Company at Bushire, was building a house near to the position of our camp, he found several of them. None of the natives could give us any satisfactory account concerning them; and it would be difficult to decide their age, except indeed some one was more fortunate than ourselves in finding pieces of coin, which we hear have been found within them.* We also remarked in a place of burial, near the ruins of Reshire, tombstones, apparently of considerable antiquity, although it would be perhaps difficult to decide whether they date before or after the Mahomedan æra.



* See the observations made by Sir J. Malcolm on this subject, Hist. of Persia, vol. i. p. 198.



Our long delay at Bushire was occasioned by some discussions on the appointment of a Mehmandar, an officer of indispensable necessity in a country where there are no public inns, and little safety on the roads, for strangers. He acts at once as commissary, guard, and guide; and also very much in the same capacity as Tissaphernes, who in conducting the ten thousand Greeks through Persia, besides providing markets for them, was also a watch upon them, and a reporter to the king of all their actions.*

The appointment of a Mehmandar to an Ambassador in eastern countries is always a matter of etiquette; and the degree of consequence in which the said Ambassador and the Court whence he comes is held, is supposed to be announced by the rank of the person who is appointed to attend upon him. The man nominated to conduct us to Shiraz was Mahomed Zeky Khan, favourite of the Prince, Governor of Fars. After our arrival there, it was settled that a person of greater consequence was to be sent direct from the King, to conduct us to Teheran.

It is against Persian etiquette to proceed before the arrival of the appointed Mehmandar, and we remained long in expectation of the arrival of Mahomed Zeky Khan. At length, finding that he did not appear, and wearied by the united discomforts of heat, wind, and dust, the Ambassador determined to proceed without him, and requested the Governor of Bushire to accompany him. Here was another occasion for the late Persian Envoy to vent his ill-will towards Mahomed Nebee Khan; and he did not lose the smallest opportunity of making the Governor foresee all the miseries that were likely to fall upon him and his family, owing to the ill-treatment which the English Ambassador had received since his arrival.

At length, on the 27th of March, our camp broke up from Bushire, and we proceeded onwards by small journies to Shiraz, keeping exactly the same route as that travelled by Sir Harford Jones, and all the late English embassies. We found the heat intense; and the day we

* Zenophon, Anabasis, lib. 2. c. 4.



reached Borazjoon from Alichangee, a march of twenty-four miles, several of the English soldiers, to whom the climate was quite new, fell ill, and were bled. At Borazjoon the Governor returned to Bushire, for we here met the Prince's Mehmandar, who assured us that the delay in his arrival had not originated with himself, but had proceeded from his having been obliged to accompany the Prince on an expedition against the Mamacenni, who, by their activity and courage, had become quite formidable in the fastnesses of their mountains. Their principal haunts are the mountains in the vicinity of the Kaleh Sefid and the Kaleh itself, an almost inaccessible rock, which commands a pass leading into Fars. Their numbers at the present day are reckoned at ten to twelve thousand houses. They have a tradition, that they are the descendants of Rustam, the Persian hero, and pride themselves greatly upon their ancient origin. Two of their principal tribes are indeed called the Rustamee and the Zaulee; and as the feats of these personages are related at full length in the Shah Nameh of Ferdousi, they read that book with avidity; and it is a common occurrence to hear some of the lowest of them reciting passages from it with great rapture and enthusiasm.

The history of this people excites the more interest, from the account given in Quintus Curtius* of a people, bearing the very same name, who made an obstinate resistance to the progress of Alexander in the East, and who in fact were one of the causes which stopt his career in Tartary. The position of their city was near Cyropolis, which occupied the site of Cogend †; yet although they lived in cities, whilst the modern Mamacenni chiefly live in tents, and although the former were in Tartary and the latter in Fars, it is not impossible that the one may be descendants of the other; because we know how common in the east is the transposition of whole tribes from one region to another. The Jews were removed to Babylon and Media; Hyrcanians were to be

* Lib. 7. ch. 6.; also se lib. 9. ch. 7.

† See d'Anville's Anc. Geo. 2. v. 70.



found in Asia Minor ; and it was the avowed intention of Darius to remove the Phœnicians to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phœnicia.*

In more modern history, Shah Abbas removed the Armenians of Julfa on the Araxes, to a new Julfa at Ispahan ; and it is known that the great Arabian tribe that now occupies the country between Ardistan, Meshed, and Herat, was brought from Nejd by Shah Ismael. Nor are the cases of voluntary removal from one region to another by barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes, at all less striking than those of people transplanted by conquest.

The day we arrived at Khaumaridge our Mehmandar was thrown into great agitation from having missed his seals from his bosom, where they are always carried. In order to understand this, it must be explained, that the Persians, and indeed almost all Orientals, instead of signature by sign manual, use the impression of a seal on which is engraved their name. Amongst an intriguing and a malicious people it is so easy to turn the possession of a man's seal to his disgrace, by making out false documents, that of course the Mehmandar was greatly concerned at the loss. Letters and papers being generally written by *mirzas*, or hired scribes, it is seldom that any clue can be obtained from the hand-writing, for it is the seal which makes the document valid or not. One of the King's Ministers once very coolly wiped a seal from off a paper which he did not wish to acknowledge, and he then looked upon himself as secure. The Mehmandar dispatched one of his servants back to our former stage, where his seals were found ; and he testified, by his pleasure at finding them, how important the loss would have been to him, had he been so unfortunate as not to have regained possession of them. It is not, however, uncommon for the Persians to have two seals, which they use as may suit their convenience. If they are to send a paper, which they think it may on some future day be expedient to disavow, they put the equivocal seal ; if otherwise, they stamp the lawful one.

* Herodotus, Erato, 3.



These circumstances may throw some additional light on part of the history of Judah and Tamar, in the 38th chapter of Genesis ; where, among other pledges, he gave her his signet*, which she promised would be restored to him, as soon as he had redeemed it by sending her a kid. His anxiety, as expressed in the 23d verse, *Let her take it to her, lest we be ashamed*, will be more fully explained, when we recollect the value of a man's signet to him ; a value which must have been the same then as it is now. *Lest we be ashamed* may therefore mean something beyond the mere discovery of the immoral action : " Lest by some undue advantage taken of my signet, I may be endangered."

We reached Kauzeroon on the 2d of April, having ascended the three difficult mountain-passes of Mulloo, Khisht, and Khaumaridge, without any accident. The passages over such mountains must ever be of high interest to the traveller, as they afford him great opportunities of observing portions of the earth which, except the beaten path over which he walks, must, from their nature, have been in their present state since the creation. In their recesses he may observe, from the extraordinary positions of their stratification, sometimes horizontal, at others angular, and sometimes again nearly perpendicular, what have been the operations of nature on the grandest scale.

There is a river which winds its way through the vallies of these mountains, and having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Rohilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters lose their sweetness, and become brackish. A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea. What an image for the poet !

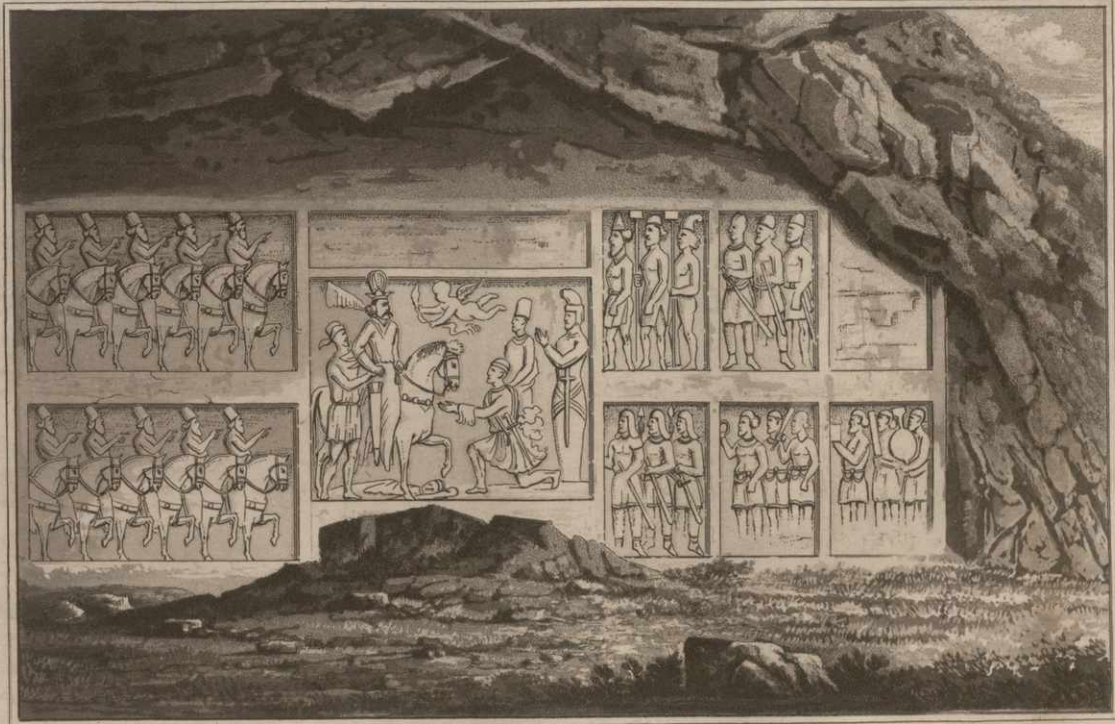
We remained encamped two days at Kauzeroon, during which time we made an excursion to the ruins of Shapour, escorted by our Mehmandar. In the way of antiquity, we saw little more at this visit than what I had seen at my first. We were assured previous to departure

* This was a ring, which served also the purposes of sealing.



that subterranean passages of considerable extent, at the entrance of which were sculptured figures, existed in a mountain near the sculptured rocks, and we consequently took lights with us, in the determination of exploring them. Unfortunately we had ignorant guides, who in hopes of reward assured us that they knew all the localities; but when we came to put their knowledge to trial were found useless. We attempted to reach a cavern, situated near the summit of a high rocky mountain; but in the uncertainty of it not being the object of our search, and tired with scrambling over a steep and difficult road, we gave it up as a fruitless undertaking. However, we explored a small oval valley, situated close to the site of Shapour, entirely surrounded by masses of rock, of stupendous height and extraordinary forms. The heat of the weather was excessive, particularly as I stood under one of the large sculptures with the intention of drawing it, when the reverberation from the rock was too great to be borne. Those who have never explored these distant and barbarous countries can have no idea of the impediments that are thrown in the way of a traveller, even travelling with all the advantages that we enjoyed. When a learned doctor sits down in his easy chair, in a snug study and near a comfortable fire, to explore some favourite theme, he exclaims against the traveller for his indolence in having omitted to examine an object that was within his reach, and which would have exactly thrown that light upon his study necessary to clear up a doubt or an obscurity. But place the learned doctor on a jaded horse, under an ardent sun, surrounded by barbarous people, and tell him that to see that column he must scramble over a wilderness of rock, or to read this inscription he must crawl on his hands and knees, or clamber up a perpendicular ascent at the risk of his neck, and then perhaps he will bestow a little more mercy on his indolent traveller for not having given himself the trouble to labour for his information. I succeeded in making a sketch of the whole sculpture*, (of which in my last Journal I had only given one compartment,) including part of the rock on which it is executed.

* See Plate I. P. 87 and 89.



James Morier del.

T. Fielding sculp.

SCULPTURED ROCK AT SHAPOUR.



There is something very striking in this mode of making rocks and mountains bear record to the actions of Kings, and become as it were the archives of their history.

In the hopes of discovering some of the wonders that had been described to us, two or three of our party ascended to a cavern, situated near the sculptures. We found only a natural cavity of great magnitude, perhaps one hundred and fifty feet in height, whose interior was wildly heaped with huge masses of fallen rock, serving as an habitation to wild beasts and to wild pigeons, of which large flocks flew out as we entered. These caverns are great conveniences to shepherds, who frequently drive their flocks into them at night, and enclose them by heaping up walls of loose stones. We explored all its parts, but saw no traces of human workmanship; and when we came to its deepest recess, the darkness was such as to hinder any further research; but on turning about to descend, the effect of the strong light of the sun, contrasting with the deep shades of the cavern, was truly striking.

During all this time, our Mehmandar had been hunting in the vicinity. It is usual with Persian noblemen, whenever they either travel or ride abroad for pleasure, to be accompanied by their hawksmen and hawks; and as the country about Shapour abounds with partridges, the hawksmen had succeeded to kill a great number. The Khan seemed quite astonished that we should take such great interest in inspecting ruins and sculptured rocks; and whilst he left us to explore them at our leisure, tired with the chace he alighted from his horse, and spent the time until our return in roasting a lamb, which he did by cutting it into small pieces, and sticking them on the iron ramrod of his gun, that served him for a spit. When the meat was roasted, he mounted his horse, and with the ramrod in his hand and the meat still upon it, he rode about, and in very good humour offered to each of us an handful, teaching us at once a new mode of camp-cookery, and what little preparation is necessary for the food of those who have no other end in eating than to relieve hunger.

When we had finished our researches, we returned to our camp at



Kauzeroon. On the road we overtook a Persian family, journeying from their village near Shapour, for the express purpose of consulting the surgeon of the embassy, in the hopes that he might cure the grandfather of the family, who had been long afflicted with swelled glands. The grandfather, an infirm old man, was mounted on a horse, with his granddaughter-in-law behind him : the grandson walked by the side of his wife and grandfather, with a gun over his shoulder; and the son brought up the rear on another horse. The grandson, a fine youth of about eighteen, accosted us, by asking whether the European doctor would cure his grandfather? and when we had assured him that we would use our influence to that effect, he appeared so much pleased at his success in the first and ostensible object of their journey, that he was emboldened to proceed upon what was probably his most pressing want, and asked us to give him some money, entering at the same time upon a long enumeration of the miseries of the peasantry of his district, who, he assured us, were oppressed by their governors beyond the power of endurance. We asked him, what he paid yearly to the government, in the way of tribute or tax : “ Yearly?” said he, “ why we pay monthly, and frequently twice a month.”—“ And upon what objects are the taxes levied?”—“ Upon every thing that we possess,” added he; “ and when they can find nothing else to tax, they tax our children. Would to Heaven that you Europeans would come and take this country from us, and then I would be your servant!”

The news that a foreign *hakeem*, or doctor, was passing through the country, very soon was spread abroad, and at every halt our camp was thronged with the sick, not only of the village near to which we were encamped, but of all the surrounding villages. Many came several days' journies to consult our doctor, and were brought to him in spite of every difficulty and inconvenience. Some came on asses, bolstered up with cushions, and supported by their relations; others on camels, whose rough pace must have been torture to any one in sickness. It may be conceived what a misfortune sickness must be, in a country where there is no medical relief, nor even a wheeled conveyance, to seek relief when it is at hand. The greatest credit is due to the me-



dical gentlemen who were attached, not only to our embassy, but to all preceding embassies, for the charity and humanity with which they relieved the wants of these poor people. They not only distributed their medicines gratis, but they as gratuitously bestowed their skill, their time, and their zeal, for which, it is grievous to say, in very few instances did they meet with corresponding gratitude.

We read in Scripture, that among the earliest miracles of our Saviour, which spread abroad his fame throughout Syria, was the healing of all manner of sickness; and as the state of medicine among the Jews at that time was perhaps not greater than it is among the Persians of the present day, it is left to us to admire that wisdom which at once adopted means in every respect so well calculated to draw the public attention to his doctrine. Great multitudes followed our Saviour *from Gallilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan*; and it is to be supposed, that as the multitude approached our Saviour, impressed with a conviction of his ability to relieve their bodily sufferings, they must have had a corresponding temper of mind, favourable to the reception of the doctrine that he was about to preach. From these circumstances, we may deduce, that where it is intended to preach Christianity, it would be done with greater certainty of success by men who, in the first instance, should spread their fame by healing the sick gratis. The woman afflicted by an issue of blood, for twelve years, is represented to have *spent all that she had, having suffered many things of many physicians, and was nothing bettered but rather grew worse, till at length she had recourse to our Saviour, where she met the reward of her faith.*

Our doctors owed their reputation to their gratuitous cures, as far as their skill and means extended. Many a time did they relieve poor persons, who had ruined themselves in paying all they had to the ignorant and relentless Persian doctors, who at length left them worse than they were at first. When we reflect upon the effect that a restoration to health, free of expense, must have upon the minds of the poor, who



before only saw ruin and death before them, we shall not be surprised at the rapid manner in which the reputation of our doctors spread.

1811

On the 4th of April we proceeded onwards, and crossed the difficult mountains of the Dochter without accident. On the ascent over the Peera Zun, which is the highest part of the mountainous range, from an eminence a little distance from the high road, a most extensive view breaks upon the sight; for the five different ranges of mountains that we had ascended, in succession, on our journey from Bushire, are to be distinguished with great accuracy; and beyond those is seen the plain of the Dashtistan; and last of all, the sea faintly defined in the horizon.

All the region of the Peera Zun, Desht-e-arjun, and its vicinities, when we crossed it, wore an appearance of winter, or at most of the first dawning of spring. In many recesses of the Peera Zun the snow was on the ground; and on the plain of Desht-e-arjun the corn had not yet made its appearance.

As we generally commenced our journey about two hours before sunrise, the cold of the morning was very piercing, and incommoded us more sensibly because succeeded by a hot sun, the opposite actions of which produced on most of our party swelled and chapped lips and faces. There were few Persians with us who recollected in the climate a cold so severe as that which had prevailed during the last winter. It destroyed a great quantity of the fruit trees of Shiraz, and appears to have been most fatal to the orange trees.

At Desht-e-arjun there is a hole in the mountain, which the Persians believe possesses the quality of deciding legitimacy of birth. The epithet of *haram zadeh*, (unlawfully begotten,) is nearly the most odious that can be given to a Persian, one which easiest excites his wrath, and therefore in their quarrels they constantly recur to it, as a great means of irritation. One of their stories is, that a corpulent man, of larger circumference than the hole, once presented himself to pass through it, in order to ascertain his legitimacy, when the sagacious rock yielded him an easy passage; but that a thin man, who came on a like



errand, could not force his way through, and was ever after called *haram zadeh*.

On the 6th we halted at Khoné-Zenioun, where there is a caravanserai. These buildings are frequently erected by private persons, at their own expense, in the hope that so good an act on earth will meet with its reward hereafter. The Persians are also very ambitious of posthumous fame; and the desire of acquiring an *ism*, or name, will lead them to perform many acts, which they would not upon any other consideration. The caravanserai in question was not many years ago built by a relation of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan. Mirza Ali Reza, brother to that relation, an eunuch in the King's household, having heard of its present decay, anxious to partake of his brother's reputation for sanctity, sent a sum of money to the Thaubet of Khoné Zenioun, to clean and repair it. The Thaubet, instead of so doing, put the money into his pocket, and left the building to its fate, which in consequence became the resort of all the cattle that grazed in the adjoining plain. Mirza Abul Hassan Khan hearing this, seized the Thaubet on the day we sojourned there, beat him on the soles of his feet, made him refund the money, and took measures for insuring the projected repairs. 1811 and.

Caravanserais, built and endowed by private persons, consecrated as it were to hospitality, the refuge of the stranger and the wanderer, are held sacred in the East; and we may suppose that it was a similar feeling which gave security to those who kept the public-houses at Tarsus, when Cyrus passed through it, for they remained quiet at their posts, when the city was abandoned by its other inhabitants.*

* Anab. lib. i. c. 2.



CHAPTER IV.

1811

THE embassy reached Shiraz on the 7th April, and after some negotiation the Vizier of the Prince came out to meet the Ambassador. He was attended by most of the principal men of the city, and when the two parties joined company the crowd became immense. The Minister was on one side of the Ambassador and the Mehmandar on the other. When all the usual routine of first compliments had been gone through, and repeated over and over again, the Mehmandar said to the Minister, "How well the Elchee talks Persian!"—"Well," said the Minister; "he talks it admirably. He is superior to any Mollah. We have never yet seen such an Elchee; none so accomplished, none so clever, none so learned. *Sahib Kemal* (an accomplished gentleman); *Sahib Akl* (a man of sense); *Sahib Kalem* (a good penman); *Sahib Fiker* (a man of reflection):" to all this there was a chorus around, of *belli, belli, belli*. Then the Minister turned to another man on the other side of him, and said, loud enough and expressly for the Ambassador to hear, "Did you ever see any one so charming as the Elchee; so much better than all other Elchees?" The Ambassador, in praising the climate of Shiraz, said, "It is so fine, that I should have thought mankind never died here, had I not seen those tombstones," pointing to some that we had just past. "*Barek allah!* wonderful! wonderful!" exclaimed the Mehmandar; "Did you hear that?" he roared out to the Minister; "What a wit is the Elchee!" Then he repeated the joke to the Minister, who again cried out, "Wonderful! wonderful!" as did all the others. In this sort of conversation, which was broken in upon only by the handing about and bubbling of *kaleoons*, we reached our encampment at the Bagh Jehan Nemah, close to the city walls. However impertinent this sort of bare-faced flattery appeared to us, yet in their eyes it would be a want of the common forms of politeness did they omit it. I was present once, when the Prime Minister gave instructions to a man who was sent to greet a Russian officer on his arrival, and his principal



injunction was, "Be sure that you give him plenty of flattery." However, they know the real value of it as well as we; for at the same time he turned round to me, and said, "You know it is necessary, *reesh-khundish bekuneem*,"—to laugh at his beard, or in other words to *humbug* him. Among themselves they practise the same sort of deceit; and although they are in general aware of the value of the praise which they receive, yet it does not fail to stimulate their vanity, which as far back as the time of Herodotus appears to have been a national vice; for he says, "they esteem themselves the most excellent of mankind."* In the embassy of Sir Harford Jones, I once witnessed the introduction of one Persian to another,—the principal Mirza of the embassy to the King's chief jeweller. "What," said the jeweller, "is this the celebrated Aga Meer, that learned, that ingenious man, that famous penman?" and then went through such a quick enumeration of virtues, qualities, personal charms, and family distinctions, that the Mirza at first appeared quite overwhelmed; but little by little he recovered, and returned so brisk a fire of compliments, as almost to annihilate the jeweller.

On paying a visit to Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, we were surprised to find his room darkened, himself seated in a corner weeping aloud, and apparently in the greatest grief. The cause was easily to be guessed; for we had been informed, nearly on our first landing, that his only child, a son of four years old, had died during his father's absence of the small-pox; and this circumstance, by order of the King, had been hitherto kept from his knowledge. A young eunuch belonging to the Prince's mother, ignorant of the King's orders, had heedlessly mentioned it to him, and thus destroyed at once the hopes he had so long cherished, during his absence, of seeing what he held most dear to him. He felt his misfortune the more, as his wife was too old to encourage the hope of any more offspring, and moreover was so jealous, as to oppose a second marriage. She is a lady of superior rank to himself, being the daughter of Hajee Ibrahim, the late Grand Vizier of Persia; and it is said, that if her husband in any manner ill-treated her, she

* Clio, 134.



has such powerful relations, that they would soon avenge her. How forcibly this illustrates what Laban said to Jacob on giving him his daughters!—*If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives besides my daughters, &c. &c.* Genesis, xxxi. v. 50.

We frequently visited him during his grief, and had an opportunity of hearing the sort of consolation which he received from his own countrymen. The principal argument they brought forward to assuage his grief was very remarkable, in as much as it shows a great similarity of feeling between modern and ancient Persians on a similar subject. They said, “If you had lost a brother, then indeed you might cry, for you cannot raise your father and mother from their graves to give you another; but why bewail a child, when you still can hope to have another?” When Darius was surprised at the request of the wife of Intaphernes to have the life of her brother spared, rather than that of any of her other relations, he asked her, why she preferred to preserve her brother, instead of her husband and children, who were certainly more nearly connected to her; she answered, “O King! if it please the Deity, I may have another husband; and if I be deprived of these, may have other children; but as my parents are both of them dead, it is certain I can have no other brother.”* The Persians appeared to make use of this phrase, more as the common language of condolence than as excited by the peculiar circumstances of the case; and therefore we may suppose it to be an idiom that has maintained itself in the country from the most ancient times. It could evidently only have been used by nations who, like the present Persians, have a plurality of wives; who in consequence have no strong conjugal ties; and who, having a large promiscuous progeny, have feeble parental affections. Mahomed Zeky Khan, our Mehmandar, in his attempts to console the Mirza, said, “Why do you grieve for one child? I have lost more than one at a time, and have never shed a tear.”

If the Mirza had several wives and many children, there is no doubt that he would soon have been consoled; but as this was not the case

* Herodotus, Thalia, 119.



his grief was very natural. He indulged it to a violent degree, beating his breast; and among his other exclamations frequently made use of one, very illustrative of that ancient act of grief, heaping ashes on the head. He said, *Ahi, cheh hak be ser-e-mun amed**, "What earth has come on my head!" repeating this with a constant intermixture of *Ah wahi*, which he would continue to repeat for above fifty times, in a whining, piteous voice, lowering its tone until it became scarcely audible, and then continuing it *soto voce*, until he broke out again into a new exclamation.

The first thing the Persians do after a journey, is to go to the hot bath; and to such travellers who never change their linen, nor even take off their clothes but at the termination of their journey, it must be a real enjoyment, and accounts for the sort of craving with which they seek it. I have always remarked, that whenever any of our Persian servants had absented themselves without leave, their excuse always was that they had been at the bath.

Having heard of the excellence of the baths of Shiraz, we made a party to go to one, and accordingly ordered the Hummum-e-Vekeel, the finest in the town, to be made ready for our reception. As we were celebrated for paying well, the Shirazees were happy to receive us, although in stricter towns they have refused to admit us, from a religious prejudice that infidels to their faith, whom they look upon as *nejes*, or unclean, would pollute the water. Our party consisted of almost all the gentlemen of the embassy, most of whom were quite unused to Asiatic customs, and had never frequented Oriental public baths. It was easy to remark the horror with which the natives regarded the great carelessness with which some stripped for bathing, a circumstance the more remarkable, as it may be supposed that the frequency of bathing among them would lead to indifference in matters of decency. They hold total nakedness in great horror; and although we were told of some of the detestable scenes that are practised in these baths, yet in the many that I have visited, both in Persia and Turkey, I have ever been struck with the great propriety and de-

* *Vide* 1 Samuel, iv. 12. 2 Sam. xiii. 19, &c.



ceity with which the Mahomedans behave, and the peculiar dexterity which they seem to have acquired, that in taking off their clothes to put on the bathing linen they may not expose themselves indecently. This feeling appears by many passages to be much encouraged in Scripture, where a forced exposure is represented as the last indignity and suffering, and a voluntary exposure as an act of great turpitude. It is not necessary to refer particularly to any passages; but it may be added that the expression of the feeling is not confined to Scripture: Herodotus, for instance, remarks* the sense of shame which the Lydians felt at being seen naked. Is this sense of shame a memorial of the fall of our first parents?

The baths, as well as the modes of bathing, which have so often been described by travellers, are nearly the same in Persia as in Turkey. The principal difference is, that in the Persian baths there is a basin in the interior chamber, of hot water, called the *Khazineh* (Treasury), into which the bathers descend, after having gone through all the different ceremonies of hand rubbing, cracking of joints, and friction with a camlet bag. Here they remain as long as they can bear the heat, then call for fresh towels, and issue out into the exterior dressing-room, where those who can afford such luxuries have their carpet spread, their clothes in readiness, and their servants ready to assist in putting them on.

The Persians were curious in inspecting our dress. One of our party wore a wig, a commodity totally unknown in Persia. It is impossible to describe the extreme and amusing astonishment which the surrounding spectators exhibited upon seeing this gentleman, at one pull, take off the whole hair of his head, and walk off totally unconcerned.

I omit describing our visits to the Prince, and the principal men of Shiraz, as well as the numerous entertainments which were given to the Ambassador, because it would almost be a repetition of what I have before related; but the visit which the Ambassadors paid to the Prince's mother is worthy of notice. This lady is mother to two of the King's favourite sons, Hassan Ali and Hossein Ali, the one Go-

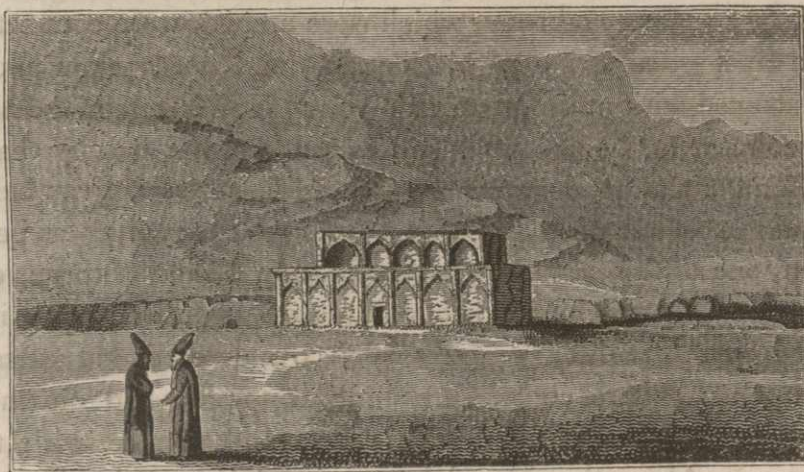
* Clio, x.



vernor of Fars, the other of the city of Teheran and its environs. She resides principally at Shiraz, and has great influence over her son, interfering in the administration of affairs, and enriching herself greatly by commerce and monopolies. Every now and then she negotiates a visit to the capital, for which she is generally obliged to make a considerable present to the king, who then permits her to return and reside with him as a wife. The Ambassadors was carried to the gate of the Harem in her palanquin by her own bearers, when it was taken up by women, who set her down close to the room where the queen was seated. The women, like the men, always seat themselves on the ground on carpets; but chairs, as a mark of civility, were provided on this occasion. The queen was accompanied by her daughter, a princess about sixteen years old, whom Lady Ouseley reports as being naturally beautiful, but disfigured by the great quantity of red and white daubed over her face. Her eyebrows, which were arched, were connected over the nose by a great stripe of black paint, and her eyelids and lashes strongly tinged with antimony. This young lady is celebrated throughout the country for her beauty; and to judge of her face by that of her brother, one of the handsomest men whom I ever saw, I can believe all that is said in favour of it. We were informed that she was betrothed to a Cajar, one of the present royal family, now a child of three years old. The apartment in which the visit took place was entirely open in front, supported by two columns, and shaded by an extended curtain. It looked upon a square court, surrounded by walls, laid out in flower beds, canals, and basins filled with water, and planted with trees in formal rows. Along the side of the canal stood the Prince's wives and women in rows, none of whom were beautiful; but their dresses were rich, and covered with precious stones. The queen's dress was rendered so cumbersome by the quantity of jewels embroidered upon it, that she could scarcely move under its weight. Her trowsers, in particular, were so engrafted with pearl, that they looked more like a piece of mosaic than wearing apparel. Padded with cotton inside, stiffened by cloth of gold on the out, they were so fashioned as to exclude the possibility of discovering the shape of the leg, and kept it cased up, as it were, in the shaft of a column. Sweetmeats, fruit, and sherbet, were

served up in vessels of gold ; but their principal article of luxury, the *kaleoon*, was not brought in, out of regard to the Ambadress, who, as they had learnt, could not endure smoking. On the whole, the scene appears to have been magnificent ; and, considering the unbounded curiosity of the Persian women to see an European lady, was conducted with a great deal of propriety. The day after the visit, the Queen sent *kalaats*, or dresses, to the Ambadress, her daughter, and her two maids ; the most remarkable parts of which were the brocade trowsers, so stiff that they could stand up aright in the middle of the room.

During our stay at Shiraz, I took the first opportunity to see all, that from want of time in my last visit, I had left unseen. The first object was the tomb of the poet Saadi, which is placed in the corner of a building erected over his manes by Kerim Khan, situated in a recess of



the mountains, about two miles to the N. E. of Shiraz. Nothing can be more unpicturesque than the approaches to it. Not a speck of verdure is to be seen near it, and the hills that form an amphitheatre around are of a sterility that inspires horror.

The tomb, which is a square oblong stone, carved with inscriptions and ornaments, has been so abused and shattered, that on reflecting that it was erected to the memory of him whose genius still forms the delight of Asia, one retires from it disgusted with its state, and

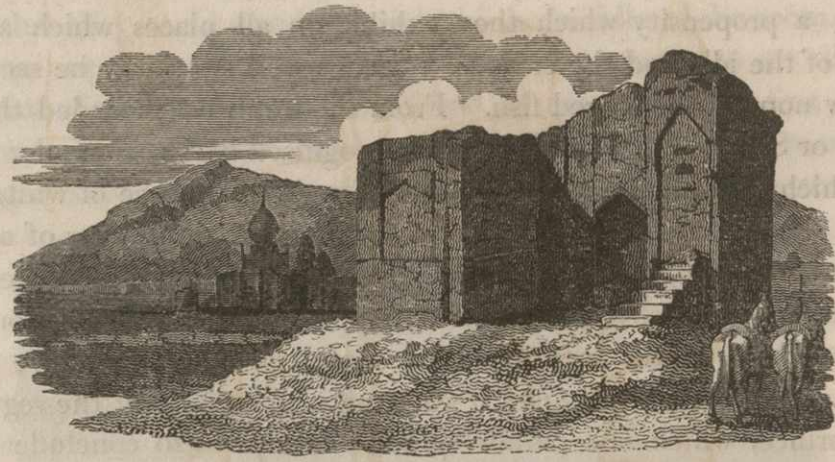


with the people who have suffered it. It stands in the corner of a quadrangular building, that is attributed to Kerim Khan; but whatever might have been its original endowment, it is at present the abode of misery, for a poor and solitary Dervish now occupies the building, who, besides the tomb, exhibits a copy of the poet's works, for which exhibition he gets whatever his visitors may choose to give him. The taste for poetry, so common to the Persians, may be remarked in the many lines scribbled on the white washed walls of the room that encloses the tomb; a propensity which they exhibit on all places which are the resort of the idle and the curious. Saadi's well is still to be seen, but we saw none of the sacred fish. From the tomb we ascended the *Koh Saadi*, or Saadi's Hill, which is to be recognised by its triangular shape, and which towards the plain presents an uniform surface of white rock. On its summit are the remains of a fortification, consisting of a tower and part of a wall, called the *Kaleh Bender*. Some hundred steps farther on, on the declivity towards Shiraz, is to be seen the famous well of miraculous depth, mentioned by most travellers who have visited Shiraz. We at first imagined it was a natural cavity, but the regularity of its orifice, which is a parallelogram, induced us to conclude that it was a work of art, and to suppose that it might have been the *Aub Ambar*, or reservoir of water, belonging to the castle whose ruined walls surround it. Its depth is considerable; but we omitted to try the experiment which Chardin made, who says he rehearsed a Pater-noster, before a stone, which he threw, had reached the bottom. It is cut into the solid rock, the layer of which descends to a great depth; and as its grain is hard, the labour of cutting through it must have been great. The whole work, which creates surprise and admiration, gives an high idea of the perseverance of the people who performed it. The author of "Les Beautés de la Perse" says, that formerly women convicted of adultery were thrown into it, but that circumstance we did not hear. * Quantities of pigeons flew out of it, which, he says, make their nest in it.

At the foot of the hill is a garden called the *Bagh dil Gosha*, "the garden exhilarating the heart," with a pleasure-house, basins, and canals

* P. 71.

of running water, the work of Kerim Khan. Its name is no longer applicable, as it is in a state of ruin, and partakes of the ill fate of most of the buildings erected by that chief. This, with the other gardens belonging to the governments, are farmed out by the Prince to the Shiraz gardeners, who rear fruits, flowers, and vegetables for the city. Near the mosque of Shah Mirza Hamza, without the town, are the remains of the "bower of Mosellay," celebrated by Hafiz and Sir



William Jones, consisting of a ruined brick building, which probably, in the days of the Persian poet, stood in the centre of a garden.

About five miles to the S. E. of Shiraz, are the remains of a monument called the *Meshed-Mader-i-Suleiman*, which are so correctly described by Chardin and Thevenot (particularly the latter), that without any other guide than their descriptions, we at once found our way to them. They are situated on a hill that branches from the mountains which form the N. E. boundary of the plain of Shiraz, and when first seen have the appearance of gibbets. The building must originally have been a perfect square of an area of 158 feet, in the middle of each side of which stood a gate, as the lintels of three are now erect and entire. I look upon these ruins as a theft from Persepolis, being all of the self same architecture, materials, and sculpture; besides which, their parts do not fit each other, and cannot have been originally put together in their present state. On the interior of the lintels are

on three of its sides ; one of which sides being placed close to another stone, forming a continuation of the front of the masonry, proves that its original position was not where we found it, and that it must have stood on some building, where all the figures met the eye.

The mountains which surround the site of these ruins have a repelling dreariness that is not to be described ; yet on meeting one morning a shepherd whose goats were scattered about the ruins, I could not help being struck with the air of superiority which he put on, when he asked me, " Have you any thing like this in your country ?" This, indeed, was a very common question put to us by the natives whenever they met us busily employed in examining what had never attracted their attention.

Three miles further, on the same range of mountains, are to be seen some sculptures carved on the face of the rock, of very rude workmanship, and bearing evidence of the age of Shapour. They are difficult to be discovered, because they are situated in the corner of a nook of the mountain, and being of a very low relief are not easily seen, unless the sun strikes full upon them. The best guide to them, is the source of a rivulet of very pure water, that rises about an hundred yards from them on this side Shiraz. By keeping close to the mountain they are discovered immediately behind the first projection of rock, at the foot of which this stream flows. We were conducted thither by a peasant, who called them Nakshee Rustam, a name which seems to be given to all similar objects. Close to his village, that stands near the hill of the Mader-i-Suleiman, we were shown the scarcely to be distinguished scratches of an inscription which we supposed to be Pehlavi ; and just above it, on the mountain, an excavated tomb.

The above-mentioned sculptures consist of two tablets, each containing two figures. On the first we distinguished a female form receiving a flower (or something like it) from a male figure. The globe, which characterises the Shapourian sculptures, rests on the head of one of the figures on the second tablet ; and the figure that faces it, holds out its hand, in which we thought that we discerned a ring.



Chardin, Thevenot, Kæmpfer, Mandelslo, and many other travellers, have noticed these sculptures; but as none of them had seen Shapour, which affords an easy explanation not only to these, but to the many similar ones that exist in Persia, they do not even attempt an explanation of them.



CHAPTER V.

SEVERAL circumstances prevented the immediate prosecution of our journey to the capital; and as it became likely that we should remain at Shiraz at least during the months of May and June, the Ambassador accepted the Prince's offer of the *Takht-a-Cajar*, a summer house situated on an eminence about a mile from the town, for his own habitation, whilst the gentlemen of his suite pitched their tents around him in the plain below. In the mean time, he seized the opportunity of the delay, to dispatch several of the gentlemen attached to his Embassy into various parts of the country, for the purposes of acquiring information, both on their present state, and on the remains of antiquity which they might possess, and which hitherto have not come under the cognizance of European travellers. His brother, Sir William Ouseley, went to Fasa, the ancient Pasagardæ, in the hopes of being able to discover some traces of the tomb of Cyrus, and from thence to Darabgerd. The Honourable Mr. Gordon undertook a dangerous journey to Shouster, in order to explore the ancient Susa. Colonel d'Arcy proceeded to Firouzabad, where we had heard of some remarkable sculptures. Major Stone* took a new route to Shapour, in order to become better acquainted with that interesting place and its vicinities; and it fell to me to go to Persepolis, as I should by that means be ready to answer the calls of public business, and likewise have a chance to make discoveries at and in the vicinity of a place already so famous for its stores of antiquity.

Furnished by the Ambassador with a Mehmandar for my protection, two Persian stone-cutters to assist my antiquarian researches, and a

* Major Stone, an officer of great merit, whose premature death we had afterwards to lament, succeeded in discovering the cavern at Shapour, which had escaped our research. At its entrance he saw a fallen statue, in dress and character the same as the sculptured figures at Shapour. This is the only known statue in Persia.



sufficient quantity of cattle for the conveyance of my baggage, we departed from our encampment on the 26th April.

It was our intention to reach Persepolis in one stage; but as the baggage cattle in the Spring are fed upon nothing but the new green corn, and cannot support long marches, we were obliged to stop at Zergoon. About three miles from Shiraz we passed by Kalaat Poushan, a spot marked by a few willow trees, and so called from its being the place to which the Prince comes to meet and be invested with *kalaats*, or dresses of honour, which the King sends him from time to time, and particularly on the occasion of their great festivals. Nearly one half of the few trees that it possessed were withered, from the severe cold of the preceding winter. Excepting at this place, and at Baj-gah, a little farther on, there is nothing like a shrub of any consequence, much less a tree, to be seen. Mountains of the most arid surface, and most capriciously formed strata arise on all sides, without any thing to relieve the eye from that constant glare which the sun and clear atmosphere of this climate throws upon them. It is not surprising then that the Persians are all ecstasy at a little verdure, and that they enjoy with such relish what nature has so sparingly given to them. Kalaat Poushan and Baj-gah perhaps, may boast of about twenty trees between them, of which there is only one that is entitled, from its size, to be called such, and that is an ancient sycamore at the latter place. Here is a Caravanserai half in ruin, no doubt the same spoken of by Thevenot, who passed it in February, 1666. Facing its gate is the tree above mentioned; and near to the tree a square basin, into which runs a small stream that takes its rise in the mountains close by, which I was told was the Rokhnabad, celebrated by Hafiz. Here is a station of *rah-dars*, or toll-gatherers, appointed to levy a toll upon *kaflehs*, or caravans of merchants; and who, in general, exercise their office with so much brutality and extortion, as to be execrated by all travellers. The police of the highways is confided to them, and whenever any goods are stolen, they are meant to be the instruments of restitution; but when they are put to the test, are found to be inefficient: none but a man in power can hope to recover what he has



once lost. They afford but little protection to the road, their stations being placed at too wide intervals to be able to communicate quickly; but they generally are perfectly acquainted with the state of the country, and are probably leagued with the thieves themselves, and can thus, if they choose, discover their haunts. Their insolence to travellers is unparalleled; and no man has ever gone through the country, either alone or with a caravan, who has not vented his indignation upon this vile police.

The collections of the toll are farmed, consequently extortion ensues; and as most of the rahdars receive no other emolument than what they can exact over and above the prescribed dues from the traveller, their insolence is accounted for, and a cause sufficiently powerful is given for their insolence on the one hand, and the detestation in which they are held on the other.

Baj-gah means "the place of tribute:" it may also be rendered *the receipt of custom*; and perhaps it was from a place like this that our Saviour called Matthew to follow him*; because Matthew appears, from the 3d verse of the 10th chapter, to have been a publican; and publicans, who, in the 11th verse of the 9th chapter, are classed with sinners, appear to have been held in the same odium as are the rahdars of Persia.

It also explains why Matthew, who was seated at the receipt of custom, is afterwards called a publican; and shows that in the choice of his disciples, our Saviour systematically chose them not only from among the poorest and humblest class of men, but also from those who, from their particular situation in life, were hated by all ranks. Matthew, as a toll-gatherer, must like the rahdars have been a man known to all ranks of people, and detested on account of this profession. When he was seen having † *power against unclean spirits*, with power to *heal all manner of sickness and disease*, and following one like our Saviour, his life, when compared with what he formerly was, must have been a constant miracle.

* Matt. ix. 9.

† Matt. x. 1.



The parable of the Pharisee and the publican, of the xviiith of Luke, 10th to 13th verse, will be more clearly understood by what has been above mentioned. Our Saviour in bringing these two characters together, appears to have chosen them as making the strongest contrast between what, in the public estimation, were the extremes of excellence and villainy. According to Josephus*, the sect of the Pharisees was the most powerful among the Jews; and from what has been said of the rahdars, it may perhaps be explained why the Pharisee, in praying to God, should make "extortioners" and "the unjust" almost synonymous terms with publicans; because we have seen, that from the peculiar office of the rahdar he is almost an extortioner by profession.

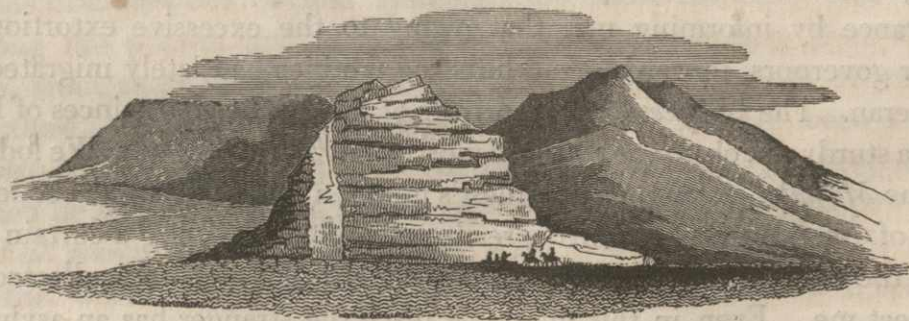
Zergoon is called five fursungs from Shiraz, which I calculated as sixteen miles by the road. I took a bearing from it of a snowy peak in the distant mountains, bearing N. 42° W. called the Koh Shish Peer, near which are some celebrated springs of water. The scarcity of this blessing in Persia makes a spring of great consequence. Ardekan is situated not far from the mountain, and is a town about the size of Zergoon, consisting of three hundred houses. Both have the reputation of being *abad*, or peopled, a word which is in Persia synonymous with prosperity and plenty; but to judge of the former place by what I saw of the latter, I should suppose it to be the abode of misery. At Zergoon the inhabitants looked really the victims of oppression,—thin, ragged and idle; and they confirmed the misery of their outward appearance by informing me, that owing to the excessive extortion of their governors, upwards of an hundred families had lately migrated to Teheran. The *katirjecs* or mule-drivers of the southern provinces of Persia (a sturdy and obstinate race) are mostly natives of Zergoon. We lodged in the *Mehman Khoneh*, or the guest's house, a most miserable abode, in one of the rooms of which I spread my carpet, and hung a curtain before the door-way, to screen me from the crowd which had collected to inspect me. Even in this miserable place the stranger has an asylum;

* Book xiii. chap. 10.

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and notwithstanding their misery, the inhabitants went through the forms of hospitality towards us.

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On the 27th of April I sent my servants and baggage forwards, to take possession of a building and garden, situated about half a mile from the ruins of Persepolis, and proceeded with my Mehsandar to Corbal, where I was told I should see the *Nokara Khoneh** of Jemsheed, with many sculptures and remains of antiquity. We passed the chain of rocky mountains which rise abruptly behind Zergoon, and instead of keeping the road that leads to the bridge over the river of the Bend Emir, we took to the right; and having crossed a small turfy plain that recedes behind the Zergoon mountain, at the farthest extremity of which are a number of wells and water-wheels for the irrigation of a plantation of tobacco, we passed over an angle of the mountains, which form the southern and western boundary of the great plain of Merdasht. We then kept close at the foot of these mountains, in a south-easterly direction, with the river flowing to the left of our road, until we came to a remarkable-looking rock, which forms a termination to the range, and behind which new mountains arise of extraordinary shapes, making an amphitheatre of huge and stupendous rocks. It is this remarkable rock which is called the *Nokara Khoneh*; but instead of the discoveries which I fondly hoped to make, I was disappointed in finding that there was nothing but the rock to be explored, and no sculptures nearer than



* *Nokara* is a large drum—*Nokara Khoneh*, the place of drums.

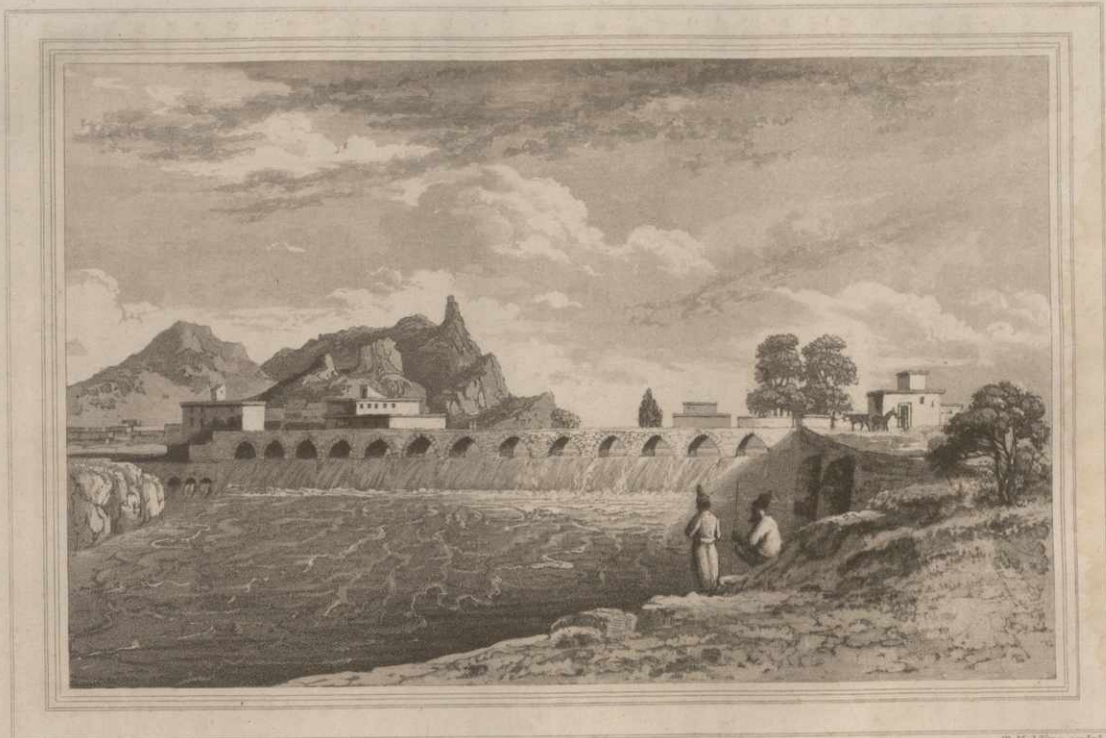


the Persians. The river over which it is constructed runs in so deep a bed, that it is generally useless for the purposes of navigation; and the object of the Bend seems to be, to give the stream a fresh and stronger impetus, to throw it into a more extensive bed, and thus to distribute it by minor channels into the adjacent cultivation. The Bend has been built immediately upon the superior angle of what originally must have been a natural fall, and consists of a straight bridge of thirteen arches: to this bridge the river flows in a slow current; but immediately on passing through the arches it falls abruptly over the inclined wall. The principal art of the architect must have been exerted in the construction of this wall; and although the whole work appears at present to be going to decay, yet considering the body of water which is constantly flowing against it, and the length of time it has existed, (not less than seven hundred years,) the principle of its construction must be a good one.

The village of Bend Emir, called by the Persians two fursungs distant from Zergoon, is about seven miles by my calculation. Its exact bearing from the ruins of Persepolis is S. 15° W. It forms part of the large *bolook* or district of Corbal, famous for its vineyards, and whence is expressed the greatest part of the wine known by the name of Shiraz.

On arriving at the place of my residence near Persepolis, I found myself in possession of a building which once had been excellent, but was now in ruin. It consisted of two stories: the upper one, in which I lodged, once had windows, but no traces of them were now remaining; and as the window frames in Persian houses generally fill up one whole side of the room, I was obliged to barricade the vacant space of mine with part of a tent, which I had brought with me.

This building stands on the eastern side, and forms the entrance of a considerable enclosed orchard, called the *Bagh Sheikh Ali Khan*, or the garden of Sheikh Ali Khan, which is intersected by straight rows of poplars, and planted with fruit trees. It is overgrown with weeds, and presents nothing agreeable to the sight except its verdure, which in these dreary regions is always a refreshing object.



James Morier del.

T. Pritchard sculp.

BEND EMIR.



I went early in the morning to the ruins, which were situated about a mile from my habitation, attended by the stone-cutters. Considering the quantity of sculptured remains that had fallen from their original positions, and which were spread about the ruins in great profusion, I did not hesitate to appropriate such parts of them as seemed the most fitting to be sent to England. An engraving of one of the fragments, which may serve as a specimen of the style of the whole of the sculptures, has been given as a frontispiece to this book. The most interesting part of the ruins, in point of sculptured detail, is certainly the front of the staircase, which leads to the great hall of columns; and here I found many fallen pieces, corresponding to those still erect. I caused one large stone to be turned, upon which was sculptured the busts of two large figures. It was impossible to carry away the whole block, as I had no other mode of conveyance than the backs of mules and asses, consequently the two figures were obliged to be separated; but unfortunately a vein running across the upper part of the stone, the head-dress of one of the figures was broken off in the operation. The Persians do not know the use of the saw in stone-cutting, therefore my dissections were performed in a very rude manner. I was lucky to find the commencement of the arrow-headed inscription, the termination of which Le Bruyn has given in his drawings; so if this character should ever be deciphered, we should be in possession of the whole of the inscription. I perceived the angle of a block just appearing on the surface of the ground opposite to that part of the inscription which is now remaining, and concluded it must be the commencement of it: it may be imagined how happy I was to find, after the long toil of digging it up, that my conclusion was well founded.

Both Le Bruyn and Chardin have only given one line of figures on the left of the staircase; but as it was evident that in order to complete the symmetry there must have been the same number on the left as there are on the right, I hired some labourers from the surrounding villages, and made them dig. To my great delight, a second row of figures, highly preserved, were discovered, the details of whose faces, hair, dresses, arms, and general character, seemed but as the work of yester-



day. The faces of all the figures to the right of the staircase are mutilated, which must be attributed to the bigotry of the first Mussulmans who invaded Persia; those of the newly-discovered figures are quite perfect, which shows that they must have been covered before the Saracen invasion: the nicety of their preservation would lead one to suppose that they had been so protected for many ages before that invasion.

On comparing Le Bruyn's, Chardin's, and Niehbuhr's drawings with the sculptures, I found them in general correct in outline, but imperfect in the details of dress, arms, &c. Although the figures are in themselves ill-proportioned, inelegant, and deficient in anatomical drawing, yet they are prodigiously interesting in general character, and have not been done justice to in the works of those travellers. They furnish the best models of what were the nations that invaded Greece with Xerxes, and that were subdued by Alexander.

I had not proceeded two days in my excavations, when I was surprised to hear that the peasants refused to work any more for me. I had paid them handsomely; and they had assured me, that until I had given them wherewith to buy food, they had not tasted bread for many a day; and their account was confirmed to me by an old woman, who in begging me to give her some money stooped down, and plucking a piece of grass from the ground, said, "See, this is what we poor creatures eat." My surprise ceased when I found that an order had been issued by the Governor of Merdasht that no one was any more to dig for me, upon the plea that he could not allow excavations to be made at Persepolis, without the orders of his government. The fact was, he wanted a present himself, and was jealous that the money I had given to the peasants had not passed into his pocket. However, my operations ceased, and I commenced making enquiries about objects of antiquity that had not been seen or described before. I enquired of all ranks of persons, and was not successful in learning any thing new, except new names of Persian fabrication for different parts of the ruins. Thus in one place was the *Sherbet Khoneh*, or confectionary; in another the bath: here the *Ferash Khoneh*, or servants' hall; there the

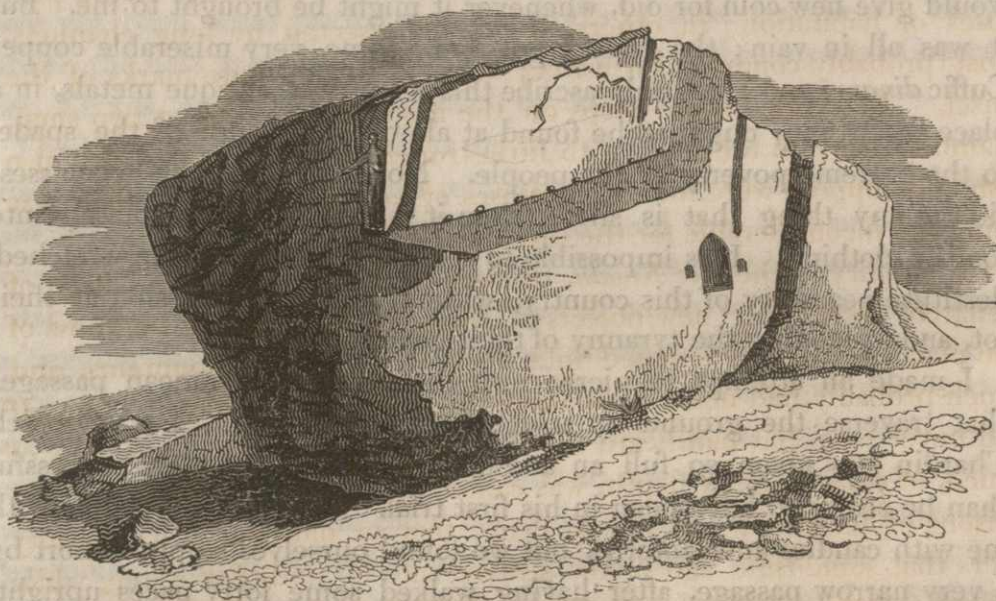


Hu-oo Dalauk, or barbers' bason. It was quite amusing to hear the ignorant Persians, with the most impudent gravity, settle the whole economy of Jemsheed's household as if they had had posts in it, and decide upon localities of the ruins as if they had been consulted in the distribution of the apartments. The persons to whom I applied the most for information were the shepherds, who lead their flocks into all parts of the country, and see more of it than any other men. They also told me, that except the *Takht* they knew of no other remains. I was as unfortunate in my researches after coins and gems as I had been in my discoveries of ruins. Wherever I went, my first question was, "Have you any old coins?" and I took great pains to publish in all parts of the country, particularly amongst the wandering tribes, that I would give new coin for old, whenever it might be brought to me. But it was all in vain: the most I got were some very miserable copper Cuffic *dinars*; and I can only ascribe this scarcity of antique metals, in a place where they ought to be found at almost every turn of the spade, to the extreme poverty of the people. No sooner do they get possession of any thing that is silver, than it is converted immediately into food or clothing. It is impossible to see the situation of the wretched, destitute peasantry of this country, without feeling compassion at their lot, and execrating the tyranny of their governors.

I made an attempt to pierce into the great subterranean passages that traverse the ground on which Persepolis is built, and of which Chardin has given so full an account; but I was not more successful than he seems to have been in his first trial. I had several people with me with candles and lanterns, but we found ourselves stopped short by a very narrow passage, after having walked some forty paces upright. We then crept through this on our hands and knees, and again came to a higher part. Again we proceeded, and then were obliged to crawl on our bellies, until there was only room to put one's head through, when we thought it time to return. This is so much like Chardin's account of his first adventure in the dark passages, that I am inclined to think we did penance on our bellies somewhere on the very same spot. Of this I am certain, that it is not the famous passage in

which he walked at his ease for near an hour, and then came out for fear of losing his way.

After having visited Nakshi Rustam, where I found nothing new to attract my attention, I proceeded to the foot of the same range of mountains on which the tombs and sculptures are situated, and kept on an easterly direction, in the hope of meeting with some object that had never yet been described by other travellers. At about a mile from Nakshi Rustam I was stopped by some appearances of ancient work on a large rock that stood by the wayside; and on looking to the left, closer to the foot of the mountain, I perceived a much larger mass, also cut and fashioned in various manners. It was divided into two



channels, the largest of which traversed the length of the rock, and was sixty-seven feet in length, two feet broad, and upwards of fifteen feet high, in its highest parts. The whole rock was about two hundred feet in circumference. I am at a loss to conceive for what purpose it was originally intended, as it seems a work half finished; but it appeared to me more like parts of an aqueduct than any other thing.

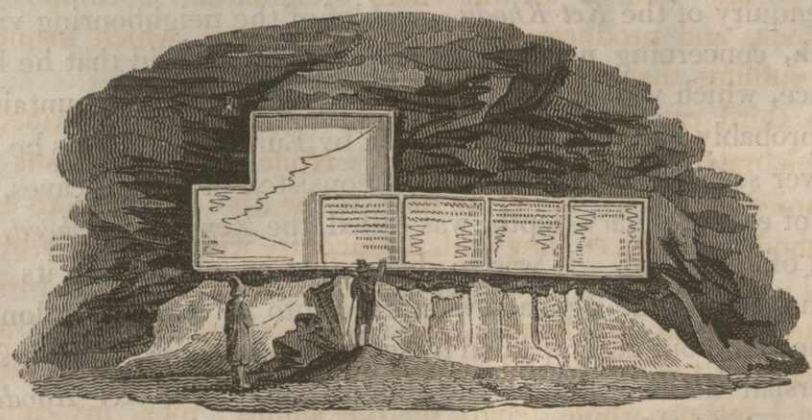


From this rock, I crossed to the other side of the plain with some difficulty, because it here was intersected by a great number of artificial water-courses, and came to some ruins called *Takht Taous*, or the Peacock Throne; although, in my former journey, I saw them under the name of the *Harem Jemsheed*, so much does the nomenclature of antiquity change in the mouth of Persians, according to their different fancies. I carefully examined all the indentations of the mountain, as far as Persepolis, hoping to meet with some sculpture, or some remain that might have escaped the research of other travellers, or even the observation of the people of the country; but I saw nothing that I can dignify with the name of a discovery. In some places the rock was carved into various shapes, as if it had been fitted to the purposes of habitation; in others, it was intersected by long channels, most probably conduits for water; at every turn it bore marks of the chisel. I ascended some steps on the mountain to look at two small chambers cut into the rock, with little troughs before them, which also I should suppose were for the purposes of containing water, their size being too inconsiderable for the dwellings of men.

On enquiry of the *Ket Khoda*, or chief of the neighbouring village of Kenareh, concerning new objects of research, he said that he knew of one place, which was situated in a deep recess of the mountains, and which probably had never been visited by Europeans. This he himself had never seen, but had heard that it consisted of several caves, one of which, of extraordinary depth, was called the *Zendan Jemsheed*, or the Prisons of Jemsheed. It was so deep, that an old man in its vicinity avers that some time ago a cow strayed into it, and that a long while after she came out accompanied by several young ones. This, of course, was Persian fiction; but as the foundation of the *Ket Khoda's* tale seemed probable, I put him into requisition, and made him show me the way to the cavern.

We took our way to the *Dehanee Sewund*, or the Mouth of Sewund, which is that narrow part of the plain to the north-east, situated between Nakshi Rustam and the mountain of Persepolis, and through which, in a narrow but deep bed, runs a stream vulgarly called *Polbar*, but written

Ferbar. This we crossed and came to the village of Hajiabad, which is situated close to the foot of that range of mountains at the eastern extremity of which are the sculptures of Nakshi Rustam. It was becoming late, and my conductors, who were shepherds, defined the hour of the day, and at the same time taught me their rude but characteristic mode of measuring time, by saying that the sun was only two spears' height above the mountains. I was afraid that little time would be left, before it became dark, to trace the length of the cavern, because we were warned that it was not safe to travel at night, as the roads were infested by Bakhtiarees, a tribe celebrated for its robbers, who had created great alarm throughout the country. The first cavern which we visited is the largest. It is seen from the plain at a considerable distance; we found it to be a natural cavity, not of any great depth, and about which we saw no traces of art. The second to the left of the largest, is a deep indentation into the mountain, at the entrance of which the rock has been smoothed and cut into five tablets, on three



of which are inscriptions in the Pehlavi. Without some assistance of ladder or elevation, it is difficult to get close enough to them to distinguish every character; I must therefore apologise for the imperfections of my copy of part of one. The three first lines of the inscription are



found the Governor of Merdasht, by name Mirza Mahomed Ali, seated on a small carpet by the way-side, near to the door of my habitation, attended by his servants, who were standing before him. He had come from Rish mey joon, the village of his residence, to pay me a visit, and had already waited three hours for me. I seated myself on the same carpet, made many apologies for not having been ready to receive him, and pleaded my ignorance of the honour that awaited me. He also apologised for not having called before, but excused himself by saying that he was under a course of spring medicines, such as *dough*, butter milk, goat's milk, and a number of catharticks which he enumerated with a most scrupulous precision. Suffering with the pain of my wounded leg, I gave him a hint that I should be glad if he would take his departure, for he had undertaken the recital of the wars of Aga Mahomed Khan, which were running to a great length. On going away he mentioned to my Mehmandar, that it should seem I took him for some *Ket Khoda* of a village, dismissing him so soon, but he begged to say that he was a man of consequence, of excellent family, and connected with the present Vizier of Shiraz. I returned his visit as soon as I was able, for the Persians are very tenacious of this etiquette, and found him residing in a half-ruined village, which, however, was called the most flourishing of the district. His house, of course, was the best in the village. He made his excuses that he had only country fare to offer, which consisted of coarse sweet-meats and sour sherbet. He informed me that the district of Merdasht, over which he commanded, contained seventeen villages; a melancholy fact, when we recollect that Le Bruyn says, the inhabitants in his day related that it contained eight hundred and eighty. He also said, that the said seventeen villages paid 40,000 *tomauns*, or 30,000*l.* sterling, to the Government, a still more melancholy fact if it had been true, considering that such a revenue must have been extracted by torture from its unhappy peasantry. But from the view I had taken of Merdasht, this account of its revenue was most exaggerated, and only given to raise the consequence of the Governor in my estimation.

The soil of this plain is in general less stony than that of Shiraz, and is



chiefly composed of marl. In many parts, and particularly to the S. W. it is of a decided clay, which, after rain, renders the roads deep. Although it has several streams running through it, yet the chief complaint is want of water. The Bend Emir traverses it from N. to S., the Polbar from E. to W., and several smaller streams also contribute to the general stock. The fact is, that depopulation is its greatest evil. At very distant intervals the sameness of the view is broken by a field of corn. A soil which in other countries would be the delight of the agriculturist, here lies waste; and where otherwise the whole tract would exhibit a picture of rural industry, here it presents the melancholy spectacle of a country, which, though blessed by Providence with every natural gift, is rendered useless by an oppressive Government. Merdasht is the favourite resort of the Eelauts, because it affords finer pastures than the plains in its vicinity; and as the greater part of it is waste land, they can range about uncontrolled by the limits of cultivation. These pastures are natural, and are neither improved nor maintained by art. I was delighted in my rides to observe the great beauty of the verdure, enlivened by thousands of wild flowers, and making the most beautiful vegetable carpet that can be imagined. Between the insulated rocks of Istakhar and the mountains, the pasturage is the most luxuriant; and it is here the Prince's mares are sent to graze.

In the plain of Merdasht, to the northward, are several conspicuous masses of rock, which are insulated, and unconnected with the surrounding mountains. One of these was pointed out to me as the Rock of Istakhar, on the extreme summit of which I was informed were to be seen the wonderful remains of a castle. Although doubting the truth of all that I heard, yet I resolved to explore them, and on the 2d May, departed several hours before sunrise, in the hope of reaching them before the heats of the day should commence. I was told the distance was only two fursungs from my habitation, but I found it nearer four, owing to the traverses we were obliged to make across the plain to pass the many dikes which intersect it, over which there are no bridges.—We went nearly three miles to the southward

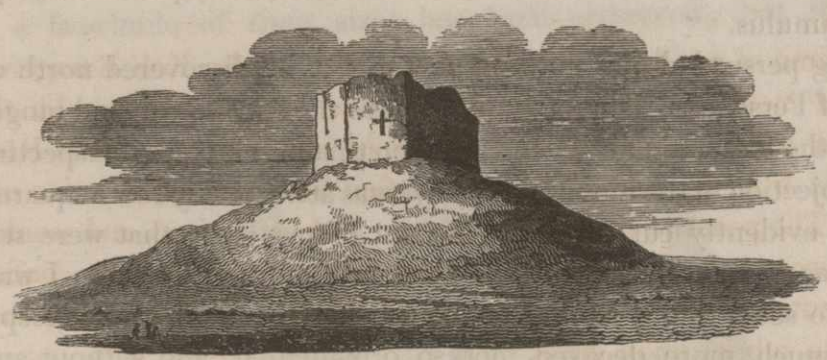


to pass the Polbar river, and then came to a bridge which once had been good, but which, if not repaired, will in two years more be impassable.

We came to a village, situated at the foot of the Koh Ramgerd, an insulated mountain, where we got a guide, who looked so old, that I supposed him unequal to the labour of climbing the steep Rock of Istakhar; but we were surprised to find him the most active of the party. The peasantry here are a strong and hardy race, and would not fail to prosper under a good government. This old man confirmed the lamentable tale of their want of bread, and of their being in part obliged to subsist upon grass.

We ascended the rock on the N. W. side, winding around the foot of it, through more shrubs than are to be seen in any other part of the surrounding country, and making our way through narrow and intricate paths.—I remarked that our old guide every here and there placed a stone on a conspicuous bit of rock, or two stones one upon the other, at the same time uttering some words, which I learnt were a prayer for our safe return. This explained to me what I had frequently seen before in the East, and particularly on a high road leading to a great town, whence the town is first seen, and where the eastern traveller sets up his stone accompanied by a devout exclamation, as it were, in token of his safe arrival. The action of our guide appears to illustrate the vow which Jacob made when he travelled to Padan-aram, in token of which he placed a stone and set it up for a pillar.* In seeing a stone on the road placed in this position, or one stone upon another, it implies that some traveller has there made a vow, or a thanksgiving. Nothing is so natural in a journey over a dreary country as for a solitary traveller to set himself down fatigued, and to make the vow that Jacob did. "*If God will be with me, and keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I reach my father's house in peace,*" &c. then will I give so much in charity — or again, that on first seeing the place which he has so long toiled to reach, the traveller should sit down and make a thanksgiving; in both cases setting up a stone as a memorial.

* Genesis, xxviii. 18 to 22.



The rock we were ascending arises abruptly from a steep conical hill. The collected mass, I calculated might be twelve hundred feet in height, the perpendicular of the rock being about five hundred. The avenues to the summit are so difficult, that we were told, goats were the only four-footed beasts that could climb them; and that in the building of the castle, they were used to carry up the lime in small loads, on their backs. However, I am sure both mules and asses might get up. We found it great toil, but at length reached the summit in safety. The remains that are to be seen, are part of a gate, the ruins of several turrets, four reservoirs, and the wrecks of many walls. The rock at its summit exhibits nothing but a few scanty shrubs, and one large fir tree, that is situated near to the largest reservoir, at its southern extremity. It has a gradual inclination from both sides towards the centre, forming as it were a furrow, in which the reservoirs have been constructed. The view from its height commands a great extent of country. I could discover the range of mountains which bound the plain of Shiraz to the south, as also those of the *Peer-a-Zun*. The former, in a direction of that city, bore by compass S. 10° W., the latter S. 35° W. To the westward, the eye travels over a region of high mountains, of which the Koh Shishpeer, on a bearing of N. 75° W. crowned with snow, is the most prominent feature. In the fore-ground arises another insulated



rock, similar to the one on which I stood, on which are the ruins of the Castle of Shahrek. It looks like an immense square turret placed on a tumulus.

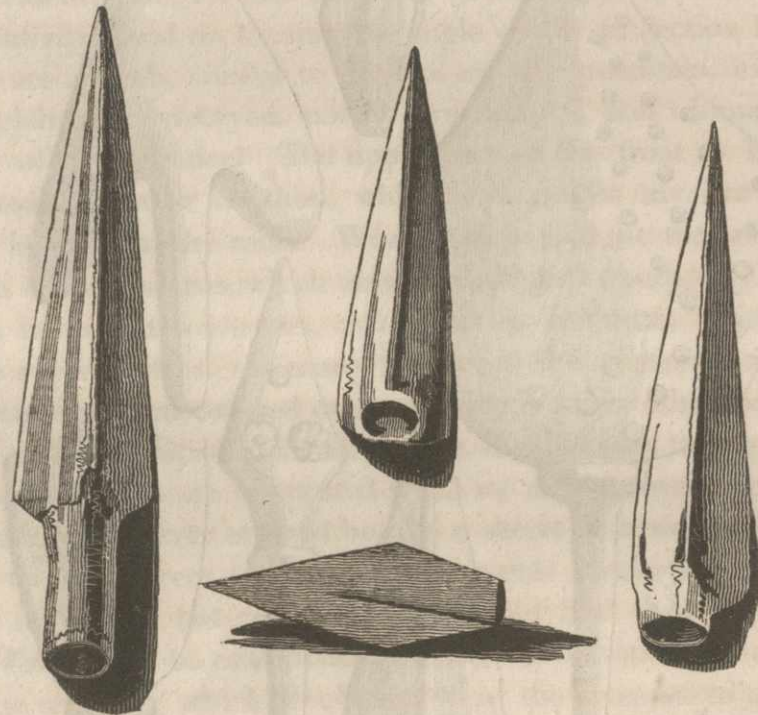
Being persuaded that nothing new was to be discovered north of the ruins of Persepolis, I directed my steps to the southward, and ranged the foot of the mountain for several miles on that bearing. On inspecting the first projection of the mountain, my eye was attracted by some square loose stones, evidently cut for the purposes of masonry, that were strewed on the acclivity; and on turning the angle of the projection I was surprised to see a tomb, similar to the two on the mountain, except that it was much more decayed, not so ornamented, and without any appearance of an entrance. The upper part of the front is built with square stones, similar to those which first caught my eye; the remainder is cut into the rock. What makes it most remarkable is a collection of large stones, which seem to have been purposely so placed before it, in intricate avenues, as to form a labyrinth, which there is reason to suppose, from the many fragments in its vicinity, was roofed with stone, and then covered over with earth. No other part of the monument, therefore, was intended to be seen, except the square front on which the figures are sculptured; and we may thence conclude, that these tombs were never entered but in a secret manner, and that the avenues to them were through subterraneous passages, but so constructed that none but the privileged could find their way through them. This would be confirmed by Chardin's adventures in the subterraneous passages, which doubtless were the avenues to the tombs. I am not aware that the description of this tomb exists in any book of travels; and considering its peculiarities, which throw a new light upon the nature of these curious monuments, the discovery of this may be called fortunate.

1801

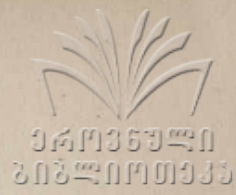
On the 4th of May I despatched several fragments of sculpture to the Ambassador. Of other antiquities I was only fortunate enough to procure some arrow-heads, which were brought to me by the peasants, who find them in ploughing, or in their rambles with their flocks on the mountains. Of these there are two sorts;

COPPER SPEAR HEADS.

not appear so ancient as those of copper, which are trilateral, present a sharp edge at each angle, and, from being more highly finished, give the idea of an age coeval with the sculptures. They assimilate, too, much more to the spear-heads sculptured at Persepolis, and have this great characteristic, that the wood is made to fit into the head, whereas the iron heads have long shafts, which must have fitted into the wood.



On making enquiries about arrow and spear-heads, of the Ket Khoda of Kenareh, he informed me, that some time ago the son of an old villager of Mirkasgoon found the head of a spear sticking in a cleft of the mountain of Persepolis, and that its size was so great, and the metal of it so good, that it was made into a plough-share, and used as such to this day. He described it as being in length from the bottom of his wrist to the tip of his fingers, having a groove at the extremity to receive the shaft of the spear. He soon after brought it



to me, and it certainly still bore the marks of what he described it to have been, although much worn down by ploughing. On sketching the head of a spear before him, such as I had seen in the sculptures of Persepolis, he said that it was originally of that shape; and on comparing its size with those in the hands of the large figures in the ruins, I found it exactly to correspond.

... I had already made up my mind to return to Shiraz, because I found it most difficult to procure my daily provisions, that every article which produced a least dispute between my Mahmandar and the people of the village. It will scarcely be credited when I say that my party, which consisted of twelve men and fifteen horses and mules, had obtained a scarcity both of food and fodder in the places near my camp, and when the above-mentioned friends were asked to my camp, they became a matter of serious consideration how to provide food for us all. In the expedition of the passage of the embassy through this district, the Governor was already having in a store of provisions for its supply.

... Sir William Ouseley and I returned to Shiraz on the 11th, and did not touch at Neyoon, but having it on our left, crossed the hills once or twice, where our party stopped to smoke. I could find in the caravansary, we found seated among the Turkish travellers, a man and two Europeans. The former had his face covered, and soon informed us (though they have a most painful expression) that they were weary or discontented by the journey. They seemed to form one committee with the Mahmandar. We needed our arrangements, and the Ambassador was making preparations to receive the first of our company from Shiraz. Neyoon was a mark of great distinction, had been dispatched first from the King to be our Mahmandar. There Neyoon was a Mahmandar, or Under Secretary of State, and had the reputation of being one of the



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CHAPTER VI.

1811.

ON the 5th of May I was agreeably surprised to hear of the arrival of Sir William Ouseley from his tour to Darabgerd. At the same time a party of English serjeants, who had accompanied the embassy from Bombay to discipline the Persians, arrived from Shiraz, on their way to the capital; so that the deep solitude of the plain was at once enlivened by the activity of Europeans.

I had already made up my mind to return to Shiraz, because I found such difficulty in getting my daily provisions, that every successive day produced a fresh dispute between my Mehmandar and the people of the villages. It will scarcely be credited when I say, that my party, which consisted of twelve men and fifteen horses and mules, had occasioned a scarcity both of food and fodder in the places near my residence; and when the above-mentioned friends were added to my company, it became a matter of serious consideration how to provide food for us all. In the expectation of the passage of the embassy through his district, the Governor was already laying in a store of provisions for its supply.

Sir William Ouseley and I returned to Shiraz on the 7th. We did not touch at Zergoon, but passing it on our left, crossed the hills at once to Baj-gah, where our party stopped to smoke. Looking into the caravanserai, we found seated among the rubbish three women, a man, and two greyhounds. The women had their faces uncovered, and soon informed us, (though they bore a most haggish appearance,) that they were *kowlies*, or courtezans by profession. They seemed to form one community with the rahdars.

We reached our encampment at Shiraz, just as the Ambassador was making preparations to receive the first visit of ceremony from Mirza Zeky, who, as a mark of great distinction, had been dispatched direct from the King to be our Mehmandar. Mirza Zeky was a *Mastofi*, or Under Secretary of State, and has the reputation of being one of the



vainest as well as one of the most assiduous of the King's courtiers. A speech that he made to the Ambassador during his visit was highly characteristic of the man; for in speaking of the King, he exclaimed, "Wait, wait, Elchee! until you see the **Kebleh Alum*. Then, indeed, you will see a King: he is in himself a paradise: he is full of *shefaket*, (condescension,) towards you; as a proof of which he has sent me, a person of higher rank than has ever been sent to any former Ambassador, to escort you to his presence."

On the 24th of May the Ambassador paid a visit to Mahomed Zeky Khan, his first Mehmandar, for he was desirous of showing him how much he was satisfied with his conduct towards us during the journey from Bushire. On arriving near the house we found the street watered and swept: on alighting from his horse, the Ambassador was received by the Khan's nephew, and on entering the door by the Khan himself. The court we passed through was lined by his servants; and the basin of water that stood at one end of it was ornamented by roses, daffodils, lilies, &c. arranged in separate compartments on its surface. The Ambassador was seated in the place of honour, in the corner of the room; and the Khan, notwithstanding all entreaty to the contrary, seated himself about three yards distant from His Excellency, on the *Nummud*, (the long felt carpet that borders the room,) which among the Persians is esteemed an act of great respect. Indeed nothing could be more agreeable than the manners of our host, whose good humour never forsook him. Although educated for a *mirza*, or a man of the pen, he joked very pleasantly upon his ignorance of literature, owned that his principal pleasures consisted in horses and the sports of the field, and said, that no enjoyment could surpass hawking a partridge or killing an antelope. He confessed that it was dangerous in a government like that of Persia to amass wealth; and that his system of happiness consisted in living without a thought beyond the present hour, never pos-

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* *Kebleh*, the point to which the Mahomedans turn in prayer: *Alum*, the world. This is one of the common titles of the King of Persia, and by which he is most usually addressed by his subjects.



sessing so much as to excite the cupidity of his governors. A good horse, a good sword, and a "cypress waist," were the sum of all his desires.

We were treated during this visit with the best fruits, sweetmeats, ices, and sherbets. The fruits now in season were the small apricot, the white mulberry, and a plum, called in Persian *Gourji*; neither of which we found good. Indeed they were scarcely in season; but the Persians, who are very fond of unripe fruit, pluck it from the tree before it comes to maturity. They are much prejudiced in favour of their own fruit, and would not allow that we could possess any in our country which could bear a competition with theirs. The Persian Ambassador when in England preserved his national feeling towards the fruits of Persia; and when a comparison happened to be made between the two countries, he exclaimed, "'Tis true that we have not such fine houses, adorned with looking-glasses, as you have, no carriages, nor are we so rich; but we have better fruit, and we always see the sun."

Our new Mehmandar, who appeared jealous of the pleasure we took in the company of his predecessor, was very anxious that the Ambassador should accept of an entertainment from him; and he therefore invited us to a breakfast, in which he strove to outvie the attentions we had received from the other. He treated us with a concert, performed by four musicians: one of whom played on the Kamouché; a second sang, fanning his mouth with a piece of paper to aid the undulations of his voice; the third was a tambourine player; and the last beat two little drums, placed on the ground before him. They were the best musicians of Shiraz; and although to us their music was of too noisy a nature to be agreeable, yet it was rapture to the Persians, in whose faces we could trace great feelings of delight.

Some days after, the Prince of Shiraz went in his greatest state to Kalaat Poushan, there to meet and be invested with the dress of honour, which was sent to him by the King, on the festival of No-Rooz. Although the day of the festival had long elapsed, yet the ceremony did not take place until this time, as the astrologers did not announce a day sufficiently fortunate for the performance of an act of so much



consequence as this is looked upon to be throughout Persia. All the circumstances attendant upon the reception of a Kalaat being the great criterions by which the public may judge of the degree of influence which the receiver of it has at court, every intrigue is exerted during the preparation of the Kalaat, that it may be as indicative of the royal favour as possible. The person who is the bearer of it, the expressions used in the Firman which announces its having been conferred, the nature of the Kalaat itself, are all circumstances that are examined and discussed by the Persian public. A common Kalaat consists of a *caba* or coat; a *kemberbund* or zone; a *gouch peeck* or shawl for the head: when it is intended to be more distinguishing, a sword or a dagger is added. To persons of distinction rich furs are given, such as a *catabee*, or a *coordee*; but when the Kalaat is complete it consists exactly of the same articles as the present which Cyrus made to Syennesis; namely, a horse with a golden bridle, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον; a golden chain, στρεψῶν χρυσῶν*; a golden sword, ἀκινάκην χρυσῶν; besides the dress, the στολήν Περσικὴν, which is complete in all its parts. Such, or nearly such, was the Kalaat which the Prince went out to meet; and consequently he gave as much publicity to it as he could devise. The day was introduced by discharges of cannon, and by the sounds of drums and trumpets. The Prince, in order to be on the spot, and to put on his dress exactly at the moment prescribed by the astrologers, issued from the city at a very early hour, escorted in a long procession by all his principal officers, preceded by numerous led horses, and followed by the greatest part of the population of the place. The Prince himself was conspicuous at a distance, by a parasol being borne over his head, which to this day is a privilege allowed only to royalty, and is exemplified by the sculptures at Persepolis, where the principal personage is frequently designated by a parasol carried over him. We heard that

* The golden chain which is now sent is part of the horse furniture, and hangs over the horse's nose. By the Persepolitan marbles we perceive the ancient Persians wore chains round their neck. Ψέλλια or bracelets were also sent, which the same marbles show were worn. By *golden sword* is meant, a sword whose scabbard is ornamented with gold. Such are the Persian swords to this day.—*Vide Xenophon, Anab, lib. i. c. 2.*



the whole of his road to Kalaat Poushan, about three miles, was strewn with roses, and watered; both of which are modes of doing honour to persons of distinction; and at very frequent intervals, glass vases filled with sugar were broken under his horse's feet. The treading upon sugar is symbolical, in their estimation, of prosperity; the scattering of flowers was a ceremony performed in honour of Alexander on his entry into Babylon*, and has perhaps some affinity to the custom of cutting down branches off the trees and strewing them in the way, as was practised on our Saviour's entry into Jerusalem.†

The person who was the bearer of the Kalaat was Mahomed Rakheem Khan, a youth of about sixteen, son to Mahomed Nebee Khan, the Vizier of Fars. It is said of him that when he went before the King for the first time, he appeared so bashful, that he could scarcely be made to proceed. However, this was only art, (so early are they made courtiers,) for when the King said to him, "Come, take courage, draw nearer," the boy said in a faltering voice, "I beseech your Majesty not to order me farther—I am overpowered, *Mi souzum*—I burn."

The adventures of Mahomed Nebee Khan, whom I before mentioned to have been sent for by the King, deserve to be recorded, as they afford a specimen of what generally happens to every Persian who has grown into power from his riches. Before he ventured to enter the capital he sent for his son, who was an attendant on the Court, of whom he enquired what were the King's intentions towards him, and what fear there might be for his safety. The King, in order to cloak his game, conferred the dignity of Khan on the son previous to seeing the father, which so blinded him, that he entered the city in full confidence of the monarch's favour. He had been accompanied by Mirza Ahady, the Governor of the great districts of Corbal and Fasa, and his coadjutor in his systems of extortion. They were called upon to appear before the King some days after their arrival, and were then informed that they were to give an account of the administration of their respective

* Quint. Curt. lib. v.

† Mark. xi. 8. The other circumstance, "the spreading of garments in the way," is used in the Scriptures as announcing royalty.—See 2 Kings, chap. ix. ver. 13.



James Morier del.

T. Fielding sculp.

PERSIAN MUSICIANS.

offices. After they had stood some time before the King, he said, "Well, have you brought me no *Peeshkesh* (present)?" They remained silent. "Where are the 70,000 tomauns, the arrears of the tribute of Fars; of course you have brought that?" Mirza Ahady answered, "That all that was due had been sent." The King then turned to Mahomed Nebee, who answered the same thing. "Call the Ferashes," exclaimed the King, "and beat these rogues till they die." The Ferashes came and beat them violently; and when they attempted to say any thing in their own defence, they smote them on the mouth with a shoe, the heel of which was shod with iron.* The King's wrath



increased with the violence of the blows that were administering, until it became so great that he ordered them to be thrown out of the window, which was more than seventy feet from the ground. At this critical moment came the Ameen-ed-dowlah, who entreated the King to spare their lives, saying that he would be security for the payment of their arrears. Upon this the royal anger ceased, and he permitted the culprits to depart by the less expeditious mode of the staircase.

Mirza Ahady was imprisoned; Mahomed Nebee, a short time after, received a *Kalaat*, as a palliative for the blows he had received, and as a *douceur* to keep him in good humour until he should disclose the secrets of his riches, and exert himself to pay the full demands of the King upon him.

On the 10th May we heard the report of a gun that was fired in the

* This use of the shoe is quite characteristic of the Eastern manners described in Scripture. The shoe was always considered as vile, and never allowed to enter sacred or respected places; and to be smitten with it, is to be subjected to the last ignominy. Paul was smitten on the mouth by the orders of Ananias. Acts, xxiii. 2.

1811



city, which on enquiry we found to be the execution of a thief, who had been blown up from the mouth of a mortar. Three Bakhtiarees had been condemned to death by the Prince for robbery; one was beheaded, and the second blown up. The third was cut in half, and the two parts of his body hung over two of the most frequented gates of the city, as a warning to other thieves. This horrid spectacle was displayed for three days. It illustrates, in some degree, an ancient custom, exemplified in the case of Saul, (1 Sam. xxxi. 10.) whose body was fastened to the wall of Bethshan by the Philistines. I say "in some degree," because the analogy is not exact; and, in truth, we might find examples (nearer to us both in time and place) which resemble the Persian practice more strongly than the case of Saul does. *Shekeh Kerden* is the technical term for this punishment, which consists in cutting the body in two, lengthwise*, with a sword, beginning between the legs, and terminating on the side of the neck above the shoulder.

During our stay at Shiraz, we became acquainted with several of the natives, who frequently visited us in our tents; and I found considerable amusement in the conversation of many of them, particularly in their remarks upon our mode of life. An Ethiopian eunuch, among the rest, became quite intimate with us, and scarcely let a day pass without calling upon us. He had been brought very young a slave into the country, and had been placed in the Harem of the Prince as a guardian over the women. All his ideas partook of the nature of his employment, and of his constant intercourse with women. He used to evince the greatest incredulity at the account which we gave him of the liberty of our women; and he particularly expressed his horror, when we told him that they walked abroad unveiled, and talked with impunity to other men besides their husbands. I once showed him a miniature picture of my mother. After looking at it for some time, he exclaimed, "Then I suppose your father is a painter!" When I answered "No," in great astonishment he said, "Then who could have painted this

* See Heb. xi. 37. — "Sawn asunder."



picture?" He could not, in fewer words, have given me an insight into the whole of his feelings upon this subject.

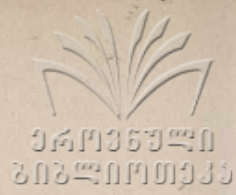
From the 28th to the 31st May, the heat was excessive, the thermometer at about two o'clock, in our different tents, varying from 98° to 103°. The Persians allowed this heat to be uncommon, but still talked of it as trifling when compared with the great heats of summer. Although it was very oppressive, yet we did not find it so relaxing as the heat of India. All our furniture had suffered extremely: mahogany boxes that had stood the climate of India, and which had crossed the equator several times unwarped, here cracked. Ivory split, our mathematical rulers curled up, and the mercury in the artificial horizons over-ran the boxes which contained it. We found the nights cool, and the mornings quite cold, the thermometer varying sometimes 30° between the greatest heat and the greatest cold. The difference was sufficiently sensible to enable us to comprehend the full force of the complaint which Jacob made unto Laban:—*In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night.* Gen. xxxi. 40.

1811.

During the day-time a light breeze generally prevailed from the westward. It is to be remarked, that when there was a perfect calm, partial and strong currents of air would arise and form whirlwinds, which produced high columns of sand all over the plain.* Those that we saw at Shiraz were formed and dissipated in a few minutes, nor is it the nature of this phenomenon to travel far, it being a current of air that takes its way in a capricious and sudden manner, and is dissolved by the very nature of its formation. They are looked upon as the sign of great heat, which was indeed the case, because they never took place but when the heavens were quite calm. Their strength was very various. Whenever one of them took our tents, it generally disturbed them very materially, and frequently threw them down. Their appearance was that of water-spouts at sea, and perhaps they are produced in the same manner.

We learnt from three English gentlemen (the Rev. Mr. Martyn,

* Compare Bruce's Account of the Pillars of Sand in the Desert, vol. iv. c. xi. p. 563.



Messrs. Lockett and Taylor), who reached Shiraz about this time, that when they were at Ahmedieh, a village in the Dashtistan, their thermometer was at 125° in a tent, and that the heat almost amounted to suffocation. One of them wrapt himself round with a sheet, which he kept wet, and another covered himself with his mattress, and the thickest things which he could find, by which different means they alike felt much relieved.

1811

On the 11th of June, whilst seated in our tents about noon, we heard a very unusual noise, that sounded like the rushing of a great wind at a distance. On looking up we perceived an immense cloud, here and there semi-transparent, in other parts quite black, that spread itself all over the sky, and at intervals shadowed the sun. This we soon found to be locusts, whole swarms of them falling about us; but their passage was but momentary, for a fresh wind from the S. W., which had brought them to us, so completely drove them forwards, that not a vestige of them was to be seen two hours after. The locusts which we saw at Bushire were like those which Shaw saw in Barbary in 1724 and 5*, with legs and body of a bright yellow, and the wings spotted brown. These were larger and of a red colour, and I should suppose are the real predatory locust, one of the Egyptian plagues; they are also the great grasshopper mentioned by the prophet Nahum, no doubt in contradistinction to the lesser, (c. iii. v. 17.) As soon as they appeared, the gardeners and husbandmen made loud shouts, to prevent their settling on their grounds.†

The strength and agility of these animals make me suppose that this was their first flight, and that they could not have come from any great distance. The Persians said they came from the Germesir, which is likely enough, as that was the direction whence the wind blew. They seemed to be impelled by one common instinct, and moved in one body, which had the appearance of being organized by a leader.

* 3 Edit. vol. i. p. 340.

† It is to this custom that the prophet Jeremiah perhaps alludes, when he says, *Surely I will fill thee with men, as with caterpillars, and they shall lift up a shout against thee.* Chap. li. v. 14.



As all was dry in the plain of Shiraz, the same instinct seemed to propel them forwards to countries of more vegetation, and with a small slant of the wind to the westward they would get into the mountains of Louriston, where the corn was not ripe ; and where, as the prophet Joel says, (xi. 3.) after comparing them to a great army,---“*they had the land of Eden before them.*” Their strength must be very great, if we consider what immense journies they have been known to make. Pliny* says they came from Africa to Italy ; they have been known in Scotland.† Mandelsloe saw them in the island of Madagascar, the nearest point of which, from Mosambique on the continent, is one hundred and twenty leagues.‡ This proves them to exist in the southern hemisphere ; and if Arabia is their native country, as naturalists affirm, they do not always travel northward, as Shaw seems to think§, but perhaps take the impulse which the first wind may give them after they are ready to fly.

I have had opportunities from time to time to make observations on the locust, particularly at Smyrna, where, in 1800, they committed great depredations. About the middle of April the hedges and ridges of the fields began to swarm with young locusts, which then wore a black appearance, had no wings, and were quite harmless. About the middle of May they had increased triple the size, were of a gray cindery colour, and had incipient wings about half an inch long. They still continued to be harmless ; but at the end of June they had grown to their full size, which was three and a half inches in length ; the legs, head, and extremities red ; the body a pale colour, tending to red. They appear to be created for a scourge ; since to strength incredible for so small a creature, they add saw-like teeth, admirably calculated to eat up all the herbs in the land, and devour the fruit of the ground. Psalm cv. v. 34. They remained on the face of the country during the months of July and August, sometimes taking their flight in vast clouds, and impelled by a strong wind, were either lost in the sea,

* Nat. Hist. lib. xi. c. 29. † Michaelis Quest. xxxii. p. 56.
‡ Voyage de Perse, folio, p. 652. § Shaw, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 342.



or were driven into other countries. It was during their stay that they showed themselves to be the real plague described in Exodus. They seemed to march in regular battalions, crawling over every thing that lay in their passage, in one straight front. They entered the inmost recesses of the houses, were found in every corner, stuck to our clothes, and infested our food. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that the barn door fowls eat them before they were quite full grown ; and that when such was the case, the yoke of the eggs which the hens laid was of a dark reddish colour, partaking of that of the locust. The locusts lay their eggs in the autumn, which they do frequently before they take their flight. Sometimes they deposit them in countries where they alight after their flight ; gestation and generation going on during their excursion : for even on the wing the male and female locust are frequently found together.

The husbandmen and vine-dressers knew whether eggs had been deposited by them, and were most active in discovering them. Sometimes it would happen that none had been deposited at one village, whilst they were found at the next, and they calculated their harvests and vintages accordingly. The operation of the female locust in laying her eggs is highly interesting. She chooses a piece of light earth, well protected by a bush or hedge, where she makes a hole for herself, so deep that her head just appears above it. She here deposits an oblong substance, exactly the shape of her own body, which contains a considerable number of eggs, arranged in neat order, in rows against each other, which remain buried in the ground most carefully, and artificially protected from the cold of winter.* When that is over, several male locusts surround and kill her.†

The eggs are brought into life by the heat of the sun. If the heats

* Hæ pariunt, in terram demisso spinæ caule, ova condensa, autumnni tempore. Ea durant hyeme sub terra.—*Plin.* lib. xi. cap. 29.

† This account confirms Pliny, except in the very extraordinary circumstance of the killing of the female by the male, which I myself never saw, but have heard from such very indubitable eye-witnesses, that I fully credit it.



commence early, the locusts early gain strength; and it is then that their depredations are most feared, because they commence them before the corn has had time to ripen, and they attack the stem when it is still tender.

Harmer* would probably have derived some help from what has happened to fall under my observation on this subject, in his illustration of the 17th verse of the 3d chapter of the prophet Nahum; for I conjecture, that *camping in the hedges in the cold day* may be explained by the eggs being deposited during the winter; and *when the sun ariseth they flee away*, may also be illustrated by the flying away of the insect as soon as it had felt the sun's influence.

The Persians have great faith in a charm called the *dum*, or breath, which they say secures them against the bite of snakes and the sting of scorpions; and the courage was remarkable with which those who possessed it encountered those reptiles. We had among our servants one or two who had this charm; and whenever a snake or a scorpion was found, they were immediately called to seize it. The *Ferash Bashi*, or chief of the tent-pitchers, was remarkable for his prowess in such encounters; for I saw him one day seize a snake with his naked hand, but which turned upon him, bit him, and hung upon him until blood came. The snake was not venomous, and therefore perhaps he seized it with confidence.

Not long ago at Shiraz lived a man greatly celebrated for his sanctity, who had the reputation to possess the *dum* to such a degree, that he communicated it to *mureeds*, or disciples, who again dispensed it to the multitude. A young Mirza, brother to the then acting Vizier of Shiraz, gave to the Ambassador, as a great present, a knife, which he said had been charmed by this holy man, and if rubbed over the bite of a snake would instantly cure it. One of his disciples was at Shiraz whilst we were there, and he willingly complied with our request, that he would communicate his charm to us. The operation was simple enough. From his pocket he took a piece of sugar, over which he

* Vol. i. p. 366 to 369. 4th ed.



mumbled some words, breathed upon it, and then required that we should eat it, in full belief that neither serpent nor scorpion could ever more harm us. He then pulled some snakes out of a bag, which some of us, whose confidence was strong, ventured to handle and flourish in the air. That the practice of snake-charming was in use in earlier days we may infer from the Psalms: "*Which will not hearken to the voice of the charmers, charming never so wisely.*" Psalm lviii. v. 5.

About this time, great discontent was manifest at Shiraz, owing to an increase in the price of bread, and there were symptoms of insurrection among the people. This grievance was chiefly attributed to Mirza Ahady, (fellow-sufferer with Mahomed Nebee Khan,) who having been released from prison at Teheran, was permitted to return to Fars, to raise such sums on the people as would satisfy the demands of the King.

Mirza Ahady, in conjunction with the Prince's mother, was believed to have monopolised all the corn of the country, and he had no sooner reached Shiraz, than he raised its price, which of course produced a correspondent advance in that of bread—*Ventre affamé n'a point d'oreilles*—the people became outrageous in their misery. As is usual, in all public calamities in the East, they commenced by shutting their shops in the Bazar. They then resorted to the house of the Sheikh-el-Islam, the head of the law, requiring him to issue a *fetwah*, which might make it lawful to kill Mirza Ahady, and one or two more, whom they knew to be his coadjutors in oppressing them. They then appeared in a body before the gate of the Prince's palace, where they expressed their grievances in a tumultuous way, and demanded that Mirza Ahady should be delivered up to them. Mahomed Zeky Khan, our former Mehtar, was sent out by the Prince to appease them, accompanied by Mirza Bauker, the chief baker of the city, who was one of those whose life had been denounced. As soon as the latter appeared, he was overwhelmed with insults and reproaches, but he managed to pacify them, by saying, "What crime have I committed? Mirza Ahady is the man to abuse. If he sells us corn at extravagant prices, bread must rise in consequence." In the meantime, Mirza Ahady had secreted



himself from the fury of the mob; but being countenanced by the Prince's mother, and consequently by the Prince himself, he let the storm rage, and solaced himself by making fresh plans for raising more money. The price of bread was lowered for a few days, until the commotion should cease; and as it was necessary that some satisfaction should be given to the people*, all the bakers in the town were collected together, and publicly bastinadoed on the soles of their feet. — It may well be imagined, that by thus inflicting on the innocent what ought to have been the portion of the guilty, the current of public odium ran stronger against the Prince and his Ministers than it did before. — *He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him.* Proverbs, xi. 26.

On the 13th June, the Ambadress was delivered of a daughter, notwithstanding the predictions of Dervish Sefer, *a cunning man*, who had assured the Ambassador that he would have a son, and who even before the event had taken place, had demanded a present, as the price of his divination. The Persians lend a willing ear to such predictions, because they look upon a son as a blessing, and its birth is announced with great ceremony to the father. Some confidential servant about the Harem is usually the first to get the information, when he runs in great haste to his master, and says, "*Mujdeh!*" or, good news, by which he secures to himself a gift, which generally follows the Mujdeh. — Amongst the common people, the man who brings the Mujdeh, frequently seizes on the cap or shawl, or any such article belonging to the father, as a security for the present to which he holds himself entitled. These circumstances may help to illustrate the passage in Jeremiah, xx. 15. "*Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my*

* As the chief baker was dignified by the title of Mirza, we may infer that Pharaoh's chief baker was a person of equal dignity; and no reason being assigned in Scripture why after liberating the chief butler and the chief baker from prison, the one should be restored to favour, and the other shortly after executed, perhaps what usually is thought an act of despotical caprice, may be better explained by the necessity of appeasing popular clamour, which the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty in the land of Egypt renders more probable.



father, saying, a man child is born unto thee, making him very glad." When it is recollected that there are no rejoicings on the birth of the daughter, but that on the contrary every one is as backward to inform the father of it, as they were forward on the birth of the son, the whole force of that passage will be felt; and it will appear they were informed of the event by men, as they are at the present day.

No sooner was the birth of the Ambassador's child known at Shiraz, than compliments of congratulation, attended by fruit, sweetmeats, and brocades, poured in from every quarter. The Prince's mother was preeminent in her attentions. She did not cease to make fine speeches; and invested the man who brought her the news with a Kalaat. The next morning, she sent Aga Besheer, her head eunuch, attended by a numerous suite from the Harem, to make her formal congratulations, and to present a dress of honour to the babe, that consisted of a little square bed of down, covered with cloth of gold, a quilt of Cashmire shawl, a small cap, a pair of brocade drawers stiff as tin-plate, a *barounee* or great coat, and a pair of shawl stockings.

Whoever could devise the smallest pretext for extracting a present from the Ambassador, did not fail to present himself on this occasion. Among others, came the *Looties* or buffoons, headed by a chief: these may in some manner be assimilated to our bands of marrow-bones and cleavers. They attend at merry-makings and public festivals, and in the style and manner of their wit, disregard all delicacy.

The Princes, Governors of provinces, &c. as well as the King, have a band of these fellows in their pay, and they are looked upon as a necessary part of Persian state. They are composed of the most profligate of men, and can only advance in their profession by superior ribaldry. Some of them are endowed with great natural wit, which was the case with the *Looti Bashee* or chief Looti, who attended the Ambassador on this occasion; for it is said, that sometime ago he entered the lists before the Prince with the *ex-Looti Bashee*, and so surpassed him in humour and ingenuity, that he was instantly promoted to his present situation. His dress, when he came to the Ambassador, was composed of a felt hat, the crown of which was made like ours, but with two long ears projecting



before and two similar behind. Others of his troop were dressed in the same way ; all looked grotesque : and I conjectured that nothing could give one a better idea of satyrs and bacchanalians, particularly as they were attended by a suite of monkies, headed by a large ape, which were educated to perform all sorts of tricks. They carried copper drums slung under the arm, which they beat with their fingers and the palms of the hands ; some snapped their fingers, making a noise like castagnets, others played the tambourine, and when all this was put into motion, with their voices roaring in loud chorus, the scene was *unique*.

The Persians expressed their surprise at the little bustle that attended the birth of an European child ; for among them, when a woman feels the pains of labour, she not only calls the *mamaché*, or midwife, (who is generally an old woman,) but also all her friends and relations, who gather round the bed until the delivery of the child. They then wash it, clothe it, and swathe it in a long bandage, called the *Kandàk*, that entirely encircles the child from its neck downwards, keeping its hands pinioned to its sides, so that it can stir neither hand nor foot. They then place it under the same bed-clothes with the mother. The midwife then pronounces the *Kelemeh Islam* in the ear of the child, which is the profession of the Mus-sulman faith. That which the Shiahs pronounce is, *God is God, there is but one God, Mahomed is the Prophet of God, and Ali the Lieutenant of God* ; and in virtue of which the child is received among the number of the true believers. But it is remarkable, that immediately after this they perform a ceremony which may be supposed to have an indistinct reference to Christianity ; for in the room where the child is born, the midwife takes a sword and with the point draws a line on the four walls of it, — when one of the women in attendance enquires what are you about ? the other answers, I am tracing a tower for Mariam and her child : — whence this originates, or why it is retained, I could never learn. But it is worth while to observe here an odd coincidence between the practices and feelings of the Persians, and those of the modern Jews, as they are described by Buxtorf. * The Jews also scrawl their walls at the birth of a child, and have a mortal aversion to Christian midwives.

* See Syna. Jud.



Quando mulier Judaica gravida est, jamque tempus, ut infantem in lucem edat, appropinquavit, tum vero locus ille, in quo puerperium fieri debet, rebus necessariis omnibus instruitur; quo facto, paterfamilias cretam in manus accipit, lineamque circularem in cubiculo facit ad parietes omnes, scribitque super janua et interius et exterius ad parietem quemlibet, &c. The object against which these are used as charms, is a night-hag or screech owl — *Spectrum diabolicum in forma muliebri*; which will otherwise kill or run away with the infant on the eighth day — the circumcision.

The apprehensions concerning the Christian midwives are almost as strong as in the case of the female spectre. *Quamprimum strix hæc, seu mulier nocturna, e cubiculo bannita profligataque est, obstetricem Christianam accersere nequaquam permissum est*; — that is, unless a Jewish performer is not to be found. *Obstetrices enim Christianæ eis suspectæ sunt, verenturque Judæi ne liberos ipsorum nascentes non satis solerte excipiant, vel eosdem vita inter nascendum emungant, &c.* The Persians, as Mohamedans, profess indeed some respect for the author of Christianity, though Christians are always dogs to them; and after all, the tower for Mary and her son may be intended as a confinement for them, and to prevent their future influence on the faith of the new born Shiah.

On the day of the woman's confinement, a certain food is prepared for her, of which all those present at the birth partake, and portions of it are also sent to all her other friends. The third day after her delivery she is taken to the bath, where she makes the ablutions and purifications prescribed by the Mahomedan law, and which may be read in detail in Chardin and d'Ohson. The Eastern women suffer little from parturition, for the better sort of them are frequently on foot the day after delivery, and out of all confinement on the third day.* They are sometimes delivered "*ere the midwives come in unto them,*" Exodus, ch. i. v. 19.; and the lower orders often deliver themselves. I knew an instance where a peasant's wife in Turkey, who was at work in a vineyard, stepped behind the hedge, delivered herself, and carried the child home slung behind her back.

* See Harmer, vol. iv. p. 434.



It was with the greatest difficulty that a wet-nurse was procured for the Ambassador's infant. There were objections on both sides. In the first place, the milk of the greater part of those who presented themselves, was considered too old for the use of an infant. One came to offer herself who was then suckling a boy three years old. The Persians, and Asiatics in general, give milk to their children much longer than Europeans, a circumstance from which Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, concluded that our English children were so much more forward in their mental acquirements than those of his country. The Persians make a distinction between males and females. To a boy they give the breast for two years and two months, and to a female only for two years complete. On the day that the child is to be weaned they carry it to the mosque, (in the manner perhaps that Hannah took Samuel to the house of the Lord, when she had weaned him, 1 Samuel, i. 29. *); and after having performed certain acts of devotion, they return home, and collecting their friends and relations, they give a feast, of which they make the child also partake. The coincidence with Scripture is here remarkable. *And the child grew and was weaned, and Abraham made a great feast the same day that Isaac was weaned.* † Genesis, xxi. 8.

There was also an objection on the other side; for many of the Persian women felt an antipathy to suckle the child of a Christian. One came, remained one night, and could not be persuaded to remain longer, although many pecuniary advantages were offered to her, because she had been persuaded by her friends that all sorts of miseries would befall her if she suckled a Christian child. It is no wonder that such prejudices should exist amongst them, when we remark the spirit of hatred to Infidels that reigns throughout the Koran, and forms one of the most prominent doctrines of the law of Mohamed.

The Persian nurses were quite astonished at our manner of treating infants, and particularly the washing them all over with cold water every

* This was a special case, and not a common custom; Samuel was not carried home again; Hannah had vowed to devote him to God. The *feast* at weaning was customary.

† From some old authorities it is said, that Isaac was not weaned till he was *five* years of age.



day. They scarcely ever take the bandages off theirs; consequently they soon become filthy. They were anxious to apply the *surméh* to the eyes of the Ambassador's child; an application which they never fail of using to their own children; they also dye their hair and hands with *Khena*. What they most carefully guard against is the evil eye, which is as much feared in Persia, as in other parts of Asia. They hang about the child's neck, or sew to its cap, a bangle, the colour of a turquoise, which they look upon as the most fortunate, and serves to annul the glance of an evil eye. They also insert paragraphs of the Koran into little bags, which they sew on the child's cap, or on its sleeve, esteeming them as great preservatives against sickness. If a visitor should praise the looks of a child, and if afterwards the child should fall sick, the visitor immediately gets the reputation of having an evil eye; and the remedy is, to take a part of his clothes, which, with the seed of the *Ispedan* *, they burn in a chafing-dish, and walk around and around the child. Him who has the reputation of having an evil eye, they keep at a distance.

The Ambassador's child was christened by the Rev. Henry Martyn, who had lately joined us from India. The Persians have no ceremony that corresponds entirely to our christening, because their children become Mahomedans as soon as the Kelemeh Islam has been whispered into their ear; but they have one called the *Sheb be khair*, or "be the night propitious," which is for the purpose of giving the child a name. If the father of the child be in good circumstances, he collects his friends together and makes a feast. He also requires the attendance of several Mollahs, and when the *mejlis* or assembly is complete, sweetmeats are brought in and eaten. The infant is also brought into the *mejlis*, and placed near one of the Mollahs. The father of the child then gives out certain names, five in number, each of which is written separately, on separate slips of paper. These slips of paper are placed either within the Koran, or under the edge of the *nummud*, or carpet. The *Fatheh*, which is the first *surai* or chapter of the Koran, is

* لاسپدان is the seed of cresses.



read. One of the slips of paper is then taken out at random by the hand of the father, and the child is called after the name which is there inscribed. A Mollah takes up the babe, pronounces the name in its ear, and places the paper on its swaddling clothes. The relations of the child then each give it money and other presents, and this custom they call the *Roo-nemah*, or *shewing the face*.

They have still another custom which they call the *Akikeh*. The father of the child kills a sheep, of the flesh of which he makes broth, but cautiously preserves all the bones. He invites his friends, relations, and the poor in the highways, to partake of this food, from which he and his wife are excluded; but when the entertainment is over, he carefully collects the bones, and having selected a clean place near some running water, he there buries them. During the *mejlis*, the name of the child is given.

They adopt also certain ceremonies about shaving the child's head. It frequently happens after the birth of a son, that if the parent be in distress, or the child be sick, or that there be any other cause of grief, the mother makes a vow, that no razor shall come upon the child's head for a certain portion of time, and sometimes for all his life.* If the child recovers, and the cause of grief be removed, and if the vow be but for a time, so that the mother's vow be fulfilled †, then she shaves his head at the end of the time prescribed, makes a small entertainment, collects money and other things from her relations and friends, which are sent as *Nezers* (offerings), to the mosque at Kerbelah, and are there consecrated. ‡

* So Hannah vowed, if she were blessed with a man child, saying, "Then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life. There shall no razor come upon his head." — 1 Samuel, i. 11.

† Hannah's vow was a vow of gratitude, an expression of thankfulness; but more usually in Scripture the *unshaven* head is an expression of grief, and a vow to such an effect an act of penitent humiliation.

‡ Compare with this the law of the Nazarites, Numb. vi., the principle of which was altogether moral. The person who was *separated* to God's service let his hair grow, and abstained from wine and other usual indulgencies. This was done sometimes during life, and sometimes during certain periods only; after the latter, offerings were made to the Lord.

The rich hire a *dedeh*, or wet-nurse for their children. If a boy, the father appoints a steady man from the age of two years to be his *laleh*, who I conjecture must stand in the same capacity as the *bringers up of children**, mentioned in the catastrophe of Ahab's sons (2 Kings, x. 5.); but if it be a daughter, she has a *gees sefeed*, or white head, attached to her for the same purpose as the *laleh*.

During our stay at Shiraz, I endeavoured to acquire some correct information concerning the number of its inhabitants, but it is so difficult to attain even an approximation to the truth, from a people whose great characteristic is falsehood, that I despaired of arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. Registers of births are unknown, and the accounts which are kept of the number of houses, are too incorrect to serve as the basis of a correct calculation. However, I set a man in my pay secretly to enquire of the *Ketkhodas* or chiefs of the different *mahals* or divisions, what was the number of houses in each mahal, and the result was as follows:—

The city is divided into ten *mahals*, viz.

	Houses.
Der Shah Zadeh - - - -	1300
Derbe Ishak Beg - - - -	1350
Bala Keft - - - -	1420
Meydan Shah - - - -	1200
Sok-el-teer, or Bazar Morgh - -	500
Seng Seeah - - - -	450
Ser Dezek - - - -	750
Lebe Aub - - - -	500
Der Mesjid No - - - -	130
Ser Bagh - - - -	180
	—————
	7780
	—————

* This term comes from a word which means to *nurse* (*aman*).



In my former journey, the number of houses is marked at 12,000 ; and were I to give an opinion from the observations I have been enabled to make in our rides through it, I should not reckon upon more than half of the 7780 of the above list. Shiraz is near four miles in circumference, one-third of its buildings to the S.E. are in ruins. Those that are habitable, are also interspersed with ruins, and of the remaining space, so much is taken up with bazars, meydans, or squares, the Prince's palace, gardens, stables, and other public buildings, that to say that one-half of the city is occupied by the inhabitants, is perhaps more than the truth. There was an opinion in the embassy, that it could not contain more than 10,000 souls ; but if, following my conjecture, 3800 houses are about its real number, at five souls in each family, we should get a total of 19,000, which is a reasonable calculation.

The consumption of bread *per diem* furnishes better data than the number of houses, to calculate the population of an Asiatic town. A year or two ago an investigation was made by Mahomed Nebee Khan, into the quantity of corn consumed daily in Shiraz ; the ostensible object of which was to ascertain and provide for the annual wants of its population. But the real object was to acquire a positive rate, upon which he might build his plans of monopoly. It was found that Shiraz consumed *per diem* 8000 Tabriz mauns of wheat, which was made up into 10,000 mauns of bread. A Tabriz maun is seven pounds and a quarter English : a Persian eats one *cha'r'ek*, or a quarter of a maun, every day ; then 10,000 Tabriz mauns being equal to 72,500 pounds, the result will be that there are 18,125 souls in the city.

An old inhabitant of Shiraz nearly corroborated this statement by another account. He told me that seventy *Yaboos*, or pack horses, are daily employed to carry corn from Shiraz to the water-mills in the neighbourhood of Shiraz. These horses make two trips during the day, one in the morning, and one in the evening, and at each trip they carry to the mill sixty mauns of corn each, which makes the quantity of corn exported from the city amount to 8400 mauns. They calculate that one maun and a quarter of flour produces one maun of bread ;

thus 8400 of the former produce 10,500 of the latter; and this will give a population nearly similar, both to the daily consumption, and to my conjecture on the number of houses.



CHAPTER VII.

1811

THE day of our departure at length arrived, and after having taken our formal leave of the Prince, we departed on the 10th of July, at half-past one o'clock in the morning. The heats were now such, that it would have been impossible to travel during the day. Since the middle of June, we remarked that at about two o'clock, P. M., Fahrenheit's thermometer was scarcely ever under 100°. On the 7th of July it was at 105½° in my tent, on the 8th at 108°, and on the 9th at 110°.

In addition to our former procession, we had a *takhteravan*, or litter, in which the nurse and the Ambassador's infant were conveyed.* It consists of a cage of lattice work, covered over with cloth, borne by two mules, one before, the other behind; and conducted by two men, one of whom rides on a third mule in front, and the other generally walks by the side. Perhaps this may resemble the vehicle called *Armamaxa* †, in which the children of Darius and their attendants were carried.

On the very first outset of our journey, we had a proof of the vigour of our new Mehmandar; for one of his servants having behaved insolently, in persisting to approach too near to the palanqueen in which Lady Ouseley was carried, he immediately called the man before him, and ordered him to be punished on the spot. He himself struck him with his sword, and then with his whip. He then ordered his attendants to attack him. They threw him on the ground, beat him with their fists, then with their sticks, then jumped upon him, and so mauled him that he could scarcely be lifted on his horse. This was done without a single question being put to the poor creature himself; it was done in the middle of the road, in the dark, and with an immense cavalcade passing by at the time.

Our former Mehmandar, Zeky Khan, parted with us a little before we reached Baj-gah. After having smoked the *Kaleoon* with him,

* See Plate V.

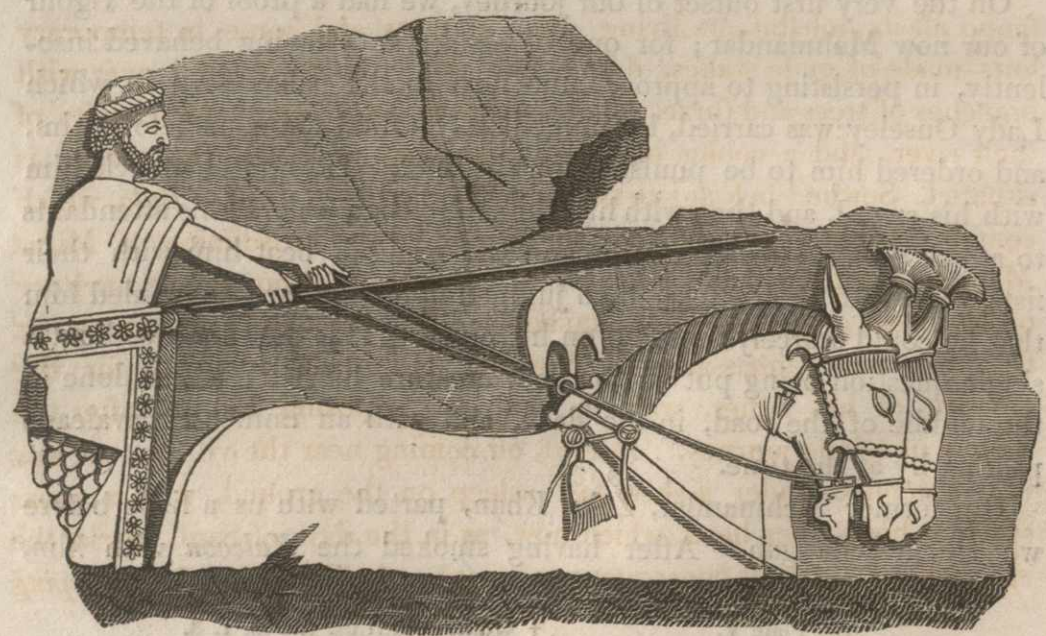
† Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. c. 3.

seated on a carpet which was spread on a rock by the road-side, we arose to depart, and the expression of his rough-bearded face looked so very much like genuine grief on the occasion, that we were inclined to give him credit for that feeling. As a parting present the Ambassador sent him an opera-glass, which was described to him as a hunting telescope, a silver hunting watch, and a small diamond ring.

We halted at Zergoon, where the heat was 106° at noon, and where we were tormented by musquitoes, and frightened by tarantulas, the bite of which the Persians affirm to be venomous and mortal. They are certainly the most hideous of the spider species.

1811

We reached Persepolis at two hours before sunrise on the 11th of July, and remained there until the 13th at midnight. During this interval no discoveries of importance were made; but by the help of the artillerymen we cleared away the very narrow passage into the first tomb described by Chardin, and creeping in upon our bellies, found the sarcophagi mentioned by that traveller, nearly covered over by an accumulation of clay. Mr. Gordon got some villagers to dig for him





near the front of the staircase which I had previously cleared away, and he thus brought to light some interesting fragments. Among others he found a stone upon which is a sculpture of a chariot drawn by two horses, driven by a man standing upright; and another of a caparisoned horse, both of which are so nicely preserved, that every detail of furniture may be most minutely traced.

We next proceeded to Sewund. The road generally travelled in the summer is by Mayin; but owing to its being destitute of population in many places, we were obliged, even at the present season of the year, to take the winter road. We encamped close to the banks of the Sewund river, which winds through the narrow vale into the plain of Merdasht, and flows into the Bend-Emir, somewhere above Fhatabad. The valley in which we stopped is surrounded by hills of rugged forms, and is covered by the liquorice plant, which the Persians call *sús*, and by the *Khor Shuter* the *camel-thorn*, so called because camels browse upon it in preference to other herbs. The mastication of it produces a frothy salivation at the mouth, which appears to give great pleasure to the animal. The village itself was situated on an eminence at some distance from our encampment, but it was totally abandoned; for we found all its inhabitants living some in tents and some in temporary huts made of rude stakes, driven into the ground, covered over with branches of trees and furze. They do this to enjoy the nearer vicinity of their river, and a cooler exposure than that in which the village is situated. Sewund belongs to the *bolook* or district of *Hafrek Bala*, which contains twenty-one villages, but is under the jurisdiction of Mirza Mahomed Ali, the same who governs Merdasht, although the territory of Merdasht only extends to Hajiabad. The son of this man came out to meet the Ambassador at Sewund, and made apologies for the absence of his father, who, he said, was reposing himself after the fatigue of a long journey. Indeed, on coming near the village, we saw him extended under a shed fast asleep on the ground, with a spear stuck at his bolster head, which now, as in the days of Saul, marks the spot where a man of consequence reposes. *And behold Saul lay sleeping*



within the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster: but Abner and the people lay round about him. 1 Sam. xxvi. 7.

The next day we reached Kemeen, to which there is a shorter road than the one we travelled, through the *Teng Parou*, a pass so narrow that it will not admit of the passage of a loaded mule. The Mehmandar was anxious to make us reach Morghaub without going to Kemeen, because he said that the latter place was so destitute of provisions that we should not find enough for our supply; but as the distance was eight fursungs, too far for the Ambassador's family to travel in one day, we went to Kemeen. Here we found the Mehmandar's words but too true; for although exteriorly the country around looked well cultivated, yet we were surprised not to see a living creature throughout the whole village. The Mehmandar's servants soon forced themselves into the houses, which they found tenanted only by women; the men having fled to the mountains as soon as they had heard of our approach. The Mehmandar explained to us, that he had been enjoined by the Prince of Shiraz not to halt at Kemeen, because it had been lately laid under such heavy contributions by Mirza Ahady, to whom it belonged, that its inhabitants could not bear the expense of entertaining the Embassy even for a day. The Mehmandar, however, forced from the poor women wherewith to feed ourselves and our cattle; and not content with that, he persisted in raising forty tomauns in cash, the sum assigned to him as his own perquisite (a sort of *tooth-money**) upon each village, at which, in his firman, it is directed that we should stop. This demand created great lamentations amongst the women; and brought them in crowds out of their houses, beating their heads, and lifting their hands to the skies. What the Mehmandar could not get in money he took in kind: his men carried forcibly away what little fur-

* Lady W. Montague, in speaking of the Bashaws when they travel in Turkey, says, "These oppressors are not content with eating all that is to be eaten, belonging to the peasants: after they have crammed themselves and their numerous retinue, they have the impudence to exact what they call teeth-money, a contribution for the use of their teeth, worn with doing them the honour of devouring their meat."



niture the poor creatures had left, at the same time using the stick against them without remorse. The feeling which the modern Persians have towards women, is well expressed in the word *zaifeh*, (from *zaif*, weak, frail, infirm,) which they use in designation of a particular woman. It is only in talking of women in general that they use the word *zenan*. Previous to our departure, the Ambassador, unknown to the Mehmander, did not fail to indemnify the poor people for their losses.

We remarked a ruin in the plain of Kemeen, which the Persians call the remains of one of Bahram's castles. It is entirely composed of sun-burnt bricks, and resembles in general character some remains which in my last journey* we saw near Surmek, and which also were supposed to be of the age of Bahram.

We also passed by an encampment of Eelauts, whose tents were pitched in regular order, and looked like the booths of a fair. Their whole population came out to gaze at us; and as none of their women were veiled, we could remark in our turn that there was not one who had any pretensions to beauty.

On the 16th we went from Kemeen to Morghaub, and made a diversion to the left, in order to see the *Meshed Mader-i-Suleiman*, which I have described in my former journal. † Unseen by our conductors, who repeated what I had heard before, that none but women are permitted to enter into this building, we contrived, by a little pressure, to force its narrow door, and to gain an entrance. On the side facing the *Kebleh*, (the point to which in prayer the Mahomedans turn,) the wall is sculptured with ornaments surrounding an Arabic inscription; and in a corner we found a collection of dusty manuscripts, mostly transcripts of the Koran, besides a number of little offerings of tin lamps, &c. which are generally seen in the religious places of the Mussulmans. The body of the saint, we were told, is deposited within the roof of the building.

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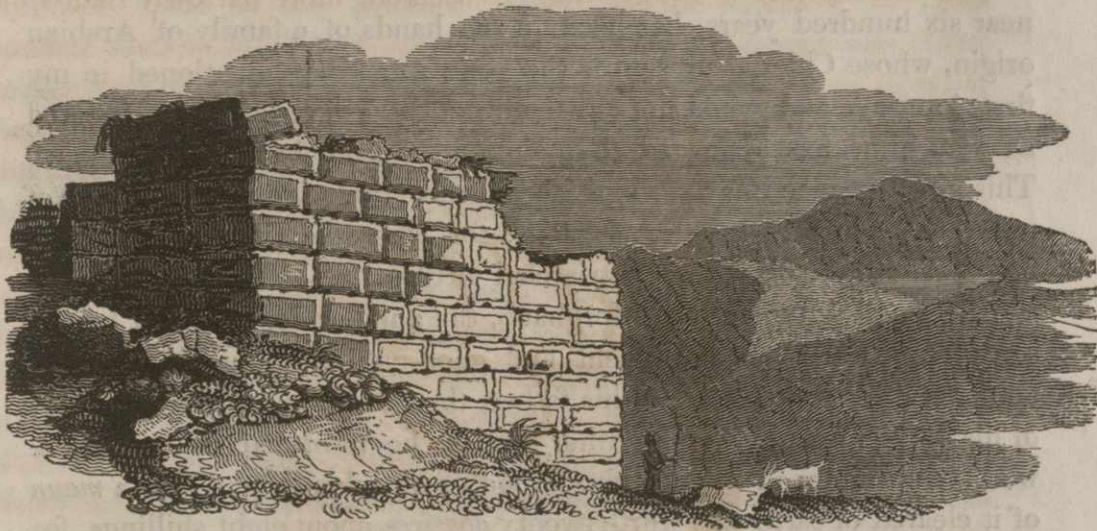
* Journey, p. 150.

† Journey, p. 144.

On one of the pilasters in the plain, situated at a distance from the others, is a sculptured figure, that escaped my observation when I was here before. It is much defaced; but there is still enough to show that the subject is allegorical. I observed, more narrowly than I had



done before, the remains of the wall on the hill, and was struck by the excellence of its masonry. The stones are cut into regular squares,



with an alto-relief upon each; and at the section of the lines which connect the stones are holes, cut at regular intervals, the purposes of which we could not divine. They might, however, lead to the conjecture that these walls, like those of Ecbatana, were ornamented; and that in the holes now seen upon them were affixed plates of metal, in the same manner as plates of silver and of gold must have been affixed to the two innermost walls of that city.*

The whole of the remains at Morghaub, namely, the tomb, the columns and pilasters, the sculpture, the arrow-headed inscriptions, the fire-temple, and the wall on the hill, are monuments which attest the site of some considerable city; and furnish a subject, the investigation of which would be well worthy the labours of an antiquary.

Morghaub, at this season, presents a much more agreeable aspect than when I passed it before in the winter; the hills around it being

* Herodotus, Clio. xcviij.



covered with vines, and the town itself having an appearance of renovation, that quite surprises those accustomed to the general ruin and decay which characterise Persian scenery. Its walls had been repaired, and new houses here and there arose conspicuous. This district, for near six hundred years, has been in the hands of a family of Arabian origin, whose Chief at present is the same Aga Khan mentioned in my first journey, and who, notwithstanding the many intrigues directed against him, has managed to maintain himself in his government. This circumstance may perhaps account for the relative appearance of prosperity which is here remarkable; for, wherever the Arab is found he seems not to forsake his patriarchal virtues.

At a small distance from Morghaub, the ambassador was met by the son of Aga Khan, an intelligent and good-natured young man, who apologised for the absence of his father, then at Shiraz on the business of his government. Among other things, he informed us that there were lead mines in the neighbourhood of Morghaub, and that a *maun* of it cleared of earth was worth twenty *abassees*, about eight shillings, for seven pounds and a half.

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On the 17th, we made a deviation from the road which we had pursued on my first journey, and went to Kazioon. The region in which it is situated is esteemed much colder, and is evidently more elevated than the country through which our former track lay. We found the corn in many places still unripe, and even green. It was evident that the temperature of the air was materially changed, because we felt the ten o'clock sun without any inconvenience; whilst at the other places its heat commenced to be disagreeable at about an hour after it was risen.

The whole of Persia, (and the same may be said of all countries in which there are Nomades,) has been divided by the experience of ages into hot and cold regions. In the southern provinces of Persia, these are defined by two words of Persia origin, *Germesir* the hot, and *Serdesir* the cold. In the north, where the Tartar irruptions have left a more lasting impression, they make use of the Tartar designations of *Kishlak*, hot, and *Yeylak*, cold region.

A fine *yeylak*, which comprehends good pasturage and plenty of



water, is held in great estimation by the Eelauts; and they carry their flocks to the highest parts of the mountains, where these blessings may be found in abundance. This perhaps will give fresh force to the promises made by the prophet Isaiah, to the Gentiles*—*Their pastures shall be in all high places. They shall not hunger nor thirst, neither shall the sun or heat smite them; for he that hath mercy on them, shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them.* Kazioun is in the *bolook* of Kongouri, in which there are altogether thirteen villages. A mountain called the *Koh Kasreh Yacoub*, or the mountain of Jacob's castle, is to be seen from it, on which we were informed were many ruins; but these, from the description given of them, are probably only Mahomedan. Another mountain called the *Koh Khorgoun*, so called from the village of Khorgoun being situated near it, is very conspicuous above the rest, having a summit composed of a number of small conical hills. Khorgoun bore from Kazioun, N. 48° E.: about two miles to the northward of it is another of Bahram's castles.

The next day we reached Deloo Nezer, a village situated still in the cold region, a fact which we could attest, by feeling here a necessity of putting on our great-coats in the freshness of the morning. At noon we were incommoded by a very strong wind that blew from the northward and eastward. We saw several curious birds, and particularly one which is found in great abundance throughout all the northern provinces, called in Turkish, the *Bokara Kara*; and in Persian, *Siah Sinch*, both meaning black breast. It has a warty skin round the eye, the feet bare, the inside of the toes rough, and a small spur on the foot of both the male and female. It has a strong convex bill, with the nostril under the feather. The feet are black, and the fore-part of the leg, which is very strong, is covered with very short ferruginous feathers. The male is brown, spotted with black; the female of a dirty yellow and brown intermixed. Round the fore-part of the trunk on the breast, is a horse shoe of black feathers, more strongly marked in the female than the male. All the lower part of the trunk is black.

* Isaiah, xlix. 9—11.



They fly in flocks, have a soft note when on the wing, inhabit the plains, and do not run after they are once settled. They are always in pairs in the Spring. Their flesh is of two colours, black near the bone, and white on the exterior; and is good eating.

1871 road

On the 19th we reached Ekleed, commonly called Keleel. The road, though leading through mountains, was very accessible. It was terminated by a pass called the Teng Asseri, which introduced us into a plain, at the extremity of which we saw Ekleed. The site of the town was marked by a wood of large trees, which produced a much greater extent of verdure than we had yet remarked in Persia. We were as much surprised as delighted on entering this spot, to observe trees of great size spreading their branches into the most beautiful forms, and giving shade to delicious spots abundantly watered by clear rivulets that flowed in all directions. But perhaps, after the constant sterile appearance of the country through which we had travelled, we looked upon the beauties of Ekleed with more rapture than they merited. There was at any rate a greater appearance of prosperity here, than that which we had observed amongst the peasantry of the other villages.

The trees that are the most to be admired in the landscape of Ekleed are the walnut, (of which we saw some of the most superb specimens,) the plane-tree with spreading branches, the willow, the poplar, the pinaster, and a great variety of fruit trees. From a thick wood of these arose, in very picturesque forms, the towers of four different forts, which were situated at short distances from each other, and contained the mass of the peasantry of this spot. The principal stream that waters this fertile place, takes its rise at about a mile to the S. W. of the inhabited parts of the wood, and issues in a considerable volume, at once from under a rock, which is overshadowed by trees. It is full of fish, and its existence is attributed to a miracle worked by their Prophet; and although he never was at Ekleed nor even in Persia, our conductors persisted in showing a mark of his hand imprinted on the rock, and were angry if we smiled at their credulity. The whole spot, fishes and all, are regarded as sacred; for without it, indeed, Ekleed would be a desert.



This place as well as Kazioun and Deloonezer are under the government of the same Arabian family that rules Morghaub.

On reaching Abadeh, we returned again to the road which I have described in my first journal*, and therefore further geographical details are unnecessary: but I must not omit to mention a saying of our Mehmandar, which is truly characteristic of the Persian and of the government of his country. When we were all lamenting the great want of population, and the ruined state of Abadeh, whose remains proclaimed it to have been once of great extent, he said, "You say very true. If the king were to know the state of this part of the country, he would come here and put every rascal to the sword."

At Shoolgistoun, we were met by a Turkish Tatar, with despatches from Constantinople, and never was a messenger more welcome, as he brought us news long expected from our country and families. We perceived his delight at meeting us, by the smile that broke out upon his solemn face, which by the dismal account he gave of his treatment in Persia, had most likely never been cheated out of its gravity. When we asked him how he liked the Persians, he took hold of the collar of his cloak, and shaking it, exclaimed, "God give them misfortunes! Liars, thieves, rogues! See I have lost the head of my pipe; they have stolen my pistols. Heaven be praised that I have seen you at last."

The shaking of his coat (a very common act in Turkey), is no doubt an act of the same kind and import as that of St. Paul, who, when the Jews opposed themselves and blasphemed, *shook his raiment*. Acts, xviii. 6. An additional mark of reprobation is given in the other instances in which St. Paul and Barnabas shook off the dust of their feet against the Jews. This had been ordered by Christ himself. Matt. x. 14.

The day after we reached Maxhoud Beggy, we buried one of our artillery men, who had fallen a victim to the climate. We dug his grave at about 400 yards from our camp, and concealed its situation as much as possible from the knowledge of the Persians, fearing that cu-

* Journey, p. 151.



riosity and covetousness might lead them to open it after our departure.

From Deloonezer to this place we were kept in continual alarm by our Mehmandar, who informed us that he had certain intelligence that a band of robbers of the Bakhtiaree tribe had made every disposition to attack us on our march, and to plunder our baggage. At Abadeh we had been met by Mahomed Beg, an active man, sent by the Governor of Ispahan, with a number of *tuffenkchees*, or fusileers, to serve as our guard during this part of the march; but the precautions that were taken against the expected attack, far from producing any feeling of security, were on the contrary so ordered, that if a party of expert thieves had really been determined to rob us, they must have succeeded. As we marched at night, the confusion which prevailed throughout our numerous party, owing entirely to the disposition of our forces, was beyond description. The principal object was to keep us all together, and to march in one body. This object, though good in itself, was attained so mischievously, that when we were all huddled into one mass, there was an end to all order and distinction of persons. Every body seemed at once to claim the privilege of talking; and an hundred different voices, speaking almost as many different languages, were elevated at one time, which joined to the neighing of horses, braying of asses, and the jingling of the bells of mules and camels, worked up the confusion to its height. Luckily no Bakhtiarees appeared, and all that we got from our Persian guards, were assurances of the prowess which they would have displayed if we had been attacked.

The Bakhtiarees are a brave and hardy tribe of mountaineers, who inhabit more particularly the high lands of Louristan, but are also to be found in the *Yeylaks* and *Kishlaks*, which extend from Kerman to Kauzeroon, and from Kom to Shouster. They have various and opposite traditions about their origin; for some in a vague manner assert, that they came from the eastward; others from Roum, (the name for Turkey common throughout Persia,) and thus at any rate that they are not of Persian origin. Their language would tend to contradict this last assertion, as it abounds in words of the old Farsee, and has great



affinity to that of the Zends. Yet they have several customs which distinguish them from the modern Persians. Their national dance in particular, the *Chuppee*, resembles altogether the *Arnaoutika* of the modern Greeks, which is generally allowed to be of ancient Greek origin. It is performed by an indefinite number of persons, who form themselves into a close front, by holding each other fast by the girdle; and then swinging on sideways, mark the time by stamping the feet, which they alternately raise before them, with the toe upwards. They are led by a man, who dances independently of the others, and who flourishes a handkerchief about in the air, and sings as he dances. Bakhtiar sounds so much like Bactria, that this coincidence will bring to mind the Greek colony which was planted by Alexander there, and which De Guignes says was driven from thence to the westward by the Tartars.*

At their burials, instead of mourning they rejoice †; for they collect round the grave, where they sing and dance the *Chuppee* to the sound of music. If the person to be buried has been killed in battle they rejoice the more, looking upon his death as *halal*, lawful; and should he have died at a distance from his home, they make up a temporary cenotaph, place his cap, his arms, and other effects upon it, and dance and rejoice around it.

In the Louristan they inhabit villages of about 20 to 30 houses, in difficult nooks of the mountains, wherever they can get water and grass: some also live in caves. Those with whom I have conversed pretend that they exercise all the hospitality of the wandering tribes; and as an instance of it say, that among them an old woman would sell herself rather than permit her guest to want food. But other Persians have assured me, that they are very unwilling to permit strangers to sojourn amongst them, and are not scrupulous in robbing a passenger of all that he may possess. Their most famous strong-hold is about two *menzils*, or stages, from Dezfool, called *Dez* for shortness, but *Dezi*

* See Robertson's Disquisition concerning Ancient India, and his xvith note.

† 2 Samuel, xii. 20, 22, 23.



miounidexoo in the Bakhtiaree language, and is represented as situated in the centre of a long narrow defile, which it commands.

The tribe is divided into two branches, the *Haft Leng* and the *Chahar Leng*, which again are divided and subdivided into many *Tirs* or Shafts. *Leng*, in their dialect, means feet; and the denominations of *Haft Leng*, seven feet, and *Chahar Leng*, four feet, they say, originated in a demand made upon their tribe in ancient times, for a certain quota of cavalry, which was so levied that one part of the tribe was assessed seven feet, or one horse and three quarters, and the other part only four, or one horse. They have strong ties of clanship, are extremely attached to their Khans, and will espouse their cause whenever they are called upon; but the Bakhtiaree who gave me the greatest part of this information, assured me, that amongst themselves, in their domestic circles, they constantly are at variance with each other, and that he himself had received 16 wounds from disputes in the *Mejlis* (assembly) with his relations. If they had opportunity and assistance, it is likely that they would throw off their allegiance to Persia; and the King is so well aware of that, that he keeps many families of them in separate villages about Teheran, as hostages for the good behaviour of the rest. As it is, part of them are already looked upon as *Yaghi*, or in rebellion, and are headed by Assad Khan, one of their chiefs, who keeps all the country in a state of alarm, and even threatens Ispahan.

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On the 25th, before we reached our tents at Komeesha, we met our old friend Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, the late Persian Ambassador in England, who had come thus far from Ispahan to meet us. He had quitted us at Shiraz, having been called to Teheran by the King, who afterwards gave him permission to pass some time with his family at Ispahan. He seemed greatly pleased to see us again, and adopted the Persian mode of salutation, which consists, among intimate friends, of inclining the body over each other's necks, and then touching cheek to cheek; which I should suppose must be the "*falling upon the neck and kissing*," so frequently mentioned both in the Old and New Testament.*

* Genesis xxxiii. 4. xlv. 14. St. Luke, xv. 20.



At Komeesha, a conflict of authorities took place between the King's Mehmandar, and those persons who had been sent by the Governor of Ispahan to meet the Ambassador, the consequences of which had nearly proved fatal to some. The valley of Yezdikhaust forms the boundary of the provinces of Fars and Irak; and as we were now in the territory of the Governor, he claimed the honour of treating the Ambassador as his guest, and his people in consequence busied themselves in supplying our camp with provisions. Mirza Zeky, on the contrary, disputed the Governor's right of taking the Mehmandarship out of his hands, and he issued his orders in consequence. This produced a serious fray in the streets of Komeesha, between the town's people and several of our servants, who had gone to get their usual *sursat* or allowance, and they returned to the camp severely wounded. They appeared all bloody before the Ambassador; some with broken heads, others cut in the arm; and making out as bad a case as possible, stated that they had been treated thus at the instigation of the chiefs of Komeesha. — The offenders were immediately given up at the demand of the Ambassador, and one of them was dragged in by his beard, a part of the face as sacred amongst them, as the nose is with us. They were thrown down without any ceremony on the ground; one man sat upon the head, and another upon the feet of the delinquent, and the remaining part of him was belaboured without mercy with a cudgel. After this, the chief men of the town came in a body to make their apologies, and were punished by not being permitted to sit down.

We visited the tomb of Shah Reza, near Komeesha, which is a building crowned with a cupola, and shaded by a thick grove of trees. Within its inclosure are two basins of water, both of which contain a multitude of tame fish, which the Persians look upon as sacred, and do not permit to be caught. Xenophon remarks, that the Syrians looked upon the tame fish in the river Chalus as gods, and would not suffer them to be hurt.*

Before we reached Mayar, we were met by Mirza Abdul Cossim, a

† Anabasis, lib. i.



confidential officer of the Governor of Ispahan, by a *hakeem* or Doctor, one of the learned of the city, and by several other men of respectability. These deputations are called *Peesh wax*, openers of the way, and are one of the principal modes among the Persians of doing honour to their guests. The more distinguished the persons sent, and the greater the distance to which they go, so much more considerable is the honour.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to describe a journey or a specific event related to the Persian deputations.]



CHAPTER VIII.

ON the day of our entry we were first met by the youngest son of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, a boy of about thirteen years of age, who received the Ambassador with all the ease of an old courtier. When he had made the usual prefatory compliments of, "You are welcome. You have done us honour. Are your spirits good? How is your health? You have no ailing?" and then, "*Bismillah*," In the name of God, there ensued a long pause, when the little hero repeated his lesson of compliments over again, to our no small amusement.

Men of consequence in the city at different intervals presented themselves; and as we proceeded, two of the brothers of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, arrayed in brocade coats, with shawls round their caps, paid their respects to the Ambassador. This succession of personages, whose rank increased as we approached the city, may bring to mind the *princes more and more honourable*, which Balak sent to Balaam, (Numbers, xxii. 15.) At length the governor in person, the eldest son of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, came out a mile from the city to meet the Ambassador.

Our procession, which by the accession of all the curious of Ispahan, had now become an immense multitude, made its way in very good order, until it entered some newly planted avenues at the entrance of the city, where owing to the confinement of walls it was frequently impeded in its progress. These avenues occupy, as I conjecture, the place of what was the longest and the largest street of Ispahan in the time of Chardin*, which he says was thirty paces broad, and about a quarter of a league in length. The one nearest to the city is called *Fhatabad* after the King, the other through which we made our entry, *Ameen Abad*, after the Ameen-ad-Dowlah. In the Old Testament there are innumerable instances of new names given to

* Amst. 8vo. ed. vol. ix. p. 187.



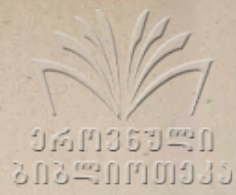
places, either after conquest, or in honour of some prince or distinguished person.

The avenues in question are, indeed, works of pure vanity, and seem to have been made for no other purpose, than to give a specious appearance to the numerous ruins that are every where to be seen on the approaches to this once immense city. They are planted in straight lines, roads passing on the sides and in the centre, whilst rose trees, basins and canals occupy the remaining part of the ground. As we passed, fountains played; and we were made to remark that the basins of water were decked with flowers in honour of the Ambassador's entry. Such sort of *petits soins*, as far as I can judge, are decisive marks of the Persian character.

At length the procession, still accompanied by the crowd, reached Saadatabad, the place assigned for the residence of the Embassy. This was one of the palaces of Shah Thamas, and we alighted from our horses at an immense open hall, the roof of which was supported by twelve wooden pillars, inlaid with looking-glasses, and its interior superbly ornamented with paintings and gilding. Here was spread on the ground a collation of fruit and sweetmeats, piled up in China bowls, and ornamented after the Persian manner with cotton and gold leaf. When every person was seated, and the usual ceremony of smoking and coffee had been performed, a breakfast of Persian dishes succeeded, and the whole of this scene was performed in the presence of the rabble who had accompanied us from the beginning. There were neither sentries nor pallisadoes to keep them off, and it was only when they became a little too intrusive, that a rush was made at them by five or six stout fellows with sticks, who laid about them indiscriminately right and left, and drove the crowd back to some distance. It was indeed a novel scene, and must have been very amusing to them to observe our agony at being seated in tight pantaloons on the ground, and our awkwardness in eating with our fingers. When the party broke up to depart, a general scramble ensued for the remains of the eatables, and in spite of the blows which were dealt about, every thing was gallantly borne off by the mob.



As the modern state of Ispahan is in great measure identified with the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, and as his history gives great insight into the vicissitudes of Persian life, the following account of him may, I hope, be found acceptable. He was originally a green-grocer in Ispahan, of which city he and his family are natives. His first rise from this humble station was to become the Ket Khoda (or deputy) of his *mahal*, or division; his next, to become that of a larger mahal: he then was promoted to be the *Kelanter*, or mayor, of the city; and thence he became the *Thaubit*, or Chief, of a rich and extensive district near Ispahan, where he acquired great reputation for his good government. He afterwards made himself acceptable in the eyes of the late King, by a large *peesh-kesh*, or present; and as the then Governor of Ispahan was a man of dissolute life, oppressive and unjust, he succeeded in deposing him, and was himself appointed the *Beglerbeg*: here, from his intimate knowledge of the markets, and of all the resources of the city, and of its inhabitants, he managed to create a larger revenue than had ever before been collected. He became the partner of every shop-keeper, of every farmer, and of every merchant; setting up those with capitals who were in want, and increasing the means of others who were already in trade. He thus appeared to confer benefits, when, by his numerous monopolies, he raised the prices of almost every commodity. But as this revenue was apparently acquired without the oppression of the peasant, his reputation as a financier greatly increased; and in spite of all the opposition of his enemies, he advanced rapidly in the confidence of the reigning monarch, and in the honours to which it led. When the present King came to the throne, his zeal, his devotedness, and particularly his presents, secured to him a continuation of the royal favour, and at length he rose to be the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, the second Vizier of the state. How he acquired the riches which first enabled him to emerge from his green-grocer's stall, is not exactly known. His enemies say, that during the last civil wars in Persia, a string of Jaafer Khan's mules were passing close to his house, in the middle of the night, when two of them by chance were detached from the rest: that they strayed into his yard; and that they happened to



be loaded with effects in precious stones, and other articles of great value, which on the subsequent destruction of that prince he appropriated to himself. This would make a good episode in an Arabian night's tale; and at any rate it may be said, that by these or some other means he made presents to Meerza Shefea, then the Prime Minister, for the sake of being permitted to stand in his presence.

There cannot be a stronger instance than he is, of the few qualifications, either of birth or learning, that are necessary, to become a statesman in Persia. He is as illiterate as a green-grocer may well be supposed. Since his elevation, necessity has obliged him to learn how to read and write; but he has succeeded so ill, that he can scarcely make out a common note, or join two words together in writing. That "a *little* learning is a *dangerous* thing," was never better applied than to him: for once, at an audience of the King, being called upon to read a list of presents just received, he made so great a mistake, that His Majesty grew wroth, and was about to inflict summary punishment, when he got out of the dilemma by offering on the spot a large sum of money, as an apology for his ignorance. Sancho managed these things better.

But in his particular department, that of raising money to feed the King's coffers, perhaps no man in Persia has ever surpassed him; and with all this, we found the people of Ispahan, from whom the greater part of the riches are derived, in general very well-disposed towards him. He takes a pride in the improvement of the city and its environs, and his success is evident to my eye since I was here last. The public buildings have been repaired and beautified, new avenues have been planted, the cultivation has considerably increased, and there is a more general appearance of affluence and prosperity.

On the evening of the day of our arrival, the Ameen-ad-Dowlah paid the Ambassador a visit of ceremony. The Ambassador was seated in a corner of the apartment, and arose when the other entered, without advancing from his place. This is the etiquette between persons of equal rank. One of a little less rank would have received him at the door of the room, and of a still inferior rank at the door of the house. He was attended by our friend Mirza Abul Hassan Khan,



who sat himself down at a distance, after he had received permission from the Ameen-ad-Dowlah. Of this etiquette the great men in Persia are very tenacious; for as it is a principal part of their state to have men standing before them, they are slow in granting to their dependants the privilege of sitting down. Mahomed Beg was also in attendance, but he stood all the time. Mirza Abul Hassan Khan took advantage of his knowledge of our language to hint to the Ambassador how agreeable it would be to Mahomed Beg, if His Excellency would speak in his favour to the Ameen-ad-Dowlah; which having been done, we were pleased to see him appear the next day dressed in a brocade suit, which had just been bestowed upon him by Ameen-ad-Dowlah. The Mirza then hinted that a few words of praise in his own favour would also be useful to him; when the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, after paying some compliments to both parties, said to the Ambassador, "I give the Mirza's ear into your hand, (*Ego vero oppono auriculam*); and as for Mahomed Beg, I give him to you altogether (*Peeshkesh shuma est*); he is a present to you."

The next day the Ambassador returned the visit, but it was at six o'clock in the morning, which is the common visiting hour among the Persians during the great heats. The Ameen-ad-Dowlah's house was situated at a considerable distance from our's, in the east quarter of the town; and we were obliged to pass through long suites of bazars, which, as is usual on such occasions, were, by order of the government, put into their best dresses, by the exhibition of an abundance of their best commodities; for the Persians well know that one of the best modes of ascertaining the wealth of a city, is by scrutinising the quantity and quality of the wares in the shops.

The Ambassador was met at the gate of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's house by some of his principal officers, and then conducted through many dark, narrow, and intricate passages, into a spacious square, surrounded by armed men, more numerous than those whom we had seen at the court of the Prince of Shiraz, and generally better dressed. We found all the principal men of the city assembled to meet the Ambassador, excepting Abdullah Khan the Governor, the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's



son, who stood humbly in the court-yard among the attendants, and furnished us with a strong instance of the respect which children pay to their parents in the East; for on a public occasion like this, let the son possess what power he may, he never sits before his father. Rachael said unto Laban, *Let it not displease my lord that I cannot rise up before thee.* Gen. xxxi. 35. The same respect is shown to mothers; and nothing can better mark the antiquity of the custom, than what Alexander is made to say to Sisygambis: “*I know that amongst you it is considered a great offence for a son to seat himself before his mother, unless she grants him the permission.*” *

The great city of Ispahan, which Chardin has described as being twenty four miles in circumference, were it to be weeded (if the expression may be used) of its ruins, would now dwindle to about a quarter of that circumference. One might suppose that God’s curse had extended over parts of this city, as it did over Babylon. Houses, bazars, mosques, palaces, whole streets, are to be seen in total abandonment; and I have rode for miles among its ruins, without meeting with any living creature, except perhaps a jackal peeping over a wall, or a fox running to his hole.

In a large tract of ruins, where houses in different stages of decay are to be seen, now and then an inhabited house may be discovered, the owner of which may be assimilated to Job’s forlorn man, *dwelling in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, which are ready to become heaps.* Chap. xv. ver. 28. Such a remark as this must have arisen from scenes similar to those which parts of Ispahan present; and unless the particular feeling of melancholy which they inspire has been felt, no words can convey adequate ideas of it.

But if the ruins when examined in detail are saddening to the sight; yet, as they are not distinguishable from the inhabited houses when seen in masses from afar, they tend greatly to magnify the extent of the city, and to give it the appearance now of what must have been its former greatness. The view which breaks upon the traveller when he

* Quintus Curtius, lib. v. c. 2.



arrives from the southward is in the finest style of grandeur ; and one may excuse the Persian, who, in his exultation at the sight, exclaims, that his *Isfahan* is *nisfeh jehan*.*

In forming his idea of this city, let not the reader bring it into comparison with any of the capitals of Europe. Here are no long and broad streets, no architectural beauties, and few monuments of private wealth, or public munificence. At Ispahan, indeed, (and it is nearly the same in all despotic countries,) the interior of houses is much better than their exterior would indicate. Indeed, where scarcely any thing of the house is to be seen from the street, but a dead wall, as is the case with the generality of Persian houses, there is not much room for exterior ornament. This constant succession of walls, unenlivened by windows, gives a character of mystery to their dull streets, which is greatly heightened by now and then observing the women through the small apertures made in the wall, stealing a look at the passengers below.

The entrances to the houses from the street are generally mean and low. A poor man's door is scarcely three feet in height ; and this is a precautionary measure to hinder the servants of the great from entering it on horseback, which, when any act of oppression is going on, they would make no scruple to do. But the habitation of a man in power is known by his gate, which is generally elevated in proportion to the vanity of its owner. A lofty gate is one of the insignia of royalty ; such is the *Allah Capi* at Ispahan, and *Bab Homayan*, or the *Sublime Porte* at Constantinople. This must have been the same in ancient days. The gates of Jerusalem, Zion, &c. are often mentioned in the Scripture with the same notion of grandeur annexed to them.

Such an ornament to a dwelling so much attracts the public eye, that it is carefully avoided by those who fear to be accounted rich, lest it should excite the cupidity of their Governors. The merchants of Ispahan, for instance, some of whom are very rich, have purposely mean entrances to their houses, whilst their interiors are ornamented with

* Ispahan—half the world.



great luxury. In Turkey, indeed, the vanity of some people is such, that when the building is in itself a small one, they will build a gate to it large enough for a palace ; but they generally finish by paying dear for their ostentation. *He that exalteth his gate seeketh destruction*, said the wise King. (Proverbs, xvii. 19.)

The houses of Ispahan are one story in height, but are composed of so many compartments, that even the meanest of them occupy a considerable area ; for the extent that we occupy in our high houses, is in Persia laid out horizontally. They are built either of earth or brick, and their uniformity in height and colour produces a very dull appearance when seen collectively.

The bazars are very extensive, and it is possible to walk under cover in them for two or three miles together. The trades are here collected in separate bodies, which makes it very convenient to purchasers ; and indeed we may from analogy suppose the same to have been the case from the most ancient times, when we consider the command of Zedekiah to feed Jeremiah from the "*baker's street*." (Jeremiah, xxxvii. 21.)

To a stranger, the bazars are the most amusing place of resort ; for here is a continual concourse of people, in which characters of all descriptions, each busied in their different avocations, are seen to pass in rotation. Many of the scenes, so familiar to us in the Arabian Nights, are here realised. The young Christian merchant ; the lady of quality riding on a mule, attended by her eunuch and her she-slave ; the Jewish physician ; the *dalal*, or crier, showing goods about ; the barber Alnascar, sitting with his back against the wall in a very little shop, and thus almost every character may be met with. The Mollahs, or men of the law, are generally to be seen riding about on mules ; and they also account it a dignity, and suited to their character, to ride on *white asses* *, which is a striking illustration of what we read in Judges, v. 10. *Speak ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment.*

On Fridays, their day of rest, the bazars are more particularly

* These asses come from Arabia : their scarcity makes them valuable, and gives them consequence. See Harmar, vol. ii. p. 376.

thronged, and the women on that day are to be seen in parties, going to the cemeteries on the skirts of the city, to mourn over the graves of their relations.

To the south of the city, is a desolate tract called the *Hezzar Derreh*, or the Thousand Vallies, mostly composed of a slaty soil, through which passes the road from Shiraz to Ispahan. This, according to the Persians, is the scene of Rustam's battles with the dragon; and they add, that it is owing to the poisonous exhalations of the monster, that the earth is here so barren. On an elevation, from whence there is an extensive view of the city, a small round tower covered with a cupola is to be seen, around which runs a Cuffick inscription, made with small bricks, and apparently of the same age as the buildings at Rey near Teheran. Chardin calls it the *Mil Shatir*, or the Pillar of the Running Footman; and says, that those who aspired to enter into the service of the King in that capacity, were obliged to undergo a trial of their activity and strength, by going from the gate of the royal palace, and taking twelve arrows one after the other from this tower, between the rising and setting of the sun. It is about a league and a half, by his account, from the palace to the tower; thus the distance to be traversed was thirty six fursungs, or one hundred and twenty miles, in about fourteen hours.* The popular story that we heard related of this tower is, that in former days a King of Persia promised his daughter in marriage to any one who would run before his horse all the way from Shiraz to Ispahan. One of his Shatirs nearly accomplished the task, having reached to the eminence marked by the tower, when the King, fearful that he should be obliged to keep his promise, dropt his whip. The ligatures which encompassed the Shatir's body were such, that in the state he then was, he knew for certain, that if he stooped to the ground to pick up the whip, his death would immediately follow; therefore he contrived to take up the whip with his foot, carried it to his hand, and presented it to the King. This trick having failed, the King then

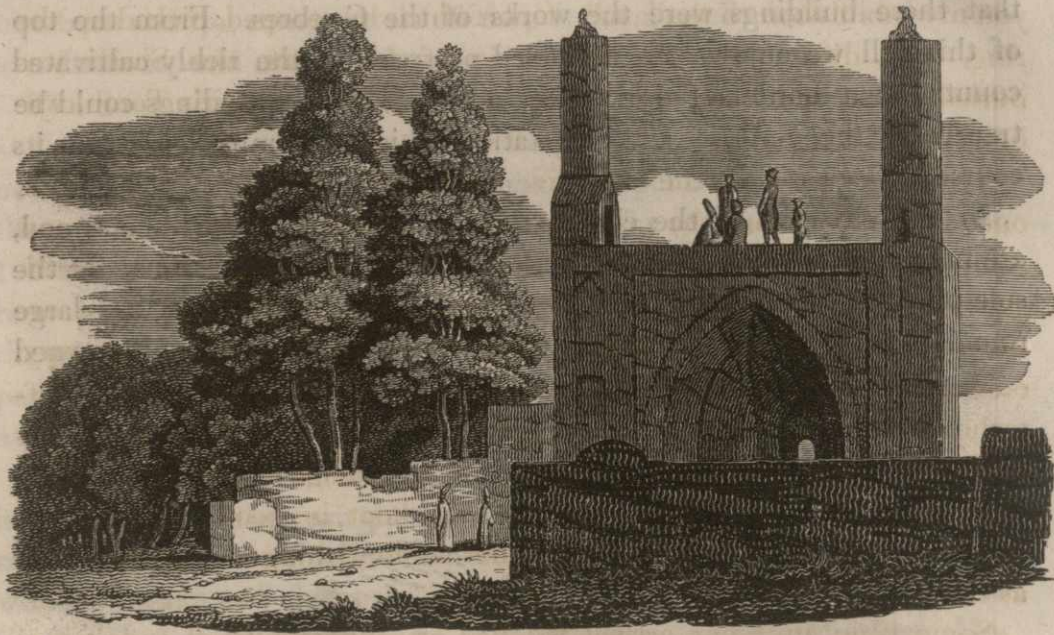
* Chardin, Description of Ispahan, vol. viii. p. 224. 8vo. ed.



dropped his ring, upon which the Shatir, who saw that his fate was decided, exclaimed, "O King, you have broken your word, but I'll show you my submission to the last." Upon which he stooped, picked up the ring, and died. In commemoration of this event, the Shatir was buried on the spot, and this tower, now called the Shatir's Tomb, was built over his remains.

To the eastward are the extensive ruins of the village of Sheheristan, once famous for being the residence of the nobles of Ispahan, but now composed of only a few houses that with difficulty are to be distinguished from the ruins by which they are surrounded. Here are the remains of a mausoleum, a brick building of excellent masonry, crowned by a cupola beautifully turned. A very high minareh is attached to it, but the winding stairs within it are so decayed, that it is impossible now to attain its summit. At this village is a bridge of solid structure across the Zainderood, but not kept in good repair. The easterly environs of Ispahan are neither so flourishing nor so populous as those to the westward.

Some time after our arrival we had an opportunity of judging of those to the westward, in an excursion that we made to see, what are esteemed as great curiosities by the natives, the shaking pillars of Guladoun. To reach them, we were conducted through narrow roads, that led into the midst of thick orchards, and through more cultivated grounds, than any that we had yet seen in the country. The shaking pillars are two minarehs that flank an arched building, which has been erected over the tomb of an holy man. The miracle was exhibited to us, by sending boys to the summit of each pillar, who applying all their force to shake them, made not only the pillar but the roof of the building below it tremble as sensibly as if they were agitated by an earthquake. We supposed that it proceeded from a defect in the architecture, but the Persians were more inclined to attribute it to the saint below. Our *cicerone* on this occasion was Haji Ibrahim, the King's chief gardener, whose house was situated near the pillars, and where he had provided an entertainment for



the Ambassador and his suite. Having once got upon the subject of miracles he knew not where to stop : he informed us that a supernatural light frequently shone near the saint's tomb ; and described the relic of a miraculous jacket that was consecrated in a neighbouring mausoleum, which although a tatter, still weighed several mauns. A decayed ram's tail that was suspended in the same place, he assured us, from time to time very mysteriously distilled three drops of oil, and doubtless would have entertained us with many more such tales, if we had not been relieved by the appearance of his refreshments, among which were some of the best and largest peaches that we had ever eaten.

About two miles from the shaking pillars is a triangular hill, distinctly seen from afar, called the *Atesh Gah*, or the Place of Fire. It is composed of several strata of rock, and its best ascent is by a path to the eastward. Upon its summit are some old buildings composed of mud

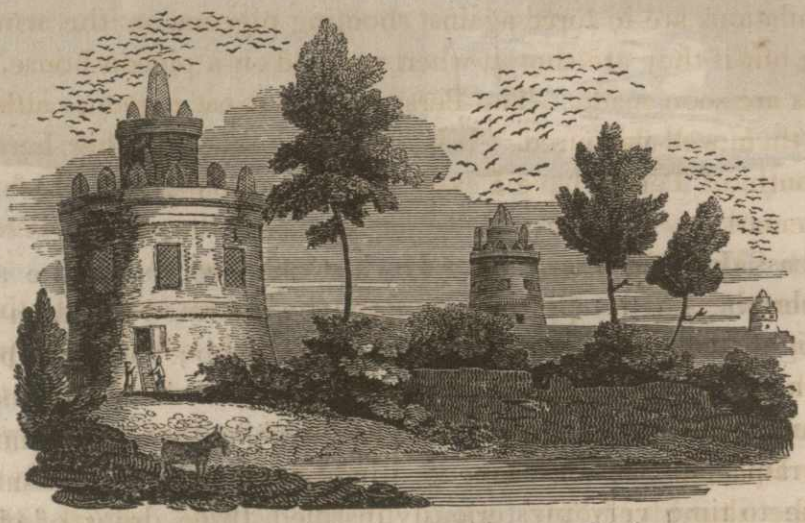
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PIGEON HOUSES.

bricks baked in the sun, but of a very large size, between which are layers of reeds alone, without any apparent cement. The Persians say that these buildings were the works of the Guebres. From the top of this hill we enjoyed an extended prospect of the richly cultivated country that borders the river Zainderood, whose windings could be traced by the verdure and vegetation which accompanied it in its course.

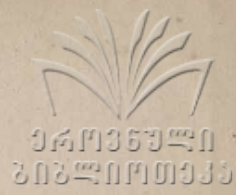
Isfahan

In the environs of the city to the westward, near the Zainderood, are many pigeon-houses, erected at a distance from habitations, for the sole purpose of collecting pigeons' dung for manure. They are large round towers, rather broader at the bottom than the top, and crowned



(Pigeon Houses.)

by conical spiracles through which the pigeons descend. Their interior resembles a honeycomb, pierced with a thousand holes, each of which forms a snug retreat for a nest. More care appears to have been bestowed upon their outside, than upon that of the generality of the dwelling-houses, for they are painted and ornamented. The extraordinary flights of pigeons which I have seen alight upon one of these buildings, afford,



perhaps, a good illustration for the passage in Isaiah, *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?* lx. 8.* Their great numbers and the compactness of their mass, literally look like a cloud at a distance, and obscure the sun in their passage.

The dung of pigeons is the dearest manure that the Persians use; and as they apply it almost entirely for the rearing of melons, it is probable on that account that the melons of Ispahan are so much finer than those of other cities. The revenue of a pigeon-house is about 100 tomanus *per annum*; and the great value of this dung, which rears a fruit that is indispensable to the existence of the natives during the great heats of Summer, will probably throw some light upon that passage in Scripture, when in the famine of Samaria, *the fourth part of a cab of doves' dung was sold for five pieces of silver.* 2 Kings, vi. 25.

No regulations are in force against shooting pigeons on the wing, or in a field; but if they are shot at when perched on a pigeon-house, then complaints are soon made. The Persians do not eat pigeons, although we found them well-flavoured. It is remarkable that neither here nor in the South of Persia have I ever seen a white pigeon, which Herodotus remarks, was a bird held in aversion by the ancient Persians. Clio, 138.† These in question are of a cindery blue.

An imperfect mode of approximating the truth, with respect to the population of Ispahan, is by the number of sheep daily killed at the public slaughter-houses. Every sheep that is killed by the butchers is taxed five *shahees*‡ by the government, and 175, on an average, are daily consumed in Ispahan. In the days of Chardin, 2000 sheep daily paid duty at the slaughter-house, which by his account served 600,000 souls: the 175 sheep then, of our day, would serve 52,500 souls; but

* The word which we translate *windows* is by some of the later interpreters rendered "Columbaria."

† It is a curious fact, that in the West of England, an extraordinary superstition is preserved in more than one ancient family, that when the principal of the family dies, a *white pigeon* is seen hovering over the bed of the deceased: Was such a bird anciently considered the prophetic precursor of death?

‡ About sixpence.



as many sheep are also killed in private houses, if we call the population of Ispahan 60,000, we shall not perhaps be very far from the truth.

In making my enquiries upon this subject, I learnt that after the sheep has been killed, divested of its skin, and ready to be carried away by the butcher to his own shop, it is then marked with a composition of red clay on a conspicuous part of the body, and that this operation is called *mohur kerden*, or sealing, from its being stamped with a piece of wood cut out in the shape of a seal.* This shows that the dues have been paid to the government, and that the butcher is at liberty to sell the meat.

It was fixed that at the end of August the Ameen-ad-Dowlah was to give an entertainment to the Ambassador and suite; and on the day appointed, as is usual in Persia, a messenger came to us at about five o'clock in the evening to bid us to the feast. I might make use of Scriptural language to commence my narration: *A certain man made a great supper, and bade many; and sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come, for all things are ready.* Luke, xiv. 16 and 17. The difficulty which infidels have made to the passage of which this is the commencement, arises from the apparent harshness of asking people to an entertainment, and giving them no option, by punishing them in fact for their refusal. Whereas all the guests to whom when the supper was ready the servant was sent, had already accepted the invitation, and were therefore already pledged to appear at the feast, at the hour when they might be summoned. They were not taken unprepared; and could not in consistency or decency plead any prior engagement. On alighting at the house, we were conducted through mean and obscure passages to a small square court, surrounded by apartments, which were the habitation of the women, who had been dislodged on the occasion; and as we entered into a low room, we there found our host waiting for us, with about a dozen more of his friends. The Ambassador was placed in the corner of honour, near the window, and the Ameen-ad-Dowlah next to him, on his left hand. The

* See Harmer, vol. i. p. cxxi. ob. x.



other guests were arranged around the room, according to their respective ranks; amongst whom was an old man, a lineal descendant of the Seffi family, whom they called *Nawab*, and who took his seat next to the Ameen-ad-Dowlah. Although needy and without power, he is always treated with the greatest respect.* He receives a daily *sursat*, or allowance, from the King, which makes his case resemble that of Jehoiachin, for *his allowance was a continual allowance given him of the King, a daily rate, all the days of his life, 2 Kings, xxv. 30.* This treatment is in the true spirit of Asiatic hospitality. Giving to the Nawab a high rank in society, is illustrative of the precedence given to Jehoiachin, by *setting his throne above the throne of the Kings that were with him in Babylon. Idem, verse 28.*

When a Persian enters a *mejlis*, or assembly, after having left his shoes without, he makes the usual salutation of *selam aleikum*, (peace be unto you,) which is addressed to the whole assembly, as it were saluting the house (Matthew, x. 12.); and then measuring with his eye the degree of rank to which he holds himself entitled, he straightway wedges himself into the line of guests, without offering any apology for the general disturbance which he produces. It may be conceived that, among a vain people, the disputes which arise on matters of precedence are numerous; and it was easy to observe, by the countenances of those present, when any one had taken a higher seat than that to which he was entitled. *Mollahs*, the Persian scribes, are remarkable for their arrogance in this respect; and they will bring to mind the caution that our Saviour gave to the Jews against their scribes, whom among other things he characterises as loving *the uppermost places at feasts.* Mark, ix. 39. The master of the entertainment has, however, the privilege of placing any one as high in the ranks of the *mejlis* as he may choose, and we saw an instance of it on this occasion; for when the assembly was nearly full, the Governor of Kashan, a man of humble mein although of considerable rank, came in, and had seated himself at the lowest place, when the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, after having testified his

* See 2 Samuel, c. ix. v. 1 and 7.



particular attentions to him by numerous expressions of welcome, pointed with his hand to an upper seat in the assembly, to which he desired him to move, and which he accordingly did.

The strong analogy to be discovered here between the manners of the Jews, as described by our Saviour in the first of the parables contained in the 14th chapter of St. Luke, and those of the Persians, must be my best apology for quoting the whole passage at full length, particularly as it will more clearly point out the origin, and more strongly inculcate the moral of that beautiful antithesis with which it closes. *When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest place, lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him, and he that bade thee and him, come and say to thee, Give this man place, and thou begin with shame to take the lowest place; but when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest place, that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee. For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*

We sat in the small room until the preliminaries of smoking, coffee, &c. had been settled. Fruit in large quantities, attended by sweetmeats and ices (which the Persians eat before dinner) were also served up, and when all had been cleared away, the dinner was announced. The Ameen-ad-Dowlah then got up, and invited the Ambassador and the other guests to follow him into another apartment, where we found that an attempt had been made to lay out a dinner in the European manner. On a number of rude unpainted tables, some high, some low, arranged in the horse-shoe fashion, were heaped all the various dishes which compose a Persian entertainment, not in symmetrical order, for their numbers made that impossible, but positively piled one upon the other, so that stewed fowl lay under roasted lamb, omelet under stewed fowl, eggs under omelet, and rice under all, and so on. Every European was provided with a knife, fork, napkin, and plate; but the poor Persians, alas! made but rueful work of it. Some were seated upon chairs so high that they towered far above the alpine



scenery of meats and stews ; others again were seated so low that they were lost in the vallies, their mouths being brought to about the level of the table. When a Persian eats his dinner in his ordinary way, the dishes are placed on the ground before him, and crouching himself down, he brings his mouth so close to them as commodiously to transfer the victuals from the dish to his mouth : but here, his mouth being placed at a great distance from the good things, and his fingers being the only medium of communication between both, their commerce was but slow and uncertain. There was much amusement in observing how awkwardly they went to work, and how great was the indignation which broke out upon the faces of some of the most ravenous of them, who out of compliment to us, were deprived of their full range over such a scene of good cheer.

The dinner being over, we were conducted through dark and intricate avenues to the *Dewan khoneh*, or public part of the house, the courts of which were illuminated by a multitude of small lamps attached to the walls, and by tallow candles suspended to wires. The blaze was immense, and the stench in proportion. After we had had time to look about us, the Ameen-ad-Dowlah politely asked the Ambassador if it was his wish that the fire-works which were placed on the surrounding walls, and in every part of the court, should commence ; and in consequence of the Ambassador's reply, the sky was soon illumined by thousands of rockets, and by a great variety of artificial fires.

During this exhibition, we happened to observe a woman with her face highly painted, and her head gaily dressed, who was looking through a window of one of the small upper rooms, which open into the great apartment in which we were seated, and who manifested, by the gaiety of her looks and the brilliancy of her eyes, that she was pleased with the attention which she had excited among us. However, she had not been there long before the window was hastily shut, and shortly after in her stead appeared some of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's sons. This fair person, whoever she was, made us recollect the history of Jezebel, *how she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window.* 2 Kings, ix. 30.



CHAPTER IX.

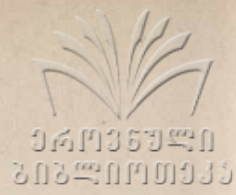
SAADATABAD, the place of our residence, was situated in the vicinity of Julfa, the Armenian suburb. The vast extent of the ruins which surround Julfa, and the remains of magnificence still apparent in some of the walls of the former houses, confirm the accounts which Chardin and other travellers have given of its ancient splendour. The state of the present Armenians, when compared with their prosperity under Shah Abbas, is quite deplorable. The fine houses which they then possessed, the remains of which prove how wealthy must have been their owners, are no longer to be seen. Although the few Armenians that still remain, have a great patron in the Ameen-ad-Dowlah, who encourages others to settle at Julfa, yet there is an appearance of misery about them, which indicates a want of confidence in the government under which they live. Instead of the three thousand four hundred houses of which Julfa could boast in the days of Shah Abbas, at present it scarcely can reckon three hundred. Its principal church is a fine building, handsomely ornamented inside, and, what is esteemed a great privilege in Mahomedan countries, enjoys the use of a bell. Some of their other churches also have bells; but the inferior ones, as well as the one attached to the convent of Nuns, have only a board suspended between two wooden pillars, which is beaten by a mallet, to call the people to prayers. Notwithstanding the smallness of the present Armenian community, twelve churches are still appropriated for their worship.

It was not until we were one day accosted in the Italian language, by a little, fresh, cheerful looking man, that we were aware of the existence of a Roman Catholic Church at Ispahan. He was its priest, and the last of the missionaries of the Propaganda, who had long been established in Persia. His name was Padré Yusuf; a Roman by birth, and he had lived fifteen years at Ispahan, during which time he had



scarcely acquired a word of the Persian language, but could converse fluently in Armenian and Turkish. We seized the first opportunity of paying him a visit, and we had no difficulty in finding where he lived, for he seemed to be known by every inhabitant of Julfa. We went early in the morning, and knocked for a considerable time at the door of his house, before we heard any noise that indicated an inhabitant. At length the door was opened very cautiously by the *Padré* himself, who had well ascertained who were his visitors, before he ventured upon so bold a step. His precautions were very natural, for himself and his companion, a cat, were the only inhabitants of his house and church, which forming one entire spacious building, were calculated to hold a much larger number than its present tenants. In most Mahomedan countries, where Christians are constantly molested and oppressed, they are very cautious to whom they open the doors of their houses. Our early intrusion had awaked the good man from his sleep, for we perceived his bed spread on the brick floor, and in his hurry he had not had time to adjust his dress. First, he showed us the church, which, considering his very slender means of existence, we found to be in good repair, clean, in good order, and better ornamented than we could have expected. It belongs to the order of the Dominicans, of which generally four or five monks used to reside at Ispahan; and was built by a Catholic lady in the year 1700, who left a legacy for that purpose, and whose tomb is now to be seen in the interior of the church. Formerly the Carmelites and Jesuits had each their church and monastery at Julfa, whilst the Augustins and Capuchins had theirs in Ispahan itself; but it is long since they have ceased to exist.

Padré Yusuf informed us that his flock does not at present amount to more than fourteen or fifteen souls, but that in the better days of Persia, large numbers of Europeans formed a part of the congregation on Sundays and holidays. We could almost imagine ourselves to be in Europe, conversing as we were in Italian, in a church so like in its interior to those of Catholic countries. The *Padré* informed us, that as long as the Pope was in power, he used to receive succours in money, but now his necessities were so great that he scarcely knew how to live.



He said, that like the other monks, he would long ago have returned to his own country, but that he felt himself bound in duty to take care of the small flock of Catholics still existing at Ispahan. During the commotions of Aga Mahommed Khan's reign, he used to keep watch on the roof of his church with a gun on his shoulder; and whenever he was in fear of being attacked, he did not scruple to make a show of resistance.

He then opened the library, a small square room, with shelves all around, upon which were heaped books of all descriptions, covered with dust. The floor also was spread with books, old papers, letters, accounts, all relating to the business of the former missionaries, written in a variety of languages, and some of a very old date. The books were in French, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, mostly on religious subjects, but so much neglected and out of order, that to us it did not appear that there was one complete work throughout the whole collection. What the Padré prized the most, was a polyglot bible, containing the Old Testament in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Greek, Latin, German, and Italian. We put some books aside, and asked whether he would not name a price for them; but the good man, although nearly starving, and without a probability of any other priest succeeding him, decidedly refused our offer, saying that they belonged not to him, but to the church. Moreover he assured us, having heard that some of the books had been stolen from the library, and were used as waste paper by the Persians, that he felt himself bound to endeavour to repurchase them, which he did whenever he had the means. It was quite delightful to meet with so conscientious a man, in a country where the word conscience is not even known, much less where its admonitions are felt.*

We accompanied the Surgeon of the embassy to the convent of Armenian Nuns at Julfa. He had attended it once before by their desire, and now returned to give medicine to several of them who had asked relief. The nuns were nine in number, all old except two, and all ugly. They are dressed from head to foot in a coarse dark blue cloth,

* Since this was written, poor Padré Yusuf is no more; he died at Ispahan.



with naked feet, and a leathern belt round their waists, to which were suspended their keys, &c. Not one of them could talk Persian. From the convent we went to the house of an Armenian priest, whose family required the Doctor's assistance. We entered the habitation through a low and mean door, that led us into a clean court, which was shaded by a vine, that grew on a *treillage*, and spread itself all about the enclosure. We went into a neat room, covered with good carpets, in one corner of which was a swinging cradle, like a sailor's hammock, the ends of which were tied to a nail in the wall on one side, and to the window-bars on the other. On our approach, the woman tending the child in the cradle removed it into an inner apartment. The Surgeon first examined the priest's mother, who had a cataract in one of her eyes, which could not be removed without couching, and to which she did not choose to submit. The priest's sister then appeared, who had no other complaint than a head-ache; and last of all the priest's wife, a jolly young dame, who came from mere curiosity to see us, as she complained of nothing but the *dil-dardi*, the heart-ache. As soon as it was known that the Surgeon was in the town, many other women also came, who with sicknesses, real or imaginary, all came to have their pulses felt, or their eyes inspected. Sore eyes appeared to be the general complaint; and they did not appear to have any effectual means of removing it, although they used many ridiculous nostrums, among which that of woman's milk and sugar, mixed up together, was the most common.

The Armenian women do not wear so entire a veil as the Mahomedan. It leaves the eyes at full liberty, and just encloses the nose, by which some general idea may be formed of the features and expression of the face. That which covers the lower part of the face, is so very tightly compressed, that the nose of every Armenian woman is flattened as broad as a negro's. Their features are broad and coarse, their complexions are fair and ruddy, and their eyes black; but their countenances in general excite but little interest. When they go from home, they cover themselves with a large white veil from head to foot. In the house they still wear the noseband, which is never laid

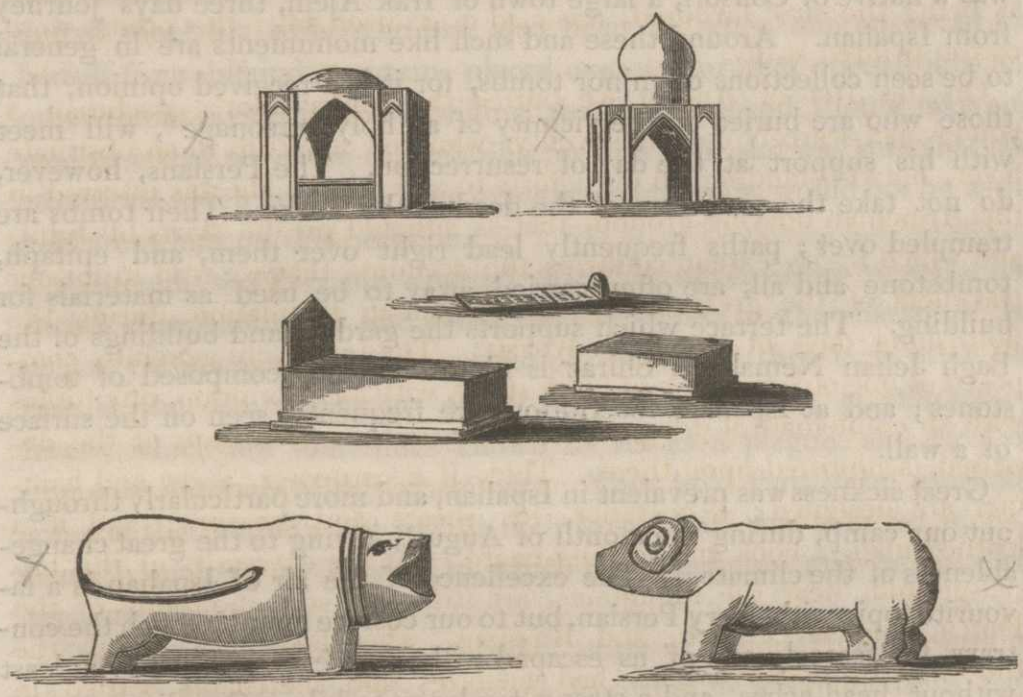


aside, even in bed. Their dress consists of a silk shift, a pair of silk trowsers which reach to the ankles, a close garment which fastens at the throat with silver clasps, and an outer garment, generally made of padded chintz, and open all the way in front. They wear a silver girdle, which rests on the hips, and is generally curiously wrought. Their feet are naked, and some of them wear silver rings round their ankles. No hair is seen, excepting a long plaited tail, that hangs over the back to the ground. On their heads they place a species of cushion, which expands at the top. The priest's wife above mentioned, as being the most favoured, was clad in crimson silk: the others wore cotton printed stuffs.

1811
On the 31st of August we buried the Ambassador's coachman, a young man scarcely one-and-twenty, who fell a victim to an obstinate fever, notwithstanding all our efforts to save him. He was interred in the Armenian burying-ground, that is situated on the skirts of Julfa; and which by its extent confirms the accounts that we read in former travellers of the greatness of the Armenian population, during the flourishing days of the Seffi dynasty. The tombs are generally composed of one oblong block of black stone, with an inscription, oftentimes with an emblematical designation of the trade or profession of the deceased, sculptured upon them. Thus, if a carpenter, a saw and hammer are designed; if a tailor, his shears and measure; and if a learned man, a book and reading-board. At the extremity of this burial-ground, near the mountains, are still to be seen the tombs of the Dutch, English, French, and Russians, who died here during the time that European nations had factories and merchants settled in Persia. Among others, we remarked the tomb of a certain Rodolphe, a German watchmaker, whom the Armenians look upon as a martyr, because he would not forsake his religion (which was the Protestant) to turn Mahomedan. Chardin, who relates this story, says that he was put to death by Sefi the First, for having killed a Persian, although in self-defence; and if he had turned Mussulman (which that King for a long time pressed him to do) his life would have been spared. On his tomb is this simple epitaph — "*Ci git Rodolphe.*"

The coachman was sewn up in a blanket, (for coffins are not used in Persia,) and thus deposited in the earth. We attended his funeral in great procession. The Ambassador read the service over him, and Armenians were his grave-diggers.

To the eastward of this, is a most extensive Persian burial-ground, in the district of Takht Poulad, which is much ruined and neglected. The tombs of the Persians are much like those of the Armenians, but with inscriptions in Persian and Arabic. Those



of the poorer sort of people are built with bricks, with a small piece of marble at the head for the epitaph: the poorest have only a piece of broken stone at the end of the grave. Stone lions and rams rudely sculptured, are very frequently seen in Persian burial grounds, and are placed over the tombs of soldiers, or those famed for their courage. The rich over their tombs have small cupolas, which rest upon four pilasters. The largest and most considerable are called *takieh*, and are built over the remains of holy and learned men: many

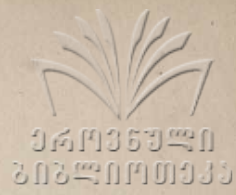


are now to be seen, but in a neglected condition. The most conspicuous of them is that of Babarouk a famous dervish, a tomb much resorted to by the people of Ispahan on holidays, and particularly on the eve of *Jumah* (Friday) as a place of worship. This tomb was celebrated in the time of Chardin, who says that the bridge, now called the Púl Hajou, was then called Babarouk after this saint. Not far from this, is another large mausoleum built by Shah Suleiman over the remains of a Mussulman doctor of the name of Mollah Hossein, who was a native of Consori, a large town of Irak Ajem, three days' journey from Ispahan. Around these and such like monuments are in general to be seen collections of minor tombs, for it is a received opinion, that those who are buried in the vicinity of an holy personage*, will meet with his support at the day of resurrection. The Persians, however, do not take the same care of the dead as the Turks. Their tombs are trampled over; paths frequently lead right over them, and epitaph, tombstone and all, are often carried away to be used as materials for building. The terrace which supports the gardens and buildings of the Bagh Jehan Nemah at Shiraz is almost entirely composed of tombstones; and at Ispahan, inscriptions are frequently seen on the surface of a wall.

Great sickness was prevalent in Ispahan, and more particularly throughout our camp, during the month of August, owing to the great changeableness of the climate.† The excellence of the air of Ispahan is a favourite topic with every Persian, but to our cost we found it much the contrary, for scarcely one of us escaped without a fever or ague, or at least without head-aches, and a strong tendency to bile. Our distress commenced by the death of the coachman; our treasurer an old Armenian was next attacked with a fever and brought to the brink of the grave. Almost all the palanquin bearers and many of the Indian body-guard fell ill. The English artillerymen were more or less laid up, and the natives themselves were not more exempt from disease than we. Our friend the late Persian Envoy also got an ague and fever, which very much alarmed him. We called upon him one morning, and found him

* See 1 Kings, xiii. 31.

† See Appendix C.



supported with down cushions, extended on a mattrass spread on the floor and covered with a shawl quilt. Although he had frequently felt the good effects of our medicines, yet we found him completely in possession of the Persian doctors, who had so persecuted him *à la Pourceaugnac*, that he owned himself to be quite exhausted, and said, that although he had not been his own master hitherto, yet now he was so persuaded of the ignorance of his countrymen in the practice of physic, that he was determined again to resort to us, and entreated us to send him some of our medicine. After this conversation was over, we enquired about his wife, who had also been ill, when she answered for herself from behind a curtain, placed over a door that opened into another room, saying, she was willing that her husband should take any medicine that we chose to prescribe for him; for she was sure that the attentions which he had so long experienced from us, would not be withheld from him on this occasion.

Although the Persians asserted that they never before experienced such a changeableness, and consequent sickliness in the climate of Ispahan, yet upon a closer investigation, we found that it is often the case at the commencement of autumn, when Ispahan is afflicted by fevers, which are sometimes known to act as a plague, and carry off immense numbers of the inhabitants. They hold fruit to be unwholesome at that period; but such is their love for it, that they eat it, particularly melons, to excess, to which their sickness may be in great measure attributed.

1811

On the 15th of August, we had a storm of thunder and lightning, when we observed that the Persians (actuated by a superstitious feeling), said their prayers with more than usual fervour. Such storms are more uncommon in these regions, than in any other part of the East which I have visited, a circumstance which probably originates from the dryness of the climate of Persia*. However, on the spot

* Olivier remarks upon the dryness of the climate of Persia. “ *C'est peut être à cette secheresse de l'air qu'il faut attribuer un fait d'histoire naturelle qui nous a paru très surprenant. Nous n'avons vu dans tout l'espace que nous avons parcouru, aucune sorte de coquil-*



spot that we inhabited, we found that a small dew fell every night, a fact which may be explained by our being surrounded by trees and cultivated grounds, which naturally attract any floating vapour. We remarked that a thick vapour covered the plain and the city upon which it stood, about sunrise, and was dissipated as the sun acquired strength. For this reason, all the views about Ispahan are much finer in the evening than in the morning.

1811

About the 23d of August, the peasants began to plough the ground in the vicinity of Ispahan. An old ploughman who was at work near the village of Sheheristan, informed us that the field which he was ploughing belonged to the Government, but that he had rented it from the Ameen-ad-Dowlah upon the following terms. He provided his own oxen and plough, and the Ameen-ad-Dowlah the corn-seed and the ground. At the harvest, Ameen-ad-Dowlah got three-fourths of the produce, and he the remaining fourth. We afterwards learnt that the whole of the land about Ispahan was farmed in the same manner, and that its irrigation, which was made by cuts from the Zaian derood, was at the expense of the Ameen-ad-Dowlah. The manure which is used for corn-fields, is generally the produce of a flock of sheep and goats, a small sum being paid to the shepherd, who keeps them upon the appointed ground, for whatever length of time may have been the agreement.

Owing to the great scarcity of fire-wood, an evil felt throughout the greatest part of Persia, fuel is extremely dear at Ispahan, in consequence of which the poor burn the dung of cows, asses, and horses. In our morning rides, we generally met caravans of mules and asses loaded with this commodity, a mule-load of which is sold for about half a real, or one shilling sterling. A maun of fire-wood*, which is

lage terrestre, malgré toutes les recherches que nous avons faites a ce sujet. Vol. iii. p. 218. We however found the shell of a small snail, late in August, in the garden of Saadetabad, in which our tents were pitched; and in September we saw several live snails crawling about on the bank of a water-course.

* Fruit, charcoal, barley, wood, and the produce of the fields, are sold by the Rey-maun, which is thirty pounds weight.



either that of the chenar, mulberry, &c., is sold for about four shahees, or four-pence; and a maun of charcoal for half a real. The baths are heated with the dung of animals, (mixed up with earth, and dried in the sun,) old bones, fruit peelings, and any other thing that will ignite. The poor sell the produce of their *latrinæ*, which gives them a revenue of about one piastre for an ass's load, whilst the rich generally dispose of their's gratis. Melon grounds are manured with this, and evidently with success; for the crops of this fruit are greater, and the qualities better at Ispahan, than any other city in Persia. The same manure is used for cucumbers.

The richest manufacture of Ispahan is the *zeri* or brocade. We visited a house in which three looms were at work. The brocade which they were manufacturing had a rich appearance, but did not equal the *kincobs* of India, or the gold-stuffs of France. The rich Persians wear the *zeri* for their outer garment on gala-days; and of this, the *kalaats*, or dresses of honour which the King and his sons confer, are made. A piece of brocade, three-fourths of a *zer* in breadth, and five *zers* in length*, is worth, according to the quality, from five to ten tomauns.† We also visited a manufactory of satin, called in Persian *atlas*, which appeared a very fine stuff, and which the Persians also use for their outward coat, the *caba*. Ispahan possesses many manufactories of silk, a commodity which is brought for the most part from Ghilan. The spinning-wheels of the Persians are constructed like those of Europe. We visited a house where fifty skanes of silk were spun in one day, and were then conducted to seven looms belonging to the same manufactory, where long black silk handkerchiefs, which the Persian women wear as turbans, were wove. These seven looms employed thirty men. The weavers are paid by the piece, and not by the day; and for completing one handkerchief, which is two *zers* and a quarter square, they receive two piastres, about three shillings and eight-pence. We were informed that they could finish one handkerchief in two days, but it seemed to us difficult to do so much.

* A zer is equal to a cubit.

† One tomaun is worth fifteen shillings.



Cotton is also manufactured at Ispahan into cloths of different qualities, from the plant which grows in the neighbourhood of the city. Nine-tenths of the Ispahan cotton is consumed on the spot, and the rest is exported. Their principal cotton manufacture is the *kadek*, a strong and excellent cloth, which resembles nankeen, and which is worn by all ranks of people, from the King to the peasant. It is also exported to Russia by the Caspian sea, and is there used for the undress of the Russian soldiery. The *kerbas* is another cotton cloth, of which the shirts and drawers of the lower orders are generally made: stronger qualities of it are used for tent-coverings, &c. They paint cotton stuffs with a hand stamp, and they then are called *chit*, (perhaps from our chintz,) and wash them on the banks of the Zaian derood, which they do by beating the stuff on a stone, and then spreading it on the sand to dry.

Paper, gunpowder, sword blades, glass and earthenware, are also manufactured at Ispahan, but not in great quantities.

No regular bazar for books is established at Ispahan, as at Constantinople, but we were well supplied with manuscripts by the *delals*, or brokers, men who are useful though dishonest, who generally procured for us the books we wanted by searching for them in shops, or in private houses. Several very fine manuscripts were brought to us, besides a great variety of Persian drawings. The Persians are not so bigotted with respect to the pollution of the Koran by the touch of infidels as the Turks, for many copies were brought to us for sale; but they hold it in great respect; for one day a Mollah brought us some books for sale, which he spread upon the ground before us. One of us by chance placing his foot upon a Cuffick MS., containing sentences of the Koran, was reprimanded by the Persian, who exclaimed, "Beware, that is the word of God!"

1811
September proved as unhealthy as the foregoing month; but our attention was diverted from the miseries of our sick by a threatened invasion of the Bakhtiarees, who, under their chief Achmed Khan, were in open rebellion, and had approached near the city. The alarm was great: guards were placed at all the principal avenues, particularly



to those leading to our camp; for it was feared, that should any attack be made, we, who were known to carry many valuables in our train, should be the first objects of it. The precautions taken by the Persians against an attack, afforded us an opportunity of judging what would be their mode of defending a city in a case of real war. Ispahan has but few of its walls remaining, and therefore has a thousand neglected avenues by which it may be entered. Notwithstanding this, small bodies of men, from twenty to fifty each, armed with matchlock guns, were stationed at the principal gates, bridges, and causeways, where they built up small temporary breastworks of mud, leaving apertures through which, crouching down, they might insert their muskets, in case they should be brought to the extremity of firing them. Without such a screen, no Persian soldier, left to his own modes of defence, would stand; and this indeed is the case with most Asiatic troops, who, not having a point of union in the open field, have been known to fight well under the protection of walls.

1811 comet

On the 18th of September, 1811, we first saw a comet, bearing N. W. from Ispahan. The Persians informed us, that they had seen it many days before, and that then it was in the direction of the Pointers in the Ursa Major. They look upon a comet, which they call *sitareh dumdar*, or the star with a tail, as portentous of evil, announcing wars, dissensions, famine, scarcity, &c. The old poet Mahomed Cossim Walah compared it to Buonaparte, who, he said, never appeared in any country, but misery and misfortune attended him.

During our residence at Ispahan, great apprehensions were entertained about the issue of a war that was waging between Mahomed Ali Mirza, Governor of Kermanshah, and Abdurakhman Pasha, a powerful chief of the Courdistan, of the origin and progress of which the following are the particulars.

The Courdistan is governed by chiefs, some of whom are dependent on the Turkish, and some on the Persian government; others are nominally dependent, passing from the territory of the one power to that of the other, as may suit their interests, and lead a predatory and an unsettled life. Abdurakhman Pasha was dependent upon the



Turkish government, and was placed more immediately under that of the Pashalik of Bagdad. Happening to offend the Pasha, who in consequence dispossessed him of his territory, he fled to the Persian court, and implored its assistance. The Persians mediated a reconciliation between the parties, and the Courd was restored to his government, upon condition that he paid an annual tribute to Persia, whilst he deposited his son in the hands of the King as a hostage of his good faith. Some time after this, the Porte was displeased with the conduct of Suleiman, Pasha of Bagdad, and sent the Reis Effendi to depose him, empowering him by a firman to appoint Abdulla Aga to that post.* When the Reis Effendi approached Bagdad, he found that his power was too insignificant to depose the Pasha, who had prepared himself for a stout resistance, and therefore applied to the Courd Abdurakhman for assistance. The latter having again become a powerful chief, supplied the Reis Effendi with a large body of troops, fought a battle with his old enemy of Bagdad, overcame and slew him. The Reis Effendi was then proceeding to put his orders into execution, when Abdurakhman, arrogant in success, demanded as a reward for his services, that a friend of his whose name very opportunely was Abdulla, should be appointed Pasha, in the room of the Abdulla who was intended by the Turkish government to fill that office.

As it was not in the power of the Reis Effendi to punish the insolence of the Courd, the wrong Abdulla was made Pasha.

Abdurakhman Pasha becoming more elated by the success of his measures, grew lax in his agreements with the Persian government, and required that his son should be restored to him. The son, in the meanwhile, had been transferred from the court of the King to Mahomed Ali Mirza at Kermanshah, the boundary of whose government touched that of the Courds. The Pasha collected his forces, which by their numbers and their late exploits had become formidable, and threatened to attack Mahomed Ali Mirza even in Kermanshah if his son was

* Abdulla Aga was the very respectable Turk mentioned in my former journal as living a retired life at Bushire, page 12.



not immediately restored to him. The Prince also collected his troops, and with the activity and resolution for which he is renowned, immediately entered upon the territory of the Pasha, burning, pillaging, and laying waste, after the manner of his country. As an instance of his desperate courage, it is related, that he carried his winding sheet with him, an act which, in the estimation of the Persians, amounts to a declaration of waging war, either to death or victory.

This vigorous measure, if we may believe the Persians, overawed the Courds, for Abdurakhman Pasha, instead of waiting an attack, fled to the mountains, leaving to the Persians a free passage to his chief town Sulimanieh, of which they soon took possession.

On the day of our departure from Ispahan, we learnt that the campaign had terminated by Abdurakhman Pasha having sent his wife, and one of his sons, as hostages to the Persians, with a present of 50000 to-mauns, on condition that Sulimanieh should be restored to him. A sum of the same amount was also stipulated to be paid by him as an annual tribute. An instance of the ferocious energy of Mahomed Ali Mirza's character must not be forgotten. A few days after his departure from Kermanshah to attack Abdurakhman Pasha, in a fit of exasperation, he ordered the son of that chief, who was then an hostage in his hands, to be put to death; and as the cruel sentence admitted of no appeal it unhappily was obeyed.



CHAPTER X.

HAVING heard that the King was on his return to Teheran from his camp at Sultanieh, on the 14th of October we departed from Saadatabad, and crossing the city encamped on an open space to the north of it. Our perambulator gave the distance of the march as five miles, nearly three of which we traversed under vaulted bazars. We passed a week in this place, during which time, owing to the change of air, our sick mended apace. A small interval of hot weather brought our Indians about immediately, but as soon as the cold again began to be felt they relapsed. An army of Indians in the winters of the north of Persia, would be totally unfit for service in the field.

On the 21st of October, accompanied by Mahomed Beg as our Mehmandar, we reached Gez, and the next day Morchekhord. Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, who was also to have been of the party, was kept back one day at Ispahan by the astrologers, who detained him for a happy conjunction of the planets. He rejoined us a few days after.*

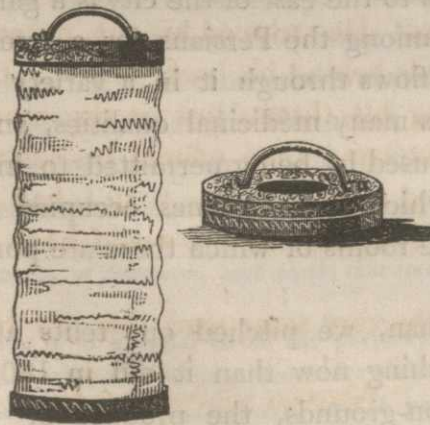
On our arrival at Morchekhord the Ambassador was received by the son of the Thaubet, a young man of about five and twenty. When the King passed by this village last year, on his road to Ispahan, the old Thaubet exhibited a scene of adulation which was disgusting even to the Persians. He stripped his son naked from the waist upwards, tied his hands behind his back, and lifted up a large knife, as if in the act of cutting his throat, just at the moment when the King passed, and at the same time offered his son as a sacrifice, in terms such as are only used to the Deity. "If I had been the King," said one of our Persian companions, "I would have cried out *bekoush, bekoush*, kill, kill."

As we travelled the very same road that Sir Harford Jones did, it is

* See 2 Kings, iv. 23. "Wherefore wilt thou go to him *to-day*? it is neither new moon, nor sabbath."

needless to dwell upon every particular again, and I will therefore proceed at once to Kashan, of which I made but little mention in my last journal, and which we had time to see at our leisure, as we remained there from the 27th to the 31st of October.

This city is situated in $34^{\circ} 0' 33''$ N. lat. by a mean of 3 observations taken during our stay there. It is about the circumference of Shiraz, and surrounded by a dry ditch, but its walls are in such decay, that apparently they could not stand an hour's battering. Around it are extensive plantations of mulberry trees, for silk worms, which however do not yield sufficient silk for the supply of its manufactures, and the deficiency is made up from Ghilan. We remarked a greater appearance of bustle and business here, than we had seen even at Ispahan, for besides silk, a great trade is carried on in copper ware. The mines near Sivas supply the Kashan manufacturers with copper, which they receive by way of Arze Roum and Tabriz, and which they manufacture into all sorts of utensils, and in such numbers as to supply the whole of Persia. They sell their copper ware by the weight, one maun of which ($7\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.) was worth 15 *reals* or about 1*l.* 10*s.* The most convenient article which they manufacture is a portable set of cooking utensils, that form a nest, the different pieces of which from 20 to 50 in number, are contrived to go all within the compass of one pot. They are used by all travellers in Persia, where every man is obliged to carry his own establishment. Their lanterns also are worthy of notice from





the singularity and convenience of their contrivance. The top and bottom are made of copper, and let into each other. The former, which is generally ornamented with small figures, devices in Persian, &c. is pierced with small holes, and has a handle. The latter is made to contain the socket for the candle; and between the two there is a serpentine wire, which when extended makes the lantern a yard long, more or less, according to its circumference; and over this they fix a *pirahaun*, or shirt of white wax cloth, which reflects a considerable light when a candle is placed within.

Their silk stuffs denote great skill in the manufacturer. A particular sort, known by the name of *shawl kashai*, is very beautiful. The Cashmerian patterns are followed by the Kashan manufactories; but nothing can ever exceed the warmth and beauty of the shawls of Cashmere. Satins, brocades, and velvets are also worked at Kashan, the latter of which have deservedly a good reputation.

This city can boast of many spacious caravanserais, some of which have been lately built. The one called the *Caravanserai Shah*, or the Royal Hotel, which is so much extolled by Chardin, is left to ruin, and is an instance of the propensity common to the Persians, to build new places rather than to repair the old. The finest building in Kashan is a *Medreseh*, or College, that has lately been founded by the present King, and which is likely to rank among the first of His Majesty's architectural works.

About three miles to the east of the city is a garden, called the *Baghi-Feen*, celebrated among the Persians for a stream of water, clearer than crystal, which flows through it in a variety of artificial channels. It is said to possess many medicinal qualities, and the Persians resort to it. We were amused by being permitted to inspect the interior of a pleasure-house, which is sometimes occupied by the King in the spring, in one of the rooms of which there are portraits of himself and twenty of his sons.

Having left Kashan, we pitched our tents at Nasserabad, which looked more flourishing now than it did in 1809, particularly in the extent of its melon-grounds, the produce of which is deservedly famous. We were informed, that since the Ameen-ad-Dowlah has had



the government of this part of the country, 150 *kanauts*, or aqueducts, have been made in different parts of the plain, each of which cost three thousand tomauns. Although this is evident exaggeration, yet the increase of agriculture so much depends upon the increase of artificial irrigation, that the one may be almost measured by the other.

This subject acquires considerable importance from the manner in which it is noticed by Polybius. His remarks coincide so closely with the present mode of obtaining water by the means of *kanauts*, that no doubt can remain that it is an art which has maintained itself in the country from the times of ancient Persia. The extreme dryness of the climate, and the great deficiency of rivers, have obliged the natives to turn all their ingenuity to the discovery of springs*, and to the bringing of their streams to the surface of the earth.† To effect this, when a spring has been discovered, they dig a well until they meet with the water; and if they find that its quantity is sufficient to repay them for proceeding with the work, they dig a second well, so distant from the other as to allow a subterranean communication between both. They then ascertain the nearest line of communication with the level of the plain upon which the water is to be brought into use, and dig a succession of wells, with subterranean communications between the whole suite of them, until the water at length comes to the surface, when it is conducted by banked-up channels into the fields, or wherever may be its destination. The extent of country through which such streams are sometimes conducted is quite extraordinary. Mouths of wells are to be frequently met with in lonely vallies, and may be traced in different windings into the plain. It is because the water flows through these, invisible of course to the eye, that the Historian said, no water is ever seen above the surface of the ground‡; and the immunities which he mentions the Persians bestowed upon those who brought water

* *A land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills.* Deut. viii. 7.

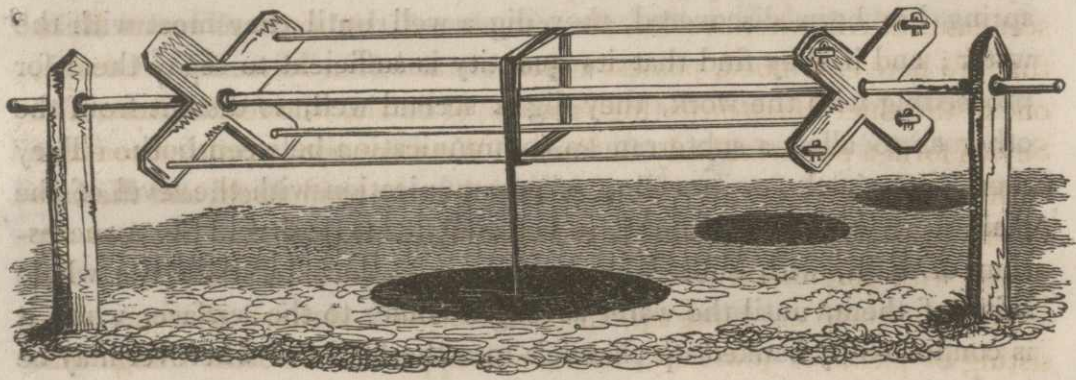
† In countries where water is so essential to all the purposes of life, how aptly are the invaluable blessings of the Spirit's effusion described under such a metaphor: "*In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert; and the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water.*" Isaiah, xxxv. 6, 7.

‡ Polybius, lib. x. 25.

AQUEDUCTS.

to places in which there was none before, evidently shows that they were held in the same degree of consequence as at the present day. Such is the local consequence of a new kanaut, that the day when the water is brought to its ultimate destination is made a day of rejoicing among the peasants. The astrologers are consulted to name a fortunate hour for the appearance of the stream; and when it comes forth it is received by songs and music, attended by shouts of joy, and exclamations of *mobarek bashed*, "prosperity attend it."

The labour and expense of a kanaut of course depends greatly upon the distance from whence the water is to be brought. The mode of making the wells is very simple. A shaft is first dug, then a wooden trundle is placed over it, from which is suspended a leather bucket,



which is filled with the excavations by a man below, and wound up by another above. Where the soil is soft, the mouths of the wells are secured by masonry.

This mode of procuring water is common to the whole of Persia; and although a particular and most important object is hereby attained, yet it doubtless gives a great advantage to an enemy, who, by the destruction of objects so valuable, so defenceless, and so easily destroyed, may in a day injure the work of years, and ruin, perhaps permanently, the cultivation of a large district. It is recorded that the Scythians, in their retreat before the Persians*, filled up the wells and fountains

* Herodotus, Melpomene, 120.



which lay in their way; and Arsaces, according to Polybius, ordered the wells to be broken and filled up, upon the advance of Antiochus from Ecbatana; whilst Antiochus, on the other hand, seems to have been so well aware of their consequence to him and his army, that he sent troops to drive away the Persian cavalry who were employed upon this service.*

As we travelled onwards we discerned the gilt cupola of the tomb of Fatmeh, at Koom, about five miles before we reached the village of Passengoon; and we were told, that on a clear day, when the rays of the sun strike bright upon it, it is to be seen from the caravanserai of Abshour, a direct distance of fifteen miles.

Koom is remarkable for three things: its numerous priests, its gilded cupola, and its ruins. The greater part of the inhabitants are *Seyids*, descendants of Ali, who, besides the remains of the sister of Imam Reza that are here entombed, possess a great attraction in Mirza Abul Cossim, one of the chief *Mushteheds* (high priests) of Persia, who resides here. The *Seyids* form a powerful body in Persia. We were not permitted to enter within the mausoleum; but we were told that the tomb itself, and the bars of the grate which surround it, are of solid silver, and that its gates are plated with gold, upon which are inscribed sentences of the Koran. All around the tomb are hung up, in great display, various offerings, consisting of pieces of jewellery, arms, rich apparel, and other things that are accounted scarce and precious.† One of the most costly offerings is a *jika*, or ornament for the head, presented by His Majesty, and which formerly belonged to his mother. This circumstance will acquire more interest from the coincidence of Cræsus having consecrated his wife's necklaces and girdles at Delphi.‡ Around all these riches, deposited under a dome which itself looks like gold, are to be seen only broken mud walls, and an array of naked and arid mountains. Such is Persia: immense wealth lavished upon one object, the magnificence of which, compared with the surrounding misery, renders the contrast more striking.

* Polybius, lib. x. 25. † Numbers, xxxi. 50. ‡ Herodotus, Clio, 51.



The mausoleum at Koom is one of the most celebrated sanctuaries throughout Persia, and thither the Persians frequently take shelter in distress. It is very seldom that they are forced out; but in cases of great criminality they are starved into a surrender. It was here that our friend Mirza Abul Hassan Khan took refuge for a considerable time, during the disasters which befel his family, and where he was fed in a clandestine manner by some compassionate women, who came to him on pretence of making their devotions at the shrine of the saint. Although in general the tombs of all their *Imam Zadehs* (descendants of Imams) are looked upon as sanctuaries, yet there are some accounted more sacred than others: without this almost single impediment in the way of a Persian King's power, his subjects would be totally at his mercy.

The King frequently visits the Tomb of Fatmeh, and makes costly offerings there. By such acts he has acquired among the priesthood a great reputation, which, when at Koom, he keeps up by going about on foot, an act of great humility in Persian estimation. We may conceive the full extent of this humility, where walking is part of the service exacted from servants, multitudes of whom are always attached to a Prince and a man of consequence in the East. Many are kept exclusively for that purpose: when a great man goes abroad he is mounted on a horse, whilst his servants surround him, one bearing his pipe, another his shoes, another his cloak, a fourth his saddle-cloth, and so on, the number increasing with the dignity of the master. This will give great force to the following passage in Ecclesiastes:—*I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth.* x. 7.

During the few days that we were at Koom, we saw great numbers of women riding on asses, escorted by men on foot, arriving in bodies of ten to fifteen at a time, from the neighbouring villages, to make the *Ziaret* as it is called, or to worship at the tomb of the saint. This is one of the few recreations of the peasantry of Persia; and they recur to it more perhaps in the spirit of pleasure than in that of devotion. As soon as they approached the mausoleum the men chanted a dirge, which at a distance had a very solemn effect.

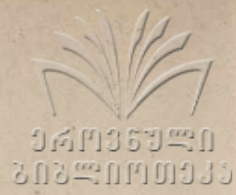


At a distance of about 2½ fursungs, on a bearing of N. 46° W., is seen distinctly from Koom the hill of *Geden Gelmez*, which has been frequently mentioned by travellers, and which still retains considerable celebrity in Persia. *Geden Gelmez* are Turkish words, which have the mysterious import of "those who go, never return." The hill is also called the *Koh Telism*, or the talismanic hill, and is variously described by the natives. Some said that many who have attempted to explore it have never more been heard of; but others less credulous assured us, that though such had been the feeling many years ago, yet in later days it had been traversed in all directions, and that men came from it as safe as from any other hill. It should seem that it consists of a tract almost entirely composed of nitre, which crumbles so easily under foot, particularly after rains, that it is dangerous to walk over it: perhaps it resembles the Hamman Meskouteen, mentioned by Shaw*, in Barbary, and the Sulfavata near Naples. When we left Koom the morning was thinly clouded, which gilded by its rising beams gave to the sun a splendour seldom seen at this season. We reached *Púl Dallauk*. The water of the river that runs in front of the caravanserai at *Púl Dallauk*, is so brackish as to be almost salt; notwithstanding which all our cattle were led to it to drink. The Persians say that cattle do not refuse to drink of such water, but that they thrive on it as well as on fresh.† This corroborates a fact mentioned by Arrian in his *Periplus of the Euxine*, namely, that the Pontic Sea is so much less salt than the sea without the Hellespont, that the people who lived on the shores of it, led out their cattle to drink of its water, which they willingly did. He also adds, "and experience has shown that they thrive better with this than with fresh water." Herodotus also mentions that the beasts of burden in the army of Xerxes drank the water of a salt lake. (lib. vii. 109.)

We pitched our tents near the Haoos Sultan, on the face of a bleak

* Shaw, vol. i. 274. Vervard's Travels, p. 221.

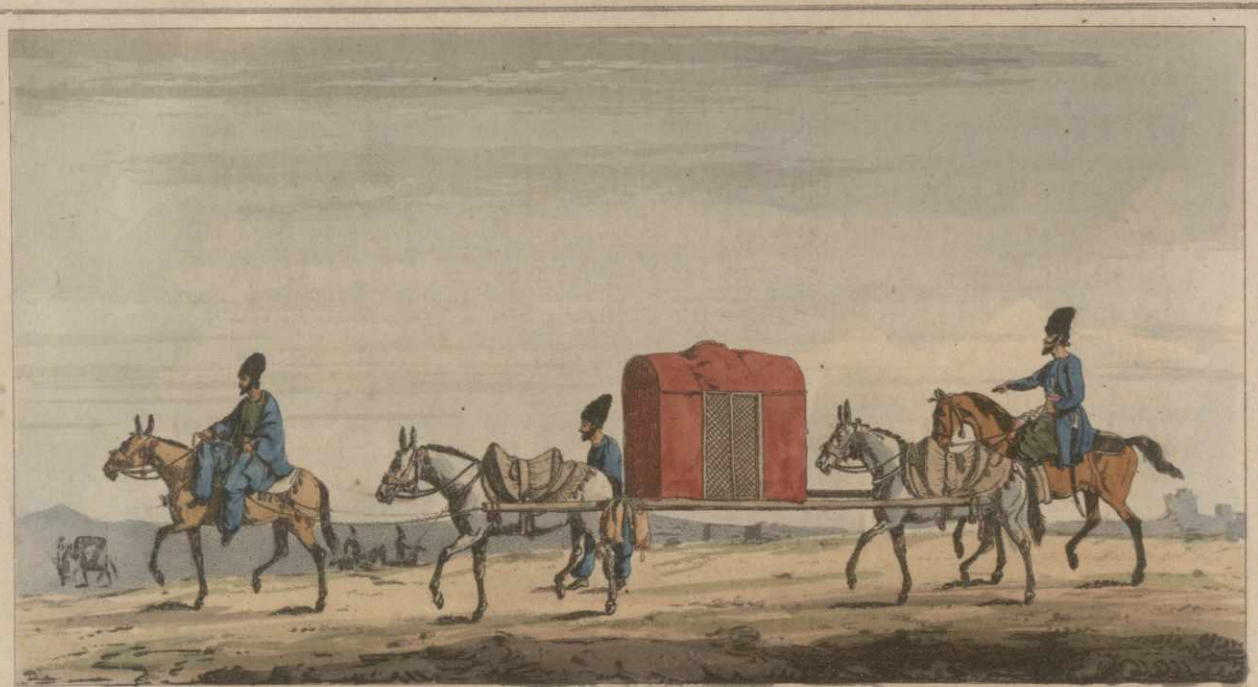
† The value of salt marshes, that is, ground watered daily by the tide, is well known to English agriculturists; and cattle, in the spring of the year especially, thrive better on such land than any other.



desert. It was reported to us that the reservoir of water which gives its name to this place was empty, but we found it nearly half full. Without this our post here would have been untenable, and we should have been obliged to continue our road over the surrounding salt desert, than which a more horrid tract of country cannot be conceived. The day following we passed over it without inconvenience, though the Persians were not without some apprehensions of the *goule*, a species of land *mermaid*, which they affirm entices the traveller by its cries, and then tears him to pieces with its claws. They say that the *goule* has the faculty of changing itself into different shapes and colours; sometimes that it comes in a camel's form, sometimes as a cow, then as a horse; and when of a sudden we had discovered something on the horizon of the desert which we could not define, all the Persians at once exclaimed that it was a *goule*. Our spying-glasses, however, discovered it to be the stump of a high reed, which some of the Persians still thought might be a *finesse* of the *goule*. With the gravest faces we were assured that on crossing this desert many had seen them; and we were informed of the spells by which they had kept them at a distance, the most efficacious of which they said was loosening the string of their *shalwars*, or riding trowsers.

After we had passed the salt desert, we came to the *Malek-el-Moat dereh*, or the valley of the angel of death. This extraordinary appellation, and the peculiar nature of the whole of this tract of land, broken into deep ravines, without water, of a dreariness without example, will perhaps be found forcibly to illustrate that passage in the prophet Jeremiah, xi. 6. : — *A land of deserts and of pits, a land of drought and of the shadow of death, a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwells.* “A land of the shadow of death,” which has given rise to much speculation according to Harmer*, will perhaps be deemed an allegorical expression, alluding, like the Persian appellation above mentioned, to the danger of traversing so intricate a tract, and the death that must ensue if lost in it.

* Harmer, vol. iv. p. 115.



TAKHT - E - RAVAN.



THE KEY KAJ EXERCISE.

James Morier, del^l

T. Fielding & H. Alken, Sculp^r



CHAPTER XI.

WE entered Teheran on the 9th of November, and were received by an *Istakball*, or deputation, headed by Mahomed Khan *Amou*, or Mahomed Khan the Uncle, so called, not because he was the King's Uncle, but because he had been the King's playfellow; for *Uncle*, among the Persians, as well as among the Arabs, is an epithet of affection frequently used to fondle and caress the person to whom it is applied. With this character, united with the circumstance of his being a *Cajar* by birth, we were assured that the distinction conferred upon us was very considerable. He was attended by a great body of the King's cavalry, mounted upon fine horses, who made a display of their horsemanship as we proceeded in slow procession towards the city. Many of them particularly excelled in the *Keykaj**, an exercise that consists in turning about on the saddle at full speed, and firing backwards upon a pursuing enemy. This they learn from their childhood, and it gives them great confidence and dexterity on horseback. It is probably the remains of the old Parthian custom, so frequently alluded to in ancient authors †, with this difference, that fire-arms are now used instead of bows and arrows.

Billman 3.

We were lodged in the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's palace until houses should be appropriated for the fixed habitation of the Embassy. Two were shortly after selected, but in a manner that will show of what frail tenure are possessions in Persia. The one formerly belonged to Mirza Baba, who had held the situation of *Beglerbeg* (a principal officer) of

* قيقاج

† Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐπίτροσκον, εἰς τῆπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.

Xenophon, Anab. lib. iii. c. 3.

Fidentemque fugâ Parthum, versisque sagittis.

Virg. Georg. lib. iii. v. 31.

Miles sagittas et celerem fugam

Parthi.

Hor. lib. 2. Ode xiii. v. 17.; also lib. 1. Ode xix. v. 11. &c.



the city; but who, if the expression may be used, *fell rich*, and was put to death. Another horrid circumstance gives celebrity to this house, for in one of its small rooms was immured, literally *bricked up*, Saduk Khan Cheghaugee, whose crime had been what is here called making the *Ada ul sultanet*, or aspiring to the crown; but having been discomfited in a battle near Casvin, he was persuaded to give himself up to the King, provided that his blood was not spilt. To this the King gave his promise and kept it, for he was starved to death. Alexander pledged himself towards Nabarzanes, "*after the Persian manner*," as Curtius calls it, that he would not hurt him*; but not with the same reserve of conscience as his present Majesty, for he pardoned Nabarzanes, although he was chiefly moved to this act by the depraving influence of the eunuch Bagaos.

The other house belonged to Mahomed Khan, the chief of the Camel Artillery, who upon a salary of 300 piastres, or about 30*l.* sterling per annum, had contrived to build himself not only this, but another infinitely finer house. Of this the King was aware, and consequently made no scruple of accepting it as a present with one hand, and presenting it to the British Embassy with the other. Mahomed Khan showed us no sort of ill-will for the loss he had sustained; but on the contrary, professed for us the sincerest friendship, and said that for the future we should be more intimately united: and consoled himself with the usual Persian professions, *Māl-e-mun, māl-e-shumah, māl-e-shumah, māl-e-mun* — "My property is yours, and yours is mine." He had a house in our neighbourhood superior to the one which had been taken from him, and we always found him true to his professions. The character of neighbour in the East is indeed in some measure sacred; and the Persian word *Hemsieh* (under one shade) which it expresses, gives a good idea of its friendly signification.

The first days of our arrival at Teheran were almost exclusively engaged by discussions on points of etiquette. The Ambassador demanded

* *Nec dubitavit Alexander, fidem quo Persæ modo accipiebant, dare, "Inviolatum si venisset fore."* Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. c. 4.



that he should deliver the King of England's letter into the Shah's own hands — that on account of his superior diplomatic rank, he should be treated with greater honours than had been shown to all preceding ministers — and that he should receive the first visit from the Grand Vizier. The Persians resisted the first demand, saying it was contrary to their usage — to the second they answered, that with regard to greater honours, they had on former occasions exhausted all which they had to give; but that now, the most they could do was to place the Ambassador's chair nearer to the throne than had been practised in preceding audiences of ministers. As for the last, they refused positively to accede to it.

In order to carry his principal point, the Ambassador was obliged to compromise his first visit to the King to a private audience. Attended by me, and his escort of Indian cavalry, we proceeded to the palace, where we were received by the master of ceremonies of the *Khekwet*, or private apartments, who conducted us to the Presence. The King was seated in a small upper room, and when we had perceived him, we made our obeisances with all due respect, until we were stopt at about thirty paces in front of him, where we left our shoes and walked on the bare stones until we were close to His Majesty. Here the King said, "*Khosh Amedeed*," You are welcome; and "*Biah ballah*," Come up; when we mounted a narrow flight of steps that led at once into the room. He was seated on an embroidered carpet, spread on the ground in a corner. Opposite to him stood the Grand Vizier Mirza Sheffea and Ameen-ad-Dowlah; and on one side four pages richly dressed, one bearing his crown, a second his sword, a third his bow and arrows, and the fourth his shield and battle-axe. The Ambassador was conducted by the Grand Vizier, and stooping down presented the letter to the King, who pointed to a spot about two or three inches from him, where he placed it. After that he presented the diamond ring with which he was charged as a present from the King of England, using appropriate expressions on the occasion, to which the King answered, by pointing to the letter and saying, "This is better than a mountain of diamonds." His Majesty then desired the Ambassador to seat himself, which he did on the ground; and after that ensued a conversation, in which the King, with great dignity

expressed the high esteem he entertained for our nation. The Ambassador seized this opportunity to extol the conduct of the King's Envoy during his stay in England, to which His Majesty seemed to listen with pleasure; and then ordered Mirza Abul Hassan Khan to be called, who soon after appeared, and stood below with his shoes off, by the side of a basin of water. He then said to him aloud, "Aferin, aferin, well done, well done, Abul Hassan, you have made my face white in a foreign country, and I will make yours white in this. You are one of the noblest of the families in my kingdom, and with the help of God, I will raise you to the dignities of your ancestors;" at which words the Mirza knelt down and actually touched the earth with his forehead.

Sometime after this, the Ambassador had his public audience, when we saw the King in great splendour. He was decked in all his jewels, with his crown on his head, his *bazúbends*, or armllets, on his arms, seated on his throne. We approached him bowing after our own manner, but the Persians bowed as David did to Saul, *who stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself*, (1 Samuel, xxiv. 8.); that is, not touching the earth with the face, but bowing with their bodies at right angles, the hands placed on the knees, and the legs somewhat asunder. It is only



on remarkable occasions, such as that above mentioned of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, that the prostration of the *Rouee Zemeen*, the face to the earth, is made, which must be the *falling upon the face to the earth and worshipping*, as Joshua did. (Joshua, v. 14.) Stated distances were



fixed for taking off our shoes : some of the Ambassador's suite, being obliged to take theirs off at a considerable distance from the King, whilst others, whose rank gave them more privilege, kept theirs on until near to the stairs which led into the room. As the Persians allow to their monarch a great character of sanctity, calling him the *Zil Allah*, the shadow of the Almighty, they pay him almost divine honours. Besides making the *Ziaret*, as before stated, the taking off their shoes implies that the ground which surrounds him is sacred ; and this circumstance will illustrate what the captain of the Lord of Hosts said unto Joshua: *Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy.*—Joshua, v. 15.

The jewels disposed over his dress are embroidered on the stuff. Large stones of considerable value are placed on the shoulders. Upon his crown, which is very heavy, and set with jewels, is inscribed نصر من الله وفتح قريب — Help from God, and speedy victory. On the front of it is placed the *Jika*, an upright ornament of jewellery, which is the great distinction of Persian royalty. The *bazúbends** (ornaments that are fastened above the elbow,) are composed of precious stones, of great value, and are only worn by the King and his sons. They must be distinguished from the bracelets used by the ancient Persians †, in the same manner as they are worn at this day in India ; and are, I should conjecture, nearly the same sort of ornament which was brought to David as a token of Saul's death, — viz. *the bracelet that was on his arm*, — (2 Samuel, i. 10.) ; and which probably in those days, as it does now, indicated royalty. ‡ When the people of Israel wished for a King, it was on the declared principle, that they might be governed “ *like all the nations.*” Saul was the first King under this establishment ; nor can we doubt that the customs of the surrounding nations were punctiliously observed towards him in his public appearance, his going to war, &c.

* *Bazú* is the part of the arm above the elbow.

† See the Sculptures of Persepolis.

‡ See Harmer, vol. ii. p. 453. — The word translated “bracelet,” is by the Latin interpreters, better given as *armilla*.



The throne upon which the King sat was ascended by steps, upon which were painted dragons. It is surrounded by a balustrade, and the whole of it, which is overlaid with fine gold, beautifully enamelled, we were told cost one hundred thousand tomauns. The throne of Solomon was ascended by steps — *there were stays on each side of the sitting place*; and, what is its principal feature of resemblance, was *overlaid with pure gold.* 2 Chron. ix. 17. 18.

This audience passed off like that which I have before described in my former journal; and I will therefore proceed to relate that the Ambadress also paid a visit of ceremony to the King of Persia's chief wife, called the *Banoo Harem*, whom, for want of a more appropriate title, we styled the Queen of Persia. The Ambadress was introduced into a large open room, at one corner of which was seated the Queen, dressed out in truly Persian splendour. Large gilded knobs appeared on her head-dress, which was of a great size; and the other parts of her attire, like that of Zobeide, the Caliph's favourite in the Arabian Nights, were so loaded with jewels that she could scarcely walk. In a corner of the room stood some of the King's children, so stiffened out with brocade, velvets, furs, and jewellery, that they almost looked like fixtures. Great numbers of women were arranged in rows without the room, all ornamented with jewellery; and on the whole there appears to have been a great display of magnificence, although it did not amount quite to what the Persians would have made us to conceive. The Ambadress presented the Queen of England's picture, most beautifully set round with brilliants of the purest water, to the personage before whom she was seated, who was quite unconscious of the beauty of the workmanship; but we afterwards learnt that it was greatly admired by His Majesty, whose discrimination in these valuables is very acute. Whilst the Ambadress partook of some refreshments, her two maids were led out by the attendants to do the same; but no sooner were they amongst them than the Persian women fell upon them like harpies to analyse their dress, of which they expressed the most unbounded curiosity. It is agreed by the Persians that the dress of our females is in every way



preferable to theirs ; but they will not allow the same in favour of the dresses of our men.

The Grand Vizier refused so positively to pay the first visit to the Ambassador, that at length, after a long negociation in which violence and conciliation were used alternately, the business was brought to a sort of accommodation, by an entertainment given in the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's house by the Ambassador, at which the Grand Vizier was to be the Ambassador's guest. Of course the Grand Vizier gave it out that he had been the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's guest, and the Ambassador that he had been his ; but notwithstanding the fermentation which it excited at the time, when they met they were soon reconciled, and parted in great good-humour with each other. No people are more punctilious upon the *deed wa baz deed*, the visit and its return, than are the Persians ; and it was on that very account that we judged it of importance to be strict in keeping up to this etiquette.

Not long after our arrival the Persians commenced their preparations for the celebration of the death of Imam Hossein. This takes place during the first ten days of the month of Moharrem, which is the first month of the Mahomedan year. *Moharrem*, in Arabic, means sacred, prohibited by law ; and is so called because, even before Mussulmanism, it was held unlawful among the ancient Arabs to make open war upon each other during that month, as well as during the months of Rejeb, Zeccad, and Zilhej. The first ten days of the month of Moharrem are called by the Mahomedans *Ayam Almaddoodaut*, or the reckoned days, because they believe that during these ten days the Koran was sent in detached portions from heaven to be communicated to mankind. The tenth is generally called the *Ashoureh* by all sects of Mussulmans ; but the Persians and the other followers of Ali call it also the *Roos Catl*, or the *Roos Hossein*, the day of murder, or of Hossein, because they believe that on that day Hossein was killed.

Hossein was the second son of Ali, and brother of Hassan ; and having refused to recognise Yezid for the legitimate Caliph, was obliged to quit Medina and to retire to Mecca. The inhabitants of Cufa, of which the major part had a great partiality to the family of Ali



hearing of his retreat, invited him to take refuge amongst them ; and having proclaimed him, and unanimously received him as the lawful Caliph, they declared Yezid to be an usurper. Yezid no sooner heard this than he dispatched Abadúllah, one of his captains, with troops to march against him. This officer having met Hossein in the plain of Kerbelah, on his road to Cufa, accompanied only by sixty-two persons of his family, killed him and all those with him, in the 61st year of the Hejra.

The tragical termination of his life, commencing with his flight from Medina, and terminating with his death on the plain of Kerbelah, has been drawn up in the form of a drama, consisting of several parts, of which one is performed by actors on each successive day of the mourning. The last part, which is appointed for the *Rooz Catl*, comprises the events of the day on which he met his death, and is acted with great pomp before the King in the largest square of the city. The subject, which is full of affecting incidents, would of itself excite great interest in the breasts of a Christian audience ; but allied as it is with all the religious and national feelings of the Persians, it awakens their strongest passions. Hossein would be a hero in our eyes ; in theirs he is a martyr. The vicissitudes of his life, his dangers on the desert, his fortitude, his invincible courage, and his devotedness at the hour of his death, are all circumstances upon which the Persians dwell with rapture, and which excite in them an enthusiasm not to be diminished by lapse of time. The celebration of this mourning keeps up in their minds the remembrance of those who destroyed him, and consequently their hatred for all Mussulmans who do not partake of their feelings. They execrate Yezid and curse Omar with such rancour, that it is necessary to have witnessed the scenes that are exhibited in their cities to judge of the degree of fanaticism which possesses them at this time. I have seen some of the most violent of them, as they vociferated *Ya Hossein!* walk about the streets almost naked, with only their loins covered, and their bodies streaming with blood by the voluntary cuts which they have given to themselves, either as acts of love, anguish, or mortification. Such must have been the cuttings of which we read in Holy Writ,



which were forbidden to the Israelites by Moses*; and these extravagancies, I conjecture, must resemble the practices of the priests of Baal, who *cried aloud and cut themselves after this manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.* 1 Kings, xviii. 28. See also Jeremiah, xvi. 5, 6, and 7.

The preparations which were made throughout the city consisted in erecting large tents, that are there called *takieh*, in the streets and open places, in fitting them up with black linen, and furnishing them with objects emblematical of the mourning. These tents are erected either at the joint expence of the *mahal*, or district, or by men of consequence, as an act of devotion; and all ranks of people have a free access to them. The expence of a *takieh* consists in the hire of a mollah, or priest, of actors and their clothes, and in the purchase of lights. Many there are who seize this opportunity of atoning for past sins, or of rendering thanks to heaven for some blessing, by adding charity to the good act of erecting a *takieh*, and distribute gratuitous food to those who attend it.

Our neighbour Mahomed Khan had a *takieh* in his house, to which all the people of the *mahal* flocked in great numbers. During the time of this assemblage we heard a constant noise of drums, cymbals, and trumpets. We remarked that besides the *takiehs* in different open places and streets of the town, a wooden pulpit, without any appendage, was erected, upon which a mollah was mounted, preaching to the people who were collected around him. To speak occasionally from a pulpit was one of the offices of the early successors of Mahomed, who joined in their persons the sacred and royal character. In process of time this function passed to inferior persons. An European Ambassador who is said to have intrigued with Yezid in favour of Hossein, is brought forwards accordingly to be an actor in one of the parts of the tragedy, and the populace were in consequence inclined to look favourably upon us. Notwithstanding the excitation of the public mind, we did not cease to take our usual rides,

* Levit. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1.



and we generally passed unmolested through the middle of congregations, during the time of their devotions.

Such little scruples have they at our seeing their religious ceremonies, that on the 8th night of the Moharrem, the Grand Vizier invited the whole of the Embassy to attend his takieh. On entering the room we found a large assembly of Persians clad in dark-coloured clothes, which, accompanied with their black caps, their black beards, and their dismal faces, really looked as if they were *afflicting their souls*. We observed, that *no man did put on his ornaments*.* They neither wore their daggers, nor any parts of their dress which they look upon as ornamental. A mollah of high consideration sat next to the Grand Vizier, and kept him in serious conversation, whilst the remaining part of the society communicated with each other in whispers. After we had sat some time, the windows of the room in which we were seated were thrown open, and we then discovered a priest placed on a high chair, under the covering of a tent, surrounded by a crowd of the populace; the whole of the scene being lighted up with candles. He commenced by an exordium, in which he reminded them of the great value of each tear shed for the sake of Imām Hossein, which would be an atonement for a past life of wickedness; and also informed them with much solemnity, that *whatsoever soul it be that shall not be afflicted in the same day, shall be cut off from among the people*. Lev. xxiii. 29. He then began to read from a book with a sort of nasal chaunt, that part of the tragic history of Hossein appointed for the day, which soon produced its effect upon his audience, for he scarcely had turned over three leaves, before the Grand Vizier commenced to shake his head to and fro, to utter in a most piteous voice the usual Persian exclamation of grief, "*wahi! wahi! wahi!*" both of which acts were followed in a more or less violent manner by the rest of the audience. The chaunting of the priest lasted nearly an hour, and some parts of his story were indeed pathetic, and well calculated to rouse the feelings of a superstitious and lively people. In one part of it, all the company stood up, and I observed

* Exodus, xxxiii. 4.



that the Grand Vizier turned himself towards the wall, with his hand extended before him, and prayed. After the priest had finished, a company of actors appeared, some dressed as women, who chaunted forth their parts from slips of paper, in a sort of recitativo, that was not unpleasing even to our ears. In the very tragical parts, most of the audience appeared to cry very unaffectedly; and as I sat near the Grand Vizier, and to his neighbour the priest, I was witness to many real tears that fell from them. In some of these mournful assemblies, it is the custom for a priest to go about to each person at the height of his grief, with a piece of cotton in his hand, with which he carefully collects the falling tears, and which he then squeezes into a bottle, preserving them with the greatest caution. This practically illustrates that passage in the 56th Psalm, 8., *Put thou my tears into thy bottle.* Some Persians believe, that in the agony of death, when all medicines have failed, a drop of tears so collected, put into the mouth of a dying man, has been known to revive him; and it is for such use, that they are collected.

On the Rooz Catl, the tenth day, the Ambassador was invited by the King to be present at the termination of the ceremonies, in which the death of Hossein was to be represented. We set off after breakfast, and placed ourselves in a small tent, that was pitched for our accommodation, over an arched gateway, which was situated close to the room in which His Majesty was to be seated.

We looked upon the great *maidan*, or square, which is in front of the palace, at the entrance of which we perceived a circle of Cajars, or people of the King's own tribe, who were standing barefooted, and beating their breasts in cadence to the chaunting of one who stood in the centre, and with whom they now and then joined their voices in chorus. *Smiting the breast* (St. Luke, xviii. 13.) is an universal act throughout the mourning; and the breast is made bare for that purpose, by unbuttoning the top of the shirt. The King in order to show his humility, ordered the Cajars, among whom were many of his own relations, to walk about without either shoes or stockings, to superintend the order of the different ceremonies about to be performed; and they



were to be seen stepping tenderly over the stones, with sticks in their hands doing the duties of menials, now keeping back a crowd, then dealing out blows with their sticks, and settling the order of the processions.

Part of the square was partitioned off by an enclosure, which was to represent the town of Kerbelah, near which Hossein was put to death; and close to this were two small tents, which were to represent his encampment in the desert with his family. A wooden platform covered with carpets, upon which the actors were to perform, completed all the scenery used on the occasion.

A short time after we had reached our tent, the King appeared; and although we could not see him, yet we were soon apprised of his presence by all the people standing up, and by the bowing of his officers. The procession then commenced as follows:—

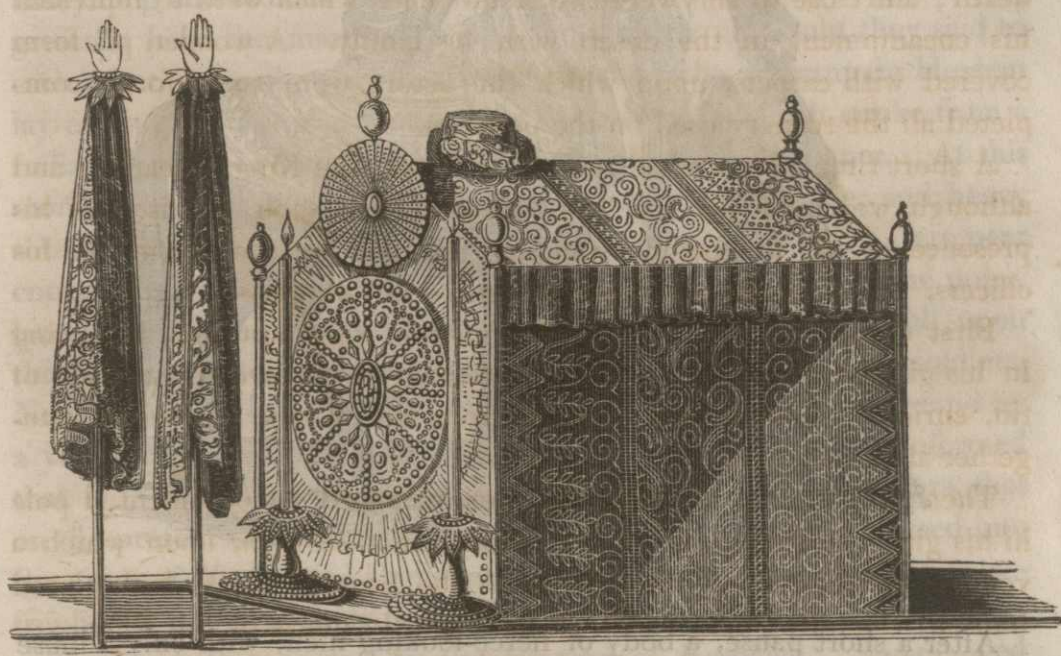
First came a stout man, naked from the waist upwards, balancing in his girdle a long thick pole, surmounted by an ornament made of tin, curiously wrought with devices from the Koran, in height altogether about thirty feet.

Then another, naked like the former, balanced an ornamented pole in his girdle still more ponderous, though not so high, upon which a young dervish, resting his feet upon the bearer's girdle had placed himself, chanting verses with all his might in praise of the King.

After him a person of more strength, and more nakedness, a water carrier, walked forwards, bearing an immense leather sack filled with water slung over his back, on which by way of bravado four boys were piled one over the other. This personage, we were told, was emblematical of the great thirst which Hossein suffered in the desert.

A litter in the shape of a sarcophagus, which was called the *Caber Peighember*, or the tomb of the prophet, succeeded, borne on the shoulders of eight men. On its front was a large oval ornament entirely covered with precious stones, and just above it, a great diamond star. On a small projection were two tapers placed on candlesticks enriched with jewels. The top and sides were covered with Cashmerian shawls, and on the summit rested a turban, intended to

represent the head-dress of the prophet. On each side walked two men bearing poles, from which a variety of beautiful shawls were suspended, at the top of which were representations of Mahomed's hand, studded with jewellery.



After this came four led horses, caparisoned in the richest manner. The fronts of their heads were ornamented with plates, entirely covered with diamonds, that emitted a thousand beautiful rays. Their bodies were dressed with shawls and gold stuffs; and on their saddles were placed some object emblematical of the death of Hossein. When all these had passed, they arranged themselves in a row to the right of the King's apartment.



After a short pause, a body of fierce-looking men, with only a loose white sheet thrown over their naked bodies, marched forwards. They were all begrimed with blood; and each brandishing a sword, they sang a sort of hymn, the tones of which were very wild. These represented the sixty-two relations, or the martyrs as the Persians call them, who accompanied Hossein, and were slain in defending him. Close after them was led a white horse, covered with artificial wounds, with arrows stuck all about him, and caparisoned in black, representing the horse upon which Hossein was mounted when he was killed. A band of about fifty men, striking two pieces of wood together in their hands, completed the procession. They arranged themselves in rows before the King, and marshalled by a *maître de ballet*, who stood in the



middle to regulate their movements, they performed a dance, clapping their hands in the best possible time. The *maître de ballet* all this time sang in recitativo, to which the dancers joined at different intervals with loud shouts and reiterated clapping of their pieces of wood.

The processions were succeeded by the tragedians. Hossein came forwards, followed by his wives, sisters, and relatives. They performed many long and tedious acts; but as our distance from the stage was too great to hear the many affecting things which no doubt they said to each other, we will proceed at once to where the unfortunate Hossein lay extended on the ground, ready to receive the death-stroke from a ruffian dressed in armour, who acted the part of executioner. At this moment a burst of lamentation issued from the multitude, and heavy sobs and real tears came from almost every one of those who were near enough to come under our inspection. The indignation of the populace wanted some object upon which to vent itself, and it fell upon those of the actors who had performed the parts of Yezid's soldiers. No sooner was Hossein killed, than they were driven off the ground by a volley of stones, followed by shouts of abuse. We were informed that it is so difficult to procure performers to fill these characters, that on the present occasion a party of Russian prisoners were pressed into the army of Yezid, and they made as speedy an exit after the catastrophe, as it was in their power.

The scene terminated by the burning of Kerbelah. Several reed huts had been constructed behind the enclosure before mentioned, which of a sudden were set on fire. The tomb of Hossein was seen covered with black cloth, and upon it sat a figure disguised in a *tiger's* skin, which was intended to represent the miraculous *lion*, recorded to have kept watch over his remains after he had been buried. The most extraordinary part of the whole exhibition was the representation of the dead bodies of the martyrs; who having been decapitated, were all placed in a row, each body with a head close to it. To effect this, several Persians buried themselves alive, leaving the head out just above ground; whilst others put their heads under ground, leaving out the body. The heads and bodies were placed in such relative positions to



each other, as to make it appear that they had been severed. This is done by way of penance; but in hot weather the violence of the exertion has been known to produce death. The whole ceremony was terminated by the *khotbeh*, which is an action of prayer for Mahomed, his descendants, and for the prosperity of the King; and was delivered in a loud voice by a man, *the best crier of his time*, (as Xenophon calls Tolmides*,) who is celebrated for his strong voice, and indeed deservedly so; for at about fifty yards' distance from us we heard every word he said, notwithstanding the noise of the multitude which surrounded us.

After the solemnities of the Moharrem were over, the Persian ministers entered upon the negotiation of a definitive treaty with the Ambassador which occupied them during the winter; and I should have been happy to give an account of the discussions which the subject of it involved, if the official character which I held in the Embassy did not forbid it. Unacquainted as the Persians are with the law of nations, and unaccustomed to the discussion of great political questions, we found their ignorance a great impediment to the progress of business. Whatever demand we made, however clear and self-evident, they always thought that it had, or might have, some recondite meaning, which they could not understand, consequently they never acceded to it without discussions so long and violent, as frequently to end in quarrel. They have but a very confused idea of Europe, and the position of its different states. The great mass of Persians, very much like their ancestors †, look upon Europe as one state, which they call *Fireng*, and all Europeans *Firengees*. Those who are a little better informed, divide us into *Franciz* and *Ingliz*; and the Grand Vizier, who perhaps has seen every European that has been at the Persian Court during the present reign, has at length acquired the names of the different nations of Europe, and those of the prime ministers of the leading courts. Of Buonaparte, from the likeness of his history to that of their own Nadir Shah, they have a very high idea; and as many of his acts were quite in the oriental style of despotism, they not only feared but admired

* Anab. lib. ii.

† Herodotus, Polymnia. iii.



him: for one of the first qualities which they require in a monarch, is *reshadet*, or courage, but that sort of courage which is allied with tyranny.

Fear of the Russians was their strongest feeling; and the great object of their politics with that power was to get a restoration of Georgia. The war that was carrying on between them, however, consisted more of predatory incursions on the part of Persia, such as the Scythians are recorded to have made*, than of regular warfare. We had a specimen of this policy not long after our arrival at Teheran; for one morning, in great agitation, the Grand Vizier's confidential secretary, attended by Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, came to announce to us a great victory gained by the Prince Royal over the Russians. Their account of it was, that the Persians had killed 2000, taken 5000 prisoners, and 12 guns, and had possessed themselves of the town of Shisheh. We soon after heard the real truth, which reduced their account to 300 killed, 2 guns taken, and 500 made prisoners. Upon questioning them why they exaggerated so much, when they knew how soon the falsehood must be discovered, they very ingenuously said, "If we did not know " that your stubborn veracity would have come in our way, we should " have said ten times as much. This is the first time our troops have " made any stand at all against the Russians; and you would not " surely restrict so glorious an event in our history to a few dry facts?"

Ulywa

The circumstances which led to this victory are as follow:—The Prince Royal had seen with sorrow an immense population of his wandering tribes emigrate from his provinces to those of the Russians, and his object was to compel them to return. He collected his army at the end of January, and marched towards Mogan. It consisted of 9000 men, according to the Persians; of 14,000 according to the English officers who were employed in it. Part was composed of undisciplined *Tuffenkchees*, the common infantry of the country, and part of *Serbaz*, troops disciplined by European officers. There was also a body of undisciplined cavalry, as well as a corps of flying artillery, with

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* Herodotus, Melpom. xvi.



twelve guns, which indeed proved the most efficient part of the army. Before he crossed the Araxes, the Prince had heard that 800 Russians, with two guns, were posted at the village of Sultanboot, not very distant from Shisheh, and he determined to attack them. The Russians, who were accustomed to these sort of *impromptus* from the Persians, and who had never heard more of their artillery than of a few lame guns which were usually dragged in the rear of their army, felt such confidence in their small number that they neglected to send to Shisheh for succours, where there was a garrison with a commandant. The attack, under the command of Colonel d'Arcy, took place in the morning. The Russians, in negligent confidence, were surprised to see a well-directed fire of grape open upon them, which in a short time killed 300 of their men; and finding that they had a more skilful enemy to cope with than before, they shut themselves up within the walls of the village; where, after a little negociation, they capitulated. One of the articles of capitulation was, that their heads were not to be cut off; an act which in Persian and Turkish warfare is a common custom. During this fight ten tomauns were given for every head of the enemy that was brought to the Prince; and it has been known to occur, after the combat was over, that prisoners have been put to death in cold blood, in order that the heads, which are immediately despatched to the King, and deposited in heaps at the Palace gate*, might make a more considerable show. Two of the English serjeants were killed on this occasion, and after the battle was over, one of their bodies was found without its head, which was discovered amongst a heap of Russian heads. It had doubtless been severed by a Persian, who passing it off for a Russian head, had received the price fixed for such a commodity. The Prince on this occasion behaved like a generous enemy; for when the commanding officer of the Russians, who had been severely

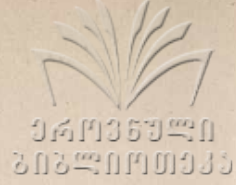
* Such barbarities make us shudder in England, but they only tend to show how little the manners of Asia have changed since the remotest times. In the history of Jehu, we read, And there came a messenger unto him saying, *They have brought the heads of the King's sons; and he said, Lay ye them in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning.* 2 Kings, x. 8.



wounded, was brought before him, he perceived that he was without a sword; and immediately taking off his own, which was of great value, desired him to put it on and to wear it for his sake. The Persians lost 100 men, a circumstance which rejoiced the King's Ministers exceedingly; for on no occasion before had their troops been known to approach near enough to the enemy to get killed. The death of our serjeants settled a doubt that existed among the Persians, whether or not Christians would fight against Christians in favour of Mussulmans, and this occurrence tended not a little to raise us in their estimation. It was, however, a mortifying feeling to us to be under the necessity of settling such a doubt.

In one of the first visits which the Ambassador paid to the Grand Vizier, he found him dictating a letter to the Governor of Mazanderan, which was to announce the defeat of the Russians. When the writer had got to the catastrophe, he asked, "How many killed am I to put down?" The Grand Vizier, with the greatest composure, said, "Write 2000 killed, 1000 made prisoners, and that the enemy were 10,000 strong." Then turning to the Ambassador, he said, "This letter has got to travel a great distance, and therefore we add in proportion."

When the King saw the Ambassador, he expressed his joy at the event; and said that he had had a forewarning of it by a dream, in which he saw a ruffian about to plunge a dagger into his breast, but that he had been saved by his son Abbas.



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CHAPTER XII.

THE treaty with Persia was signed on the 14th March, 1812, at the Ameen-ad-Dowlah's house. The King, during its negociation, had gone out of the city on one of his usual hunting parties, and had desired that it should be concluded by his return. When the Plenipotentiaries had assembled, and as they were just on the point of signing and sealing, of a sudden the door of the apartment was thrown open with violence by one of the King's running footmen, who exclaimed, "*Mujdeh* (good news!) the Shah is close to the city, and will reach the palace in an hour;" and addressing himself to the two Persian Plenipotentiaries, said, "I must have ten tomauns from both of you." The Ameen-ad-Dowlah, whose fear of the King was paramount to every other feeling, arose from his seat in great agitation, exclaiming, "The Shah will arrive before we can get to the palace to receive him. Come Mirza Sheffea let us go; for God's sake don't delay." Upon this the Ambassador took up his papers, locked them into his box, and said, "Gentlemen, if this be the case, there is no treaty, for I will never again be fooled after this manner." "What, you would not have us killed?" cried out the Viziers. "Be the consequences upon your heads," replied His Excellency; "but of this be assured, that I will never again permit myself to be treated with this disrespect." "Well, then," said Mirza Sheffea, very calmly, "You go, Ameen-ad-Dowlah; I will sign the treaty now, and die to-morrow," upon which the Ameen-ad-Dowlah left his seals with Mirza Sheffea, and with the utmost speed hastened to the palace. The treaty was then signed and sealed, the Grand Vizier performing that ceremony for his colleague.

No event worth recording took place after this, until the festival of the No Rooz. Our days passed away in dull uniformity, with little to attract us beyond home. We established a fives court, we rode much on horseback, and took exercise in a considerable enclosed garden attached to our residence. Here I was one day walking by myself, when



a party of Persians, half-drunk with wine, strolled in, the chief of whom, a young man of rank, came up to me, and evidently supposing I did not understand his language, addressed me with a smiling face and much mock civility, in terms of the grossest abuse, which he thought I should take for politeness. Finding that he was mistaken in his supposition, he immediately fled and hid himself so effectually that he was not to be found for several days after.

In our rides we usually went out of the town, at the *Derwazeh Shah Abdul Azeem*, or the gate leading to the village of Shah Abdul Azeem, where a market was held every morning, particularly of horses, mules, asses, and camels. At about sunrise the owners of the animals assemble and exhibit them for sale. But besides, here were sellers of all sorts of goods, in temporary shops and tents; and this perhaps will explain the custom alluded to in 2 Kings, vii. 18., *of the sale of barley and flour in the gate of Samaria.*

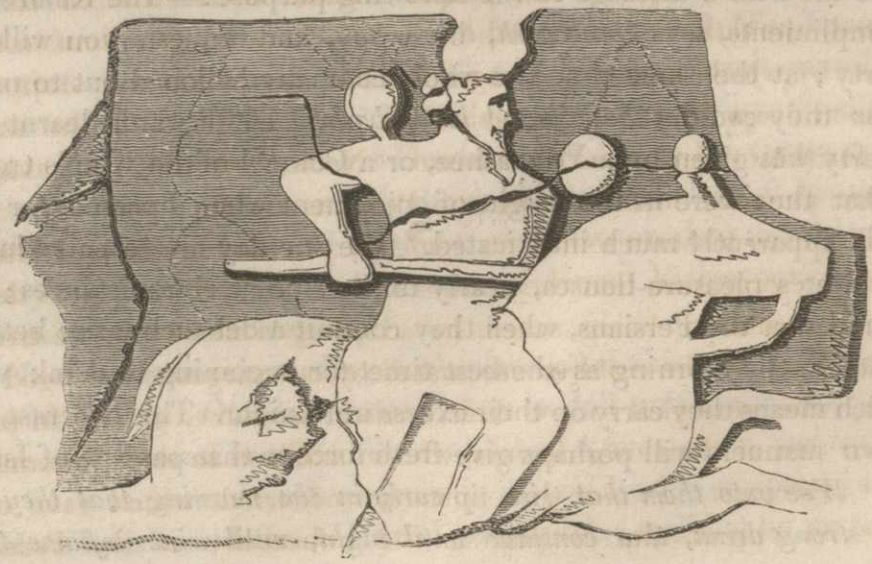
On the 15th of April, 1813, returning from a morning ride about seven o'clock, I saw, at about forty yards from the road-side, a party of well dressed Persians seated on a carpet close to a rising ground in the plain, with a small stream of water, near a field of rising corn, flowing before them, and surrounded by their servants and horses. As I passed, they sent a lad to me with a message to the following purpose:—The Khan sends his compliments, says *khosh bash*, be happy, and requests you will join his party; at the same time the whole company hallooed out to me as loud as they could, *khosh bash! khosh bash!* I afterwards learnt that this party was given by a Yúzbashee, or a Colonel of the King's troops, and that they were in the height of enjoyment when I passed, for they were all apparently much intoxicated. We one day met a party in one of the King's pleasure-houses, nearly under similar circumstances; and we found that the Persians, when they commit a debauch, arise betimes and esteem the morning as the best time for beginning to drink wine, by which means they carry on their excess until night. This contrast with our own manners will perhaps give fresh force to that passage of Isaiah, v. 11., *Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night, until wine inflame them.*

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This, indeed, has been the reproach of the voluptuary from the satirists and moralists of all ages and nations.

Nothing can be so little attractive as the immediate environs of Teheran. Each of the five gates leads out to what the Persians call the *Sahara*, and what we term the desert; a designation not ill applied to the plain of Teheran, for although it is in some places partially cultivated, yet as there are neither hedges, dikes, or railings, to mark the limits of cultivation, the whole has the appearance of a waste. A tree is a scarce object, which is a curious circumstance, when it is known that the region of Teheran is only separated by a ridge of mountains from one of the most wooded countries in the world, the province of Mazanderan. The roots of the Albors, which form the northern boundary of the plain of Teheran, are more embellished by villages, trees, and rural scenery, than any of the other vicinities of the city.

We frequently directed our rides to Rey, because by rambling about its ruins we hoped to discover some remain of antiquity which hitherto had not been seen. In fact Mr. Gordon discovered a rude sculpture of the Shapourian age, which was satisfactory in as much as it established the fact, that the present ruins occupy the site of a city which existed before Mahomedanism. This sculpture is to be seen on the south side





of the ruined castle on the height, (the farthest side from Teheran,) and is executed upon a surface of rock, which has been smoothed for the purpose. It represents a warrior on horseback at full speed, with his lance couched, having a globe on his head and a ball on each shoulder. The performance is rude and imperfect, and the subject not complete, as the outlines of another figure are to be traced on the same rock.

During the winter, the surgeons of the Embassy endeavoured to introduce vaccination among the Persians, and their efforts at first were very successful; but owing to the opposition of the Persian doctors, and to the little countenance which they received from men in authority, their labours had nearly proved abortive. The surgeons, having procured the cow-pock matter from Constantinople, commenced their operations at Teheran with so much success, that in the course of one month they had vaccinated three hundred children. Their houses were constantly thronged with women, bringing their offspring to them; and there was every appearance of a general dissemination of this blessing throughout Teheran, when of a sudden its progress was checked by the Government itself. Several of the King's *ferashes* were placed at the gate of the Ambassador's hotel, nominally as a mark of attention to His Excellency, but really to stop all women from going to our surgeons. They said, that if the people wanted their children to be vaccinated, the fathers and not the mothers were to take them to the surgeons, by which means the eagerness for vaccination was stopped; for we soon discovered that the males did not feel one half the same anxiety for their offspring as the women. Notwithstanding the ravages which are annually made among the Persians by the small-pox, for which they have hitherto found no remedy, yet they are so wedded to their own prescriptions, that they rather adhere to them than give their children a chance of being saved, by adopting a new mode of treatment. Almost all the children vaccinated by our surgeons belonged to the poor, who were glad to get their medical assistance gratis, in preference to that of their own doctors, who in addition to their ignorance are most rapacious. Two or three instances occurred, which gave our surgeons an opportunity of placing the imbecillity of the Persian



doctors in the strongest light. One of these instances was as follows : The Governor of Erivan, a personage of high rank, had an only son, in whose welfare the King took the most lively interest ; and he fell dangerously ill. He was placed under the care of Mirza Achmed, the King's *Hakim bashee*, or chief physician ; and the disease increasing, it was thought advisable to call in the aid of the English surgeons, who declared that they could perform a cure, if no one else interfered. They prescribed medicines, which the attendants promised to administer ; but in the mean while Mirza Achmed had counteracted the effects of the European medicines by his own, which brought the child to the brink of the grave. It happened that the English surgeons were attending the child when the Mirza came in. The former said, there are no hopes, the child will die before to-morrow is over : the latter, in all the arrogance of the most profound ignorance, felt the patient's pulse, and said, "Excellent, excellent, nothing can be better ; go on with my medicines, and the child will be well to-morrow." The morrow came, and the Governor of Erivan's heir was no more. Mirza Achmed attributed all to fate ; and, like his compeers, said, when it is decided by God that a man is to die, no human aid can be of avail.

Another instance occurred in the child of Mirza Yusuf, one of the principal *Mastofs* (secretaries) of the government. One of his children had already lost an eye by the small-pox : anxious to preserve a second son from a similar accident, he promised to send him to our surgeons to be vaccinated. They waited long for this child, but he was never sent. A month after, the child actually died of the small-pox. When he was reproached for having neglected the aid of our medical men, he beat his head with his hands, and exclaimed, "Curse on my wife ; she " it was who hindered me from trusting to the Europeans."

The Ambassador, during the winter, had frequent interviews with the King, who conversed with him in the most familiar manner, upon all sorts of subjects. It happened one day that His Majesty was in high spirits, or as the Persians would say, *damaughish chauh búd**, and

* This is an idiom purely Persian, for which adequate words could scarcely be found in English.



sent for the Ambassador to converse with him. The Grand Vizier Mirza Sheffea was also present. After using many flattering expressions, His Majesty said to the Ambassador, "That he had been informed by his Viziers, that in England we had a variety of modes of increasing the revenue of the country, of which they were totally ignorant in Persia.—Now tell me, what might be done here, as you do it in England?" The Ambassador answered, "That one of the things which he thought might be established in Persia, useful to His Majesty's subjects, and beneficial to his treasury, was a post for the transmission of letters." He then explained the nature of an English post, its advantages and its profits. "Aye, aye," said the King, "I perfectly comprehend you." Then turning to the Grand Vizier, he said, "Now, Mirza Sheffea, I'll tell you exactly how it is. You, for instance, have a correspondent at Ispahan. Of course you can't afford to give a messenger ten tomauns every time you have something to say, which on urgent occasions you are now obliged to do; but if you had an opportunity of communicating with him every day, which the post would give you, you would write to him constantly, and your concerns would go on well. Now, that is the utility of the thing. As for the profit, it is thus. We will say, two hundred letters are to be sent to Ispahan, for each of which one *real* will be charged by the post. Now there are about ten stages from here to Ispahan. The men who carry the letters from stage to stage will be contented to receive a real a-piece; therefore giving ten to the carriers, 190 will remain clear profit to the Shah.—*Be Ser Shah**, By the head of the King," exclaimed his Majesty, "this is excellent. But," turning to the Ambassador, "you have more expedients still. Tell me what is there besides the post, that we have not in Persia?" His Excellency would have been happy to drop the subject, for he felt that the information which would be drawn from him might be disagree-

* به سر شاه The King always talks of himself in the third person, and frequently swears by his own head: also *Be Jan Shah*, by the King's soul; *Be Merg Shah*, by the King's death: and these expressions, in constant use by all Persians, will remind us of Joseph's speech to his brethren, *By the Life of Pharoah*, &c. Genesis, xlii. 15 and 16.



able to the Grand Vizier; but the King being very urgent, he informed His Majesty, that one of the great sources of our revenue, (but which was resorted to only on particular emergencies,) was the Income Tax, the principles of which he explained, endeavouring to impress upon the King's mind that it was intended to bear more upon the rich than the poor; a principle which the English government kept constantly in view, when the exigencies of the state required the levying of new taxes. "What do you say to that?" said the King to his Grand Vizier: "These English are extraordinary people!" The Ambassador, in continuation, said, "We have also taxes, that are more particularly levied upon the rich. If a man keeps more than a certain number of horses, he is taxed in a progressive ratio for every super-numerary horse; the same for servants, for carriages, &c." "Did you hear that, Mirza Sheffea," exclaimed the King. "*I am your* sacrifice*; I am ready to pay whatever your Majesty pleases," said the Vizier. "That's right," returned the King; "but there is a great deal of policy as well as profit in what the Ambassador says: for instance, a Governor General of India makes an immense fortune, and returns home richer than a *Shahzadeh* (a King's son). He sets up a great state, and eclipses all the Princes; it is of course very proper that he should be made to pay for such advantages." The King then requested the Ambassador to make a written note of the different details which he had already given in conversation, and hoped that he might be enabled to realise them in Persia.

Upon another occasion, the King asked the Ambassador what had become of the Pope. "I hear you no longer acknowledge his supremacy. How long is it since you have been *yaghi*, or in rebellion against him?" His Excellency then explained, and gave an outline of the history of Henry the Eighth. "Ah," said the King, "he must have been a clever King indeed! he did just what I would have done. But what difference is there between your religion and that of the

* قربانت شوم Every Persian, speaking to his Sovereign, generally prefaces his speech by this expression, *Korbanet shu'um*.



Papists?" The Ambassador answered, that we had discarded from our service the mummery of theirs; and that they believed in certain doctrines which were contrary to our faith, and particularly instanced that of transubstantiation. "What?" exclaimed the King, "when they eat a bit of bread they really believe it to be flesh! What dolts! You are in the right. I can comprehend eating bread in commemoration of the death of Jesus to be a good doctrine; but that bread should turn into flesh is nonsense indeed."

At the beginning of April, Mahomed Ali Mirza, the Prince Governor of Kermanshah arrived at Teheran. He came escorted by a very few men, and performed the journey in five days, which for a prince, the Persians allowed was a great undertaking. As this personage is likely to be a prominent character in the future history of Persia, I will give an account of a visit which the Ambassador paid to him during his stay at Teheran, in consequence of a wish expressed to that purpose by the Prince himself. The Ambassador requested to be informed beforehand what were to be the ceremonies of the meeting, when he was informed by the Grand Vizier, (who negotiated on this occasion,) that the Prince resided in one of the King's houses, and that as there is one part of the hall of audience where no man can sit, because it is the seat of the King, the Prince is obliged to place himself in the opposite corner; that therefore the Ambassador could not be placed upon the same *Musnud** as his Royal Highness, because he would be seated too near his person, and that would be out of all bounds of proper etiquette and respect. To which the Ambassador replied, that he could not visit Mahomed Ali Mirza, except upon the same terms that he had visited all the other princes—that in his visits to the latter he had always been seated upon the same musnud with them, and that he neither could nor would give up his right to the same distinction on the present occasion. After much resistance this was apparently granted; and when every part of the etiquette was adjusted, he proceeded with the gentlemen of his suite to the palace. The King had

* The *Musnud* in Persia is a thick felt carpet, placed across the room, at the farthest extremity from the door.



gone out of the city to hunt, on purpose that this visit might take place; because it is part of the etiquette of the Persian court, that the King's sons cannot receive visits of ceremony, whilst the King is himself in the palace.

The *Imaret Khorsheed*, (or the Palace of the Sun,) in which the Prince received us, is situated in a garden, behind the great hall of audience in which the King daily sits in state on his marble throne, and is beautifully ornamented in its interior with marble and paintings. When we entered the room in which he was seated, the Grand Vizier advanced from where he was standing, and pointed to a place about half way down the room, where he intended the Ambassador should sit. The latter did not heed this, but walked up close to the Prince and seated himself upon the same musnud, to the trepidation of the Vizier and astonishment of the Prince, who, although evidently annoyed, gave us the usual welcome.

The Prince in person is of strong make, of a rather vulgar appearance, and of a bad though lively expression of countenance. He talked with great animation, with a loud voice, and much gesticulation. There was much acuteness in what he said;—he asked questions, and then argued upon the answers he received, adhering most obstinately to his own opinions, and not hesitating to give the flattest contradictions. He seemed however to be quiescent under flattery; for when the Ambassador complimented him upon the success of his operations in the war with the Courd Abdurakhman Pasha, he became very civil, although he affected to treat that war very lightly. “That was “nothing,” said he; “that cannot be called service; merely doing one’s “duty to the *Kebleh Alum*, can’t be called a service; when any of the “Shah’s servants have given their lives for him, then only can it be said “that they have performed a service.”

The conversation turned upon *Yengee Duniah*, or America, a subject upon which all Persians are very curious and inquisitive. On this topic, we were surprized to find the Prince, as the French would say, *ferré à glace*. He appeared to have just been reading the history of America. He talked not only with historical but geographical knowledge, which



of all other, is the rarest amongst Orientals. He told us the distinctions between North and South America with great accuracy, and entered into the details of the history of Mexico in a manner that greatly astonished us. The only fact upon which we attempted to set him right, was upon the original conquerors of Mexico. He insisted that they were the Portuguese and not the Spaniards; and no assurances that we could give him would make him believe the contrary. Throughout the conversation of this Prince we remarked a great decision and energy of character, which is in contrast with the character of his brother and rival Abbas Mirza, and which, when the occasion offers, will perhaps give him a decided superiority.

About the 10th of May, Mahomed Khan, the head of the King's camel artillery, who had been sent to Bushire to superintend the transmission of the military stores and presents, which we had brought with us from England and India, arrived at Teheran. He had made levies of men throughout the country, for the purpose of carrying the baggage, which consisted of several carriages, looking-glasses, a grand piano forte, a large mahogany dining table, and many other heavy pieces of furniture. As the Persians have no wheeled conveyances, and as the greater part of these articles were too bulky to be loaded on camels, they were carried on the backs of men from Bushire to Teheran, a distance of about 620 miles. It would be impossible to describe the mutilated state in which every thing reached us. One of the modes adopted for lessening the labour of descending the steep mountains between Bushire and Shiraz, was that of fastening some of the cases upon a gun-carriage, and permitting it to run at random down the declivities; by which contrivance most of the carriages were disabled, and of course the thing attached to them totally demolished. Of seventy mirrors which the Ambassador brought into Persia, he received about one third safe, the rest were entirely demolished.

The carriages which were brought as presents to the King, were not put together until they reached us at Teheran. One that had been built in England on purpose for the King, which was the least damaged,

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we succeeded to render serviceable, and then the Ambassador presented it to His Majesty in great form.

It was first necessary to knock down part of the wall of our court-yard, to get it into the street, and then it was dragged with considerable difficulty through the narrow streets and bazars to the King's palace, where the Ambassador, attended by the Grand Vizier, and all the principal officers of the State, were in readiness to exhibit to the King. His Majesty walked around the carriage, examined it very minutely, admired its beauty, criticised its contrivances, and then got inside, leaving his shoes at the door, and seating himself with much satisfaction upon the velvet cushions. Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, the late Persian Envoy, Feraj Ullah Khan, (the Chief Executioner,) some of the Secretaries of State, and other personages of rank, all in their court dresses*, then fastened themselves to it, and dragged His Majesty backwards and forwards to his great delight, which he expressed by some good remarks on the conveniency of carriages, and the ingenuity of Europeans, who had brought them to such perfection. The circumstance that surprised the Grand Vizier the most, was that it could go backwards as well as forwards. The King kept his seat for more than half an hour, observing that there would be very good sitting-room for two, pointing to the bottom of the carriage as the place for the second. When he had smoked his kaleoon within it, he descended, and made the Ambassador a very handsome acknowledgment for so magnificent a present, and ordered the Ameen-ad-Dowlah to purchase six large horses to draw it; however we learnt shortly after that it was put into a warehouse, where it was bricked up, where it has been ever since, and where it is likely to remain.†

* This circumstance will bring to mind the ready obedience of the Persian nobles to Cyrus, who throwing off their robes, in their costly vests and embroidered drawers helped to disengage the carriages of his army, where they had been stopped in a narrow pass. — See Anab. lib. 1. c. v.

† It is mentioned by Pietro della Valle, that when he was at Ispahan, the English gave a superb carriage to Shah Abbas, who did not take so much notice of it, as the present King, and did not even seat himself in it. He looked at it once; it was then put away, and never seen after. 8vo. ed. vol. iii. p. 285.



CHAPTER XIII.

As it was of consequence to our interests that the Ambassador should have a personal interview with the Prince Royal, we resumed our tents in the spring of 1812, and departed for Tabriz at the end of May.

1812

I have in my former journal given a description of the road we were about to travel, consequently I shall restrict myself to such observations as may have novelty to recommend them.

On the north bank of the river Karaj, the King is building a palace surrounded by a fort, and a town which is to be called Sulimanieh, from the city of that name which was taken from the Courdish Chief, Abdurakhman Pasha. The spoils of the captured city and country are to defray the expenses of its construction. We found about one hundred peasants at work upon the fort, which is to be a square of two hundred yards, with four towers in front, and a gate in the middle of each side. The walls are made with sun-burnt bricks, with a previous foundation of common stone, and the arch-ways of the gates of bricks baked in a kiln. The bricks baked in the sun are composed of earth dug from pits in the vicinity, which is mixed up with straw, and then, from the form in which they have been cast, are arranged on a flat spot in rows, where the sun hardens them. This style of building is called the *kah gil*, or straw and clay. The peasants who were at work had been as usual collected by force, and were superintended by several of the King's officers, who, with hard words, and sometimes harder blows, hastened them in their operations. Their fate resembled that of the Israelites, who no doubt were employed in the same manner in buildings for Pharoah, and with the very same sort of materials. Their bricks were mixed up with straw; they had to make a certain quantity daily, and their task-masters treated them cruelly if their task was not accomplished. The complaints which they made were natural, and resembled the language used frequently on similar occasions by the oppressed in Persia. "There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us,



make brick : and behold thy servants are beaten : but the fault is in thine own people, Exodus, v. 16.

Part of the labourers were occupied in treading mortar, part in bringing clay, and several were employed at the brick-kilns, which had been erected in the immediate vicinity of the building, for baking the bricks.

The Persians, like all Asiatics, have no invention, but build their cities upon one plan. First they make the palace, then the *maidan* or square, then the mosque, and then the bazars. All these buildings were successively to be erected; and Suliman Mirza, one of the King's younger sons, was then to be installed as the Governor, with an appanage of several of the surrounding villages. Such is the charm of a jingle of words to the ear of a Persian, that it is more than probable, that the fitness of seeing Suliman Mirza, Governor of Sulimanieh, was the principal reason that gave rise to the project of building a town.

Immediately on passing the bridge over the Karaj, on the right hand, are to be seen the ruins of a fort, which stand upon an eminence, and which a man who was passing by called a castle of the Guebres. All ruins for which the people of the country cannot account, are attributed to the Guebres; in the same manner as in Turkey, they are attributed to the *Giaours*. There is every probability that the last word is a corruption of the first, which is now only applied to fire-worshippers in Persia, but in Turkey to infidels in general. From this eminence is to be seen a very beautiful vale, green and watered by the Karaj, which issuing from the mountains, meanders in an easy course, as far as the bridge, where it is straightened in its channel and becomes more rapid and turgid. Its source is in a mountain called Koh Aureng Rudbar, about five fursungs distant. As it descends into the plain its bed expands, and its waters are drained off into different channels for the purposes of irrigation.

On the desert before we reached Casvin, in the grey of the morning, we gave chase to two wild-asses, which the Persians call *Gour khur*, but which had so much the speed of our horses, that when they had got at some distance, they stood still and looked behind at us snorting with their noses in the air, as if in contempt of our endeavours to catch



them. The Persians sometimes succeed in killing them, but not without great dexterity and knowledge of their haunts. To effect this, they place relays of horsemen and dogs upon the track which they are known to pursue, and then hunt them toward the relays, when the fresh dogs and horses are started upon the half-exhausted animal. The whole of this account agrees with Xenophon, who says that their horsemen had no other means of catching them than by dividing themselves into relays and succeeding one another in the chase.*

This animal is common to the whole of Persia, although its proper soil is Arabia. It is mentioned by Xenophon† in several places, and numbered among the wild animals fit for the chase. The modern Persians eat its flesh, and say it is better than that of the antelope. The ancients did the same, and it must be supposed that when Herodotus classes the ass among the animals which the rich Persians roasted whole and eat when they indulged themselves in better fare than usual, he means the wild ass.‡ They appear to have been much more plentiful in the days of Olearius§, (A. D. 1637,) who says, that at an entertainment given by Shah Abbas to the Ambassadors, thirty-two wild asses were turned into an enclosure, to be shot at, and remarks that their flesh was esteemed so excellent as to be fit for the King's food.

The wild ass is of a light mouse colour, with a dark streak over its shoulders and down its back. The head is large, but it is much more light and lively than the common ass in its gait. It is of a most obstinate nature, and seems to be extremely refractory under any restraint. Buffon says that it does not differ from the domestic ass, except in its attributes of liberty and independence: he is decided in his opinion, that this is the animal called the onagre, and not the zebra, whose

* Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι ἐπεὶ τὶς διάκοι, προδραμόνες ἀνειστηκασαν' (πολὸν γὰρ τῷ ἴππῳ θάπτον ἔλθρον) καὶ πάλιν ἐπεὶ πησιάζοι ὁ ἴππος, ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν ὥστε ἐκ ἧν λαθεῖν εἰ μὴ διασάντες οἱ ἴπποις θηρῶεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἴπποις, Anab. lib. i. c. 5.

† Cyropædia, lib. i. ‡ Herodotus, Clio, 133. § Olearius' Travels, p. 735.



native soil and climate is south Africa, in the countries bordering upon the Cape of Good Hope.*

The wildness and love of liberty which characterise this animal are beautifully described by the prophet Jeremiah: *A wild ass used to the wilderness, that snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure*, ch. ii. v. 24. And again, when their image is allied to all the horrors of a parched desert: *And the wild asses did stand in the high places; they snuffed up the wind like dragons: their eyes did fail because there was no grass*, ch. xiv. v. 6.

On the day before we reached Casvin, whilst we were encamped at the village of Hassanabad, a violent wind arose from the eastward, called the *Baad Raz*. It prevailed from the morning to about two o'clock P. M. when it changed about to the westward, and was then called the *Baad Shehriar*. At the time of the change, whirlwinds were to be seen in different parts of the plain, sweeping along the country in different directions, in a manner that was quite frightful to behold. They carried away in their vortex sand, branches, and the stubble of the fields, and really appeared to make a communication between the earth and the clouds. The correctness of the imagery used by the prophet Isaiah, when he alludes to this phenomenon, is very striking to the eastern traveller: *The whirlwind shall take them away as stubble*, ch. lx. v. 24. *Chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind*, ch. xvii. v. 13.

In the Psalms, lxxxiii. v. 13., we read, *Make them like a wheel, as the stubble before the wind*; which is happily illustrated by the rotary action of the whirlwind, which frequently impels a bit of stubble over a waste, just like a wheel set into rapid motion. †

1812 cont
The Embassy reached Casvin on the 1st of June, and before we had entered it, we were met by the *Mirakhor*, Master of the Horse, of Ali

* See Buffon, Hist. Nat. du Zèbre, vol. x. p. 175.

† In this instance, the original word is the same as in the other, from Isaiah (*galzal*); no doubt the word is sometimes used for the wheel of a carriage; but the attendant imagery in both instances here adduced compels us to accept the meaning as given in Isaiah, xvii.; or as the Lexicons sometimes express it, *pulvis rotatus*.



Nakee Mirza, one of the King's sons, and Governor of the town, who led with him a horse, ornamented with a gold bridle and a Persian saddle, which he presented to the Ambassador, on the part of his master. It has been mentioned on a former occasion*, that a bridle of gold, which means that the head-stall was covered with plates of gold, was always a mark of distinction in Persia, and such as Astyages gave to Cyrus. †

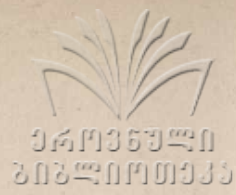
Casvin is a larger town in circumference than Teheran, though not so populous. The Vizier of the Prince, Seid Ali Khan by name, who appeared to us to possess more statistical knowledge than Persians in general, assured us, that he had measured the circumference of this city, and had found it 2000 *gez* (or yards) larger than the capital; that it contains 25,000 male inhabitants, females and children not being counted; and that its manufactures were velvets, brocades, and *kerbas*, a coarse cotton cloth.

The city is environed by vineyards and orchards to a considerable extent, the former of which yield a grape celebrated throughout Persia for the good wine it produces. The vine-dressers water their vines once in the year, which is twenty days after the festival of the No Rooz, about the 10th of April; and the Vizier told us, that the soil, which is clayey, is so good, that the moisture it then imbibes suffices until the next irrigation. Water is a very scarce commodity at Casvin, and this is confirmed by the great numbers of *kanauts* which are to be seen throughout its plain, and which conduct streams from very great distances.

The Ambassador visited the Prince in a palace built by the Seffies, who once held their court in this city. The entrance to it is by an *Allah Capi*, an immense high gate covered with a cupola, which Della Valle, who saw it in its splendour, describes in these words: *Non e depinta ne ornata di oro come quello di Sphahan, ma e grande, con prospetiva di piu maesta, e dentro ha bello, alto, e grande atrio per gli*

* See Chap. vi. p. 93.

† Cyropædia, lib. i.



portieri.* The splendour of those days is now greatly altered, for ruins surround the palace, and the greatest part of its once magnificent buildings are themselves in almost total abandonment. We were led through long arched avenues, in which were dispersed a scanty train of servants, and at length were introduced into a court, where we found the Prince, in a detached building forming part of the palace, erected by the famous Nadir Shah, and seated on the very same spot in the apartment which that conqueror had formerly occupied. The comparison between the former and the present occupants, which was naturally excited in our minds by the occasion, made the Prince appear but a diminutive personage in our eyes, although he had very agreeable manners, and a countenance expressive of great goodness.

There is a circumstance in Chardin's account of Casvin, which does not agree with his general accuracy. He says, three leagues from that city is a high mountain called *Alouvent*. Seeking for a high mountain at that distance was in vain, for the highest point of the nearest range was comparatively low. The mountain of Alwend, to which he evidently alludes, is situated near Hamadan, and distant at least 120 miles. I settled the bearing of Karaj from Casvin with precision, from the top of a ruined mosque, called the Mesjid Bolaghee; for a cape which projects from the range of Albors, which is seen from a considerable distance and marks the site of that place, bears from the mosque S. 59° E. From this same summit may be seen a considerable part of the city, and the whole extent of the royal buildings. The Prince has erected a high polygonal tower, for the purpose of taking the air, and looking about him; and although we could not help reflecting that he would have done better to restore some of the fine buildings which were now in ruin, than to build new, yet his tower was not an unpicturesque object, and no bad specimen of his taste. If it were seen in an European country it would be taken for an observatory. Such, in fact, it may be called now; but it is to observe things below, and not those above.

* *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, 8vo. ed. vol. ii. p. 383.



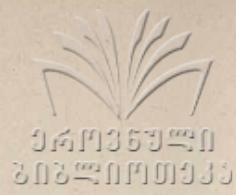
1812/2

On the 2d of June we pitched at Siah Dehan, having travelled five fursungs, on a road so good by nature, that a coach might have been driven upon it with as much safety as upon a turnpike road. Persia in general is a country well adapted for wheeled carriages, and with very little trouble excellent roads might be made, except in the passages from one plain to another, where the ruggedness of the mountains would present serious difficulties. This seems to have been the case when wheeled carriages were in use; for Darius, after the battle of Issus, kept to his car as long as he was in the plain, but was obliged to descend from it and mount his horse, when he came to the mountain passes.*

I was lodged in the house of a peasant, which consisted of three rooms, one of which was 24 feet long and 10 broad, was clean, well white-washed, and superior to a peasant's habitation in general. It was roofed by transverse beams, over which were branches of trees, covered by a thick layer of mud plaster, which formed the terrace to the house. Opposite the door, was deposited the peasant's provision of corn in a bin built of mud bricks, which is perforated at the bottom, when the corn is brought into use. This same mode of keeping corn I remarked throughout the village.

The next day we pitched at the village of Farsinjeen, and the day after at Abhar: during this part of our march, we strayed from the road, with our greyhounds and fowling pieces in search of game. This tract, including the plain and mountains of Sultanieh is in fact the *Shikar Gah*, or hunting place of the King of Persia, where antelopes, partridges, and bustards are found in abundance. On both days we saw herds of antelopes, and one of our dogs, a strong hound, succeeded in catching a female that was big with young. Had it not been for this circumstance, I doubt whether we should have ever been successful; for although we frequently afterwards gave chase to them in great numbers, yet we never came up with one; such is the great speed of this beautiful animal.

* Arrian, Exp. of Alex. lib. ii. c. 5.



The antelope is the most common animal of the deer kind in Persia, as it is in Arabia and Africa. This is probably the *δορκῶς*, which Xenophon enumerates among the wild animals, which the Ten Thousand used to hunt in their passage through Syria*, although Mr. Spelman has translated it *roe deer*. The Persians call it *ahoo*, but Hafiz in one of his odes compares it to his coy mistress by the Arabic name of *gazal* †, which has been adopted, by the French in *gazelle*. ‡ *Ahoo-chesm*, antelope-eyed, is a common epithet in Persia, and indeed is very appropriate to describe the full jet black eye of the Persian women.

The Persians pretend that they have dogs, and moreover horses which can come up with them; but that is very much to be doubted, although in their paintings of hunting matches, they frequently represent the King on the full speed of his horse, putting his spear through an antelope. If they do catch them, it must be by relays, as has already been related of their mode of hunting the wild ass. I must mention as an instance of the dexterity of Persian horsemen, that when we were near Komesha we saw one of the servants of our Mehmandar shoot a young antelope, with a single ball, from off his saddle, whilst his horse was on the full gallop.

The bustards which we hunted are also most probably the *ωρίδες* of Xenophon, for we found them to possess the same qualities which he describes, viz. making short flights, and becoming soon tired. They are a very difficult bird to approach with a gun, and we agreed that the best mode of hunting them was to ride at them on horseback. The Persians call this bird *ahoo bareh*, or young antelope. This is not the only bird which they designate by the name of a beast, for the ostrich they call the *shuter morgh*, or the camel bird. In the latter case the designation

* Anab. lib. 1. c. 5.

صبا بلطف بکوان غزال رغانارا که سر بکوه بیا بان تو داده مارا †

O western breeze, say kindly to that tender fawn, you have driven me to the mountains and deserts.

‡ See Buffon, vol. x. art. *Gazelle*.



is excellent, for when the camel is coming *end on* (as the sailors would say) and only his two legs are seen, it is difficult to distinguish him from an ostrich, but when seen at a distance on the desert in large numbers, it would be almost impossible to discriminate the one from the other, except perhaps by relative size.

Abhar, our next station, may be called a town, in comparison with the other places which we saw since our departure from Casvin; and when at a distance, presents an appearance of greater consequence than when it is more closely inspected. Arising above the trees are seen some ruined walls, which occupy an height called by the natives *Caleh Darab*, or the Castle of Darius. Their materials are large mud bricks, mixed up with straw, baked in the sun, the same which I remarked at Rey, at the *Atesh Gah* at Ispahan, and the same also perhaps as those of Babylon. These circumstances will give greater force to the reasoning of Major Rennel, who, as far as I can judge, only wanted the attestation of some existing remains of antiquity on the spot, to prove it to be the ancient Habor, one of the three places to which the tribes of Reubon, Gad and Manasseh were sent into captivity.*

The appearance of the King's palace at Sultanieh, situated on a conspicuous eminence, rising from the plain, with a small village close to it, and the town of Sultanieh about two miles from it, is a scene like that which Xenophon relates the Greeks to have found not far from the Tygris.† The modern Kings of Persia have palaces in many parts of their dominions, whither they resort for the climate or for the chace. To these palaces are attached villages in which provisions ‡ are collected for the use of the court, as soon as the motions of the King are decided. The King's principal summer palace is Sultanieh; besides that he has others at Ojan near Tabriz, at the Bagh-i-Feen, at Jajrood near Teheran, at Cheshmeh Ali in Khorassan, at the Bagh Zemerood near Demawend, at Zavieh on the road to Hamadan, and many more of which it would be too tedious to give the enumeration.

* Rennel's Geo. Syst. of Herodotus, p. 389. † Anabasis, lib. 3. c. 4. ‡ Ibid.



When we had reached Zengan, the Ambassador paid a visit to the Prince Governor, a youth of very amiable manners. On approaching his habitation we found carpets spread under a wall in the street, where his Vizier was seated transacting business. This custom may illustrate what Job said of the days of his prosperity, when he prepared his seat in the *street**, ch. xxix. 7.

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On the 10th we reached Gultapeh, and departed very early the next morning to cross the Kizzil Ozan River, and the Coflan Koh, in order to reach the sultry town of Mianeh before the great heat of mid-day.

The Coflan Koh is a range of mountain which would be well worthy the notice of a geologist. Its stratifications have been thrown together by some great commotion into the most extravagant positions. In some places they are perpendicular, in others almost horizontal. On the south side of the Kizzil Ozan is one limb of the mountain, almost entirely composed of chalk, here and there with schistose strata intervening; and on the right of the road, in the descent from Gultapeh, are hills apparently of clay, of conical forms, more or less distended, the strata of which are as horizontal as if mathematically designed. An immense tract of barren country is seen from the heights above Gultapeh, which extends itself to the westward on both sides of the Kizzil Ozan, and also towards Zengan. In some places it appears to have been nearly in a state of fusion, as if an immense volume of liquid soil had been set in motion, and its sluggish masses had settled themselves as the impulse might lead them: in others, as if some powerful engine had broken these masses and left them in unequal fragments.

We experienced at Mianeh one of the many instances in Persia of a great difference of climate between two contiguous regions. At Aukkend and Gultapeh the air was so cool as to be even disagreeable during some part of the twenty-four hours. At Aukkend, in the hottest part of the day, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 75° ; at Mianeh at $99\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$.

* This word in the original means a broad place, where was room for administering justice.



On the day of our arrival at Tekmehdash we met a Persian *chappur*, or courier, who was travelling in the greatest haste to the King from Erivan, with intelligence that the revolt of the Georgians against the Russians was daily increasing. He wore a long linen bandage that was tightly wound about him in many folds, which the Persians say is of great support to the body. This will perhaps explain what Herodotus* means by *εὐχρονὸν ἄνθρωπον*, which Larcher has rendered by "bon marcheur." If it be intended to denote a man on foot, the many bandages with which the Persian *cossids*, or foot messengers, bind themselves, will also afford a good illustration. They are generally so tightly zoned that they can scarcely stoop, and they also bandage their legs, and tighten their trowsers, to be less encumbered in walking. †

Before we reached our encampment at Ojan, we were surprised by the appearance of a coach and six making its way over a rugged mountain, which the Prince Royal, as a mark of attention, had sent for the Ambassador's convenience. It was dragged by six horses of the artillery, driven by Persian artillery-men, and manœuvred as a gun. It had been given by the Empress Catherine to the Armenian patriarch, who had presented it to the Prince; and although it was still in good repair, yet the antiquity of its form, its history, its travels, the very spot upon which it stood, and particularly the mode by which it had been brought hither, all combined to render it one of the most curious objects that we had seen since we had been in Persia. Another surprise that awaited us was the sight of a troop of Persian horse-artillery, dressed like Europeans, with shaven chins, with English arms and accoutrements, booted and spurred, riding with long stirrups, who, headed by an English officer, had come to salute the Ambassador as he alighted at his tent door.

Ojan is now a *chemen*, or pasturage, entirely appropriated to the use of the Prince. A city of that name was situated upon it, which the Persians say was of considerable extent; but its only remains are a

* Clio, 72.

† See the story of the Shatir, ch. 8. p. 137.



number of wells that are here and there concealed under the high grass. On the summit of the hills, to the southward, are to be seen collections of large stones, like druidical remains, close to the road, which the natives call *jan goo*, places of council, where the chiefs of former times used to meet to consult on their political affairs. These stones are arranged in a long square, and present nothing remarkable but their size and uncouthness.

The mountain of Savalan, one of the highest in Persia, upon which the Persians say the ark of Noah rested, and which is situated in a range of mountains near to Ardebil, is seen from Ojan, on a bearing of N. $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E.

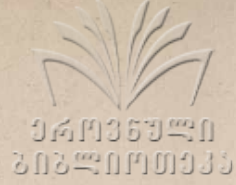
Every honour that could be devised was shown by the Prince to the Ambassador on our entry into Tabriz. The chief personage who came out on the occasion was a child, apparently not more than ten years old, but who was the King's son-in-law. He was the son of Mirza Bozurk, one of the King's Ministers resident at Tabriz, and had lately been married to a daughter of the King. European military honours were also added to those of Persia; for as we approached the town, disciplined troops lined the road to a considerable distance, and presented arms as we passed, whilst a numerous band of drummers and fifers headed our procession, playing country dances and reels in a manner truly astonishing, when we considered that Persians were the performers. Twenty guns were fired as a salute to the Ambassador on reaching the house appointed for his habitation, in a style that would have done credit to any artillery.



CHAPTER XIV.

ONE of the most remarkable facts in the modern history of Asia, is the introduction of European discipline in the armies of Persia. When we have seen such discipline entirely destroyed in one Mahomedan state, in spite of the efforts of the government to maintain it — when the prejudices of the Mahomedan religion are considered, and particularly the doctrine of predestination which it inculcates, it must remain a matter of surprise how it has commenced, maintained, and strengthened itself in Persia. It had not indeed Janissaries to oppose it, as in Turkey, but it was cried down by some of the Princes, and derided by many of the Nobles; and if it had not been for the personal exertions of Abbas Mirza, it must have fallen. Abbas Mirza, in fact, must be looked upon as the origin, the support, and the chief promoter of it, and consequently the benefactor of his country.

In one of his first interviews with the Ambassador, he described, with great *naiveté*, what were the first motives which induced him to attempt its introduction among his troops. He said, that he soon found out that it was in vain to fight the Russians without soldiers like theirs; that their artillery could only be opposed by artillery; and that all his efforts to make an impression upon them, with his undisciplined rabble, had uniformly been unsuccessful. His first essays in discipline were attended with little success, because he had, in the outset, to combat the prejudices of the Persian recruits themselves, who rejected the idea of being assimilated in any manner to *Firengees*, and particularly to Russians, whom their national hatred made them despise, or perhaps their fear caused them to hate, more than all other Europeans. To efface such impressions, the Prince said that he himself was obliged to adopt a soldier's dress, and to submit to learn the military exercise from a Russian; that he commenced with twenty or thirty men at a time, whom he caused to be drilled in a separate court by themselves, in order that they might not be exposed to the ridicule of the populace; and



that it was not until he had ordered his nobles to follow his example, and handle a musket, that he found his scheme making any progress. So far he had succeeded in teaching a few of his men the platoon exercise, to march abreast, to turn about at the word of command, and to beat a drum ; but he wanted officers, and he very probably would have got no further, if the French Embassy from Bonaparte had not arrived in Persia at that time, when the officers attached to it were put into commands of large bodies, and they advanced his views to the utmost of his expectations. What were but the rudiments of military science appeared to him its perfection ; and notwithstanding he afterwards discovered how little his first levies had learnt, yet still in recollection of the pleasure which their appearance had given him, he ever after entertained a greater partiality for them than for his other troops.

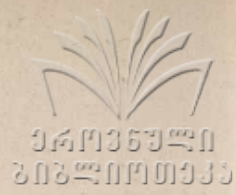
The English mission which succeeded the French, also supplied him with officers, and his first wish was to raise a corps of artillery, which was done by Lieutenant Lindsay, an officer of the Madras army, in a manner truly astonishing. The effect that the sight of it produced upon us at Ojan has been already described. The zeal of this officer was only to be equalled by the encouragement of the Prince, who, putting himself above all prejudices, resisting the jealousy of his officers, and the cabal of courtiers, liberally adopted every method proposed, and supported Lieutenant Lindsay against every difficulty that was thrown in his way. He gave him full power to punish his recruits in any manner he chose, and gave him unlimited controul over his troop. It was only upon the article of shaving off beards, that the Prince was inexorable ; nor would the sacrifice of them have ever taken place if it had not happened, that on firing the guns before the Prince, a powder horn exploded in the hand of a gunner, who by good luck had been gifted with a long beard, which in one instant was blown away from his chin. Lieutenant Lindsay, who did not lose this opportunity to prove his argument on the encumbrance of beards to soldiers, immediately produced the scorched and mutilated gunner before the Prince, who was so struck with his woeful appearance, that the abolition of military beards was instantly decided upon.



The *serbaz* or infantry were placed under the command of Major Christie of the Bombay army, an officer of the greatest merit, who inspired his troops with an *esprit de corps*, that manifested itself on many occasions. Abbas Mirza, who was partial to the corps disciplined partly by the French, and partly by himself, thinking that it had acquired more steadiness from its having been longer embodied than Major Christie's, one day proposed a sham fight, in which he would lead his corps, and Christie his. They were drawn out, and the Prince's troops attacked with great vigour those of Christie, who, however, ordering a charge of bayonets put the others to flight. Christie's men, who perhaps did not fully understand that this was intended for play, and who had been warmed by their success, were heard to exclaim, "Oh, that we had ball-cartridges!"

The Prince complained to the Ambassador, that even now, the new system which he had introduced had a great many enemies, and the most powerful one was his brother Mahomed Ali Mirza, who had endeavoured to render him and his *nezam* (discipline) odious to the Persians, by attempting to show that in adopting the customs of the infidels he was subverting the religion of Islam, which to this day had been upheld by the same sword and the same discipline that had served Mahomed in its establishment. "In order to counteract this," said the Prince, "I caused a passage in the Koran that is favourable to the improvement of the means of attack and defence in the cause of religion, to be copied, to be sealed and approved by the chiefs of the law in Persia, and disseminated throughout the country."

The English officers who were employed in Persia, notwithstanding the Prince's zeal for improvement, still found many impediments in their way, originating from the confined ideas which the Prince himself had of military science. The necessity of a strict subordination of ranks seemed to him incomprehensible. He did not see why the lieutenant, the serjeant, and even the common soldier, should be debarred the privilege of speaking to him upon matters of service; and why every thing should first be reported to the commanding



officer. It was long before he could seize the true routine of service, and was slow to discover the necessity of adhering scrupulously to regulations, which appeared to him to clog rather than to facilitate. After he had one day listened with great patience to a detail of the laws and regulations of our service, he exclaimed with a deep sigh, "This discipline is a most difficult thing," which proved that he merely looked upon it as the art of making men act in a body by a single word of command, without reflecting upon all the hidden machinery which was necessary to be kept in constant motion, to produce the simple result which he so much admired. The greatest difficulties in the way of our officers, were the knavery and intrigue of the Persian officers appointed by the Prince to aid them in their different commands. The men themselves, they found most docile and tractable, receiving the discipline quicker than even Englishmen; but the moment a Mirza or a Khan interfered, all was trouble and dispute. As for instance, a Mirza who was appointed to pay the men would keep a percentage from each man for himself—sums which he received for the supplies of dress, furniture, &c., he would detain to trade with, or put out to usurious interest. A man of some consequence was one day discovered to have stolen two muskets; and similar instances of knavery might be cited without end.

In addition to these difficulties, the officers found that the method of providing recruits was defective. They were in general taken from the wandering tribes of Aderbigian, who are bound to each other by the ties of clanship, and are always ready to support each other upon the most trivial occasion. This produced a constant tendency to what we should call mutiny, but which they style making the *arze*, or an exposition. As raw materials for soldiers, nothing could be better than the Eelauts. Accustomed from their infancy to a camp life, habituated to all sorts of hardships and to the vicissitudes of weather, they are soldiers by nature. They have undertaken incredible marches without scarcely any food, and without a murmur. In such qualities, they will perhaps equal any troops in the world, but they are greatly deficient in the soldier's first art, the art of dying. Accustomed to their old modes of



fighting, where every man, independent of the other, first took care of his own safety before he thought of killing his enemy, they did not relish our system. A Persian talking to one of our officers upon that subject, said very ingenuously, "If there was no dying in the case, how gloriously the Persians would fight!" Their ideas of courage are indeed totally different from ours. They look upon courage as a quality which a man may have or have not, as he may feel at the moment. One of the King's generals, who has the reputation of being a courageous man, was not ashamed to own that he and a large body of troops had been kept at bay by two Russian soldiers, who alternately fired their muskets at them, and at length obliged them to move away. In talking of the Russians, they say that they are so divested of feeling, that rather than retire, they die on the spot.

Abbas Mirza himself is said to be personally brave, and that in his different encounters with the Russians he has risked himself further than necessity required. He punishes cowardice, an instance of which we witnessed. One of his Generals, Mahomed Beg, had on some emergency quitted his post, and run away. The Prince degraded him from his rank, tied his hands behind his back, put a wooden sword by his side, seated him on an ass, with his face towards the tail, and thus paraded him through Tabriz.

After the first visits of ceremony were over, the Ambassador scarcely passed a day for a month after, without spending several hours in the company of the Prince, when formality and etiquette were laid aside, and when His Royal Highness entered into all the details of his government without the smallest reserve. Although sincerity be not the virtue of his country, and although we were warned not to forget that he also was a Persian, yet such appearance of candour was there in his manner, accompanied by such engaging affability, that we all permitted ourselves to believe that he was as superior in mind to the rest of his countrymen, as he certainly was in his exterior qualities. Seldom have I met, in any country, a man so fascinating as Abbas Mirza. His countenance is always animated, his smile is agreeable, and his conver-



sation is full of *naiveté* and pleasantry. In his dress* he is scarcely to be distinguished from other persons, for he generally wears the *kadek*, the common manufactured cotton stuff of Persia, made up into a single-breasted *caba*, with a Cashmerian shawl round his waist. The greatest piece of finery belonging to him is a diamond-hilted dagger, which once was the property of Lutf Ali Khan, and which on a former emergency he threatened to sell, in order to defray some arrears of pay to his troops. He wears English boots; and expressed great admiration at the helmets of our light dragoons, which he said he would make no scruple to wear.

To Europeans he is studiously polite: when they visit him, he enters into that sort of conversation which shows a mind eager for information. His rapid manner of talking, which at first appears affected, is quite natural to him, and gives an appearance of sincerity to what he says, because it does not look premeditated. He is fond of reading, and his studies are principally restricted to the historians of his country, of which the Shah Nameh of Ferdousi is his favourite. He expresses great anxiety to be informed about the different states of Europe; and has got together a large collection of English books, which he frequently looks at without understanding them, and is always devising plans for getting them translated, but hitherto without success. A copy of the Encyclopædia Britannica was given to him; and it is related, that in his wish to find out a piece of mechanism, which he was desirous to have made, he had the patience to turn over all the volumes of that work, until he came to what he wanted. He has also got a collection of maps from the printing-press at Constantinople, which he has studied, and which has rendered him about the best geographer in his country. Our conclusions upon the character of this Prince were, that if he had received an enlightened education, and had been brought up with examples of virtue and honour constantly before him, he would

* In this respect, and upon the same principle, he is like Alexander. *Cultu, curaque corporis haud multum supra privati modum eminens.* Quint. Curt. lib. i. ch. 4.

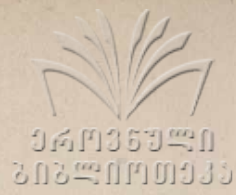


not only have been an ornament to his country, but would have classed with the best of men and the best of princes.

On our arrival at Tabriz, we found a Russian officer there, who had been dispatched by the Russian Commander in Chief in Georgia, General de Rtischeff, to Sir Gore Ouseley, with letters, which contained the wishes of the Russian government that a negotiation for peace with Persia might be entered upon through British mediation. Some recent disturbances in Georgia, favourable to their cause, had elated the Persians so much, that they were not in a humour to listen to the proposals which the Russians were inclined to make; but much being still to be done through our interference, the Prince did not refuse the Ambassador's wish of dispatching the Honourable Robert Gordon, in company with the Russian officer, to Teflis, for the purpose of more precisely ascertaining from General de Rtischeff what were the ultimate terms of Russia, and whether he had plenipotentiary powers to treat. In one of our conferences with Mirza Bozurk, in which the utility of Georgia to Persia as a possession was discussed, he made a remark that was truly characteristic of an Asiatic logician. Taking hold of his beard, he said, "This is of no use, but it is an ornament."

Not long after, we received letters from Mr. Gordon, at Teflis, informing the Ambassador that the General was invested with full powers to negotiate; that he recommended an immediate armistice should take place, to effect which he had ordered all incursions into the Persian territory to cease; and that he himself was ready to meet the Prince on the frontier, for the purpose of entering upon the negotiation. When this letter came, I was dispatched by the Ambassador to Abbas Mirza, who had been for some time encamped with part of his army in the pasture of Yam, about eight fursungs from Tabriz, on the road to Marand and Nakhjuwan.

I set off at sunset with two servants and a guide, and arrived at ten o'clock at Soffian, where it was necessary to refresh myself and horses. Carpets were spread for me at the top of the Ket Khoda's house, where I sat for an hour in the moonlight, refreshed by *aub dough*, a sort of butter-milk; and three hours after we reached the Prince's camp, the



white tents of which, by the help of the moon, we distinguished from a considerable distance. A dead stillness reigned throughout the camp; and such was the want of precaution, that we were in the centre of "a thousand pavilions white as snow," without having been challenged by a single person. By chance I discovered the tent of Mr. Campbell, the Prince's Surgeon, where I reposed till the morning, when at an early hour the latter was awoken by a summons from the Prince to attend him in the chase.

We heard cries and loud shouts, trampling of horses, people running about in haste, and all the camp in motion. On looking through a slit in the tent, the first person I perceived was the Prince himself on horseback, who had issued forth without having given sufficient notice to his attendants, who yet half-awake were hastening to join him in all speed. The Prince returned from his excursion at about noon. He had been on the hills which surrounded his camp, in the hope of meeting a tiger, which had been seen a short time before by shepherds. This animal is known to exist in this part of Persia, for Mr. Campbell possesses the skin of a royal tiger that was killed here not long ago; but instances of its being seen are very rare. In addition to his usual hunting equipages, the Prince had taken with him a battalion of his trained infantry, who were to surround the spot where it was likely the animal was lurking, and to rouse him by the beating of drums. All their efforts, however, proved unsuccessful: the Prince and his attendants consoled themselves by firing with balls across a valley, at a stone for a mark, which produced a continual discharge of musquetry, of the noise of which the Persians are extremely fond. Mr. Campbell who had witnessed the scene, said that it was truly extraordinary to see the dangerous places to which the Prince and his followers urged their horses. Indeed they hold it as a fact, that a horse will find footing wherever a man can do the same, consequently an ascent however steep, or a soil however difficult, scarcely ever stops them. On this occasion, they rambled about on the tops of the mountains, until an immense precipice completely impeded their progress. The Prince however sent one of his men to see if it were possible to pass it, who urging his



horse to the very brink of the chasm, stretched his neck over, and looking about him, reported that it was difficult, but that he thought they might succeed to cross it. Upon which the Prince rode to the same spot himself, and having coolly surveyed the danger, confessed that it was rather too great to be risked. They came down the bank of a very shelving mountain, which overlooked the camp; and shortly after he reached his tent, saluted by his troops and their music.

He had not long alighted, before he sent me two paniers of fruit as a present, and shortly after one of his officers came to request my attendance. After having been introduced with the usual forms, I was desired to seat myself on the felt carpet (*nummud*) opposite to the Prince. He himself was seated tailor-like, at one extremity of the tent, with his cap on one side, leaning forwards in a playful manner over his knees. On one side of him was an ink-stand and some papers, and at the other extremity of the tent was Hyder Ali Khan, one of his favourite officers. After saying some obliging things, he asked me for the letters of which I was the bearer, which I then delivered to him. One of them contained a sketch of the treaty recently concluded between Russia and Turkey, over which he pondered with considerable attention for a long while, without opening his lips. He then made a sign to Hyder Ali Khan to withdraw, and requiring me to come close to him, he made some very shrewd remarks upon the different articles of the treaty, showing himself a perfect master of the nature of the political relations that existed between those two states. [Among the letters of which I was the bearer was that of Mr. Gordon from Teflis, to the contents of which he paid the most minute attention; and when I informed him that by desire of the Russian General Mr. Gordon was about returning to us, through Karabagh, by Ganja and Shisheh, in order to inspect the Russian possessions in that part of the country, the Prince exclaimed, " Ah, I know those wiles of old; they will make Mr. Gordon believe that they are very strong, when it is all the contrary. On the one day they will march a set of men before him; and on the next, changing their dress, they will exhibit the very same set as fresh troops newly ar-



“rived.” He finished this part of the conference by saying, that he would think upon what was now to be done, that he would write to the Ambassador, and that at night he would send for me again to tell me what was his determination. He then conversed upon indifferent subjects; and when I told him of our agreeable sensations upon beholding his troop of horse-artillery at Ojan, and that we felt ourselves in some measure transported to England, his eyes glistened with the most lively pleasure, and he said, “Well, that is just what Mirza Abul Hassan Khan has told me. He assured me, that on entering Aderbigian he thought himself again in England; and that if the Persians want to see what England is, they have only to look at the country over which I govern.” Poor Prince! could he but take one look at England, how great would be the revolution in his ideas! How great would be the probable consequences to the whole of his country, and perhaps to the whole of Asia!

After our conference, the Prince sent me more fruit piled up in china bowls, cooled with ice, placed upon a silver tray, and covered with a shawl napkin, for which, according to eastern custom, I exclaimed, “May the Prince’s prosperity increase,” and gave to the bearer of the present, a small donation of money.

At about nine o’clock in the evening, the Prince sent me a message, saying, that if I would eat my dinner now, he would send for me two hours after. Accordingly at about midnight a confidential servant, attended by large lanterns, conducted me to his master, whom I found seated alone in the same place as the morning, and with his tent lighted up by one taper. He made me sit down about a yard opposite to him, near the light, and dictated to me, whilst I wrote in my pocket book what I was to say to the Ambassador. I then took my leave, and immediately mounting my horse, reached Tabriz the next morning at eight o’clock, just as the Ambassador was at breakfast.

The position of affairs between Persia and Turkey became very critical about this time; and the whole of our influence was required, both at Constantinople and in Persia, to keep them from hostilities.

It will be remembered that Abdurakhman Pasha, the Courd, after



having been defeated by Mahomed Ali Mirza, was restored to his capital, Sulimanieh, on condition of paying tribute and giving hostages to the King of Persia. This arrangement gave umbrage to Abdulla, Pasha of Bagdad, who applied to the Porte for a firman to take off the head of Abdurakhman, and to take Sulimanieh under his own jurisdiction. The firman having been granted, the Pasha of Bagdad drew out his forces, and proceeded to put his orders into execution. He was met by Abdurakhman Pasha, when a battle ensued, in which the latter, after having been defeated, fled to Kermanshah to seek the protection of Mahomed Ali Mirza, whilst his capital and property fell into the hands of the Turks. Mahomed Ali Mirza, who long had waited for a pretext to induce the King to permit him to attack Bagdad, immediately espoused the cause of his refugee, and in the strongest terms endeavoured to show that the interference of the Turkish Government was an insult to Persia: he urged that his honour was deeply engaged to keep the Court in possession of his city, and threatened if he were not allowed to reinstate Abdurakhman Pasha, he would seek a remedy for his shame by a poignard. The King, whose propensity to attack Bagdad was as strong as that of his son, was only hindered from following that propensity by the fear of offending the English Ambassador, who, in the most active manner, had interposed to keep the two states on good terms. On the first solicitation of his son, the King had sent a considerable force to watch the result of the contest between Abdurakhman Pasha and the Pasha of Bagdad, and made use of the ancient Parthian policy on this occasion *, for he gave secret orders to his commander to conduct himself in such a manner as not to take any decided part before the combat, but to side with the conqueror. When it was known that the Pasha had been victorious, the King took the merit to himself of having assisted the Turks.

The differences between the two countries were heightened by some circumstances offensive to the King, which had arisen from the treaty of

* Inter Cæsareas acies, diversa que signa
Pugnaces dubium Parthi tenuere favorem
Contenti fecisse duos.

Lucan, lib. iii.



peace concluded between Turkey and Russia; and it was only by the personal influence and active interference of our Ambassador, that His Majesty was prevailed upon not to use coercive measures for reinstating Abdurakhman Pasha in the possession of Sulimanieh.

During the whole of these transactions the Turkish government had a resident Minister at the Court of Persia, in the person of Yasin Zadeh Effendi, who took but little share in them. He resided at Tabriz at the same time as we; and it was hinted to him, how useful to the interests of his state would be a visit from him to the English Ambassador, whose influence hitherto had prevented the Persians from attacking Bagdad. The Effendi acknowledged how much his government was indebted to the interference of the English Ambassador, but said that as he had most positive orders from his Court not to visit him first, he was running the risk of his life if he disobeyed those orders, and that therefore he must stay at home.

1812

By order of the Ambassador I visited Yasin Zadeh, whose house was situated in a remote part of the city, and was introduced into a room, where, contrary to the Persian mode of furniture, cushions were placed against the wall. The Effendi came in soon after, and although we were in the middle of summer (3d July) he was heaped over with fur pelisses. He was a shrivelled old man, clean in his dress, of placid appearance, and of very polished manners. The few words which he spoke, at the commencement of our interview, were expressive of his thanks for the attentions of our Ambassador, and he hinted with satisfaction at the long and ancient friendship which so long had existed between Turkey and England. His slow and methodical manner was strongly contrasted to that which we had been accustomed to see in the lively and animated Persians; but little by little he became more communicative, particularly when he found that I had been at Constantinople, and was acquainted with its localities. *Stambol*, to a Turk, is the centre of all earthly joys; and as soon as we got upon that subject he became quite garrulous. He made a long list of complaints of all the miseries he had endured in Persia; how the water was bad, the bread coarse, the climate disagreeable; and how constantly he bewailed



the want of the comforts of Stambol, and how anxious he was to get back to them. The room in which we were seated looked upon a small basin of water, in which was placed a little ship completely rigged, at which the old man was wont to look, as a recollection of his dear Bosphorus. When we conversed on politics I found him in almost total ignorance of what was then passing in the world. He asked me questions about events that had taken place many months before; and as he was generally six months at a time without hearing from his Court, all his information was gleaned from the Tatars, who occasionally were sent to the English Ambassador from Constantinople.

The affairs between Turkey and Persia continued for some time after to wear an unsettled appearance, although hostilities had ceased on the Bagdad frontier, owing to the compromise which the Pasha of that place had agreed to make, by paying down a certain sum in ready money as a compensation for the expences that Persia had incurred in her interference for Abdurakhman Pasha.

We had not long been at Tabriz before our party was joined by the Rev. William Canning and the Rev. Henry Martyn. The former was attached to our Embassy as chaplain; the latter, whom we had left at Shiraz employed in the translation of the New Testament into the Persian language, having completed that object, was on his way to Constantinople. Both these gentlemen had suffered greatly in health during their journey from Shiraz. Mr. Martyn had scarcely had time to recover his strength before he departed again. He remained some time with the Armenian patriarch and his monks at Etchmiatzin, and his memory is highly revered amongst them. He had a relapse of his fever in Turkey, and as he travelled with a Tatar, a mode evidently too violent for his weak frame, his disorder obliged him to stop at Tocat, where he died. The Persians, who were struck with his humility, his patience and resignation, called him a *merdi khodái*, a man of God; and indeed every action of his life seemed to be bent towards the one object of advancing the interest of the Christian religion. When he was living at Shiraz, employed in his translation, he neither sought nor shunned the society of the natives, many of whom constantly drew him into arguments

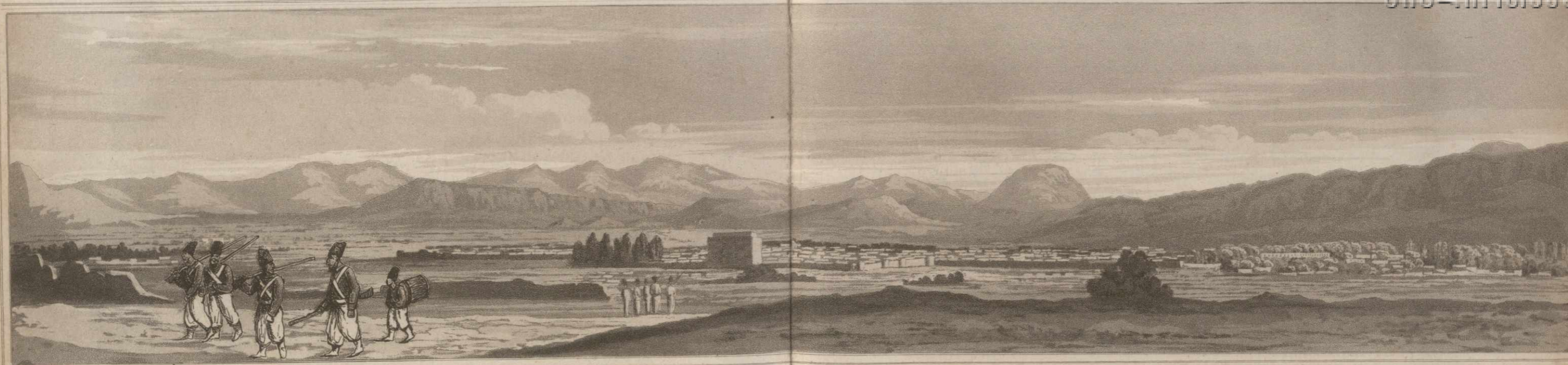


about religion, with the intention of persuading him of the truth and excellence of theirs. His answers were such as to stimulate them to farther arguments; and in spite of their pride the principal Mollahs, who had heard of his reputation, paid him the first visit, and endeavoured in every way to entangle him in his talk. At length he thought that the best mode of silencing them was by writing a reply to the arguments which they brought both against our belief and in favour of their own. His tract was circulated through different parts of Persia, and was sent from hand to hand to be answered. At length it made its way to the King's Court, and a Mollah of high consideration, who resided at Hamadan, and who was esteemed one of the best controversialists in the country, was ordered to answer it. After the lapse of more than a year he did answer it, but such were the strong positions taken by Mr. Martyn, that the Persians themselves were ashamed of the futility of their own attempts to break them down; for, after they had sent their answer to the Ambassador, they requested that it might be returned to them again, as another answer was preparing to be given.* Such answer has never yet been given; and we may infer from this circumstance, that if, in addition to the Scriptures, some plain treatises of the evidences of Christianity, accompanied by strictures upon the falseness of the doctrines of Mahomed, were translated into Persian and disseminated throughout that country, very favourable effects would be produced. Mr. Martyn caused a copy of his translation to be beautifully written, and to be presented by the Ambassador to the King, who was pleased to receive it very graciously. A copy of it was made by Mirza Baba, a Persian, who gave us lessons in the Persian language; and he said, that many of his countrymen asked his permission to take Mr. Martyn's translation to their homes, where they kept it for several days, and expressed themselves much edified by its contents. But whilst he was employed in copying it, Mollahs (the Persian scribes)

* I have heard since my return to England that Mr. Martyn's tract has been sent to a Mollah of great celebrity residing at Bagdad, in the hope that he may be more successful in refuting it.

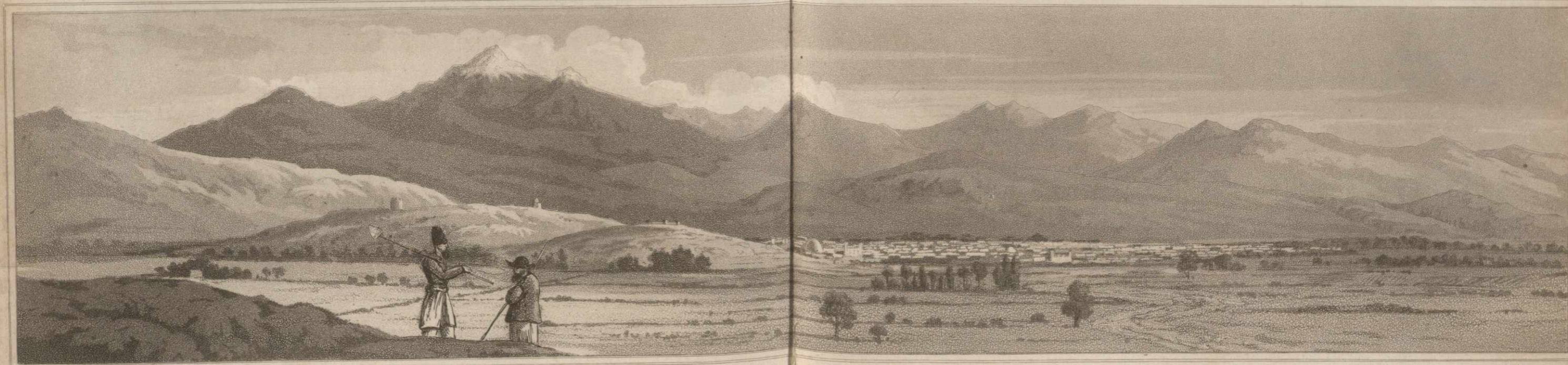


ბიბლიოთეკა
საქართველოს
საგარეო ურთიერთობების
სამსახურის



Persian Soldiers

TABRIZ.



Mount Alwend

HAMADAN.

James Morier del.

T. Fielding sculp.



used frequently to sit with him and revile him for undertaking such a work. On reading the passage where our Saviour is called the "*Lamb of God*," they scorned and ridiculed the simile, as if exulting in the superior designation of Ali, who is called *Sheer Khoda*, the Lion of God. Mirza Baba observed to them, "The lion is an unclean beast, he preys upon carcasses, and you are not allowed to wear his skin, because it is impure; he is destructive, fierce, and man's enemy. The lamb, on the contrary, is in every way *halal*, or lawful. You eat its flesh, you wear its skin on your head, it does no harm, and is an animal beloved. Whether is it best then to say the Lamb of God, or the Lion of God?"

When Chardin wrote, Tabriz ranked as the second city in Persia. It had, by his account, fifteen thousand houses, fifteen thousand shops, three hundred caravanserais, two hundred and fifty mosques, magnificent domed bazars, and contained five hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.* At present, if we allow it to be even one-tenth of that magnitude, we shall probably make an exaggerated estimation. The modern town is situated nearly in the centre of the site of the former one; for on all sides of it, to a considerable distance, are to be seen the ruins of houses, streets, &c., which afford a tolerable idea of the extent of that city which Chardin described. In his view of it, the Mesjid Ali is placed almost in the middle of the city: what remains of that building now forms a part of the fortification. Tabriz at this day is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference; it is surrounded by walls built of sun-burnt bricks, and by towers of kiln-burnt bricks, placed at irregular distances from each other. An attempt has been made to give the shape of bastions to several of the towers, but no guns are mounted upon them, and if they were, they could be of little use, as the irregularity of the walls baffle all the rules of science. There are seven gates, at each of which guards are stationed, and they are closed an hour or two after sunset, and opened in the morning before sunrise: but such regulations are not enforced with the strictness of the military discipline of Europe; as was proved by a circumstance which occurred during our

* This would be above thirty-six in a house, a proportion which makes the calculation very doubtful.



residence. The keys of the gates are kept with the Governor of the city, and a camp was formed without the town. One of our serjeants going to the camp, having arrived too late at the gate, went to the Governor's house to seek the key. He enquired for the Governor, and was informed that he was within; he proceeded, and unknowingly found himself on a sudden in the harem, in the midst of many women, who shrieked out when they saw him, and sought to hide themselves. He there felt himself assailed by numerous weapons, that were directed at him by a man, as well as by the women; and finding himself closely pressed, he aimed a blow at the former, which alighted upon his mouth. The sufferer proved to be the Governor in person, and who, in this attack, asserted that he had lost two teeth. Remonstrances were instantly made to the Ambassador for this intrusion of one of his countrymen into a spot so sacred to a Persian, but the whole business was very good-naturedly forgiven, as soon as an explanation had been made that the serjeant had erred through ignorance alone.

No public buildings of any note, at present exist at Tabriz, and few are the remains of those described by former travellers. Indications of the great *maidan* are still to be observed, and the bazar *Kaiserieh* is still known, but a wooden roof has been substituted for its former arched one. The *Ark Ali Shah* (the citadel of Ali Shah) is the most interesting structure at present in Tabriz; principally, because it contains a proof of what the labour and ingenuity of a few Englishmen will accomplish under all the disadvantages of a bad administration and a want of resources. This building comprehends within its limits the remains of a mosque, (a mass of brick work, as fine, perhaps, as any in the world,) about eighty feet in height; at the top of which three small chambers have been constructed, whence the town and the surrounding country are seen as if laid out on a chart. The Prince had intended to make the *ark* his own place of residence, but he subsequently preferred converting it into an arsenal, where we were delighted to find many of our European trades in full activity. In the first yard, we saw a range of guns and all the accompaniments of artillery. A nu-



merous body of carpenters and wheelwrights were at work with European tools, superintended by an European mechanic. Farther on was the blacksmith's forge, worked with charcoal for want of coal. Then in another yard, were piles of shot, with men filling cartridges and other lesser employments. We were led through a suite of apartments, in which were saddlers and workers of leather, store-rooms neatly arranged, and conveniences of every sort.

The Persians are delighted at this place. The prince frequently visits it, takes great pleasure in inspecting all the works, and in learning the uses and properties of every article. His principal delight is a machine for boring cannon, which is worked by a buffalo, enabling him to make guns of any description.

These details will perhaps furnish some idea of the rapidity with which the Persians might be entirely civilized; and if it were ever the policy of any one of the European nations to give a further impulse to the eagerness with which they have already begun to acquire some of our arts, it is not to be doubted, but that the whole of Persia would soon exhibit a very different aspect from what it does at present; and that from this commencement, their darkness in religion would perhaps be gradually dispelled.

However agreeable it may be to trace their first progress towards civilization, and to anticipate their further advances, we must not confine our views to the more pleasing side of the scene.

Many of the prisoners taken from the Russians are confined in the *ark*. Twenty to thirty Armenian husbandmen, natives of Kara bagh, finding themselves reduced to a state of starvation by the constant inroads made upon their fields by the Persian cavalry, resolved to migrate into the country of Abbas Mirza. On their way, they were met by a party of predatory Persian horsemen, who, without listening to their tale, seized them as prisoners, and sent them to Tabriz, where they were thrown, bound and fettered, into a dungeon. During the day-time they were let out and driven like cattle in a herd, to work upon buildings erecting without the town, and were beaten without remorse if they made remonstrances, or showed any reluctance to work.



At night they were again confined to the dungeon. If it had not been for the humanity of our English artificers who lived in the arsenal, these poor people would probably have died from the united miseries of hunger and unwholesome lodging.

The Ambassador, during our stay at Tabriz, was lodged in a house provided for him by the Prince, but belonging to one of the wealthiest inhabitants of the place, an old man, by name Hajee Khan Mahomed. The gentlemen of the suite, as well as all the English officers in the Persian service, each occupied a separate house. The owners of these houses were dispossessed of them by the Prince's orders; and though they afterwards recovered them, they received no remuneration from the Persian government for the injury and the privation. It is now twelve years since Hajee Khan Mahomed has ceased to possess his own house; nor is it likely that he will ever again occupy it; for no sooner has it been left by one person, than it is immediately given to another. The one which I occupied belonged to an Armenian family, the head of which was a *keshish*, or priest. It consisted of several rooms, built upon elevated terraces, looking upon two sides of a square, besides several other small unconnected rooms, situated here and there. A garden was attached to it, in which were apple, pear, cherry, walnut, and *sinjid** trees, besides rose trees. Beneath my chambers were two under-ground rooms, where lived one of the priest's sons, with his wife. One of the rooms was a magazine for arrack, of which the husband was both a drinker and a vender. But as the Prince had prohibited the sale of this liquor and of wine, under very heavy penalties, none was sold except in a clandestine manner, and that to persons well known. The noises that issued from the adjoining houses were quite characteristic of Persian domestic life. In my immediate vicinity lived an old morose Persian, who daily quarrelled with his women; and I could distinguish the voice of one particular female, whose answers, made in a taunting and querulous tone, did not fail to

* The *sinjid*, سنجد is the jujube tree, of which there are several sorts in Persia. The red Khorasanian jujube is esteemed an excellent specific in fluxes.

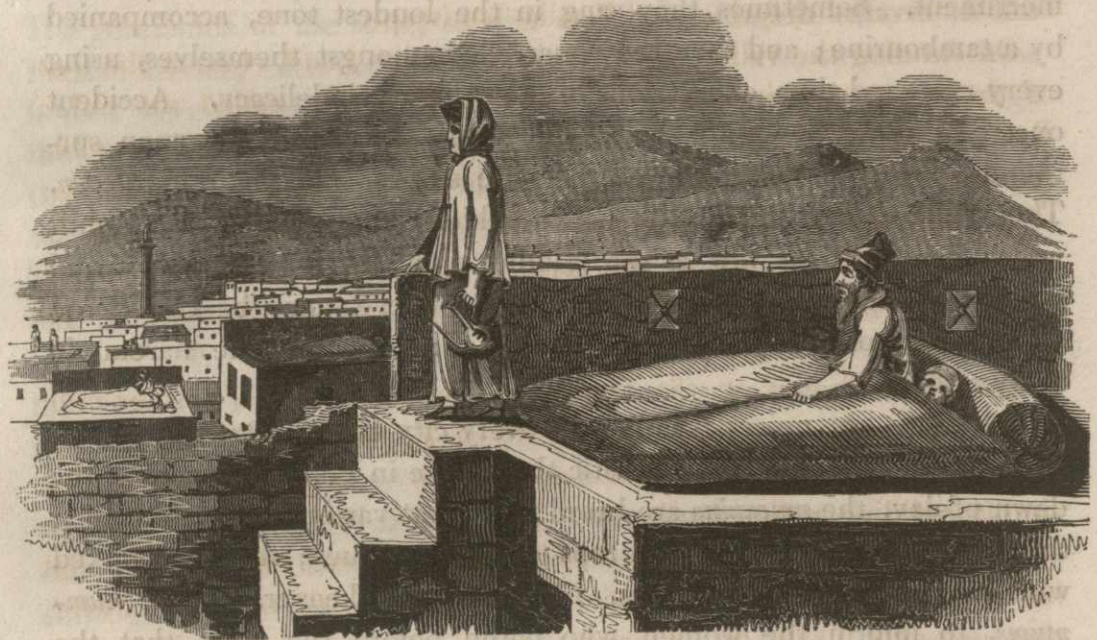


throw him into passions so violent, that they generally terminated in blows, the noise of which, accompanied by corresponding lamentation, I could distinctly hear.

Then, bordering on the garden wall, scarce twenty yards from where I usually sat, was a society of women, five or six in number, the wives and slaves of a Mussulman, who were either dissolved in tears, sobbing aloud like children, or entranced in the most indecent and outrageous merriment. Sometimes they sang in the loudest tone, accompanied by a tambourine; and then they quarrelled amongst themselves, using every now and then expressions of no ordinary indelicacy. Accident once gave me a view into their yard, where I saw three women surrounded by children, seated on the bare stones, smoking the *kaleoon*. They wore a large black silk handkerchief round their heads, a shift which descended as low as the middle, a pair of loose trowsers, and green high-heeled slippers; and this, I believe, may be considered as a sketch of every Persian woman's dress within the harem, in hot weather.

But there are noises peculiar to every city and country; and none are more distinct and characteristic than those in Persia. First, at the dawn of day, the *muezzins* are heard in a great variety of tones, calling the people to prayers from the tops of the mosques; these are mixed with the sounds of cow-horns, blown by the keepers of the *hum-mums*, to inform the women, who bathe before the men, that the baths are heated, and ready for their reception. The cow-horns set all the dogs in the city howling in a frightful manner. The asses of the town generally beginning to bray about the same time, are answered by all the asses in the neighbourhood; a thousand cocks then intrude their shrill voices, which, with the other subsidiary noises of persons calling to each other, knocking at doors, cries of children, complete a din very unusual to the ears of an European. In the summer season, as the operations of domestic life are mostly performed in the open air, every noise is heard. At night, all sleep on the tops of their houses, their beds being spread upon their terraces, without any other covering over their heads than the vault of heaven. The poor

seldom have a screen to keep them from the gaze of passengers ; and as we generally rode out on horseback at a very early hour, we perceived on the tops of the houses, people either still in bed, or just getting up, and certainly no sight was ever stranger. The women appeared to be always up the first, whilst the men were frequently seen lounging in bed long after the sun was risen. This universal custom of



sleeping on the house-top, speaks much in favour of the climate of Persia ; and indeed we found that our repose in the open air was much more refreshing than in the confinement of a room. That this was a Jewish custom, may perhaps be inferred from the passage where it is said, *That in an evening tide, David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the King's house.* 2 Sam. xi. 2.

During our stay at Tabriz we made such frequent excursions on horseback, that we became well acquainted with its environs. The plain in which it is situated is bounded to the north-east, the east, and south-east by a chain of barren mountains, conspicuous for their red

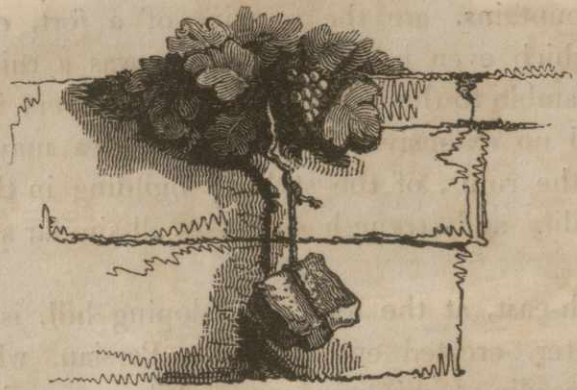


and ochreous appearance. These mountains rise immediately behind Tabriz, and recede into a deep vale, which being watered by a plentiful stream, is perhaps more highly cultivated than any tract of its size in Persia. Following the river in its course through this vale, beautiful and picturesque scenery is seen on every side. A ruined bridge, a water-mill embosomed in a grove of trees, green lanes leading to a village, and other rural objects, gave a great relief to the eye, after the almost universal dreariness of Persian landscape.

On entering the valley from Tabriz to the left hand, close at the foot of the red mountains, are the remains of a fort, called the Caleh Resheedieh, which even in Chardin's time was a ruin. The trouble required to scramble to the summit of the old towers is ill repaid, for they command no extensive view; but an idea may be formed, in walking over the ruins, of the style of building in the 12th century, which for solidity and strength surpasses all similar structures of the present day.

To the south-east, at the foot of a sloping hill, is a powder mill, worked by water, erected entirely by a Persian, who acquired his knowledge (according to his own account) by a casual inspection of a similar building at Constantinople. This mill is by far the best modern structure at Tabriz, being composed of brick, stone, and marble, and has cost the Prince a vast sum of money. The first object, however, that presents itself on entering the mill is an iron door, which, in a place so liable to accident, is most evidently misplaced; but the architect feels a confidence that no danger can arise from it, because when the wheel of the mill sets the works in motion, the door is then kept constantly wet. We remarked to the architect, that in Europe, owing to the frequent explosion of powder mills, they were now constructed of cheap and slight materials. Being a good predestinarian, he exclaimed, "Inshallah, Please God, this will never blow up. See that of Constantinople, how long that has stood: surely this can last as long." A mud wall, flanked by round towers, closed by gates, encloses this building; but adjacent to it, and still within the enclosure, it is intended, in order to take advantage of the water, to erect a corn mill.

To the northward and westward are several villages, interspersed with extensive orchards and vineyards, the latter of which are generally enclosed by high walls. The Persian vine-dressers do all in their power to make the vine run up the wall, and curl over on the other side, which they do by tying stones to the extremity of the tendril. May not this illustrate that beautiful image used in Genesis, xlix. 22.? *Joseph is a fruitful bough; even a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall.* The vine, particularly in



Turkey and Greece, is frequently made to entwine on trellises, around a well, where in the heat of the day whole families collect themselves, and sit under the shade.

A considerable part of the population of Tabriz may be said to live in the suburbs, which are every day increasing, and extend themselves over the site of the ancient city. In all parts of the immediate vicinity are seen large oblong and square blocks of black marble, which formerly were tomb-stones, but now are used in many places as stepping-stones over small streams, foundations to houses, channels for water, &c. These, as well as stone rams and stone lions, are constantly met with. Many of the entrances to the gardens and to the houses of the peasantry, like those of Ispahan, Julfa, and Kashan, are formed of one large stone slab. At the village of Shah Gazan, two miles from the walls of Tabriz, is a high mound of brick, the remains of some very considerable building, but of a Mahomedan age.



دانشگاه تهران
کتابخانه مرکزی

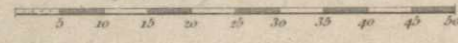
Routes

through
ADERBIGIAN, the most northern province of **PERSIA**,
 including part of *Armenia*;
 drawn chiefly from personal observations
 made between the Years 1812 & 1815.

James Morier.

Author's Route.

Geographical Miles 60 to a Degree.



Variation of the
 Compass in 1812 at
 Lankaran was 9° West



CHAPTER XV.

DISPATCHES at length arrived from the Governor General of Georgia, announcing his intention to proceed to the frontier to treat for peace. The Ambassador in consequence left the city, and we departed on the 7th of September to join the Prince Royal, who proposed to wait at Ak Tappeh for the General. As the country over which we travelled is new in geography, I shall make no apology for describing our daily progress through it.

1812 *ca.*

Our first stage was to the small village of Barunj, situated at the foot of the red hills, that overlook Tabriz; and the next day we arose at dawn, and immediately commenced our ascent over them, upon a tolerable road, until we reached their summit, when the pass became rather difficult. Without much descent we entered at once upon a region of wild and barren mountains, the face of which was only diversified by the extravagant disposition of their strata. From a considerable height we observed the salt river Agi, flowing in a deep valley below, which a little while after we crossed at a ford, close to a picturesque bridge of three arches. This bridge is only used at the periodical swelling of the river, which, except at that time, is in general a very shallow stream. In many parts of the road we remarked large masses of rock, the surface of which appeared to have been worn away by the action of water, as if they had been situated on a sea coast. Indeed, the whole tract, as far as the eye could reach, had the appearance of having been recently abandoned by the sea, and formed one irregular, broken waste, which might be compared to the waves of the sea, changed into earth, at the height of their agitation.

We encamped at Khajeh, a village situated on a hill, with a mud wall running on one side of it. We found the water very brackish; and in fact the soil of this region is in general so salt, that all the streams partake of that quality. On the 9th we reached the small village of Sheherek. We observed a gradual ascent during the whole



of this day's march, which was terminated by a steep rise over a small hill: near to this our camp was pitched, whence we had a very extensive view of the country over which we had travelled since our departure from Tabriz, as well as of the mountains of Sahand, which separate the plain of Maragha from that of Tabriz. We could discern the long range that bounds the plain of Ojan, the high lands of Tekelteh, and the noble mountain of Savalan, which completed the view to the eastward. The plain below Sheherek was well watered and cultivated, and at this season abounded in large covies of the *bokara kara*, or black-breasted partridge.

During the first part of our march from Sheherek, the mountain of Savalan was straight in front of us, and the deep shades of the morning twilight gave it a character of sublimity not to be described; for it is at this early part of the day that great masses, which then present a simple outline without details, produce the most powerful effect on the mind. After having travelled some time due east, we struck into mountains of abrupt and curious forms, of schistus and pudding-stone, &c.; which having passed, we descended gradually into a well-watered valley, through which flowed a small river, called the *Ahar chai*, which rises about six fursungs, or twenty-four miles, on a bearing of west, at Uzumdil, and flows by the town, and through the district of Ahar. We pitched our camp at Gevenjik; and the tract thence to Ahar, (which we reached the next day,) was abundantly cultivated, particularly in water melons, the owners of which, as we passed by, came forward with their hands full of this fruit, to present to us. The Ambassador was met by the Chief of Ahar, with a suite composed of rough and ragged horsemen, who wore immense brown sheep-skin caps, and whose appearance was very different from the generality of Persians.

At the entrance of Ahar, on a rising ground stands a conspicuous building seen from a considerable distance, the tomb of Sheikh Shaab-deen, who was the teacher of Sheikh Seffi, the founder of the family of Seffevieh, as they are called in Persia, or of the Sophis, as they are known in Europe. We turned from the road to inspect it, and no objection was made to our entering the building, notwithstanding that in



the large square before it, many devout looking men were praying on their knees, over the tombs that were spread all about. The mausoleum is of brick, with a foundation of stone, and faced by an elevated portico, flanked by two *minars* or pillars encrusted with green tiles. A little wooden door was opened for us in the back of the building, which introduced us into the spot that contained the tomb of the Sheikh, which was enclosed by a stone railing, carved into open work, and surrounded by a sculptured arabesque ornament, of very good taste. The tomb is distinguished by a marble cover, on which is an Arabic inscription in relieve. Adjacent to the tomb, in a distinct part of the mausoleum, is the mosque; and the cleanliness of its interior, made us conclude that the personage to whose memory the whole has been erected, must stand high in the estimation of his countrymen. D'Herbelot, under the article Schehabeddin, mentions several doctors and learned men of that name; but I do not find any notice which would suit the one whose tomb we visited. Ahar is the chief place of the Karadagh, and is a walled town of a considerable size. Iron is known to exist in its surrounding mountains, and the Prince has it in contemplation to explore mines, and establish furnaces in the most eligible places for working their produce. * The ore is in such great abundance, that it may literally be called, *A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.* Deut. viii. 9.

There appears to be in the name of Ahar a better ground for conjecture that it is Hara, one of the three cities mentioned in 1 Chronicles, v. 26., to which the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half tribe of Manasseh were carried away by Tilgath Pilneser, King of Assyria, than Tarom or Tarim, which Major Rennel has adopted in his luminous disquisition concerning the disposal of the Jewish tribes. † The letters which exist in Hara also exist in Ahar; and a transposition of syllables or letters having nearly the same sounds, is common in the East: such as Lezgee for Legzee, Corbal for Colbar; Tilgath Pilneser, is also

* See Appendix, Note C.

† Rennel's Geo. Sys. of Herodotus, p. 397.



written Tiglath Pileser. Its relative position with Khalcal and Abhar would also favour the conjecture.

From Ahar we went to Kishlak, and travelled all the way on the banks of the Ahar River. We found the whole of the open country overspread with the tents of the Eelauts, whose cattle were dispersed on all the surrounding hills. Our camp was pitched in a beautiful spot close to the river, that takes its course through a deep glen, on the side of which, though out of sight of our encampment, stood the village of Kishlak. The distant mountains to the southward and eastward were covered with underwood; a species of vegetation to which our eyes were totally unaccustomed in the barren landscape of Persia. A peasant informed me that the Ahar river joins a stream at Vergahan, six fursungs distant, called the Kara Sou, which flows into the Araxes at *Hassan Khan senger* in Moghan, seven to eight *menzils* (stages) distant.

1919, *Caracas*

On the 13th we reached Ahmedbeglou, after a tedious ride of twenty miles. We rose at three in the morning, and our first operation was to lose the road among a labyrinth of mountains; for which our guide got from the Mehmandar the usual Persian acknowledgment of a good beating. Our whole party was obliged to scramble over some untrodden country to get into the right road; but we were soon put into good humour by the beautiful scenery which the Ahar river presented to us, as it wound beautifully through a wild valley of rock, and shelving banks. Several eagles were seen perched on the summits of the highest rocks, at which the Persians, who are always ready primed and loaded, unsuccessfully fired off their muskets. Having left the mountains we entered upon a plain, at the farthest end of which was Ahmedbeglou. We encamped on it, and our white tents were discernible from a very considerable distance. This plain was also covered by the Eelauts and their flocks. We were stopped in our progress by an overflow of water, which proceeded from the inundation of rice fields, whose superfluous waters had so deluged the road, as to oblige us to make long circuits to reach our tents. Close to our encampment flowed the Meshkin chai, a small river so called from the district through which it runs,



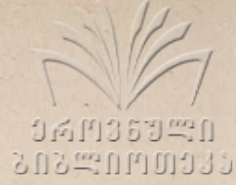
and whose source I was told was in the mountain of Samanlou, six fursungs distant, situated about south, according to the direction of my informer's hand. This stream joins the Ahar river, not far from Ah-medbeglou. Our former station, Kishlak, and our present are both in the district of Meshkin.

Our next stage was at the small village of Bijah, situated on a slope, near to a picturesque tree. A tree was still a rarity; and when it occurred became a land-mark. Although destitute of this indispensable feature of fine scenery, yet the country we had traversed since we left Ahar, was not deficient in beauty. The plains were verdant, and the mountains of picturesque forms, and there was a charm in the softness of the climate, that made us enjoy the wild and undorned scenery by which we were surrounded. On this day's march, cultivation was to be seen in patches all over the country; and, at short intervals from each other, villages skirted by willows and poplars. A set of the black tents of the Eelauts happened to be close to our encampment; and as I was making a sketch of them, of the tree and of the village, an unbreeched urchin that could scarcely lisp, saluted me with the appellation of *kiupek oglu*, a dog's son. Then came an old shepherd with grave and suspicious looks, who said, "There are some fierce dogs in these tents which will bite you, if you stay here much longer." Upon which I detained him as a sentinel over his dogs, of which he did not much approve; for it was easy to discover that his apprehension for my safety, was only another mode of expressing his jealousy about a pack of his ragged and dirty wives in the tents.

On the 15th we went four miles farther on to the village of Karakiah, situated on and about a curious black rock. Our encampment appeared so close to the foot of Savalan, that some of our party were making preparations to ascend it, when the villagers informed us that we were at least four fursungs from it, that there was no regular road leading to it, and that we could not expect to return until the next day. Such is the deception of the distances and heights of mountains, in a very open and unwooded country, which presents no succession of objects by which the eye may calculate relative distance.

The mountain of Savalan is held in high veneration by the Persians,

1812 comm



who relate that in one of the snowy chasms at its summit is to be seen the dead body of a man, always frozen, but in the highest state of preservation, (with the exception of one tooth and a part of the beard), and which they believe to have belonged to a *Peyghember*, or Prophet, whose name the mountain retains to this day. Although this story is in every one's mouth, and confirmed with assurances that many have seen the body, yet we never met with any one person who had himself seen it. We rather lowered what in their estimation is a miracle, by informing them that bodies of any description will preserve entire, as long as they remain frozen; and that they had only to seek the frozen market at Petersburg to convince themselves of the fact.

The next day we encamped on an open spot in the midst of dreary mountains, bringing provisions with us from the last stage, being distant from any village. On the left of our road we observed some curious rocks, that we supposed basaltic.

1012
On the 17th of September, a cold bleak day, with fog overspreading the country, we arrived at the Prince Royal's camp at Ak tappeh. The Ambassador was met by a large body of horsemen, headed by some of the Prince's chief officers; and after we had reached our tents, a splendid Persian breakfast, composed of all sorts of dishes and sherbets, was served up to us on several large trays; a distinction which, as coming direct from their Prince, in the eyes of the Persians, we could not sufficiently appreciate.

The Prince's camp was situated in a valley running north and south, near a small stream of excellent water, whose source was in our immediate neighbourhood. It had been pitched under the superintendance of the English officers, and displayed a regularity unknown to the Persians. The front was occupied by the small tents of a disciplined regiment of infantry; then came a line of the tents of the English officers; and behind these a large crimson pavilion, which served as the *dewan khoneh*, or hall of audience. The Prince's own tent, enclosed by the distinguishing *serperdeh**, was next in order; to the

* The *serperdeh* is composed of canvas walls, that surround a tent; and, except by express permission, none but the King and his sons are allowed to make use of it.



right and left of which were several large pavilions, belonging to the Vizier, Secretaries, military and civil officers; and behind all, were the numerous small tents of the Prince's household. On the left flank was stationed the artillery, and on the right the Persian cavalry. At a small distance, in a hollow, was situated the *ordou bazar*, or the camp market, which, as in the days of Cyrus*, always accompanies the camp, and is regulated in the same manner as it was of old †, and where provisions were brought from all the country round. The Embassy encamped about half a mile in the rear of the Prince's camp. At a short distance, near the road side, we saw the burial-place of a Persian saint, enclosed by very rude walls. Close to it grew a small bush, upon the branches of which were tied a variety of rags and remnants of garments. The Persians conceive that these rags, from their vicinity to the saint, acquire peculiar preservative virtues against sickness; and substituting others, they take bits away, and, tying them about their persons, use them as talismans. May not this custom have some distant reference to that which is recorded of the Apostle Paul? "*And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul; so that from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.*" Acts, xix. 11 and 12.

The Ambassador, attended by his suite, visited the Prince two days after his arrival; and we were, as usual, highly delighted with the reception he gave us, with his amiable manners, and his lively conversation. In the rapid manner peculiar to him, he skimmed over a variety of subjects with a humour and vivacity that would be lost in the recital, particularly when rendered into English. He first talked of the Uzbeg Tatars; and we had agreed with him in the facility of conquering them, possessed as Persia now was of good artillery, when he exclaimed, "Ah! it would indeed be an easy matter! What do they know of guns, or manœuvres, and of firing ten times in

* Anabasis, lib. i. c. 3.

† Cyropædia, lib. iv. c. 5.



“ a minute? I recollect the time when we Persians were as bad as they.
“ My father, the Shah, once besieged a fort, and had with him one gun,
“ with only three balls; and even this was reckoned extraordinary. He
“ fired off two of the balls at the fort, and then summoned it to surrender.
“ The besieged, who knew that he had only one ball left, sent him this
“ answer: ‘For God’s sake fire off your other ball at us, and then we
“ shall be free of you altogether.’” He continued to say, “The Uzbegs,
“ not long since, had a famous fellow amongst them, called Beg Jan, who
“ made them believe that he was a saint; and he excited them to
“ take forts, and to oppose any numbers of the enemy, by promising
“ paradise as a reward. They went with alacrity whithersoever he
“ directed them, and met their death with constancy. When Beg Jan
“ was one day describing the delights of paradise, an Uzbeg asked
“ him, ‘Is there any *chappow* (plunder) in paradise?’ To which the
“ other said, ‘No.’ ‘Ah then,’ said he, ‘paradise won’t do for me.’”
The Prince then discoursed about his own government of Aderbigian,
and of the attempts he had made to ameliorate it. “The first step,”
said he, “towards the establishment of a good government, is to give
“ protection to the peasant; and to that effect I have abolished the cus-
“ tom of selling governments to the highest bidder, which is the common
“ mode throughout the rest of Persia. You would scarcely believe the
“ difficulty I have had in doing this. As, for instance, I give a man ten
“ and twelve thousand tomauns a year, and appoint him the Governor
“ of (we will say) the district of Maragha. I define what each peasant
“ is to pay to the Government, and fix the sum of the annual tribute
“ which my officer is to levy, and beyond which he is ordered not to
“ exact a *dinar*. Such is the Persian character, that he would rather be
“ permitted to beat and tyrannise over the *Rayat*, to get his salary in the
“ best manner he was able, than to receive the sure and regular stipend
“ which I would give him, without the trouble attendant on extortion
“ and punishment. He is surrounded by sycophants, who taunt him,
“ and say, ‘What sort of a Governor are you, who cannot beat these
“ animals of *Rayats*? Nobody cares for you; you are the *Mastofi*’s



“(the civil officer’s) Governor.’ In fact, a Persian would rather have “power than money; or, in truth, he looks upon the former as synonymous with the latter.”

We passed the greatest part of our time in hunting; and in our excursions explored large tracts in the vicinity of the camp. At a distance of five or six miles to the westward, the mountains, which are of a calcareous soil, are broken into the most wild and fantastic shapes. They are partially wooded, which gives them great picturesque beauties; and as we walked through the jungle in search of wild hogs, which here are found in plenty, we remarked strawberries growing wild in great profusion. In addition to the wild hogs, the game most abundant were antelopes, and a large deer, called by the Persians *maral*, the flesh of which we found very good eating.

x On the 22d of September a Russian General arrived at the Prince’s camp, for the purpose of adjusting the ceremonial of the meeting of the Prince and the Russian Commander-in-Chief. The former said that he could not move from his present position, having received orders from the King to that effect: the latter, out of compliment to the Prince’s superior rank, said that he would agree to cross the Araxes, and to go one verst on the other side of it, but that he could not do more. In consequence of this, the General returned a few days after he came, having previously paid a complimentary visit to the Prince; but as he was unaccustomed to the manners of the Persians, he dressed himself in full uniform, which comprises a pair of tight pantaloons and military boots. The English Ambassador had intimated to him, in a friendly manner, that it would be but a common mark of respect to the Persians, whose carpet was not only their seat but their table, to substitute for his boots the *chakchour*, or red cloth stockings, that were generally worn on such occasions. The General, who said that the only costume in which he could appear was that which he wore in the presence of his own Sovereign, persevered in his full dress, and was seated, boots and all, upon the Prince’s carpet. The Persians look upon the omission of taking off shoes as the greatest indignity that can be offered to them; and therefore the Prince was so incensed at what

1812 *Leam*



had happened, that as soon as the General was gone, he ordered his master of ceremonies to be bastinadoed almost to death.

Finding that the formal or diplomatic meeting of the Prince and the Commander-in-Chief was not possible, the Russians proposed that each party should send a Plenipotentiary, who should meet at Aslandous, on the banks of the Araxes. To this the Persians consented; and Mirza Abul Cossim, the Prince's Vizier, was appointed on the part of the Persians: and it was also decided, that I should proceed immediately to the Russian camp, communicate with the Commander-in-Chief, and then return to the place of congress with his Plenipotentiary.

I was accompanied by the treasurer of the Embassy, who was an Armenian of Teflis, by ten privates of the horse artillery, and by ten men of the Prince's cavalry.



CHAPTER XVI.

1812 okw

WE departed very early in the morning of the 4th October, with a thick mist that is very common to this part of the Karadagh, but which cleared away as the sun arose, and permitted us to enjoy the vicinity of a delightful rivulet, which, taking its rise near Ak tappeh, becomes by degrees considerable, and at length falls into the Ahar Chai, which again adds its stream to the Araxes at Aslandous. We entered upon a tract that was overspread with the Eelauts, who kindly received us at their tents, and served us up some of the produce of their flocks for breakfast. A woman spread carpets for us to sit upon, and lighted up a fire of weeds and bulrushes close to us. The women do almost all the work amongst these wandering societies, and appear more anxious than the men to press their good offices upon the stranger. The spot upon which these Eelauts were encamped was a warm region compared with the situation of the Prince's camp; for although we had only proceeded from ten to twelve miles from it, yet we found it sensibly warmer.

Travelling onwards, we met an Indian entirely alone, on foot, with no other weapon than a stick, who was on his road to Benares returning from his pilgrimage to Baku. He was walking with surprising alacrity, and saluted us with great good-humour, like one satisfied with himself for having done a good action. I believe that these religious feats are quite peculiar to the Indian character; for there is a great difference between the mind of one who undertakes a voyage to Mecca with a caravan, in the company of others, and of him who undismayed by solitude and distance, and unencouraged by example, perseveres in his object to the last.

In a storm of rain we reached an encampment of Persian cavalry, that was situated three fursungs on this side of the Araxes; and I took up my quarters in the spacious tent of a Khan, (one of the principal commanders,) whilst my baggage, which had preceded me during the night, and part of which had fallen into a stream, was drying



in my own tent. My companions were quartered in other parts of the camp. I had intended to proceed at once to Aslandous, but the weather continuing unfavourable, I determined to remain where I was during the night and to proceed the next morning. I passed the remainder of the day in the company of the Persian officers, who appeared most anxious to learn the nature of the negotiations now on foot between their government and the Russian; and as they knew from experience what an unsuccessful struggle they had hitherto maintained against the superior power of their enemy, they seemed sincerely to hope that peace would take place. They were now in the month of Ramazan, during which they neither eat, drink, or smoke, until after sunset; and it was very amusing to observe their impatience until that moment arrived. All the Chiefs of the camp were assembled to dine, and among them Peer Kouli Khan, their *Serdar*, or General. After talking on a variety of trifling subjects, they pulled out their watches, compared them one with the other, calculated the time remaining to sunset, and by way of allaying their appetites, expatiated with great warmth upon good eating, and discussed the merits of a variety of dishes. When the moment came they soon ceased to speak, and eat with a voracity equal to their impatience.

We reached Aslandous early the next morning, where, instead of a village, we found a collection of temporary huts made of reeds and mats, tenanted by a few miserable Eelauts who had lately fled from the Russian territories. Here is an artificial hill, in the shape of a cone, which is attributed to Tamerlane, and which was now fortifying by the Persians, by running palisadoes all around it for the purpose of making it a military port to defend the adjacent fords of the Araxes. The man who commanded here lived in an open shed built of wood and reeds, raised high from the ground on four pillars. We learnt that such sheds are much used in the damp soil of Ghilan, and that when the inhabitants want to free themselves from the musquitoes, which flourish there in swarms inconceivable, they burn stubble beneath, the smoke of which drives them away.

Most of our party remained behind at Aslandous, whilst the Arme-



nian, my English servant, the artillerymen, and one or two more Persians, accompanied me to the Russian camp. We were not more than half a mile from the Araxes, and on reaching its bank we found a boat made of the trunk of a tree, hollowed out, ready to take us over. The Armenian and myself, (for besides the boatman who paddled at one end, there was not room for more,) were carried over first, then came our baggage at different trips, and lastly our cattle, which were plunged into the river, and by shouts were excited to swim over to us.

After crossing the river we entered at once upon the Russian territory, and the province of Karabagh, which, for soil, water, and climate, is perhaps as fine a region as any in the world; but owing to the predatory warfare so long waged by the Persians, has become a wilderness. We did not see one inhabitant, or one inhabited spot, until we espied the Russian videttes on the top of a distant hill. Herds of antelopes, and other deer, were wandering about in great quantities; and pheasants, a bird which seems also here to make the Araxes its boundary (for it is seldom found to the southward of it,) were seen in astonishing abundance.

The Russians had no sooner discovered our approach than a considerable body of horsemen made straight for us, a manœuvre that did not appear to agree with the nerves of some of my companions, who did not understand perhaps what is the nature of an armistice. They were however quite restored when they found that the advancing party were friendly Cossaks, and when they remarked the politeness of their officer, who informed us that he came to welcome our arrival, on the part of the Russian Commander-in-Chief. At length we reached the camp, which was most picturesque in its situation, for it was surrounded by green hills, and was close at the foot of two very remarkable mounds, said to be the work of Tamerlane, who, in order to leave a testimony to posterity of the immense army under his command, ordered every soldier to fill his horse's *tobrah*, or corn-bag, with earth, and to deposit it in one place.

I was conducted to a tent that had been made ready for me, and shortly after was introduced to the Commander-in-Chief, General de



Rtischeff, who received me with the greatest cordiality, and said that for the present we should defer the discussion of business. Shortly after, his tent was filled with the Generals and principal officers of his camp, to whom I was introduced in succession. They were all decorated with stars, crosses, and ribands, and amongst them was a Georgian of distinction, a relation of the brave Prince Bagration, who was himself also styled Prince. I found that this title was given to any Georgian who claimed parentage with the old families; and that it frequently fell to men, as the French would say, *qui ne payoient pas d'apparence*.

Supper being announced, we walked from the General's tent into a very long one that was affixed to it, in which was spread a long table; here, with the exception of the cloth, plates, knives and forks, glasses and wine, nothing was placed in the way of eating, except a brass tureen of soup, which, as far as it would go, the General helped with his own hands to all around. The table was occupied by a very numerous company of officers, who sat most tenaciously, according to their respective ranks, from a General with a blaze of orders, to a Lieutenant of Cossaks, or even to a Georgian Prince. However extraordinary this mixture may appear to us, yet I could not help being struck with it, particularly when the old General, with a countenance beaming with goodness, exclaimed aloud to me, so as to be heard by every one, "Well, you see this company and this camp; such as we are we possess one God, one Sovereign, and one heart."

After the soup a succession of substantial dishes were carried round, which were frequently interrupted in their progress by toasts from the General, some being dictated by his politeness to his new guest, and all having a tendency to produce good harmony.

The next morning I was awake by the sounds of military music playing lively airs; and on looking abroad, instead of mules and camels, I saw carts and carriages; long beards and sheep-skins were supplanted by laced coats and nodding plumes, and I felt a sort of renovation at the presence of men and things so much European; for now almost all traces of Asiatic manners and people had disappeared, and it required



but a small effort of the imagination to enjoy the illusion of being far away from Persia and her barbarism. Those of the Russians, who had long inhabited these countries, did not seem to have adopted in the smallest degree any customs foreign to their own, excepting the long pipe which they have borrowed from the Turks.

I had a conference with the General soon after I had drank one small cup of coffee, which is the common Russian breakfast, and no state business was ever carried on with more secrecy. I found him dressed in full uniform, sword by his side, hat in his hand, which I found to be the costume adopted by him when he talked officially; for as soon as we had finished our public business, he clapt his hands in joy, saying, now take off your sword and put yourself at your ease, which he seconded by taking off his own and laying by his hat. The secrecy of public business here afforded an excellent contrast with its publicity amongst the Persians. I could not open my lips, but the General immediately closed his door, — whilst in Persia, the gravest business was always interrupted by servants rushing in with pipes.

At noon the same company assembled for dinner as on the foregoing evening for supper, and the one meal was nearly the same as the other, except that the dinner was the soonest over. I left the General to take a nap, or to play at cards, and strolled out by myself to examine the localities of the camp. In my walk I came to a high bush, behind which were two Russian soldiers, who, although it was then raining tolerably hard, were seated on the wet grass without either coats or caps on, playing, like their superiors, at cards.

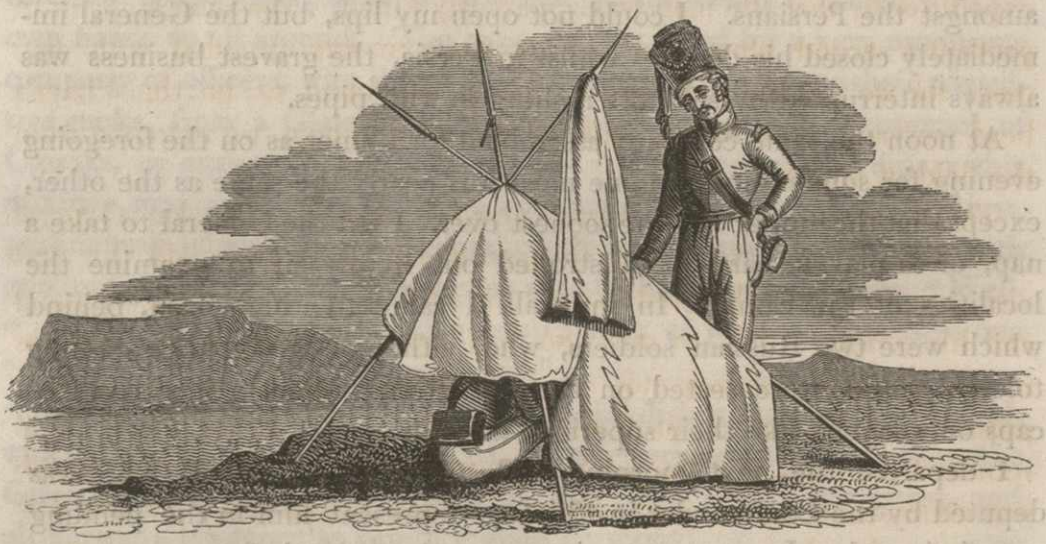
I departed the next morning with General Akverdoff, who was deputed by the Commander-in-Chief to represent him in the pending negotiation; but I must not omit to mention, that before we set out, the kind old General Rtischeff, who had been unwearied in his civilities, gave me what he was pleased to call an English breakfast, that was composed of the following articles: tea, beef steaks, pudding, fish-soup, Madeira and port wine.

Our cavalcade was composed of individuals of many nations, for besides Russians and Englishmen, we had Cossaks of the Don, and Terek

Cossaks, Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, Persians, and Calmuk Tartars.

The General and I rode as far as the Araxes in his carriage, whilst the remainder of the party were dispersed all over the country in pursuit of game. Two antelopes were caught by the General's greyhounds, a circumstance owing to the deep damp soil over which they ran, for the dogs in their course made no impression upon it, whilst the sharp hoof of the antelope, stuck at every bound.

I crossed the river to my own tents, and left my companion on his side of the water, where he pitched his. His Cossaks, in order to screen themselves from the sun, soon made up a temporary tent by thrusting three of their spears into the ground, connecting them at the top, and throwing their cloaks over them.



Complaints came to me, as usual, from every quarter, how the cattle were left without food, and that nothing was to be got in so destitute a place. We learnt that the servants of the Prince's Vizier, who had arrived to pitch their master's tent, and to make ready for his reception, had brought corn with them; in consequence of which my



servants and the Persian artillerymen went to them with a request to lend us some for our cattle. They had not long been gone, before cries of distress were heard at a distance, which were explained by one of my men, who in a great fright informed us that the Vizier's servants had not only refused them corn, but had also beaten them; and that if some step was not immediately taken, lives would be lost, as the fray, particularly with the artillerymen was becoming very serious. We therefore sallied forth; and although the night was very dark, yet we soon reached the scene of action, where indeed the fight was carrying on with great vigour on both sides. Tent pegs were flying in all directions; and the lusty blows received and given were distinctly heard. In the thick of the fray, by the gleam of a lantern we perceived a well dressed Persian in the act of being felled with a tent pole by an artilleryman, and the blow brought him to the ground so expeditiously that the man was apparently killed. We then stept in to prevent a second blow, and our interference was attended with success; for we rescued the Persian, whom we found to be the Vizier's head servant, and having quieted the artillerymen, we marched from the field of battle.

The following day the Vizier arrived, and the Russian General crossed the river. According to agreement, the Vizier paid the first visit, in which he exhausted every term of flattery to extol the General and his country: this, to me who had heard him abuse the Russians in the grossest manner not an hour before, taught me to place a proper value on Persian professions. On the same evening the General returned the visit, and the parties entered upon the negotiation, which was commenced by a formal exchange of their full powers; but the pretensions of both being too far removed to admit of a hope that peace would take place in the present posture of their affairs, they determined to break up, and agreed that hostilities should recommence after the lapse of a fixed number of days.

At the commencement of the visit were brought in the usual refreshments—coffee without sugar, which the Persians call the *talkhee*, or the bitter; and tea sweetened into a syrup, which they call the



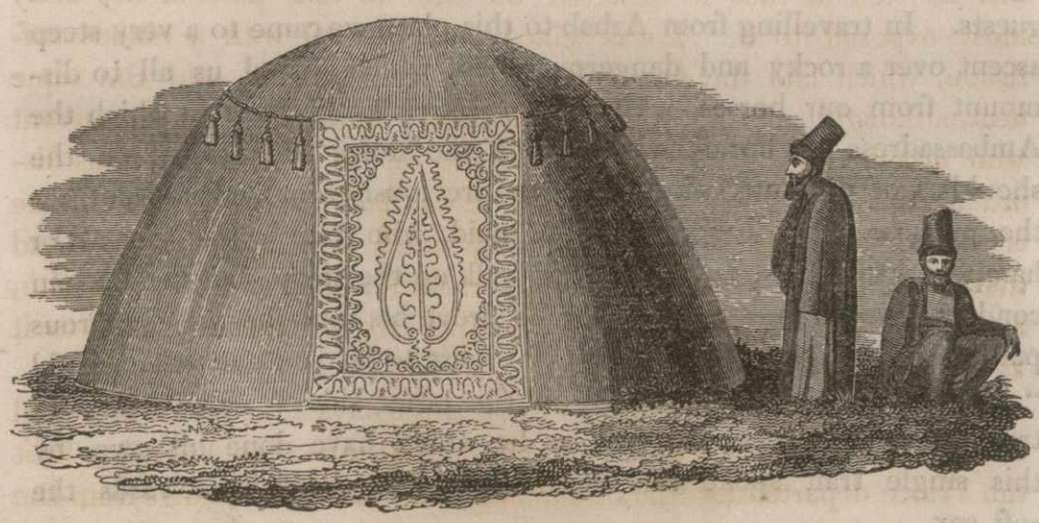
shireen, the sweet; the former of which is always handed about first, and then the latter. The Vizier said to me, pointing to the General, "As we are not yet at peace, let us begin with drinking the "*shireen* first, in order that it may be propitious to our business, and "that our words may partake of its quality." But when the conference had terminated without success, then the Vizier called for the coffee, and said, "Now we must drink the *talkhee*, the bitter, together;" and handed a cup of it to the General.

During our stay here, one of our servants was bitten by a snake, evidently poisonous, for its bite produced many of the consequent symptoms, such as great drowsiness, lassitude, &c.; but he recovered by the aid of our medicine. Many snakes were seen; and the apparently fabulous accounts which the Persians relate of the vast quantities of these reptiles that infest Mogan, were in some measure verified by what came under our observation. On their account Abbas Mirza was once obliged to move his camp; and there are other instances in Persian history, equally corroborative of their great numbers.

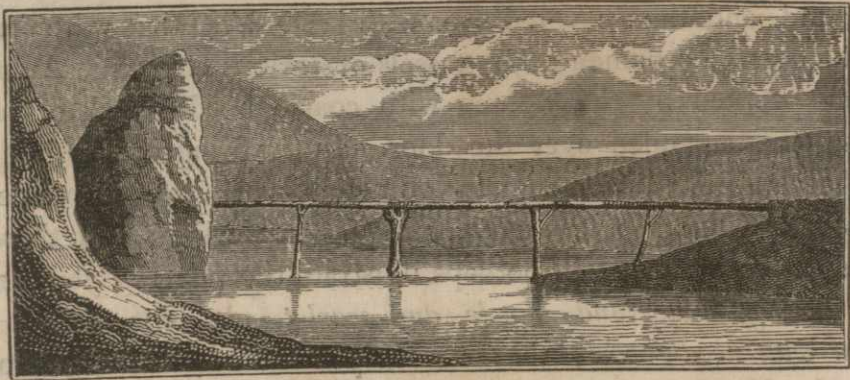
1819
I returned to the Prince's camp on the 11th of October, and it is worthy of remark, that the heat of the sun in some parts of the road was so violent, that it blistered the skin of that part of my body most exposed to it. I was seized on the road with a bilious suffusion, which laid the foundation of a severe illness; and the same heat, although it did not act so immediately upon the English servant who accompanied me, yet it brought on so violent a bilious disorder, that after a few days' illness, he was laid in his grave. There is a searching heat in a Persian sun, which even to those who had lived long in India is quite insupportable; and in regard to health, a stranger must consider it as his principal care to expose himself to it as little as possible.

28
The Ambassador broke up his camp three days after my return, and commenced his journey back to Teheran, by the road of Ardebil; whilst the Prince departed for Maranlou, a place about three fursungs from the Araxes, in order to carry on his operations against the Russians.

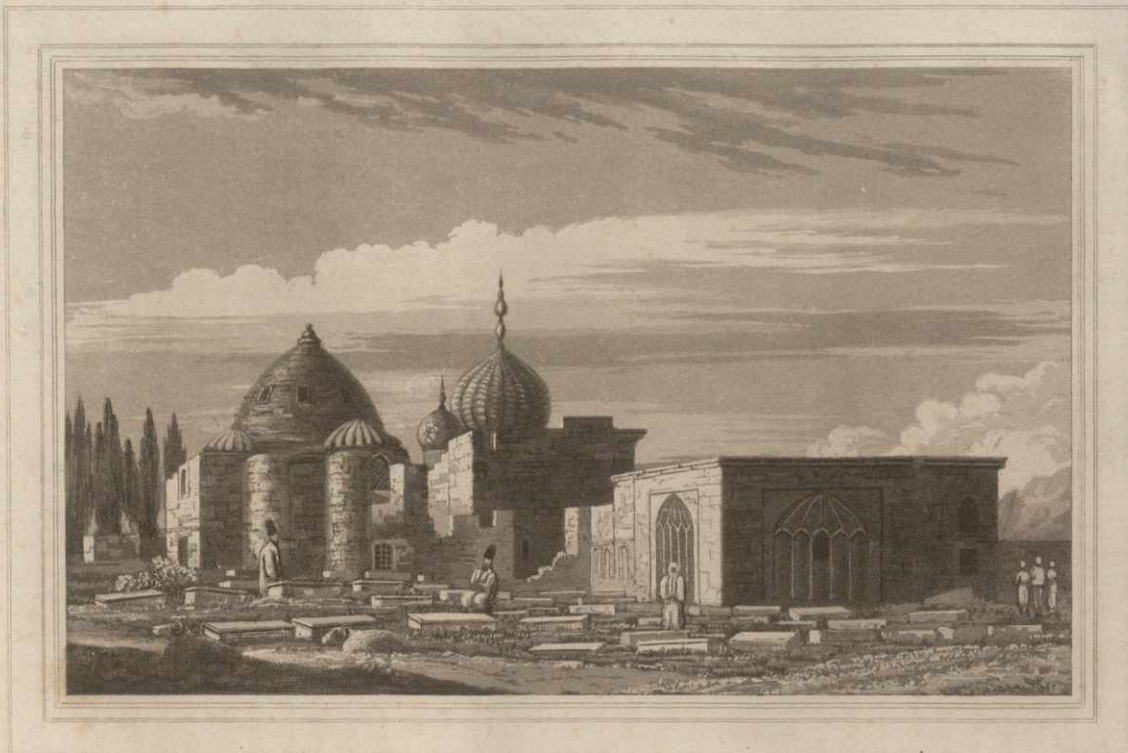
Our first day's march was to our old encampment in the mountains, and on the next we went to Arijeh, leaving the road to Ahmedbeglou and Tabriz on our right. After being four hours on the road we crossed a river called Kara-sou, and then came to the village of Dada-beglou, leaving Lari, a large place situated on a hill amongst trees, to the westward. Then we passed Lahar, close to a small valley, where we found several snug encampments of the Eelauts, at one of which we stopt to examine the tent of the chief of the *obah*, or family. It was composed of a wooden frame of circular laths, which was fixed on the ground, and then covered over with large felts, that were fastened down by a cord, ornamented by tassels of various colours. A curtain, curiously worked by the women with coarse needle-work of various colours, was suspended over the door. In the King of Persia's tents, magnificent *perdahs*, or hangings of needle-work, are suspended, as well as on the doors of the great mosques in Turkey; and these circumstances combined, will perhaps illustrate the *hanging for the door of the tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, wrought with needle-work*, that was suspended over the door of the tabernacle, Exodus, xxvi. 26.



The next day's march was to Arbab, pleasantly situated in a deep valley close to a beautiful stream, that winds between two ranges of high rocky mountains, and takes its rise, as a peasant informed me, eight fursungs off, on a bearing of nearly due south. We remarked the simple construction of an aqueduct made to conduct water from one side of the river to the other, which was done by means of wooden troughs, sustained by stakes driven into the bed of the river.



We then reached *Konak kerran*, Turkish words, that mean the slayer of guests. In travelling from Arbab to this place we came to a very steep ascent over a rocky and dangerous road, which forced us all to dismount from our horses, whilst the *takhteravan* or litter in which the Ambassadors was borne, was taken off the mules and carried on the shoulders of peasants, who had been previously sent to the spot for the purpose. The English servant maid, who rode in the *kejaweh*, or hamper, wanted also to get out and walk up the steep, but her Persian conductor would not let her, for he drove his mule up the dangerous path, exclaiming, "Yes, indeed, if I were to let you out, what would there be to balance the boxes on the other side?" The fellow in treating our countrywoman just as he would have done his own, by this single trait spoke the sentiments of all Persians towards the soft sex.



James Morier del.

T. Folding sculp.

TOMB of SHEIKH SEFFI at ARDEBIL.



1812

On the 19th we pitched at Ardebil, which is now a small town, 4500 yards in circumference, a size considerably diminished since the description which Olearius has given of it: at present it contains 700 houses, and about 4000 inhabitants. It is of an irregular shape, having at its southern extremity a square fort, with four bastions, built according to European rule, and attributed to the French engineers of General Gardanne's embassy. Its materials are of *kah-gil* or sun-burnt bricks; but the Persians have their characteristic breastwork all around, with loop-holes for the musketry. Ancient tomb-stones, composed of oblong blocks of stone, have been used in the foundation, many of which have been inserted with their inscriptions outermost.

The town is surrounded by walls, fortified by thirty-one towers, placed at irregular intervals, and has five gates, besides the one leading into the square fort. A small river flows close to the walls, in which we caught dace and gudgeon, the common fish of most of the rivers in Persia. It is called the Balouk chai, or the fishy river, rises in Savalan, and joins the Kara-sou, which again rises from springs in the plain of Ardebil, and falls into the Araxes near Aslandous. We were very civilly treated by Fattedh Ali Khan, the Governor, who among other presents sent the Ambassador a fresh salmon, just received from the Caspian Sea, bordering upon Talish. In a strait line, the shore of the Caspian is reckoned about thirty miles from Ardebil.

The principal object of curiosity at Ardebil is the mausoleum of Sheikh Seffi, founder of the Seffevian family, which gave so many celebrated kings to the throne of Persia. He lived at Ardebil when Tamerlane conquered Bajazet I., and was so celebrated for his sanctity, that that great conqueror held him in high esteem, and out of regard to him released the prisoners he had made in Asia Minor, whom he had reserved to kill on some extraordinary occasion.

The first approach to the tomb is by the gate at the N. W. angle of the town, which leads into a street, composed of a brick wall on the left side, and of the habitations of the priests attached to the foundation, on the right. We then passed through a smaller gateway, faced with

miamba u n...



slabs of Tabriz marble, which brought us into a court filled with tombstones, which by their number testified the high reputation of the Sheikh among the Persians, who by being buried in his vicinity, hope to form part of his suite to paradise, on the day of resurrection. The whole exterior of the tombs, as seen from this court, exhibit the approach of ruin. The small cupola which covers the mausoleum of the Sheikh has given way in several places, and has already lost a great number of its varnished tiles, whilst the rents and fissures in the walls do not announce a much longer duration to them.

On entering the first large hall we were stopt by a silver grating, where we were obliged to take off our shoes; and here we remarked the veneration of the Persians for the threshold of a holy place; a feeling that they preserve in some degree even for the threshold of their houses. Before they ventured to cross it they knelt down and kissed it, whilst they were very careful not to touch it with their feet. In writing to a Prince, or a great personage, it is common for them to say, "Let me make the dust of your threshold into *surmeh* (collyrium) for my eyes." The large hall was beautifully painted and ornamented; and from its ceiling were suspended silver lamps and lanterns made of talc, whilst its floor was covered with carpets, upon which, placed upon reading boards, were several copies of the Koran, but which time and use had rendered almost unserviceable. At the furthest end of this hall is the tomb of Sheikh Seffi, and to approach it we mounted one high step, which is bounded by a second silver grating, and then came to a gateway plated with gold, beyond which we were not permitted to advance. Through this gate we discovered the tomb, covered with brocades and shawls, and upon the summit of which were placed bunches of feathers, ostriches' eggs, and other ornaments. Among the offerings, a golden ewer, set with precious stones, was the most conspicuous; and this, we were informed, had been presented by Homayoun Shah. This Prince was the son of Baber Sultaun, a lineal descendant of the great Timour or Tamerlane, and occupied the Mogul throne in the year 1530, but owing



to a conspiracy formed against him between his brother and his Vizier he was obliged to take refuge in Persia at the court of Shah Thamas, who recovered his throne for him, which he possessed until the year 1552. He was the father to Jelaleddeen Akbar, and ancestor to Jehangeer, Shahjehan, Aurengzebe, and those Princes known to us under the title of Great Moguls.*

Close to the tomb of the Sheikh are those of his sons, who are said to have commenced these different buildings, but which were completed, beautified, and endowed by the great Shah Abbas. To the left, in a small dark room, is the tomb of Shah Ismael, the first king of the Sefevies, which is overlaid by a very beautiful casement of fine work like mosaic, composed of ivory, tortoise shell, and turquoises, inlaid with passages from the Koran, and which, in our estimation, was the most valuable, as well as the most curious object that we had yet seen in this place. This also was a present from Homayoun Shah.

From the tombs we were led to a saloon of large dimensions, painted and ornamented in a beautiful style, and upon the floor of which were placed a great variety of china bowls, vases, &c. besides several curious wrought cups of jad and agate, that did not appear to be of Mahomedan workmanship. A collection of manuscript books, the gift of Shah Abbas, were here preserved, in two large closets inserted in the wall, and which we were permitted to inspect. The books were in excellent preservation, and consisted of the best Persian works, some of which were beautifully written and highly illuminated. Most of them were stamped with the seal of Shah Abbas; and on the blank page at the beginning of each, it was inscribed, that they were left for the use of those who would read them on the spot, but that a curse would fall upon whomsoever should take them from it. Such donations as these are called *wakf*, (a bequest); and it is a general belief amongst this people, that whoever shall steal or violate any such property, will sooner or later be visited by heavy misfortunes. To this

* Vide d'Herbelot, art. Homaïoun.



persuasion we may attribute the preservation of the library, a feeling which we found to be strong in the breasts of its present administrators, as they decidedly refused to dispose of any one of the books, although large prices were offered to them.

The last curiosities brought to our notice, were a koran, six hundred years old, made of the thick silky paper of Khatai, so large and heavy that two men could scarcely lift it; and a book in the Cuffick character, containing several chapters of the koran, as we were assured, written by the hand of Ali, seven years after the hejra.

The original endowment of the whole establishment was of 18,000 tomauns per annum, which, like the endowments of mosques, consists in unalienable grants of land, the revenues of which are assigned for the maintenance of the mollahs or priests.

1810/20/4/11/11

We departed from Ardebil and pitched at Kurehim, after six hours slow travelling over a good road, through a cultivated country, in the warm glens of which we saw many tents of the Eelauts, whilst their cattle was spread over the surrounding hills. On the 22d we reached Sengavah, having passed over a most dreary and cheerless track, with a strong south wind blowing right in our faces, and the next day we rested at Iris, situated in a well cultivated country, producing a great deal of corn. On our road to Iris we first saw, on a southeasterly bearing, the mountain of Akdagh, which, in the Turkish language, means white mountain, and is so called from its being always covered with snow. Its first appearance was like the cone of Demawend as seen from Teheran, but it is more expanded when beheld from Iris, and bears from that village S. 40° E. We may judge how little the geography of this part of Persia is known, when so remarkable a feature as this mountain should to this day have been neglected, for I am not at present aware that it has been noted in any map. An old villager informed me that at its base is the town of Herab, about as large as Zengan, whose name may lead to more speculation about the situation of the ancient Hara.

We had now entered the large and fertile district of Khalcal, which is looked upon as the granary of Aderbigian, and esteemed the finest



part of Abbas Mirza's government. On the 24th we arrived at Ahmedabad, a village situated on a great height; and before we could reach it we were obliged to make many devious windings: Akdagh bore from this village S. 50½ E. In proportion as we advanced into Khalcal, we found that the country increased in richness of soil, and in extent of cultivation. Quitting the high country, we commenced a gradual descent to the banks of the Kizzil Ozan, and stopt at the village of Paras, where are some striking masses of rock, from the summit of one of which, we enjoyed an extensive view, for the deep dale through which meandered the Kizzil Ozan was at our feet; and at a very great distance, just delineated in the horizon, were the snowy summits of the range of Sahand. One end of that range bore from us N. 82 W., and the other N. 76 W.

On our road to Paras we met a drove of asses going to Ardebil, laden with rock salt, which their conductors informed us they cut from a mountain near Maman. Being unwell, I generally preceded the rest of our cavalcade; and on this occasion I passed by the tents of some Eelauts, which skirted the road, and heard the lamentations of their women, who with great warmth and gesticulation were inveighing against the injustice of the Governor who had obliged them to contribute to the provisions that were collecting for the use of the Embassy, a custom from which they asserted the Eelauts were exempted from time immemorial.

From Paras we went to Maman, after having crossed the Kizzil Ozan at an easy ford, about three miles from the latter place. The scenery on the descent from Paras is extremely grand, presenting many fine outlines of deep chasms and impending rocks. Maman is a large village overlooked by a mud fort situated on a hill. After leaving it we reached Ahmedabad, where we buried my English servant, who, in spite of all our care, and the unremitting attention of our surgeon, was carried off by an inveterate bilious disorder. On the 2d of November we got into the high road to Teheran at Aukkend.

Having already fully described the remainder of our journey, I will go

18/20



at once to Teheran, which we reached on the 20th, having passed thirty-nine days on our road from Ak tappeh. Before we arrived at Teheran, intelligence reached us of the total defeat of the Persian army by the Russians at Aslandous on the 31st October.

On our road to Pars we met a drove of asses going to Ardabil, laden with rock salt, which their conductors informed us they came from a mountain near Mian. Being unwell, I generally preceded the rest of our cavalcade; and on this occasion I passed by the tents of some Beland which skirted the road, and heard the lamentations of their women, who with great wail and gesticulation were inveighing against the injustice of the Governor who had obliged them to contribute to the provisions that were collected for the use of the Embassy, a custom from which they asserted the Beland were exempted from the immorose.

From Pars we went to Mian, after having crossed the Kizil Oan at an easy ford, about three miles from the latter place. The scenery on the descent from Pars is extremely grand, presenting many fine outlines of deep chasms and impending rocks. Mian is a large village overlooked by a mud fort situated on a hill. After leaving it we reached Atabad, where we buried my English servant, who, in spite of all our care, and the unremitted attention of our surgeon, was carried off by an insupportable bilious disorder. On the 26 of November we got into the high road to Teheran at Akkesh.

Having already fully described the remainder of our journey, I will go



CHAPTER XVII.

As it appeared necessary, in the unsettled state of affairs between Russia and Persia, that the Ambassador should be fixed at some place where he might communicate with ease and dispatch with the Persian Court, it was determined that he should pass the summer at Hamadan, whilst the King should establish himself, as usual, at Sultanieh. Our preparations were made accordingly: Kerim Khan, one of the King's officers, was appointed to be our Mehmandar; and orders were sent to the Governor of Hamadan, to prepare the best houses of that city for the reception of the Embassy.

We departed on the 26th of May, and having crossed the bridge at Karaj, we quitted the Casvin road, and entered upon that to Hamadan. We first pitched our tents at Pitkinah, a mud-walled village, situated at the foot of a conical hill, on the top of which are some vestiges of buildings, called by the Persians *Takht Kai Kaoos*, or the throne of Kai Kaoos; a nearly similar hill, distant about three miles, is called the *Takht Rustam*; both are seen from Teheran.* At the foot of the *Takht Kai Kaoos* is a whitened sepulchre, in which is entombed one of the descendants of Imam Cossim. We carried provisions to our next encampment, which was near the ruined village of *Shireenabad*, (the abode of sweets,) although it was situated in the middle of the salt desert of Zerend. It is probably to this desert that Polybius alludes, when he says, that Arsaces was persuaded that Antiochus would never attempt to lead his army through the desert beyond Ecbatana †, and which we found as destitute of drinkable water, as it is recorded to have been in ancient times. Being an invalid, I generally departed before the remainder of the company, in order to escape the heat of the sun; and on this occasion my guide, in the darkness of the night, managed to lose the way, among the most rude and difficult mountains that

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* See the article *Caikaus*, in d'Herbelot.

† Polybius, lib. x. 24.



can be imagined, from which we did not escape until the day began to dawn, when we regained our road, close to a large stream of water that was perfectly salt.

From Shireenabad we continued to travel over the desert until we reached Zavieh, a large village, surrounded by numerous others, and by a corresponding extent of cultivation. Here we found a small house, built for the convenience of the King, who frequently comes thus far from Teheran, on hunting excursions. In consequence of my illness, I was permitted to take possession of it by the chief man of the village, who himself helped me off my mule, showed me into my room, enquired with apparent concern after my health, and treated me with a degree of attention and politeness, that could not have been surpassed in the most civilised part of the world. My habitation consisted of one large principal room, with an arched roof, surrounded by several inferior apartments for servants. The windows opened with heavy wooden sashes, upon a small garden, through which ran a stream of clear water, in a channel of brick, on both sides of which were sown flowers and vegetables.

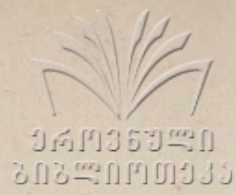
We successively travelled from Zavieh to Amrabad, and then to Kushek, a long march of twenty miles, over a barren track; through which leads the road from Ispahan to Tabriz, and which we crossed, a few miles after leaving Amrabad. Kushek afforded us a fine view of Demawend, bearing N. 71° E., rising conspicuous above the other mountains, by which it is surrounded. On the 4th of June we pitched at Biwaran, situated on a remarkable hill, and on that account looking like a Turkish village, because the Turks generally build on a rising ground, whilst the Persians are fond of the plain. After passing the village of Gulek, on the road from Kushek, we crossed a stream, flowing from north to south; and close to Biwaran was another stream, called the Bend Omar.

Thus far, although the exterior face of the country was destitute of interest, yet we travelled onwards without the smallest impediment. The Governors of the different districts through which we had passed



seemed to vie with each other in their treatment of the Ambassador; and our camp was regularly and plentifully supplied with provisions. But on arriving at Rezak, in the district of Muzdekan, we were differently treated. Its inhabitants, upon hearing of our approach, had fled to the mountains with their wives, families, cattle, and furniture, leaving behind them nothing but the bare walls of their houses. Those of the neighbouring villages had fled likewise; and we and our cattle should have passed that day without food, if we had not been supplied by our kind host of the preceding stage, who, as soon as he heard of our difficulties, came to our assistance, with mules and asses loaded with all that we could want. Towards the evening, some of the rugitives having gained confidence by our orderly behaviour, (for the Ambassador had directed that their grass should neither be trampled nor grazed upon,) ventured from their retreats; and from them we learnt, that having been informed that the Ambassador was escorted by two thousand horsemen, who in their passage were laying waste the country, they had in consequence sought their own safety in flight. Unfortunately the same tale had preceded us to our next stage; for when we got there, we found nothing but empty houses, tenanted only by dogs and cats. This village, Mobareken by name, was situated in a well-peopled and well-cultivated district; yet to fifteen of the villages which surrounded it we sent for food, for all had been equally abandoned by their inhabitants, and we were obliged to put up with what we had casually brought forwards with us. Let us apply our case to a large army, and we shall find that it would be impossible to march troops in any great numbers through such a country. This method of taking refuge against oppression or invasion, by flying to the mountains is frequently mentioned both in Scripture and in ancient history. It was the case after the defeat of the Kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, Genesis, xiv. 10.; and also when Syennesis* fled, with all the inhabitants of Cilicum, at the approach of Cyrus. The Armenian Prince, who was afraid of Cyrus, sent his younger son Sabaris, his own wife, his son's wife, and his own daughters, away to the mountains, and with

* Xenophon, Anab. lib. i. c. 2.



them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, appointing a force to conduct them.* The simplicity of Asiatic manners makes emigration very easy; for it is only to pack up a few carpets, bed clothes, and cooking utensils, to load them upon mules and asses, and every thing is done.

At our next stage, we should have been in great distress for provisions, if the son of Nasr Oollah Khan, a great chief of the tribe of Kara guzloos, and owner of the village and territory of Jehanabad, had not come to our assistance, and introduced plenty into our camp. At this village we arrived on the 8th, after having crossed a stream of some consequence, called the Hamadan river, on the borders of which was situated the large village of Kherwar. Jehanabad was well peopled; the exterior of its houses was good, and it had the appearance of a place that enjoyed the protection of a man of consequence. It is situated on a part of the plain, as even as a bowling-green, the soil of which is salt. The Kara-sou flows not far from it; and, amongst other tributary streams, received that of the Hamadan river. At about one fursung distant from our camp was a small hill, marking the situation of three springs of the purest water, (which gush out from the earth in a large stream,) and of a natural cavern, the interior of which is delightfully cool, and refreshed by water of a peculiar transparency.

On the next day we reached Súrkhabad, which is a large village, situated at the extremity of the plain of Hamadan, surrounded on all sides by trees, and abounding in running water. Hamadan is to be seen for several miles before reaching this village, and Alwend, the high mountain, at the base of which it is situated, for several stages. Coming from a desert and woodless region, we were delighted with the prospect which the country before us presented. We had not yet seen any thing in Persia that wore such an appearance of prosperity; for the whole plain, about nine miles in breadth and fifteen in length, was one continued series of fields and orchards; and if it had not been for the uniformity of the poplar, the tree which most prevails throughout the

* Cyropædia, lib. iii. c. 1.



landscape, we could have found no fault with its picturesque beauties. The Persians plant the poplar in preference to other trees, and use it for timber. On our departure from Súrkhabad to our encampment near the city, we first crossed over a bridge, and then passed by Sheveran, a village inhabited by Armenians.

It was here that Hajee Mohamed Hossein Khan, Governor of Hamadan and its vicinity, and distinguished by the epithet of Karaguzloo, from being the chief of that tribe, had his country residence. He is feared by the King as the head of a great tribe, and courted by Mahomed Ali Mirza, Governor of Kermanshah, on account of the large body of cavalry which he can bring to his assistance. He has the reputation of being a *rayat perwar*, or protector of the peasant; a fact which is confirmed by the cultivated appearance of his territory, although denied by certain Armenians, whom he is nevertheless said to patronize. Those of their community to whom we talked, complained indeed of his tyranny even to them, and stated that (although only twenty families in number) they were daily vexed by his extortions. None of them are permitted to leave Hamadan without a written permission, so that their state is little better than a state of bondage. This personage has the reputation of being one of the proudest, richest, and most powerful men in Persia, and his first acts on the arrival of the Embassy tended to confirm it. He refused at first to meet the Ambassador on his arrival, feigning himself sick, and offering to send his sons and relations in his stead; but when he was informed that the Ambassador would receive no *istakball*, or deputation, but what was headed by himself in person, he judged it right to cede the point. Being confined to my tent, I did not make his acquaintance; but he was described as a man of excellent manners, free from ostentation; and although evidently accustomed to command, yet not negligent of the little civilities and attentions due to society.

Our camp was pitched on an open green spot, called the Chahar Bagh, on the skirts of the city. It required all the vigilance of the guards placed around us by the Governor, to keep off the immense crowds of the inhabitants that constantly hovered around our tents; for



although they had already seen the passage of three English Embassies, (once Mr. Manesty, and twice General Malcolm,) they still seemed to gaze upon us as monsters of an unknown genus. On this subject, I recollect once when going through the streets of Teheran on horseback, with some other English gentlemen, a Persian met us at an abrupt turning, and surveying us with the greatest surprize, exclaimed to his companion, *Eenha Chinee and?* are these Chinese?

The day after our arrival we visited the houses that had been appointed for our reception; and although they were reputed to be the best in the city, yet they were in reality so bad, that it was easy to foresee that the scheme of remaining at Hamadan throughout the summer would not be carried into effect.

The situation of this city at the foot of the mountain of Alwend, resembles that of Brousa, so beautifully situated on the declivity of the Asiatic Olympus, although the former mountain, neither in height nor beauty of form can enter into a competition with the latter. It evidently was once an immense city, but at present it is a confused and melancholy heap of ruins. The roads which lead to its inhabited parts, wind through a long succession of broken walls, which, by the appearance of their fragments, attest the former existence of fine buildings. Like Olympus, Alwend abounds in fine springs of water, a torrent of which constantly flows through the city into the flat country, and renders Hamadan one of the best watered places in Persia. Its present habitations are profusely interspersed with trees, which give variety, and even beauty to what would otherwise be an unpleasing view. Besides the poplar, the *narwend*, a species of the elm, is a very common tree, and grows into shapes so formal, as to raise the supposition that they have acquired them by art. On the skirts of the city bordering upon the mountain, we were led to a most extensive garden, in the centre of which was an alley of poplar, willow, and *narwend* trees nearly a mile long, and in which, besides the great crowd that followed us through curiosity, were many of the natives singing and taking their pleasure. Among them, was a group seated under the trees, around a basin of water, and as we passed, every man stood up out of respect, except



one who appeared absorbed in a book, and who would not stir, notwithstanding the orders of our Mehmandar, but when it was found that he was reading the Koran, he was permitted to continue unmolested.

The most conspicuous building in Hamadan is the Mesjid Jumah, a large mosque now falling into decay, and before it a *maidan* or square, which serves as a market place. Here we observed every morning before the sun rose, that a numerous body of peasants were collected with spades in their hands, waiting as they informed us, to be hired for the day to work in the surrounding fields. This custom, which I have never seen in any other part of Asia, forcibly struck us as a most happy illustration of our Saviour's parable of the labourer in the vineyard, in the 20th chapter of Matthew; particularly when passing by the same place late in the day, we still found *others standing idle*, and remembered His words, *Why stand ye here all the day idle?* as most applicable to their situation; for in putting the very same question to them, they answered us, *Because no man hath hired us.*

Near to the Mesjid Jumah, in a court filled with tombs, stands a building called the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai. It is built of brick, and consists of two chambers, one of which is merely an entrance or anti-room to the other, and appears to be modern, compared with the rest of the structure. But the whole does not look of greater antiquity than the first ages of Mahomedanism. It is crowned by a cupola, which partakes of the elliptical form of those erected at the present day in Persia, and its architecture in other respects has all the features of an origin, not earlier at the farthest than the Saracen invasion. Sir Gore Ouseley copied and translated an Hebrew inscription *, rudely carved on

* אדר בש נת דהעד ליצירה בשבת סו להודש בה מישו
אליהו זו מדרכי ואסתר צלד נשלם תיקוהרמון ציוו
אל כאשיוווכא שמואליב זהמניה אהין הנצימים כא
כא יש ר

a stone and inserted in the wall of the inner chamber, which states that the building was erected in the year 4474 of the Creation*, by two devout Jews of Kashan, over the graves of Mordecai and Esther. But the old rabbi who escorted us, before he had discovered that the Ambassador could decypher his inscription, boldly asserted that the bones of those holy personages were actually buried in that very spot, and that the mausoleum which we now saw, was the pious work of the son of Ardeshir. However, as soon as he found that he might be detected, he confessed what he could no longer conceal, and agreed with us that it would be difficult to determine where the actual relics were deposited.

This mausoleum, upon the summit of which was a stork's nest, is a very picturesque object. It is entered by a stone door made of one large slab, which is opened by inserting the hand through a hole cut for the purpose. The first chamber was a deposit for the emblems of death; for besides lamps, we found the *taboot* or wooden litter, in which the dead are carried to the grave, and other appertenances. We crept into the second chamber through a door, about a foot and a half in height, and there found two wooden frames carved all over with Hebraic characters, and shaped like ancient sarcophagi: these were alleged to be the tombs. The walls were inscribed with passages from the Talmud, by characters formed of plaster, and were lighted by small apertures in the cupola. The poor Jews who attended us, were not a little delighted to see us take so much notice of their ancestry, whilst the Mahomedans seemed indignant that we should interest ourselves in any thing that regarded so despised a nation; for here, as in all parts of Persia, they are an abject race, and support themselves by driving a peddling trade. Two hundred families of them live in a state of great misery, paying 20 tomauns monthly to the Government, and are not permitted to cultivate the ground, or to have landed possessions.

It has been decided by the two best modern authorities, D'Anville

* See the Translation in Sir John Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 260.



and Rennel*, that Hamadan occupies the site of the ancient Ecbatana ; and that the mountain of Alwend is the Orontes of the ancient geography. Such observations as we were enabled to make on the spot, have tended to confirm their decision. The situation of Hamadan, so much unlike that of other Persian cities, would of itself be sufficient to establish its claim to a remote origin, considering the propensity of the ancients to build their cities on elevated positions. Ispahan, Shiraz, Teheran, Tabriz, Khoi, are all built upon plains ; but Hamadan occupies a great diversity of surface, and like Rome and Constantinople, can enumerate the hills over which it is spread Its locality agrees with that of Ecbatana, built on the declivity of Orontes, according to Polybius†, and is also conformable to Herodotus, who, in describing its walls rising in circles one above the other, says, this mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which was on a hilly ground,—καλωνός ἐόν. ‡ *L'assiette du lieu, qui s'élève en colline* of Larcher, better expresses the nature of the ground than a *gently rising ground*, which Beloe has adopted in his translation.

At about seven miles from our camp, carved on the surface of the rock, on a steep declivity of the mountain of Alwend, are to be seen two tablets, each of which is divided into three longitudinal compartments, inscribed with the arrow-headed character of Persepolis. These inscriptions are called by the Persians, *Genj nameh*, or tales of a treasure. Close to the foot of the rock runs a stream that issues from the mountain, and higher up, above the two tablets, is to be traced the commencement of others.

Another monument of positive antiquity, we discovered casually in exploring the northern skirts of the city. It consists of the base of a small column, of the identical order of the larger bases of the columns at Persepolis, and appears to be of the same sort of stone. This led to

* Anc. Geo. Media v. Geo. Sys. Herod. p. 272.

† Lib. x. 24.

‡ Clio, 98.



a discovery of more importance; for adjacent to this fragment is a large but irregular terrace or platform, evidently the work of art, and perhaps the ground plan of some great building; of the remains of which, its soil must be the repository. The situation of this spot agrees with that which Polybius* would assign to the palace of the kings of Persia, which he says was below the citadel. Now the position of the ruins of the modern castle, which is most likely the site of that of the ancient, is much more elevated than the platform, and sufficiently near for the latter to be said to be below the former.

We were conducted to the castle by the Persians; and from the height called the *musellah*, we had a complete view of the whole extent of the city, which like the palace, might be said to be below it. A strong Persian fort formerly crowned this eminence, but it was destroyed by Aga Mahomed Khan, who has left only one large round tower to attest its former strength. If Ecbatana was situated where Hamadan now is, on this place must have been the fort mentioned by Arrian †, in which Alexander ordered all the treasures of Persia to be secured; because common sense points it out as the only spot fit for such a building; and I can credit Polybius, who says, that its fortifications were of wonderful strength; and can also imagine the seven circles of walls mentioned by Herodotus §, in the innermost of which the royal treasury was placed.

* Lib. x. 24.

† Exp. of Alex. lib. iii. c. 7.

§ Clio, 98.



On the site of the castle is a small square platform, which the Persians call the *Takht Ardeshir*. It has an exterior facing of white square stones, backed by masonry of common stone and mortar, and has the appearance of a building of the Sassanides, of which dynasty Ardeshir Babegan was the founder. This will lead to the supposition, that from the time of the Sassanides at least, to the present day, this spot has been regarded as the situation of the fortress.

Of Mahomedan antiquities Hamadan contains a great variety, consisting of sepulchral stones, towers, old mosques, old bazars, and Cuffick inscriptions, which are met with at every turn. The burial-place of Avicenna is to be seen here. We were overwhelmed by Arsacean and Sassanian coins, which are found in great quantities at Hamadan, as well as at a village three fursungs off; and we also got several intaglios on cornelian, and numerous Mahomedan talismans. One cylindrical stone with Persepolitan figures and character upon it, fell into our hands; and several coins of the Seleucides were brought to us, but none of them rare, or of a remarkably good preservation. On the whole, we found that Hamadan presented more objects of research to the antiquary than any other city that we had visited in Persia; and there is every probability that excavations, particularly on the site of what I suppose to be the ancient palaces of the kings, would lead to valuable discoveries.

The principal manufacture of this place is a particular sort of felt carpet called *nummud*, highly esteemed among the Persians, a pair of which cost about fifty *reals*, or five pounds sterling. It is also famous for its leather, of which the inhabitants cure large quantities, for the coverings of trunks, saddles, binding of tents, &c. &c. Few merchants are established here, but it is the great thoroughfare from the north for the trade to Bagdad, by the road of Kerman-shah, and large caravans are constantly passing and collecting here. This was the case in Alexander's time, for he found great quantities of Persian and Median merchants collected at Ecbatana.* Among other strangers, we here found a Greek, a native of the island of Zante, who,

* Arrian, lib. iv. c. 2.



ANECDOTE OF A GREEK MERCHANT.

to all appearances, would have died of a bilious fever, if he had not been relieved by the surgeon of our embassy. He had been taken ill on his journey from Astrachan to Bagdad, to which place he was travelling to sell saffron and caviar, altogether worth three thousand roubles, and had undertaken this expedition without knowing a single word of any language but his own. The Armenians had taken him under their care, and he was lodged in their church, which is a great act of charity from them, who look upon the Greeks as heretics.

The climate of Hamadan has the same reputation now for coolness in summer, as Ecbatana had in the days of the ancient Persian kings, who are said to have passed their summers there, and their winters at Susa, in the same manner as the present King leaves Teheran and passes the heats at Sultanieh. We found the weather very sultry in our tents, but there is no doubt if we had lived higher up the mountain in good houses, that we should have found the heats by no means oppressive.



CHAPTER XVIII.

INTELLIGENCE having reached the Ambassador from Georgia, which required an immediate conference with the King, our camp broke up on the 16th of June, and we halted at Mahajeran, the first stage from Hamadan, on the road to Sultanieh. Owing to the great plenty of water, we found the country through which our road lay highly cultivated, and thickly spread with villages. At two miles from Hamadan we crossed a considerable stream, and met it again on arriving at our stage. The peak of Alwend, under which Hamadan is situated, bore from Mahajeran, S. 40° W.

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The next day we went to Kaboot Reheng, still in a fine district, rich in corn, which was now nearly ripe. The heats of this and the preceding stage were very oppressive; the thermometer being at 92 and 93 in our tents, at three o'clock. Owing to the great scarcity of wood, the peasants collect for fuel the common thorn, the *Khor Shutur*, which overruns the country, and lay it up in stacks for winter.

On the 18th, we traversed a flat country to Kaleh Jogh, the inhabitants of which displayed a trait of perverseness of character which can be found only under a despotic government. Since the villagers had fled at our approach on the road to Hamadan, the Ambassador determined no longer to accept the *sursat*, or provisions, allowed him by the Government at the expense of the peasantry, and paid for every thing himself, as it was furnished to us. But here the peasantry, without reflecting that, if we chose, we might get provisions from them for nothing, would not sell our servants bread, absolutely refusing, with an obstinacy for which we could not account, except by supposing that they were apprehensive, if it were known that they had sold their provisions, their Governors might make it a pretext for levying greater contributions upon them than before.

We then travelled a short distance to Gav Sawar, a village situated in a cooler district, and pitched our tents in a *chemen*, or pasture. The



cultivation of this part of the country was apparently more than necessary for the population; but it is from hence that the supplies for the King, his immense retinue, and his troops, are chiefly drawn, and laid up in store for him at Sultanieh. It was thus that the ten thousand Greeks, in their retreat, came to a place where they found plenty of provisions, and barley for horses, all laid up for the satrap of the country.*

Hamadan, by the direction of Alwend, which we still saw, bore S. 31° W. from our encampment.

Still in a cool and pleasant region, we continued our route to Chibok Oglu, distant a mile or two from the high road; because the regular stage not long since had been entirely demolished, as they call it in Persia *Kharab kerd*, by a young Shah Zadeh (Prince) and his suite, who had passed by. Saadi well understood his own countrymen when he wrote his pretty story of Nushirwan, in which he applies these verses. †

“Should the King want to eat an apple from the garden of the peasant, his servants immediately pull up the tree by the roots.

“And if he gives them permission to demand five eggs, they instantly put a thousand fowls on the spit.” GULISTAN.

On a bearing of S. 49° W. from this place, is another *Takht Suleiman*, (throne of Solomon,) situated near a village on the opposite side of the plain. Here, we had heard were great ruins, and shafts of old mines; but nothing in fact is to be seen there now except an ancient Pehlavi inscription, much effaced, and for which the natives express great reverence. A fine plain, apparently a continued series of pasture lands, extends itself to the northward to an unbounded horizon.

We bent our course towards the mountains which separate this plain from that of Sultanieh, and pitched our tents at Jahreen. On the 21st of June we reached the King's camp at Sultanieh, after exploring a long defile, parts of which were very grand in mountain scenery.

* Zenoph. Anab. lib. iii. c. 4.

† اگر زباج رعیت ملک خورد سیدی برآوردنند شلیمان او درخت از بدین
به پنج بیضه که سلطان ستم روا دارد زند لشکریانش هزار مرغ به سینه



Upon our arrival at Hamadan we found a Turkish Ambassador, on his way from Bagdad to the Persian court, charged with a mission from the Porte, the object of which was to reclaim the money, property, cattle, &c., which had been carried away by the Persians at the capture of Sulimanieh, and to demand the re-payment of the sum exacted from the Pasha of Bagdad. He departed soon after; and we had only time to learn that he was proceeding to the King's camp, full of big words and high pretensions, some of which he had already vented on his way, in return for much uncourteous treatment which he had received from the Persians. He arrived at Sultanieh some time before we did, and established himself, at the desire of the Persians, close to the Grand Vizier's tents, where his actions were so closely watched, that it became impossible for us to hold any communication with him.

Some idea may be formed of the national feeling of the Persians towards the Turks by the treatment of their representative; a feeling which comprehends every sentiment that contempt, prejudice, and hatred can supply to a bigotted people. It is, however, fully repaid by the Turk, who indulges freely in every execration against the Persian, that his ferocious spirit can suggest.

As the negotiations for peace between Russia and Persia, through the mediation of England, were still in agitation, it was determined that the King should proceed with the whole of his army to Ojan, and there encamp during the remainder of the season, whilst the British Ambassador should go to Tabriz, in order to be able more easily to communicate with the Russian authorities in Georgia. On the 9th of July we reached Tabriz, and on the 23d the King arrived at Ojan.

The heavy expense which would fall upon the government and the people of Aderbigian, by the addition of such a multitude as the King brought in his train, gave Abbas Mirza great anxiety. Wherever the King travels in his own dominions, his expenses are defrayed by the country through which he passes; and by virtue of the ancient laws of hospitality, which are as binding on the poor Turcoman in his black tent as on the Viceroy in his palace, the Monarch, his sons, his

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ministers, and his troops, all now became *mehmans*, or guests, of the Prince.

The provisions collected for the King were brought from different parts of Aderbigian; and the allowance, like the provision made for Solomon, was calculated daily at so many *mauns*, or measures, and consisted of fine flour, distinct from the common, on purpose for the King's use; and meal, besides provisions of meat, poultry and game. Barley and straw in large quantities were laid up for the cattle. These are the two articles of food principally used for that purpose, in the present as in the most ancient times. *Barley also, and straw for the horses and dromedaries, brought they unto the place where the officers were, every man according to his charge.* 1 Kings, iv. 22, 23. and 28.

The Prince was solicitous to make his royal guest satisfied with his reception, and every effort was exerted to strike the King with astonishment at the improvements of Aderbigian. The building at Ojan was enlarged and beautified with paintings and rich decorations. The Prince collected all his troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to greet His Majesty's arrival. But it was in the *Istakball* that he put forth the whole of his respect and devotedness. As the King approached, he prostrated himself before his horses' feet, and kissed the earth in token of his obedience. In like manner did Absalom *bow himself on his face to the ground before the King.* 2 Sam. xiv. 33. He then ran for a mile on foot with a gun on his shoulder before the King, and did not presume to mount his horse until he had received the royal command so to do. As the King approached Ojan, troops of all denominations lined the road, whilst the artillery made repeated discharges; and when he approached the palace, he was preceded by a numerous band of drums and fifes, playing English tunes, a part of the ceremony which, it is said, struck his fancy the most. It is also said, that he was extremely delighted at the appearance of the disciplined troops; and that the sight of them produced part of the effect upon his mind which had been intended by the Prince, namely, that of diminishing his desire for peace with Russia.

On reaching Tabriz, we found Mr. Brown, the African traveller,



waiting our arrival. He had recently arrived from Smyrna, having taken a direct route through Asia Minor to Tocat, whence he came by Arze Roum and Erivan. His plan was to endeavour to make his way into Tartary, to see Balkh and Samarcand if possible, and then to travel to India. We had already conversed with the Persian ministers upon the nature of such an undertaking, and they were decidedly of opinion that it was impossible. Indeed the Grand Vizier, Mirza Sheffea, said that he would not give ten *shahis* for the man's head who went on a journey to Balkh; consequently we did all in our power to dissuade Mr. Brown from pursuing his object; but as he persisted, the Ambassador immediately made his intentions known to the Persian ministers, who promised him every assistance. A Mehmandar was to conduct him to Meshed; a firman from the King was to be issued to Mahomed Veli Mirza, Prince Governor of that city and of Khorassan, ordering that he should be protected, and forwarded onwards to wherever the Persian jurisdiction extended. He was dressed as a Turk, and his disguise was complete. Knowing how much that nation is hated by the Persians, we entreated him not to travel in that dress, but to adopt either the English or the Persian; but, naturally enough, he conceived himself in safety until he should have reached Teheran, and he deferred making the exchange until then. He departed from Tabriz, escorted by two Persian servants whom he had hired for the journey, and went to the King's camp at Ojan to meet his Mehmandar, and to get his firman and letters. He was there detained several days, and tired by the delay, he set off without his Mehmandar, who was to overtake him on the road. He had scarcely been gone a week, when one of his servants returned, saying that his master had been robbed and murdered. Upon investigation we learnt, that on the fourth day's march from the camp, after having crossed the Kizzil Ozan river, he had been attacked by a party of ten Persian horsemen, who seized him and his servants, blindfolded them, tied their hands behind their backs, and carried them to a lonely valley, at some distance from the high road. In the evening they released the servants, but detained Mr. Brown, and placing



him on horseback behind one of the robbers, carried him still farther away. They gave up his gun, pistols, clothes, box of books, astronomical instruments, &c. which were brought back to us by the servants; but took from him 200 tomauns in gold.

The Ambassador, immediately upon hearing of this melancholy occurrence, informed the Persian Government of what had happened, demanding that an active search should be made for the robbers. He also sent persons to the spot, in order to endeavour to trace their steps; but all that could be found were remains of clothes, near the Kizzil Ozan, which made us suppose that the murder was perpetrated near its banks, and the body thrown into the river. Suspicions fell upon many persons, the strongest upon the Shahisevends, a tribe who inhabit the country bordering upon the Kizzil Ozan; but we found it so difficult to fix the crime upon any particular set of men, without incurring the evil of making punishment fall upon the innocent, that our researches for the offenders were, after all, attended with no success.

During his stay at Tabriz, Mr. Brown, with the assistance of Captain Monteith, of the Madras engineers, and Mr. Snodgrass, of the Bombay army, endeavoured to settle the longitude of Tabriz, which they reduced to $47^{\circ} 17' 46''$ east of Greenwich, a meridian which I have adopted in my sketch of Aderbigian.

X The negotiations with the Russians had hitherto been mostly carried on by letter. But at length it was settled, that Plenipotentiaries from both nations should again meet, for the purpose of adjusting a preliminary treaty of peace. General de Rtischeff, the Governor General of Georgia, was to act on the part of Russia; and Mirza Abul Hassan Khan was appointed on the part of the Shah. Gulistan in the Kara Bagh was the place of meeting.

Affairs were in this state of forwardness, when a Russian Major, the principal Aide-du-camp of General de Rtischeff, escorted by a detachment of Don Cossacks, arrived at Tabriz, deputed on the part of the General to conduct the Persian Plenipotentiary to the place of conference. Some discussions being still necessary to the final adjustment



of the basis of the preliminaries, the Ambassador and the Russian Aide-du-camp proceeded, one after the other, to the King's camp at Ojan.

The distance from Tabriz to Ojan is about 30 miles; and under the present circumstances the road between the city and the camp was much frequented by people of all descriptions. We found the plain of Ojan entirely covered with tents, and long before we reached, or even saw the camp, its situation was pointed out by a dense vapour, which hung over it. All its avenues were covered with cattle, which are permitted to extend themselves in quest of pastures to considerable distances, the lands in the more immediate neighbourhood, which on our first passage through them we had found over-abounding in grass, having now become a brown and dusty waste. The position and general appearance of the camp of Darius before the battle of Issus, as related in Quintus Curtius, is very characteristic of a modern Persian camp, and of what we saw at Ojan.* “By the time the reconnoitring party (which Alexander had dispatched) had returned, the extended multitude could be seen at a distance. Then the fires began to blaze throughout the Persian camp, which had the appearance of a general conflagration. The space over which the irregular mass spread, was more dilated on account of their cattle.” Whoever has seen at night, at a distance, a Persian camp, or indeed a camp of any Asiatics, whose immense fires are lighted in all parts of it, will be struck with the correctness of the similitude to a general conflagration.

The palace of the King is situated in the eastern part of the plain, and occupies a hillock, which like that at Sultanieh is artificial. It consists of a hall of audience, which forms the principal front of the building, and of an *anderoon*, or private apartments, for the harem. The hall is supported by two wooden gilded pillars, and looks upon a garden laid out in walks, shaded by poplar and willow trees. The whole is surmounted by a *bala khoneh* or upper room, screened by curtains,

* *Sed quum speculatores reverteruntur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est; ignes deinde totis campis collucere cœperunt, omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa; quum incondita multitudo, maxime propter jumenta, laxius tenderet.* Lib. iii. c. 8.



whither the King retires to enjoy the breeze and the view of his camp.

Around this building, to an immense extent, at various intervals, was spread the camp, consisting of tents and pavilions of all colours and all denominations. An order had been issued, that every tent in the camp should be pitched with its entrance immediately facing the palace, by which it was intended that every one who came forth, should make the *ser ferou*, or bow the head to the royal abode, an invention in honors scarcely to be exceeded by those exacted by Alexander. The King thus became, as it were, the nave of a great wheel; and he was so completely hemmed in by his troops, that if an enemy had appeared it would have been impossible to get at him without first cutting a road through the labyrinth of ropes and tents, which every where surrounded him.

The Princes were lodged in large pavilions, surrounded by the distinguishing *serperdeh*; the viziers and other great officers were in similar tents, but without that outward screen, and the troops were disposed of in small tents of every description. As the King's army was mostly composed of men drawn from the different tribes, each tribe was encamped in separate divisions; the Bakhtiarees, the Afshars, the Irakees, the Shah-i-pesends, were all stationed by lots or compartment: but notwithstanding this attempt at regularity, such was the intermixture of men and cattle, tents, shops, and hot baths, of the instruments of war, and of the luxuries of private ease, that all appearance of order was lost. The tents of the horsemen were known by their long spears being stuck upright at their entrance, those of the infantry by their muskets and matchlocks. Twelve pieces of artillery were situated in the midst of tents and confusion; and although they were arranged in line, yet nothing could have got them clear of the camp, if they had been required to act at a moment's warning. The King, like the Persian monarchs of old, takes his women with him upon his marches, but not in such great numbers.* The Persians enjoy as many luxuries in their

* Quint. Curt. lib. iii. c. 3.



tents as they do in their houses ; and their habits of migration have taught them great facilities in the manner of transporting their baggage. Many of the great personages have tents with boilers attached to them, which they convert into hot baths, as soon as they become stationary at one place for any time ; and we may suppose this to have been the case formerly, for in the *Cyropædia*, it is mentioned that the Medes and the soldiers of Tigranes bathed themselves in camp, all matters for that purpose having been provided.*

The number of Persians collected together at this camp was computed to be from eighty to ninety thousand, of which one half were military, and the other camp followers. This addition to the population of the province began soon to be felt, for provisions became scarce, and consequently dear. From this circumstance an idea may be formed of the difficulties which an European army would have to encounter even in the most flourishing part of the country, aided to the utmost extent by its government.

× On our arrival at Ojan we found the Russian Aide-du-camp, who had arrived there before us, and who was anxiously waiting our arrival. He was living in a small tent, with which he had been supplied by the Grand Vizier. He had been well treated, but complained of the quantity of sweetmeats which had been sent to him in presents, and with which he and his Cossacks had been quite surfeited. Many and various were the discussions which took place with this officer, before matters could be adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties ; and when at length every thing had been settled, and the departure of the Persian Plenipotentiary had been fixed, the whole business was nearly overthrown by the intrusion of a single point of Persian etiquette.

After a long negotiation, the King agreed that the Russian officer should be allowed to approach his presence; and it was upon the exact quantity of nearness to which he was entitled in this approach, that the whole of the difficulty turned. The English Ambassador, who wished to do honour to the Governor General of Georgia in

* *Cyropædia*, lib. iv. c. 3.



the person of his Aide-du-camp, insisted that he should stand in the same place with himself; but the Persians would not hearken to such intimacy, and talked of a station about the middle of the garden, as the most which the Russian could expect. This difference of opinion was leading to violent words, when His Majesty himself removed every difficulty by an expedient. He determined to sit in the *Shah-nisheen*, whilst the Ambassador and the Russian should stand in the room below. That this may be understood, it is necessary to explain that the *Shah-nisheen* is a sort of shelf, half way up the side of the room in a recess, which is only used on particular occasions. Hither the King resorted, and as we conducted the Russian, bowing at the usual intervals, up the long avenue, which led to the hall of audience, we could just perceive the head and shoulders of His Majesty, that arose above the ledge of the *Shah-nisheen*.

When we had entered the room, the King, looking down upon us, made many civil speeches to the Aide-du-camp, particularly touching the health of General de Rtischeff; but as we were making our retreat, His Majesty called me by name, and in presence of the Ambassador, made me bear witness that it was only on account of the good-will that he bore to His Excellency, that he had permitted this dereliction of what was due to himself, and that on no future occasion would he permit it to be repeated.

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We returned to Tabriz immediately after, and a few days only had elapsed, when the Russian and the Persian Plenipotentiaries were on their way to Gulistan, the place of conference. We remained at Tabriz until the 21st of October, in the hopes of hearing of the signature of the treaty; but as there were still more difficulties in the way of its termination than we had expected, we departed for Teheran by the road of Maragha.



CHAPTER XIX.

WE departed from Tabriz early in the morning of the 21st October, and made our first stage at the village of Serd Rood. In the same manner as Cyrus was attended on his departure from Media*, the Ambassador was accompanied by Fatteh Ali Khan the Governor, for about two miles without the city, a ceremony, the omission of which would have been esteemed a mark of great negligence.

Serd Rood, which is a large village, presents itself beautifully from an eminence about a mile before reaching it, and occupies the base of a hill, upon which are the ruins of a fort. We here found the peasants picking the cotton, and the berry of the castor oil, two plants, which in Persia are generally found in the vicinity of each other, the latter being sown as a sort of hedge-row around the other. They were now ploughing the ground; and in some fields, the harrow, which was nothing more than a beam attached transversely to the pole of the yoke, was softening down the work of the plough. In many cases mere boys were directing the plough; and where two pair of oxen were required, a boy sat on the front yoke to direct the cattle in their track. This village, although so near Tabriz, belongs to Ahmed Khan, the wealthy Chief of Maragha.

From a conical hill that overlooked our camp, I took several geographical bearings; Tabriz and the red mountain over it were on my right, the two long mountains similar in form and soil, between the bases of which is the road to Nakhjuwan and Erivan, extended themselves in front, and the distant peninsula of Shahee, which projects into the lake of that name, was on my left. The bed of the salt river Agi was visible in its course through the arid plain, almost from the place of its escape from the cultivated grounds around Tabriz, to its fall into the lake. The conformation of the plain, and the lands which environ

* Cyropædia, lib. i.

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it, added to the extreme saltness of its soil, would lead to the supposition that the lake once extended itself over it, and washed the bases of the two above-described mountains : and even now when its dimensions are fully ascertained, such are the delusive effects of the *Seraub* or mirage which constantly plays over the saline waste, that it is difficult to persuade the beholder that what he sees is vapour and not water. This is alluded to in the Koran, 24th chapter : “ But as to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing.”* Quintus Curtius, in describing Alexander’s march through the deserts of Sogdiana, has given so faithful an account of this illusion, and of the state of the atmosphere over a salt desert during the heats of summer, that either he must have witnessed such scenes himself, or must have acquired his information from authentic sources. He mentions a fact which must come home to the recollection of every traveller in the East ; that as they entered the deserts, the despair of obtaining water kindled thirst before it was excited by nature. He then compares the heat of the sun upon the sands, (where every thing is dried up,) to a kiln always burning ; an image which becomes more striking from the very correct description which follows it. “ The steams which exhale from the fervid expanse, that appear like the surface of a sea, produce a cloudy vapour that darkens the sky.”† Such observations made in the country appear to be due to the character of an historian who lies under the imputation of indulging in extravagant description, and whose authority in consequence has been proportionably depreciated.

Bishop Lowth has rendered what we read “ parched ground” in our Bibles, into “ glowing sand,” (Isaiah, xxxv. 7.) which is highly expressive of the *Seraub*.‡

From Serd Rood, we travelled eleven miles to Khosrou Shah, one of the villages of the beautiful and productive valley of Uz-Koh.

* Koran, chap. 24. and Sale’s Note.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. vii. chap. 5.

‡ See Lowth’s Isaiah, ix. p. 88.



As we skirted the bases of the same range of hills which encompass Tabriz, and which are a branch of the mountain of Sahand, we observed a village with cultivated fields, in every nook that could boast of a stream. Uz-Koh, that gives its name to the valley and the district, surprises those who are accustomed only to the dreary landscape of the rest of Persia; for its hills are clothed with wood; its villages are imbosomed amongst trees, and its productive and laboured soil, put us in mind of countries where man is "*Like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in season, whose leaf shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.*" Although there is a want of large and spreading trees, yet the snowy heights of Sahand that tower above the plain give it a character of great picturesque effect.

The next day we reached Dehkhargan, distant eighteen miles from Khosrou Shah. Hitherto we had kept the mountain of Tabriz in view, but we lost it on turning an elbow of the range of hills on our left, where it bore N.E. from us by compass. We ascended a height hoping to get a view of the lake of Shahee, because we were informed, that on this side of it its banks are steep and its water low, but we were disappointed. At four miles from Khosrou Shah, we passed the village of Elkhi-jee, and there gave chase to a fox with our greyhounds. We also saw immense flocks of the *bokara cara*; a bird sly and cautious to those who attempt to approach it on foot with a gun, but unmindful of those who make their advances on horseback. Not far from Dehkhargan, the lake is at length seen spreading its blue waters through a wild succession of high and rugged lands, of which an immense snowtopt range which borders its horizon forms the most sublime feature.

Dehkhargan is a walled town, whose interior is as much occupied by trees and gardens as it is by houses. The approaches to it are very picturesque. Our tents having been pitched on its farthest extremity we were obliged to traverse the streets, and to our surprise, instead of seeing as usual a face peeping over a wall here, or a solitary group there, we found it thronged with people, whose busy looks informed us that something more than ordinary was going forwards. It was a *roozee*



bazar, or fair day, an instance of rural prosperity in this country that we had not yet witnessed, and confirmed us in the good opinion which we had formed of the manner in which this district was administered.

In the *maidan* where the peasantry was assembled, we observed a large flat-roofed mosque supported by wooden pillars. Our tents were situated amongst gardens, the trees of which now wore their autumnal dress, and made a great variety in the colouring of the landscape. We found the fruit here excellent and plentiful, particularly the grapes, pears, and peaches, of which the two last rivalled those of Ispahan, both in size and taste. The best wine which the Armenians of Tabriz make, is the produce of the grape of Dehkhargan.

This village is one of the richest under the jurisdiction of Ahmed Khan, and the owner of the house in which the Ambassador lodged at Tabriz (one of the greatest farmers and landholders of Aderbigian) has great possessions here.

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On the 24th we proceeded to Shirameen, a village near the lake, and distant three fursungs from the preceding stage. At the distance of one fursung on the right of the road, is a spring of chalybeate water, and two fursungs farther on, after having discovered the expanse of the lake, we diverged from the road to visit the petrifications.

This natural curiosity consists of certain extraordinary ponds or plashes whose indolent waters by a slow and regular process stagnate, concrete, and petrify; and produce that beautiful transparent stone, commonly called Tabriz marble, which is so remarkable in most of the burial places in Persia, and which forms a chief ornament in all the buildings of note throughout the country. These ponds, which are situated close to one another, are contained in a circumference of about half a mile, and their position is marked by confused heaps and mounds of the stone, which have accumulated as the excavations have increased. We had seen nothing in Persia yet which was more worthy of the attention of the naturalist than this; and I never so much regretted my ignorance of subjects of this nature, because I felt that it is of consequence they should be brought into notice by scientific observation. However,



rather than omit all description of a spot, which perhaps no Europeans but ourselves have had the opportunity of examining, and on which, therefore, we are bound (in justice to those opportunities) not to withhold the information which we obtained ; I will venture to give the following notes of our visit, relying upon the candour and the science of my reader to fill up my imperfect outline.

On approaching the spot, the ground has a hollow sound, with a particularly dreary and calcined appearance, and when upon it, a strong mineral smell arises from the ponds. The process of petrification is to be traced from its first beginning to its termination. In one part, the water is clear, in a second, it appears thicker and stagnant, in a third, quite black, and in its last stage, is white like a hoar frost. Indeed, a petrified pond looks like frozen water, and before the operation is quite finished, a stone slightly thrown upon it breaks the outer coating, and causes the black water underneath to exude. Where the operation is complete, a stone makes no impression, and a man may walk upon it without wetting his shoes. Whenever the petrification has been hewn into, the curious progress of the concretion is clearly seen, and shews itself like sheets of rough paper placed one over the other in accumulated layers. Such is the constant tendency of this water to become stone, that where it exudes from the ground in bubbles, the petrification assumes a globular shape, as if the bubbles of a spring, by a stroke of magic, had been arrested in their play, and metamorphosed into marble. These stony bubbles which form the most curious specimens of this extraordinary quarry, frequently contain with them portions of the earth through which the water has oozed.

The substance thus produced is brittle, transparent, and sometimes most richly streaked with green, red, and copper-coloured veins. It admits of being cut into immense slabs, and takes a good polish. We did not remark that any plant except rushes grew in the water. The shortest and best definition that can be given of the ponds, is that which Quintus Curtius gives of the Lake Ascanius—*Aqua sponte concrescens*.*

* Lib. xi. c. 12.



The present royal family of Persia, whose Princes do not spend large sums in the construction of public buildings, have not carried away much of the stone ; but some immense slabs which were cut by Nadir Shah, and now lie neglected amongst innumerable fragments, show the objects which He had in view. So much is this stone looked upon as an article of luxury, that none but the King, his sons, and persons privileged by special firman are permitted to excavate ; and such is the ascendancy of pride over avarice, that the scheme of farming it to the highest bidder does not seem to have ever come within the calculations of its present possessors.

A good direction to the ponds is a peak in the adjacent mountains, immediately under which they are situated. They bear from the village of Shirameen N. 30 W., and are distant about two miles from the border of the lake.

From our camp at Shirameen, we had an extensive view of the lake, which is bounded on the north by mountains. Near it are situated the town of Salmas, and the productive district of Shebester. The plain of Tabriz, the salt desert, with the hills and vallies of Uzkoh inclose it to the east, whilst a sublime range of snowy mountains of the Courdistan girds it to the west, and it is terminated to the south by Maragha, its table lands, and its extensive pastures. It is most commonly known by the name of Deria Shahee, or the Royal Sea, on account of the peninsula of that name, that extends itself within it, and is said to be twelve fursungs in circumference.

It is also called Deria Maragha, and Deria Oroumieh, from the two large towns of that name, that are situated in its neighbourhood, and frequently only Deriacheh, or the Little Sea. According to Mirkhond, in his *Ajaib al balladan*, it was included within the limits of Armenia, being called by him Deria Armenistan. Eight fursungs, or about 280 miles, are mentioned as its circumference ; and from all we can learn, it is generally very shallow, its greatest depth not being more than three or four *zer* or cubits, and in some places scarcely one. We got these particulars from a man who had been sent by the Governor of Maragha to the Ambassa-



dor, expressly to serve as a cicerone, and who assured us that he had crossed over to Oroumieh in a boat. He, moreover, asserted, that there existed a causeway, which was now covered by water, from the village of Chawan to Oroumieh, but so visible, particularly in the shallow parts as not to be doubted; adding, that it might be possible still to cross over the lake without the aid of a boat. He could not speak of the antiquity of this work, as it had never been used by the inhabitants of the present day; nor do I recollect it to be mentioned by any of the old travellers: it may therefore date from remote times, none of the later kings of Persia, except the great Shah Abbas, being remarkable for works of public utility.

The same fact which appears in the Caspian Sea, the Dead Sea, and many other lakes in the globe, is also to be remarked here: I mean the daily reception of a great quantity of water without any visible increase in the lake itself. No less than fourteen rivers of different sizes discharge themselves into the lake of Shahee; and although from the general character of Persian rivers, I should not suppose any of them to be so large as the Jordan *, yet still collectively they cannot fail to make up a very large mass of water. Instead of increase, there are many visible signs of diminution of the water, from which we may conclude, that the evaporation is greater than the supplies from the rivers. Shahee, that was formerly surrounded by water, has for the two or three last years been attached to the main land by a swamp, which is an evident encroachment upon the lake. The plain of Chawan, and the district of Deenab, upon which are large and conspicuous tracts of salt, have also evidently been abandoned by the water, which, from local tradition, as well as the conformation of the surrounding mountains, probably washed the bases of the nearest highlands. That there has been great variation in the depth of this lake is certain, first from the causeway, which was built when the whole was doubtless one great swamp; and, secondly, from the visible diminutions above mentioned, and this may be accounted for, by the uncer-

* Shaw, vol. ii. p. 156.

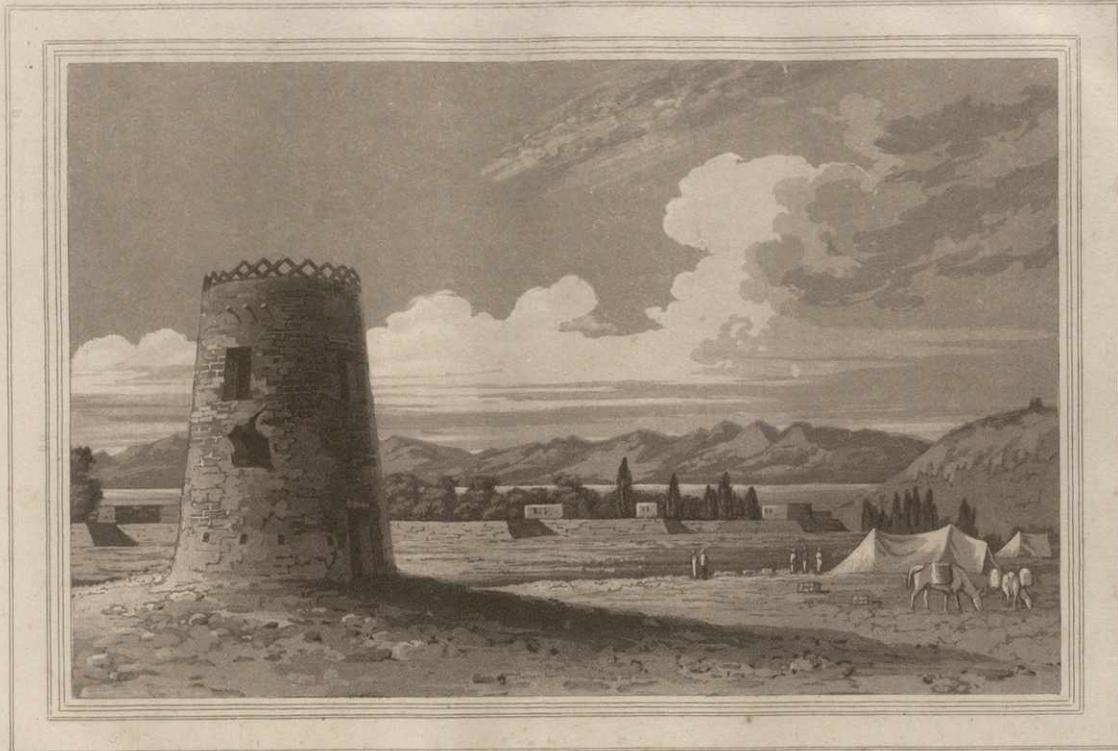


tain supplies of the rivers themselves, which depend almost wholly upon the mountain torrents. Persian rivers, in general, are on the one day overflowing their banks, and on the next, can scarcely be called rivulets, on which account, it would be impossible to form an estimate of the proportion of the supply to the evaporation. I should conceive, that the lake must have its largest quantity of water in spring, when the snows melt, and the torrents flow with the greatest violence, an opinion which derives confirmation from the nature of the small salt water lake, seen on the right of the road between Ojan and Tabriz, which in spring receives its water from the mountain, and in summer is completely dry from evaporation alone.

This lake resembles in many things, to what Sandys calls "that cursed lake Asphaltides *," or the Dead Sea. Like it, its water seems dull and heavy, and the late Mr. Brown found that it contains more salt than that of the sea. We were informed, that as soon as the rivers discharge any of their fish into it, they immediately die. We saw swans in the lake, near the coast contiguous to Shirameen. Like the Dead Sea, it also supplies the adjacent country with a salt of beautiful transparency, although the inhabitants generally prefer the rock salt, which is cut from quarries in the neighbourhood of the petrifications.

It contains four islands of different heights and sizes, exclusive of Shahee, which, though in fact a peninsula, is also called an island. They are small and barren, but are very conspicuous from their white cliffs, which, on a clear day, are visible from the top of the mountain above Tabriz. We were told, that not long ago a race of wild asses existed upon them, which had originally been turned loose there by the Seffies, but which are now destroyed. At present they are tenanted by a family of venomous snakes and other reptiles, and are no otherwise useful than as affording a low brushwood and other materials for fuel, to those who will give themselves the trouble to carry it away. Shahee, we hear, is inhabited, and contains twelve villages, the

* Sandys's Travels, 7th edit. p. 110.



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ALKOU and THE LAKE of SHAHEE.



inhabitants of which are said to be strangers to the small pox, and live to a good old age without the dread of it; but notwithstanding this blessing, it is looked upon in Persia as the Gyarus of the Romans, for hither Abbas Mirza sometimes sends offenders into exile, a punishment which the Persians hold in great abhorrence.

From Shirameen we proceeded to Chawan, over a most barren tract of brown mountains, without a single tree to be seen, excepting near the villages. The soil of these mountains is chiefly argillaceous, and in some parts our road lay through long and deep strata of rocks, among which we noticed talc. Before we quitted the flat country surrounding the lake, we had a view of the swamp which renders Shahee a peninsula; and shortly after we lost sight of the lake altogether, but got another and more extended view of it as we descended from the mountains towards Chawan. In this view we could discover all the islands, which, lying in one cluster, had the appearance of a little Archipelago.

From Chawan we could count eight villages, of which the most conspicuous were Gultapeh, Jukelar, Ajeb Sheer, and Shiraz. The plain was covered with the flocks and black tents of the Baharlou, a tribe who have a tradition that they migrated from Turkey into Persia. Chawan is a large village, situated upon the banks of a river, considerable for this country, which takes its source in the mountain of Sahan, and is one of the fourteen before-mentioned that flow into the lake. It is called the Caleh chai, and runs through the plain upon which the village of Shishewan is situated, and flows close to it. Three boats ply on the lake from Chawan to Oroumieh, containing from 50 to 60 *kherwars*, (nearly 20 tons each,) and go with oars and sails.

The next day we pitched at Alkou, a village on an eminence three fursungs distant, from whence we saw the full extremity of the plain to the northward, which is there terminated by swamps and long beds of salt, appearing conspicuously white from the height. From this village, not only the great expanse of the lake is seen, but also the productive district of Deenab, the situation of which is distin-



guished from the otherwise dreary landscape by its extensive orchards and its villages, imbosomed in trees and cultivation.

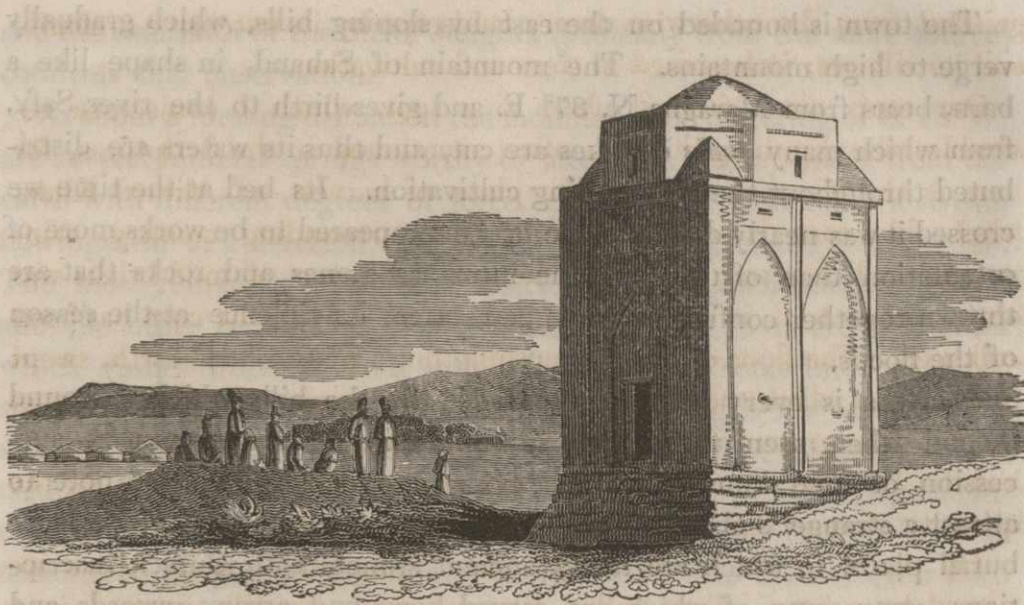
Our tents were situated close to a spot, which I conjecture resembles the thrashing floor so often mentioned in the Scriptures, for here is the *Kherman gah*, or the place of harvest, of Ahmed Khan, where his corn is collected from the surrounding country, winnowed, and then sent to his storehouses. A tower of mud bricks was erected close to it, in which guards are stationed when the corn has been collected. The floor consists of nothing but a plat of hard earth, swept clean, upon which the harvest is thrown into heaps. In some parts of the East, the ground is prepared by being daubed over with cow-dung*; but the Persians are not so nice; and perhaps this will account for the quantity of sand that is found in their common village bread.

1817

On the 27th we reached Maragha. Three miles from Alkou we passed by a large village called Khorma zerd, prettily situated in a valley, with a profusion of running water, fertilizing the fields by which it was surrounded; and three miles further on, we came to the walls of Maragha. The first object which struck us on our approach was a bridge of six elliptical arches, admirably constructed of red brick, built by the present Governor over the river Safy, which flows close to the walls. A second, of similar size and construction, is seen a quarter of a mile lower down; and both give a grandeur of appearance to this town that we did not in the least expect to see. Each of these bridges leads at once into a gate of the town.

The Ambassador was met by the Governor's son, who made excuses for the absence of his father, saying that he was nine fursungs off, quelling a disturbance on the frontier of the Courdistan. He escorted us to our tents, that were pitched on the east side of the city, near a rectangular brick building, of a solid construction, which we were informed was the tomb of one of Jenghiz Khan's descendants. On leaving us he

* Shaw, vol. i. p. 255.



inflicted summary punishment on three men who had robbed a foot-messenger, carrying dispatches from the Ambassador to the Consul at Bagdad. To the robber he gave 2000 bastinadoes on the soles of his feet: the others, who had only been spectators, were bored with an awl, one through the nose and the other through the tongue.

Maragha is situated in a long narrow valley, running nearly north and south; and the shape of the town, an irregular oblong, partakes of that of the valley. On the west, it is girt by a range of low table hills, which were levelled by Halacou, King of Persia, grandson to Jenghiz Khan, in order to facilitate the operations of his magnificent observatory which he there erected, and where he caused Nassir Eddin Toussi, the celebrated astronomer, with several of the best astrologers of those days, to observe the motions of the heavenly bodies. Remains of this observatory, which some call the *zeech*, and some *rasad*, are still to be seen; and the horizontal surface of the surrounding hills attests how great must have been the labour for the perfection of this building.



The town is bounded on the east by sloping hills, which gradually verge to high mountains. The mountain of Sahand, in shape like a barn, bears from Maragha N. 37° E. and gives birth to the river Safy, from which many *joubs* or dikes are cut, and thus its waters are distributed throughout the surrounding cultivation. Its bed at the time we crossed it was nearly dry, and the bridges appeared to be works more of ostentation than of use; but the immense stones and rocks that are thrown together confusedly in its bed, attest its violence at the season of the floods.

Maragha is every where commanded by the hills which surround it, and when seen from their summits exhibits a monotonous succession of mud houses, without possessing one building of note to attract a stranger's observation. It is flanked to the N. E. by a large burial place, in which are many ancient stones, with Cuffick inscriptions, upon some of which are carved bows and arrows, swords and shields, indicating a warrior; books and reading boards, denoting a mollah, or learned man; hammers, trowels, &c., the tomb of a mason, and so forth. Upon one stone was the sculpture of a man (on horseback), a circumstance which alone would distinguish the tomb of a Shiah from that of a Sunni, who looks upon the representation of the human figure as impious.

This place is inclosed by walls, now in many places so ruined as to afford an easy access without the medium of a gate. It has also outworks of turrets like Teheran, and many indications of having been a much more flourishing place than it is at present. Indeed, the Persians consider it as one of their most ancient cities, giving Balkh the first place in antiquity, Sultanieh the second, and Maragha the third; although in the history of Jenghiz Khan*, it is called a modern city, built by the Caliph Merwan, the last of the Ommiades, who flourished about the 127th year of the hejra.

I attempted to take a meridional observation, but the weather was too clouded. The tables of Ulug Beg make Maragha in $37^{\circ} 20'$ lat.;

* Petit de la Croix's Transl. p. 328.



and the translator of the life of Jenghiz (probably from the same source) confirms that observation.

At about a fursung distant, in the mountains, on a bearing of S. 12° W. are several mineral springs worthy of attention. They issue from the earth with different degrees of force, close on the borders of a stream flowing near to a deserted village, called Chai bagh, or the river garden. The most remarkable of them are two, close to each other, one cold and the other tepid. On the opposite side of the river, is another which gushes from the rock with unequal force, sometimes suddenly spurting out with violence, at others only trickling a few drops. The waters of these springs are a strong chalybeate, and of a most nauseous taste. They are unknown to the generality of the people of the country, although their existence is marked by Mirkond in the *Ajaib al baladan*. Another spring of the same nature rises closer to the town at a place called Babagerger, but the water which flows from it is more copious than that of all the other springs combined. It issues from the earth in bubbles, and falls into a basin about fifteen feet in diameter. The volume of water which it emits would be sufficient to form a large stream, but as fast as it flows out of the basin it concretes and petrifies; a quality frequently found in the mineral waters in which this region abounds. The natives bathe in the basin of Babagerger, which they hold good for cutaneous disorders.

The day after our arrival at Maragha the Ambassador was visited by Ahmed Khan, who had quitted his expedition against the Courts to to perform the offices of hospitality to his guest. This Chief is one of those personages frequently met with in the East, who realize and illustrate many of the facts recorded in holy writ of the lives and habits of the Patriarchs. Like Isaac, *he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants.* Genesis, xxiv. 14. His manners and appearance are those of *Jacob, a plain man dwelling in tents.* id. xxv. 27. Although verging to fourscore and ten, he is the picture of health and activity. His beard is quite white, and his dress is scarcely superior to that of his own shepherds. His reputation however



for riches is very great ; for among other instances of it, it is affirmed, that he sows 700 *kherwar* (nearly 500,000 lbs.) of grain annually : he breeds a race of hardy horses, much esteemed throughout Persia. He is one of the greatest of the elders of Persia, being called the *Reish-sefeed* (White Beard) of Aderbigian.

After the Ambassador had returned his visit, and gone through the usual forms of receiving and giving presents ; on the 30th October, we again proceeded on our journey, and pitched at the village of Mourdee, distant eight miles from Maragha. About four miles from our encampment, we turned from the road to the right, to see a cave in the mountains, which had been described to us by Ahmed Khan as a great natural wonder. We travelled through the wilds of some high and stupendous mountains, until we came to a river that flows at the bottom of a deep vale. Here we dismounted from our horses, and ascended a most difficult and steep mountain, at the very summit of which was the cave. Our conductor, an Eelaut, whom our Mehmandar had forced from his road to the town, in order to be our guide, stepped up the ascent with great facility, whilst we could scarcely proceed ten yards without throwing ourselves on the ground to gasp for breath. Having reached the object of our search, we found a natural cavity, of vast dimensions, and an admirable retreat in times of anarchy, but without any trace of human workmanship about it. On the opposite mountain, we saw a flock of wild goats, and the print of a lion's paw was remarked on the banks of the river. As we returned from this fatiguing expedition, two men who belonged to some black tents, situated in the nook of the mountain, came towards us, and made a formal request to the Ambassador, that he would alight and breakfast, but being hurried to reach our stage, we were obliged to refuse their hospitality.

A river which rises in the mountain of Sahand and falls into the lake, flows by Mourdee, and is known by the name of the Mourdee chai.

The next day we reached Bilkabad, having traversed a country of slight ascents and descents, with a tendency to table land like the hills about Maragha. This region is of a considerable elevation ; and



its soil, a dark loam, is cultivated without the artificial irrigation that is necessary in the lowlands. The greatest part of the extensive district of Khalcal is cultivated in the same way, and thence proceed the abundant harvests which it yields. The Persians make a strong distinction between lands that are watered by rain and other natural causes, and those watered by dikes and canals. The former, called *deyim*, are of course, considerably more prized than the latter. Perhaps, such was the land alluded to by Moses, when he said unto the Israelites, *For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed and wateredst it with thy foot as a garden of herbs. But the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.* Deut. xi. 10, 11. The distinction that is here made between the plain and the highlands, will be very strongly felt by those who have travelled in the East, where any elevation produces an agreeable change of climate, and where the hills are a comparative paradise, to the oppressive heat of the low countries. The *watering with the foot*, has been in some degree explained by Shaw †; who states, that an Egyptian gardener conducts the water from one rill to another, and is always ready as occasion requires, to stop and divert the torrent by turning the earth against it with his foot, and opening at the same time with his mattock a new trench to receive it. This is the same in Persia as well as in Turkey, but it may also be explained by the *labour* that is necessary to watch the progress of the water through the channels, in order to give it a proper course.*

On the 1st November, we reached Chigeen, having explored a naked and uninteresting country, covered with the tents of the great tribe of Shekahgee, that is spread throughout all parts of this district; and a few miles before we descended into the vale in which our camp was pitched,

† Vol. ii. p. 267.

* Egypt was as fertile, and indeed far more so than Canaan, but the employment of the waters of the Nile, called for great attention to make it so, particularly in years when the rise of the river was not considerable.

Amur
1813 road



we had an extensive view over a country broken into small volcanic hills of arid surface, in the most distant horizon of which we discovered the snowy summits of Savalan, bearing N. 48° E.

The difference between a northern and a southern aspect, was very remarkable upon the surface of the mountain of Sahand, the one being covered with snow, from which the other was entirely free.

Our stage was to have been at Gultapeh, distant a fursung farther on, but we found that it had been lately abandoned by its inhabitants, who, following a common custom in Persia, when oppression is more severe than ordinary, departed in a body, and settled themselves elsewhere. At Chigeen we found a river called the Karangou, whose waters are reckoned the finest in Aderbigian. It flows from west to east, and falls into the Mianeh river, and then into the Kizzil Ozan. It was remarked, that we had crossed more rivers during this journey than in any of our former excursions, for each valley has its stream, upon the borders of which we constantly found great quantities of water fowl.

From Chigeen we went to Seraskend, and as we passed Gultapeh we had a fine view of Sahand, surrounded by other high lands. From this place, we struck into a succession of hills, all of an admirable soil for the culture of corn, until we reached a valley covered with villages, of which we saw five within the space of as many miles. Through this bottom ran another stream which like the Karangou flows into the Mianeh, and takes its rise in Sahand, being the fifth which we had crossed of those arising in that mountain. We here learnt, that at six fursungs from Bilkabad, is an ancient ruin called Takht Suleiman, but of what age or class we could not learn from the indefinite manner of the Persians in their description.

Seraskend is the chief place of the district of *Hasht rood*, or Eight Rivers, so called from its abundance of water; and it is said that all the eight flow into the river of Mianeh. This district was one of the finest that we had seen; rich in corn and well peopled, for villages were situated in most parts of it; the slopes of the hills were in general covered with cultivation, which was particularly remarkable in the view that opened itself to us upon our arrival at Seraskend. The government of



this part of the country is in the hands of one of the sons of Ahmed Khan of Maragha; and on reaching a village about four miles from our stage his deputy met the Ambassador, and informed us, that at a fursung from our road, from Seraskend onwards, are to be seen the ruins of a castle attributed to Zohak, (the 5th king of the Peishdadian dynasty, according to Persian history), but so high upon a perpendicular rock, that the difficulties of getting at it, which he described, deterred us from attempting to explore it.

We next pitched our tents at Khatunabad, distant four fursungs from the preceding stage. After riding four miles, we passed the village of Gulijeh, and then a knot of two or three more villages together, called Ali abad. We traversed a country similar to that of the preceding day, of rich soil and undulating hills, cultivated to their summits, and saw Sahand in a new point of view, looking immense through the haze of the morning. Khatunabad was formerly a well-peopled village, but a murder having lately been committed by one of its inhabitants, Abbas Mirza levied such heavy fines upon the whole of its inhabitants as to cause them to emigrate. On this day's march we entered the district of Germerood, which is separated to the northward and eastward from that of Serab by a long hill, which the peasants in their Turkish dialect called Buz Goush, but in good Persian is Booz Koh, the Hill of Wild Goats.

On the 4th November, we arose with a thick fog, and travelled to Bolagh, over a region which looked like a bleak northern highland. I have mentioned mists before, and in this part of Persia, they are common to the heights of mountains, though they seldom extend to the plain. The Greeks in their retreat over the Carduchian mountains, were screened by a mist from the enemy*, and the one we here experienced was similar in density, for objects were scarcely discernable at thirty yards. But at noon the sun made a powerful effect, and at length, as if by magic, the vapour cleared away and opened to our view a vast extent of mountains, intersected by immense ravines and deep

1813 m. a. d.

* Anab. lib. iv.



ARRIVAL AT MIANEH.

glens. The Coflan Koh extended itself before us, whilst the plain of Mianeh was discovered between a deep chasm in a nearer range.

We saw Bolagh at a distance, picturesquely situated on the brink of a precipice. Germerood has the reputation of being warmer than Hashtrood, but it was easy to discover without any barometer than that of our own feelings, that we had reached a great elevation, a fact that was confirmed by the rising hills over which our road was directed.

1877

On the 5th November, we gradually descended into the hot plain of Mianeh; and on the 23d, we again reached Teheran without having experienced the least bad weather since our departure from Tabriz.

(Faint, mirrored text bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including words like 'Germerood', 'Hashtrood', 'Coflan Koh', 'Bolagh', 'Mianeh', 'Teheran', 'Tabriz', 'November', '23d', '5th', 'road', 'hills', 'chasm', 'range', 'barometer', 'feelings', 'elevation', 'descended', 'hot plain', 'experienced', 'departure', 'weather', 'reached', 'distance', 'picturesquely', 'situated', 'brink', 'precipice', 'reputation', 'warmer', 'discover', 'without', 'any', 'fact', 'confirmed', 'rising', 'hills', 'directed', 'gradually', 'descended', 'hot plain', 'reached', 'Teheran', 'without', 'having', 'experienced', 'least', 'bad', 'weather', 'since', 'our', 'departure', 'from', 'Tabriz'.)

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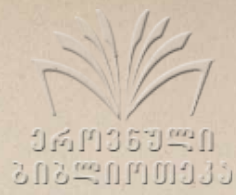


CHAPTER XX.

THE King of Persia's Ambassador returned to Teheran a short time after the English Embassy, and was himself the bearer of the preliminary treaty, which he had concluded with the Russians. The treaty was drawn up after the usual form, with as little of oriental imagery and embellishment as the idiom of the Persian language would admit. In the preamble, where the ranks of the respective Plenipotentiaries are specified, General de Rtischeff on the part of Russia, in addition to his character of Commander in Chief in Georgia, was designated as knight of many orders, all of which, notwithstanding the difficulty of making such details perfectly intelligible in the Persian language, were inserted at full length. The Persian Plenipotentiary, however, having no orders of knighthood, his titles in consequence appeared less than those of the Russian (although every advantage had been taken of those usually so liberally bestowed in Persia), and he at first was at a loss how to make himself equal in personal distinctions to the other negotiator; but recollecting that previous to his departure, his Sovereign had honoured him by a present of one of his own swords, and of a dagger set with precious stones, to wear which, is a peculiar distinction in Persia; and besides had clothed him with one of his own shawl robes, a distinction of still greater value, he therefore designated himself in the preamble of the treaty as "endowed with the special gifts of the Monarch, lord of the dagger set in jewels, of the sword adorned with jems, and of the shawl coat already worn." *

This may appear ridiculous to us, but it will be remembered that the bestowing of dresses as a mark of honour among eastern nations, is one of the most ancient customs recorded both in sacred and profane history. We may learn how great was the distinction of giving a coat already worn, by what is recorded of Jonathan's love for David:

* صاحب عطایای خاص پادشاهی از خنجر و کارد و شمشیر مرتفع واستعمال ملبوس ترمه
q q 2



“ *And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle** ;” and also in the history of Mordecai we read, “ *For the man whom the King delighteth to honour, let the royal apparel be brought which the King useth to wear†,*” &c.

By this treaty the line of boundaries between the two empires commences from the beginning of the plain of Adineh Bazar, and runs direct through the Sahara, or Desert of Moghan, to the west of Yedi-boluk on the river Araxes, and then on the uppermost northern bank of that river until its junction at the Kapanek chai at the back of the hill of Megri. From the right bank of the Kapanek chai, the boundaries of Karabagh and Nakhjuwan are marked by a line drawn on the summits of the mountains of Pembek and Aligez. The line then continues from the top of the Pembek mountains to the angle of the boundary of Shuragil, then over the snowy mountains, and passing through Aked, runs along the limits of Shuragil and between the village of Misteri, until it reaches the river Arpachai.

In order to the conclusion of a definitive treaty, it was necessary that an embassy should be sent to the Emperor of Russia, and Mirza Abul Hassan Khan being again appointed to represent His Persian Majesty, was accordingly nominated Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at that Court. By his agreeable and conciliating manner, as well as by the knowledge which he had acquired of European customs during his mission to England, he had obtained the goodwill of the Russians in Georgia ; and this circumstance, which had great weight in the election made of him, was at the same time a pledge of the Shah’s desire to make his friendship acceptable to the Emperor.

Great preparations were made to give this embassy an imposing effect. The Ambassador was furnished with a large suite of servants, with splendid clothes and rich utensils of all sorts. Presents for the Emperor were collected from all parts. Arabian horses, Abyssinian slaves, pearls from Bahrein, shawls from Cashmere, brocades and silks

* 1 Samuel, xviii. 4.

† Esther, vi. 7 and 8.



from Ispahan, constituted the principal articles, to which were added two of the King's elephants, that had been sent as presents from Herat.

The English Ambassador was requested by the King, in order to further his interests, to return to England by Russia; and as it would not have been convenient for both Ambassadors with their numerous suites, to travel together through that country, Sir Gore Ouseley departed first, and in about two months after was followed by the Persian Embassy.

It having been determined that the charge of our affairs was to be made over to me at the boundaries of the Russian and Persian territories, I accompanied His Excellency thither, and we arrived at Tabriz on the 18th of May, 1814; having terminated the business which we had to transact there, we proceeded again on the 26th in the morning.

1814 May

After we had passed the long bridge over the Agi, instead of taking the road to the left that leads to the borders of the lake and to Khoi, we followed the more northerly one to Sofian, Marand, &c. We halted at a village to the left of the road, thirteen miles from Tabriz, called Sahalan, surrounded by a great extent of corn fields. The whole of the plain as far as the lake, is composed of a soil, which being strongly impregnated with salt becomes very deep when watered.

The next morning we proceeded 12 miles to Sofian, a large village composed of about 400 houses belonging to Mirza Bozurk, and situated at the intersection of the bases of two mountains, which form one of the most conspicuous features in the lands around the plain of Tabriz. Near it is a long grove of sinjid trees, whose colour and general appearance resemble the olive. As we drew near, we were met by a party of about an hundred and fifty men, disciplined in the European manner, with English muskets and appointments, who saluted the Ambassador as he passed, and did not cease to march and drum until they had seen him fairly into his tents, when they piled their arms, and were in watch around the camp during the remainder of the day and next night.

On the 28th we reached Marand a distance of 17 miles. We tra-



velled in a narrow valley in some places very swampy, until it expanded to the pasturages, or *chemen* of Yam, in the middle of which stands a ruined caravanserai. This chemen bounded on the one side by a high mountain, on the summit of which the snow still rested, and on the other by green hills, here and there intermixed with projections of rock, is one of the summer resorts of the Prince. The fine grass which it affords, is exclusively appropriated to the use of his own cattle and his cavalry. From this we turned abruptly to the right, into the beautiful verdant plain of Marand, covered with villages, and every where richly cultivated. The Ambassador was met by Nezer Ali Khan, the Governor, followed by about an hundred well-mounted cavalry, and as we approached the town, we again went through the tedious ceremony of marching in the rear of a large body of infantry, who preceded us until we reached our encampment. These men did not ill personify soldiers, for they marched very well in files, were uniformly dressed in green cloth jackets and red facings, and appeared to keep their firelocks bright and in good order. A party of them were stationed to keep watch at our tents as before.

Marand is a large straggling village, overlooked on one side by a small hill fort. It has diminished extremely in size since the days of Chardin, for when he passed through it, it boasted of 2500 houses, now it has scarcely 500. The idle report that it is the repository of the remains of Noah's mother, led us to the spot, where we found two ignorant Mollahs, who took us to the corner of a mosque and told us, that tradition had pointed that out as the place, but upon what grounds or pretensions they were not able to inform us. They then shewed us a very large building, which from the extreme solidity of its structure appeared the work of an age much more flourishing than the present. It has several domes, and each separate dome rests upon square pilasters of immense magnitude. In one of its recesses is an ornamented front, looking more like the altar-piece of a Christian church, than any thing Mahomedan, and this would corroborate one of the tales attached to the building, viz. that it originally was an Armenian place of worship.



We proceeded the next day on the skirts of the plain to Khoshk Serai, a pretty village situated at the termination of the slope of mountains, and overlooked by a remarkable rock, of a conical shape, distinct from the surrounding lands, and very much resembling the Sugar-loaf mountain at the entrance of Rio di Janeiro, in the Brazils. This rock the natives call *Ketch calehsi*, or the Mountain of Goats, because it is said that none but goats can climb it.

On the 30th, nearly on the same direction we pitched in the bosom of the mountains at Zenjireh, a village presenting itself beautifully amongst rocky highlands of the most picturesque forms. Indeed the mountains here did not wear that volcanic and barren appearance which they do almost throughout Persia. They were green to the very summits, and some heavy showers that had fallen in the night, had given them an appearance of freshness, doubly beautiful when relieved by an occasional mass of rock, or a broad stratum of red earth.

This village which is surrounded by high mountains is said to be very sultry, but we were fortunate enough to find it otherwise, for during the whole of the day the air was refreshed by constant showers, whilst thunder was resounding through all the adjacent vallies.

We left the plain on the 31st, and wound through wild and rude mountains to the village of Valdian, the situation of which was perfectly beautiful. At six miles and three quarters by the perambulator, from Zenjireh, we got a view of Mount Ararat, which then bore from us by compass N. 28° W. and a back view of the conical hill of Ketch caleshi, gave me a long line of bearing, highly useful in the construction of my map. Persia is very favourable to geographical observations, for it is every where furnished with prominent objects, such as the mountains of Ararat, Sahand, Savalan, Demawend, and Alwend; all of which afford good points for fixing the relative position of places.

This part of the country abounds in wild hogs, and in such numbers that the Prince lately killed eighteen in the open country in one hunting party. The peasants, for the protection of their corn and cotton-fields destroy them wherever they can, but they universally refrain from eating them. One of our servants started a large hog, (by *his* account

1814



as high as his horse), which being attacked by our dogs who had never before seen such game, soon proved his powers by laying one of them dead before him.

1844
On the 1st of June we travelled over a continuation of the mountains until we descended gradually into the vale of Khoi, which for richness of cultivation, water, pasture and population is perhaps not to be surpassed by any spot of similar extent, either in Persia or any other country. It is nearly oval, about fifteen miles in length and ten in breadth, and is surrounded by mountains, though as usual, unadorned with wood, yet beautiful in their shapes and distances. It produces great quantities of corn, besides cotton and rice. The soil is so stiff that it requires sometimes even ten pairs of buffaloes to drag the plough-share through it. When the plough is at work, two or three men according to the length of the team are seated upon the yokes, exciting their cattle by a loud song, which at a distance in the stillness of the morning was very agreeable. Their plough is an instrument of more mechanism here than in the southern parts of Persia, and furrows the earth much more effectually. The corn we observed grew thicker and better than in other parts, which doubtless proceeds in some degree from the superiority of this implement, and in some degree, from the great quantity of water with which this plain is blessed.

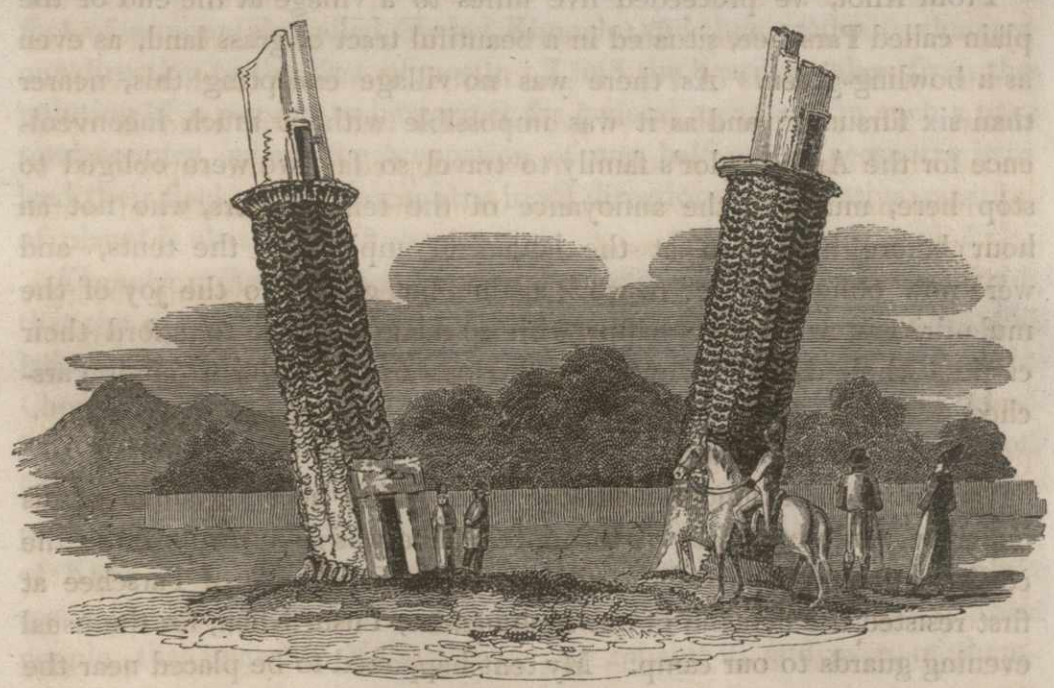
Most of the villages are peopled by Armenians. In passing through one of them we observed a board hung between sticks, placed conspicuously on the top of a house. It answers the purposes of a bell, for when beaten it emits a sound that is heard at a distance, and calls the poor folks together to prayers.

Our tents were placed near the walls of the town, and before we reached it we were again greeted by infantry dressed in red. This place is governed by Fattah Ali Khan, son of the *Reish Sefid*, or elder of the tribe of the Cajars, and under the plea of his royal connection, he excused himself from coming out to meet the Ambassador, or even from paying him the first visit. Towards the close of the evening however, he sent a tray of lettuce, two of sweetmeats, and some flowers, accompanied by fine speeches, all of which His Excellency re-

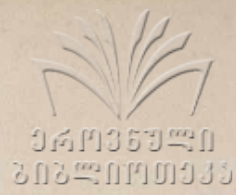
fused to receive, with appropriate strictures on his uncourteous conduct.

Attempts have been made to fortify Khoi according to rule, upon a plan drawn out by one of General Gardanne's officers. It has cost the Prince large sums of money, more from the instability of the workmanship and materials employed upon it, than from any other cause. He now has determined to complete the fortifications, and we found some hundreds of workmen employed under the direction of a young Persian, by name Mirza Bauker, who acquired a superficial knowledge of engineering, from both the French and English officers.

We rode in the evening to see two *Kelleh Minar* (pillars of skulls), which are the memorials of an extraordinary hunt of Shah Ismael, who in one day is said to have killed a multitude of wild goats, the heads and horns of which were arranged in thick lines around two pillars of brick.



Some less credulous, affirm that these heads were the produce of the sport of one year, which I think most likely; although it is allowed



that the flocks of goats and antelopes on the mountains to the northward of Khoi, are more numerous than it is easy either to count or to conceive. Both these pillars are now thrown considerably from their perpendicular, and the next strong earthquake will most likely complete their fall.

On returning, we saw an instance of the viciousness of a Persian horse, which had nigh been fatal to the rider. We were accompanied by several respectable Persians; amongst others, by two who happened both to be mounted upon vicious horses. They were riding close to each other, when the horse of the one suddenly reared, and open-mouthed darted upon the other. His rider pulling him back with all his might caused the horse to fall backwards, which so completely crushed the unfortunate man under him, that we never expected to see him rise again. He however came off with only the fracture of his collar-bone, which the surgeon of the Embassy soon set for him.

From Khoi, we proceeded five miles to a village at the end of the plain called Parschee, situated in a beautiful tract of grass land, as even as a bowling-green. As there was no village excepting this, nearer than six fursungs; and as it was impossible without much inconvenience for the Ambassador's family to travel so far, we were obliged to stop here, much to the annoyance of the tent-pitchers, who not an hour before had been at the labour of unpitching the tents, and were now obliged to set to work again; but greatly to the joy of the mule-drivers, who were happy with so little fatigue, to afford their cattle a whole day's run upon the fine pasturage which surrounds Parschee.

The Ambassador had made known to the Governor of Khoi, in language not to be misunderstood, the sense which he entertained of his incivility, and the effect of this intercourse was soon displayed in the conduct of the people of the village. The Ket Khoda of Parschee at first resisted the demand of our Mehmandar, Yusuf Khan, for the usual evening guards to our camp. My tent happened to be placed near the Mehmandar's; and whilst he kept me awake, discussing the matter with the Ket Khoda, I was enabled every now and then, from the violence of his voice and language, to collect a few of the arguments of



both parties. The Mehmandar urged the authority of the Prince, the Ket Khoda that of the Governor. "I have the Prince's firman," exclaimed the first, "which if I were to place upon a rock, that rock would dissolve into water from fear: who can say any thing against that?" "But the Governor," exclaimed the second, "has ordained otherwise." "Then," retorted the other, "the Governor *Goh Khord**;" to which he added all the common-place expressions of contempt for the whole of the Governor's family, — his father, mother, wife, daughters, &c., which are always the first effusions of a Persian in his anger. The discussion ceased by the Ket Khoda, as well as one of the Governor's servants, receiving a volley of severe blows, which instantaneously produced the guards we wanted.

The next day we went to Khanaka, distant twenty miles, within one furlong. Our road led through a mountainous tract, some parts of which were stony. We first went a little to the west of north, at the foot of a mountain called Chehel Khoneh, and then gradually changed our direction to the east of north. I find the bearings taken from the pointing of a peasant to be correct for general uses; and in such a pastoral country, where the occupation of one half of the peasantry is to lead their flocks over the country in all directions, the relative position of places is always well known.

Khanaka means a place of religious retirement, and we were told that the remains of the cell of the saint who gave the name to the village are to be seen. The principal place in the neighbourhood is Chors, situated a mile and a half from our encampment. In the evening we rode to it, attracted thither by some wonderful accounts of antiquities. Chors was the principal seat of the Armenians, when that people were flourishing in these parts, and from its fall arose the town of Khoi. Churches and other Armenian establishments are still to be seen; but so rapid has been the dispersion and degradation of this people, that none but Mahomedans now inhabit it, and even of them

* This is a vulgar and common expression among the Persians, when they would say that a blunder has been made. Perhaps the latter part of the 27th verse of the 18th chapter of the 2 Kings, may afford an explanation.



the number is but small in proportion to its extent. To the eastward of it arise two masses of white schistose rock, upon which are large remains of fortifications, much better in their construction than those of the present day, but they cannot claim any pretensions to the extravagant antiquity which the natives are inclined to ascribe to them. A flight of very good stone steps leads to a stone gate, over which is an inscription in Persian, not older than one hundred and fifty years. These masses are remarkable from their shape and from their walls, which collectively form a rude and striking outline. About their bases extends a great number of trees and cultivated fields, interspersed with mud houses of the peasantry. At Chors, and indeed at every village by which we passed, we found it the fashion for the Ket Khoda and the inhabitants to come out, stand by the road side, and make a regular donative of the village to the Ambassador, by saying, "This village is yours, and we are your slaves."

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On the 4th of June we arrived at Nazik, and were accompanied thither by the Hakim (Governor) of Chors, a man of considerable information, who among other things told us that he had studied Euclid.

Leaving Khanaka we entered upon a very fertile valley, watered by an abundant stream, called Chai Pereh, and which runs by a village of Armenians, by name Kara Ziadin. The inhabitants here also came out, to make a present of their place to the Ambassador. On the left of the road were two or three large villages. As we approached Nazik, a magnificent view opened before us, for we saw a large extent of the *Araxenii campi*, so celebrated for their fertility, through which we could trace the windings of the Araxes. A distant smoke pointed out the exact bearing of Nakhjuwan; whilst a magnificent range of snow-topped mountains filled up the view, as they took a long semicircular sweep from west to east.

These mountains, called Capan daghi, (most likely Caplan dagh, or the Mountain of the Tiger,) separate this district from Kara-bagh and Megri. A very remarkable rock or mountain is conspicuous on this side of them, called *Ilan daghi*, or the Serpent Mountain, near which the natives say that serpents annually collect in considerable numbers, and



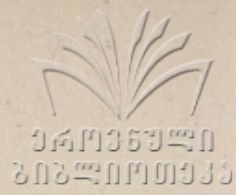
forming themselves into two armies engage in battle, and leave the field strewed with their dead.

To the northward of this mountain is Alanjek, a fort situated upon a strong natural position, which has frequently been resorted to by the natives in times of anarchy. It is mentioned in the history of Timour*, or Tamerlane, who ordered his General Mirza Mirancha to besiege it, but no mention is made of its having been taken. Probably it is the site of the ancient Olana, which, with Babyrsa, according to Strabo, were the treasure cities of Tigranes and Artabasus-†, situated near Artaxata. We also saw Ararat, but the haze would not allow me to take a distinct bearing of it. To the southward, we could discover many fine mountains; one bearing N. 69° W., covered with snow, in the district of Soker, bounds the great panorama to the westward. It is the residence of the tribe of Dumbelu, the head of which, Jafer Kúli Khan, is now a refugee with the Russians in Georgia. Another, on a bearing of S. 40° W. in the district of Kerist, forms one of the boundaries of the plain of Khoi. The range towards Marand, under the name of *Koh Nishan*, and bearing S. 24° E., was also pointed out to me.

This part of the country had not been refreshed with rain for forty days, and as ill luck would have it for us, it set in on the day of our arrival, accompanied by unceasing thunder and frequent lightning. It rained during the whole of the night, and so soaked our tents, that they were not in a fit state to be moved, and consequently, we were obliged to remain during the 5th at Nasik. In the evening, we witnessed a very curious phenomenon, the sky was overcast with tempestuous looking clouds, and we were expecting a shower, when a most awful noise was heard, like the rushing of a great body of water. Every man in the camp, almost as if by general agreement, ran towards the place whence the noise came, expecting to find a rapid torrent flowing

* Cherefeddin Ali, b. iii. c. 62. Petit de la Croix Transl.

† Οὐ πολὺ ὅ ἀπέθεν ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ Τιγράνης καὶ Ἀρταβασδοῦ γαζοφυλάκια, φέρρια ὄρεινά, Βαβυρσά τε, καὶ Ὀλανη. Lib. xi. p. 529.



through the bed of a small river adjacent to the camp. Having arrived there, we saw no water. Still the noise increased, and appeared to approach close to us : we then became really alarmed, for nothing could be more awful. Every one expected either a hurricane or an earthquake, when the falling of some very large hail stones, nearly of the size of pigeons' eggs, informed us that the commotion was over our heads ; and on looking up, we could plainly discover two violent currents of air impelling the clouds different ways, whose concussion produced the rush which had before appeared inexplicable. The rain drove from their holes many noxious reptiles that infest this part of the country, and we ourselves killed a scorpion, a tarantula, and a snake.

On the 6th we departed, and reached our tents, which had been pitched in a pasture, between Abbasabad and Nakhjuwan. We first descended gradually towards the Araxes ; and then, for some time owing to the formation of the road, kept on an almost due easterly bearing. At about three miles from Nasik, we turned to the right of the road, to see that which appeared like a castle at a distance, but which we found to be nothing but an abrupt rock. It goes by the name of the Kiz-caleh in the country, and formerly was a frontier mark of the tribe of Karagouyonlù. The name of *kiz* or virgin, *intacta*, we find is very generally applied to all places that are impregnable by their natural position.

The passage of the Araxes, was the greatest difficulty that had threatened the Ambassador and his family on their departure from Persia. The impetuosity of the river during the winter had destroyed the bridge of boats, and nothing had been left at the passage of Abbasabad, but one boat of no very commodious construction. In order to facilitate our passage, an English artificer was sent forwards some days previous to our departure from Tabriz, either to repair the bridge, or to construct a raft. He had found the former so totally broken up, that he applied himself to make a boat, which we found nearly complete on our arrival. It was flat bottomed, forty feet by twelve, with a mast at each end, to which were fastened ropes. Men were stationed on both sides of the river to veer and hawl, and when we appeared, we found

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not only an immense number of the peasantry collected to assist our passage, but also a long line of well disciplined troops, ready to salute the Ambassador at his landing. The regular fort of Abbasabad, the troops, the European boat, gave the whole an appearance so different from most Persian scenes, that we were reminded of a civilized land. The passage of our equipages and servants was going on very quietly, when on a sudden, we were surprised by a cessation of the cries of the people who were hawling at the boat, and shortly after, saw the boat about to sink, and its cargo, which was composed of horses, mules, and Persians, floundering about in the stream. One of the masts had given way, and the people who ought to have veered away the rope, having hawled it tighter, the boat was upset by a natural consequence. No lives were lost, although the poor Persians who are in general educated to fear the water, were excessively frightened as may be imagined.

The fort of Abbasabad was built by Abbas Mirza, upon a plan given to him by the French engineers under General Gardanne. It would be a strong-hold, if the building had been equal to the plan ; but by an architectural arrangement peculiar to the Persians, instead of laying the heaviest stones in the foundation, they placed them at the top, so that every year large portions of the wall fall down ; to the unceasing expence of the Prince. In the centre, stands an Armenian church, a most conspicuous object, which the Persians have converted into a magazine for gunpowder. They keep a small garrison here, and twenty guns of different calibres are mounted upon the works.

We were encamped in a pasture about two miles from Abbasabad, and six from Nakhjuwan, close upon the border of a small river that rises to the eastward about four fursungs off, and falls into the Araxes. It was not till late in the day that our baggage and horses had passed the river, so that we could not travel farther on the following morning than Nakhjuwan. Here the Ambassador was met by Kerim Khan, the Governor of the town and district, a man of great respectability, who was as attentive and polite to us, as the Governor of Khoi had been uncourteous. Nakhjuwan, containing about 2000 inhabitants, is the chief



place of a district bearing the same name, which is divided into the smaller divisions of Nakhjuwan (in which the town is situated,) Alanjek, Ourdabad, and Aligez. The revenue of this district, is at present calculated at 2000 tomauns per annum; the town itself, although long in ruins, is still on the decline, particularly since the building of Abbasabad. Both from its situation and general appearance, it bears great marks of an ancient city. It is built upon a hill, which overlooks the Araxenian plain; and enjoys a fine climate and good water. Many remains of its ancient Mahomedan grandeur are still to be seen, but we could neither find nor hear of any vestige beyond that era. An Armenian priest, with more wine than wisdom in his head, conducted us to what he called the tomb of Noah, where we saw a modern brick wall, and where he consequently had the satisfaction of being laughed at for his pains. Several curious Mahomedan buildings are to be seen in decay, most of them crowned with the picturesque nests of the stork; one of these, the most conspicuous, is an exceeding fine piece of brickwork, and is called the tomb of Atta Beg, the Vizier of the celebrated Ussun Hassan.

As we crossed the plain from Abbasabad to Nakhjuwan, we had a most splendid view of Mount Ararat. Nothing can be more beautiful than its shape, more awful than its height. All the surrounding mountains sink into insignificance when compared to it. It is perfect in all its parts, no hard rugged feature, no unnatural prominences, every thing is in harmony, and all combines to render it one of the sublimest objects in nature. Spreading originally from an immense base, the slope towards its summit is easy and gradual, until it reaches the region of snows, when it becomes more abrupt. As a foil to this stupendous work, a smaller hill rises from the same base near the original mass, similar to it in shape and proportions, and in any other situation entitled of itself to rank amongst the high mountains. No one since the flood, seems to have been on its summit, for the rapid ascent of its snowy top, would appear to render such an attempt impossible. Of this we may be certain, that no man in modern times has ascended it, for when such an adventurous and persevering traveller as Tournefort failed, it is not



likely that any of the timid, superstitious inhabitants of these countries should have succeeded. We were informed that people have reached the top of the small Ararat (or, as it is called here, *Cuchuk Agri dagh*); but as all the account which they brought back was a tale (like that told of Savalan), about a frozen man and a cold fountain, we must be permitted to disbelieve every report on the subject which we have hitherto heard from the natives.

From Nakhjuwan we travelled over a long and dreary tract to Hok, a village which is said to take its name from the quantity of wild hogs in its vicinity. This fact and the near resemblance of the words *hok* and hog for the same animal, may justify the inquiry of the philologist into the connection of the languages. No great reliance however ought to be placed on such a concurrence; for these solitary and accidental resemblances will be found in languages whose general structure is of very different kinds. This is a small white walled village, with few inhabitants, the number having been two years ago considerably lessened by the plague. At about two miles from it under the mountains are buildings, which from their resemblance to Persepolitan columns, would immediately attract the attention of an eager antiquary. They are however nothing but the remains of a Mahomedan Mosque.

From Hok we proceeded to a village called Narashin, situated in the district of Sherour. Here we entered upon the territory of Hossein Khan, the Serdar (or military Governor) of Erivan, one of the most powerful chiefs in Persia, who governs his country with nearly as much authority and independence as Abbas Mirza, or any other son of the King. His history is in every respect worthy to be recorded, as it peculiarly marks the spirit of the government of this country. He may be called the Ali Pasha of Persia. He was originally placed at Erivan, to protect the frontier against Russia, but he has so strengthened himself by the vigour of his measures and the money he has collected, that he now can bid defiance to the power of the King, and confines his submission to very little else than words and professions. He exercises the power of life and death over his people, and keeps up nearly royal state. Such a personage as



this, who had it in his power to render our stay in his territory either extremely disagreeable, or very much the contrary, was not to be treated like the generality of Persian Governors; and the mode which he adopted to inform us of his wishes and expectations was equally original and effective. In the first place he betook himself to a village about half way up Mount Ararat, and then informed the Ambassador that he had provided entertainment for himself and suite during their stay in his territory, that he intended to go out to meet him on his approach to Erivan, a piece of attention which he had never willingly paid to any other person, and that he should be treated with the greatest honour and distinction by all ranks of his people. He said that he would do this and more if possible, provided the Ambassador would accept *Sursat*, or provisions; but if not, then instead of going out to meet him, he would on the contrary go still higher up the mountain, and the Elchee might get through the country in the best way he could. Arguments such as these were irresistible, consequently the Ambassador accepted his offer, the effect of which was soon manifest, for we had not proceeded half way to Narashin, before we were met by three or four hundred ragamuffins on horseback, headed by the chief men of Sherour, who complimented the Ambassador on his arrival, and offered him in the name of the Serdar, full and complete controul over their country and the lives and properties of its inhabitants.

We made a turn to the right to avoid the rice-grounds, and having crossed the rapid stream of Arpachai, were happy to reach our tents after a hot ride.

The district or boluk of Sherour is one of the most fertile in Persia, and is particularly abundant in rice-grounds. To the westward it is bounded by a low chain of mountains, and separated from the district of Sadrek, through which there is an open pass that is seen from afar, and forms a good surveying object. It is particularly well watered by the Arpachai, a river which rises on a bearing of N. 42° E. from Narashin, from a range of snowy mountains eight fursungs distant, and which flows into the Araxes at the bottom of the plain. The Arpachai is more a mountain-torrent than a constant river. At this season when the



snows melt it is generally the deepest and the most rapid ; in the summer it is almost dry. We passed it when at the lowest, at about two hours after sunrise, and found it then half-way up the breasts of our horses.

On the 10th, instead of travelling in the middle of the plain, and passing through the gap at Sherour, which is the regular road, we kept to the right nearly at the foot of the hills ; and having passed several large and flourishing villages, reached our tents at Sadrek, a village which gives its name to the district. At a distance the houses appeared intermixed with small white tents ; but we learnt that the musquitoes are here so extremely numerous, that the inhabitants are obliged to secure themselves against their attacks, by sleeping in linen chambers, or musquito nets, which they erect on the tops of their houses between two poles. In addition to these, each village is crowded by storks, which build their nests on the tops of the highest houses and happily destroy that monotony of view which Persian villages too generally present.

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The next day, on the same direction, we reached Develú, a large village, the Ketkhoda of which was an old soldier who had served Aga Mahomed Khan in all his wars. On many of the mountains towards the Russian frontier, the Persians have placed pillars of stone to serve as scarecrows, which at a distance look like sentinels.

The following morning, the 12th, we entered upon another most extensive tract of fertile land, called Gerni, from a river of that name that flows through it. It extends between a chain of hills on one side that border the Lake of Sivan, and Mount Ararat on the other. Every acre seems to be turned to account in the cultivation of corn and rice ; and villages stand so thick, that it is difficult to go a mile without passing one. On the left of our road, near two low hills, is the monastery of Virab, built over a well, in which the Armenians say that their Saint Gregory was confined and miraculously nourished.

Our tents were pitched at the village of Ak-bash, or white-head, close to the stream of the Gerni, which takes its rise in the neighbouring mountains, and flows into the Araxes. Before we reached them, when



they were still distant about two miles, we took a rapid survey of the reputed remains of *Artaxata*, now called *Ardasht*, at one end of which is a high mound, called by the natives *Takht Tiridat*, or the throne of *Tiridates*. These remains resemble those of *Rey*, consisting of mounds of decayed mud-walls, and here and there small fragments of painted tiles and pottery. It requires a lively imagination to form from the present remains conceptions of any thing grand and magnificent; and except the antiquity of the appellation, the extent of the ruins, and a certain regularity in the general plan, there is little to distinguish them from the dilapidated cities of modern ages. A village called *Ardeshir* is situated close to the principal ruin and many more are spread about within the extent designed by the walls. It is not necessary after this to say that we did not find the thirty-six columns of black marble which *Chardin* was told existed there.

The site of these ruins does not agree with *Strabo's* account of the position of *Artaxata*.* He says that this city built by *Hannibal* for *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, and afterwards attacked by *Lucullus* †, was situated upon a peninsula formed by the *Araxes*, the walls of the town being washed by the stream, or the stream flowing around it, and serving it for a wall, for the passage is obscure and apparently defective. These ruins are distant about 10 miles from the *Araxes*, and although the courses of rivers are known to change, yet such is the nature of the country here, that it is not likely that the *Araxes* ever deviated much from its present course. A more probable position for the ancient *Artaxata* is found in a remarkable bend of the river, forming a peninsula, the neck of which is only 60 yards broad, situated about midway between the junction of the *Arpachai* river ‡ and the *Araxes*, and the fort of *Abbas abad*. Here, according to *Captain Mon-*

* Ἡ δὲ Ἀρταξάτα, πρὸς τῷ Ἀρταξηνῶν πεδίῳ, συνακτισμένη καλῶς, καὶ βασιλεῖον οὐσα τῆς χώρας· κείλαι δὲ ἐπὶ χερβρονσιάζοντος ἀγκῶνος τὸ τεῖχος κύκλῳ προβεβλημένον τὸν ποταμὸν πλὴν τῷ ἰσθμῷ· τὸν ἰσθμὸν δὲ ἔχει τάφρον καὶ χάρακι κεκλεισμένον.—*Lib. xi. p. 529.*

† *Plutarch, Vit. Luculli.*

‡ This *Arpachai* must not be confounded with the river of that name, the ancient *Harpasus*, that falls into the *Araxes* near *Hajee Bairamlú*.



teith, to whom I am indebted for this information, are the remains of a bridge over the Araxes ; the ground appears to have been overflowed, and a large mound of earth is to be seen, which may perhaps have been formed by buildings. This (in addition to its resemblance to Strabo's account of Artaxata,) corresponds in the three circumstances of the swamp, the mound, and the bridge, with the account which Moses of Chorene gives of Artaxata. *Profectus Artaxes cum in locum ubi Erasches flumen, et magna palus inter se conjunguntur, et situ collis delectatus, urbem ibi condit, atque ab nomine suo Artaxata appellat.* * In speaking of Artavazdes, son of Artases, we learn that there was a bridge at Artaxata, *dum Artaxata urbis pontem transiret.* †

* Lib. ii. cap. 46.

† Lib. ii. cap. 58.



In a journal which I have been obliged to consult for the purpose of ascertaining the route of the Serdar's march, I find a bridge over the Araxes; the ground appears to have been levelled, and a large island of earth is to be seen, which may perhaps have been a station of some kind.

CHAPTER XXI.

EVERY step of the way from the day of our entrance upon the Serdar's territory had been marked by his attentions, and on arriving at Erivan he put forth the whole of his endeavours to welcome and honour his guests. We set off very early on the 13th in order to escape if possible the *Istakball*; but we were not so fortunate, for the morning had scarcely begun to dawn before large parties of horsemen appeared, headed by different chiefs, who made their obeisance to the Ambassador. Among the most remarkable was a large body of Courds, whose extraordinary dress and appearance, so different from that of the Persians, gave a novelty to the scene, that was extremely amusing. Their habits, their arms, the accoutrements of their horses, and general appearance resembled that of the Turks, but they have a wildness and ferociousness of air, which is highly characteristic of their wandering life. The Serdar has a large body of them in his pay. Their chief Hossein Aga was a stately dignified man, riding upon a beautiful white horse, and dressed in a large cloak of crimson cloth thrown loosely about him in the finest folds.

The contrast between the Courds and the Persians, taken separately or in a body, was highly in favour of the former. The lively colours of their dresses, composed of cloth, silks, and velvets, far surpass the sombre hues of the Persian cotton and sheep skins. The Courds amused us with a representation of their mode of warfare, galloping before us in large masses, shaking their spears, firing their pistols, and making loud shouts, which fully came up to our ideas of their barbarous encounters.

On approaching the town, we perceived the Serdar making his way towards us, surrounded by an immense host of attendants. He advanced three hundred paces from a tent placed on the occasion, at



which spot it was managed that he should meet the Ambassador, and thence they both proceeded with all possible ceremony to the tent, where as usual we smoked, drank coffee, and eat sweetmeats. During the short time we were seated there, we had an instance of the barbarity of these wild men. They were playing as usual, throwing sticks and firing pistols at each other, when a quarrel arose between a Court and a Persian, which led to a general fray, when two men were killed. We were told that these games seldom terminate without a similar catastrophe.

We staid the following day at Erivan, but the heat was so great that we had but little opportunity of seeing it. It consists of an unwalled town and a fortress. Both are situated in a hollow, bordered by a succession of hills, beautifully cultivated with orchards and corn fields. The town is dirty and straggling. The fort has the reputation of being the strongest in Persia, and the failure of the Russians some years ago to take it by storm, has increased its fame an hundred fold, so much so, that the Serdar talking about it, said very gravely, "If three or four of the Kings of Fireng (Europe) were to unite to take this castle, they might just take the trouble of going back again, for their labour would be in vain." It stands on one side of an immense precipice of almost perpendicular rock, at the bottom of which flows the river Zengui, and on the other side it is surrounded by a dry ditch, over which are temporary bridges. It has a double range of mud walls, and round towers, which could not stand three hours' good battering. The interior of the fort is in great measure composed of ruined houses. An exceedingly good mosque, built by the Turks, of brick and stone, and crowned with cupolas covered with lead, stands conspicuous in the centre. It is now only used by way of a storehouse. Not far from it is a place where the Serdar casts and bores guns and makes shot. His palace is also within the fort, and has all the appearance of having once been a fine and substantial building. Its chief apartment opens upon the precipice of the river, and commands a very beautiful view, with the Zengui running close under it. It is from the window of



this apartment that the Serdar amuses himself by trying his skill with a gun, and shooting with ball the asses of the peasants who happen to be going along the road on the other side of the river.

The palace occupies nearly one half of the side of the castle towards the river, and the women's apartments, the windows of which are screened with lattice work, look immediately upon the precipice. During the war with Russia, an occurrence took place, which would form a very good foundation for a romance. In one of the predatory excursions into Georgia, the Serdar made prisoner and placed in his harem, a young Georgian maid, who had been betrothed, and was on the point of marriage to a fine youth; the youth followed his mistress to Erivan, and having made known his arrival to her, they managed to escape for a short distance, but their steps were traced, and they were brought back. The lover was ordered to leave Erivan, and as he was going over the bridge of the Zengui, which flows at the bottom of the precipice, his mistress spied him, and threw herself down from the immense height, determining either to join him, or to die in the attempt. Her fall was broken by the intervention of two willows, and she was taken up much bruised, but not very dangerously hurt. It must be told to the honour of the Serdar, that he did not carry his tyranny further, but restored the couple to each other, gave them their liberty, and protection to return to their homes.

We passed the day of our detention at Erivan, in company of the Serdar, who gave the Ambassador an entertainment in the large open hall of his palace. His conversation was very agreeable, and he was very communicative upon all subjects. The territory under his command is about 140 miles in length, and 80 in breadth. According to a *سوم* *súm* or estimation made by Hassan Khan, the Serdar's brother, who was sent for the purpose of taking an account of the inhabitants of each village: the population then consisted of 18,700 males from the years of 15 to 50, which multiplied by four, for women, children, and old men, will give a total of 74,800 souls. In these are included all the Eelaut tribes, except the Courds, who being a distinct and casual class of popu-



lation, are numbered separately. Of these at present under the government of Erivan, are 5000 families, making altogether, with the 74,800, 100,000 people.

The Serdar holds his appointment from the King, for which he paid a very large sum. He possesses the most absolute sway in his government, and having the power of life and death in his hands, punishes offenders in the most summary manner. Indeed, the power which he exercises is little inferior to that of the King and the Princes. Some instances are related, in which he exerts a power from which the King has refrained; for he has been known so much to disregard the Mussulman clergy of Erivan, as to beat their priests, and to treat them with the greatest violence.

We were informed that the revenues of his government are reckoned at about 180,000 tomauns, or 135,000*l.* *; a sum which, by extortion, and the ways and means peculiar to Persia, is much above that which by right he ought to receive.

The *regular* revenue of Erivan and its dependent territory, is 100,000 tomauns, which he has increased to 150,000. Some of the districts are farmed at a stated sum; of others, he himself collects the revenue. The district of Sherour he lets for 40,000 tomauns, every thing over and above which, goes to the farmer, who, it is said, makes 4000 tomauns by his agreement.

* They are said to be as follows:

150,000	tomauns.	<i>Maliat, Sader,</i> &c. taxes on land, &c.
12,000	——	Customs on imports.
6000	——	<i>Ijareh,</i> or rent of the salt works of Kolpi.
6000	——	Gratuity from the Persian Government for extraordinary expenses.
600	——	Pay as Serdar, from the King.
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174,600		

The remainder, to make up the 180,000, is received in presents, and in the numerous *tours de bâton*, so well understood by a Persian Governor.



All payments are made in kind, except from those districts which are farmed for money. The Serdar takes one-fifth of the produce of cotton, rice and millet, and one-tenth of corn ; the remainder goes to the cultivator, who finds his own seed, cattle, implements, and water. The seed he advances at sowing time, but takes it back at harvest. Rivers are so abundant in the territory of Erivan, that irrigation is comparatively a small expense. The Zengui, the Arpachai near Sherour, the Gerni, the Ashtarek River, are all most convenient for irrigation, but the depth of the bed in which the Araxes flows, renders its waters un-serviceable to the cultivator. A few water wheels would remedy this defect, but that useful piece of machinery, though it goes by the name of the Persian wheel, is scarcely known here.

The Serdar treats his Armenian peasantry with peculiar hardship, for from them, he takes one-third of the produce, leaving them all the expenses of cultivation. Those of the Eelauts, who cultivate the ground, are treated like the other peasantry, but they whose property consists only in cattle, are taxed upon each head of cattle. They pay nothing for the right of pasturage, although their walks are regulated by his orders.

Besides these sources of revenue, he himself trades with his own stock to a very large amount. He monopolizes all the cotton of Erivan, which he sends to Georgia ; and in return he imports *Yapunchéhs*, the common cloak of Georgia, which is generally used throughout the north of Persia.

Those who interfere with his trade are sure to suffer most severely ; yet his rapacity is not always successful, as a story related to us on the spot may prove. During the cessation of arms with the Russians, he prohibited by the orders of his court, but much against his own will, all the *chappows* or predatory excursions, to which his troops were accustomed. But having heard of a large caravan richly laden, that was travelling from Teflis, he called some of his soldiers about him, and said, " You know that we are strictly ordered to abstain from chappow on the " Russian territory, and a caravan is now on its road from Teflis : " the



hint was sufficient, and they immediately departed to see what might be done. A few days after, the Serdar's travelling merchant arrived in the greatest distress, saying, that as he was proceeding with the caravan from Teflis with great quantities of rich goods for the Serdar's service, he had been plundered of every thing by a band of ruffians who had assailed the caravan. The Serdar had in fact robbed himself. His own goods under the care of the merchant had become the prey of his soldiers, and with every inclination to punish them he was obliged for his own credit to overlook the offence.

On the 15th, we pitched our camp at Utch Klisseh, or the three churches, as it is called in Turkish, although there are four in number. The principal church is called by the Armenians *Etchmiatzin*, which one of the monks explained to us as "the descent of the only begotten son;" a name so given because they believe that Jesus Christ here appeared to St. Gregory, who was the first Armenian patriarch.

As we approached the place, the Ambassador was met by the Patriarch, who headed a long procession of fat and rosy monks, all dressed in black, and black hoods, making an exhibition completely novel to us. The Patriarch's state consisted of three led horses, covered with velvet housings, embroidered in gold *à la Turque*; of three *Shatirs* or running footmen; of a man bearing a flag; of a monk carrying a long silver-mounted stick; and of a small crowd of hooded servants. He exhibited a fine florid face, that wore all the marks of good living; and there was a frankness and benignity of expression about it which was prepossessing. His manners and general appearance were those of a perfect gentleman; and this was not to be wondered at, for he was a great traveller, and had long frequented the court of Russia, where he was held in high estimation. Of this, indeed, he exhibited a proof; for one of the first things that struck us in his appearance was a large star of the Russian order of St. Anne, with which he had been decorated by the Emperor, and which now glittered on his purple robe.

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As we approached his church, long rows of bishops, priests, deacons, and chaunters, were prepared for the procession to pass through; and then they set themselves in motion, with their flags, crucifixes, large candles, and all their superb dresses, singing à gorge-deployé, parts of their service which we could not understand. The church was then opened, and we all entered *en masse*. The Ambassador and Patriarch, women and children, Armenians and Englishmen, Turks and Persians, all jostling one another; whilst the bells commenced a dreadful din, and the priests and chaunters continued their chorus as before. A short service was sung; when the Patriarch with a golden cross in his hand, waved it at the Ambassador and his party, and gave us his benediction.

Then with great ceremony they exhibited before us some of the most precious relicks belonging to the church. The first and principal one was said to be the head of the very spear with which the Roman soldier pierced the side of our Saviour. As soon as it was brought forth and laid on the altar, all the Armenians made a profound inclination of the head. Its shape was thus, about a foot in length. This relick, which is looked upon now as the first in their possession, and which is said, besides



other miracles, to have the power of stopping the progress of the plague, appears to be a new acquisition, for it is not mentioned amongst those which Chardin saw.* The arm of St. Gregory, and the scalp of St. Repsime, are still there, but so incased in gold and ornaments, that neither of them can be distinctly seen. The description, in other respects, which Chardin has given of this church, is in most cases applicable to its present state. It is built of excellent materials, and in a most solid manner; and nothing, except an earthquake or a bombardment, is likely to bring it to the ground.

The Patriarch made great efforts to keep the Ambassador one day more; but the heat was so intolerable, and we longed so much to get into the mountains, that we begged to be excused. Accordingly, the next morning we went to a large Armenian village, called Ashtarek, situated on the borders of a considerable river, which, running through a very deep channel of rock, winds through the plain, and at length falls into the Araxes. Ashtarek bears all the marks of having been a place of

* It formerly was kept in the church of Keghort, built, as it is said, on purpose for its reception; but being abandoned, the spearhead was removed to Etchmiatzin.—See Tavernier's Travels.

consequence, for it possesses some buildings now entire, and others in ruins, which would do honour to the most civilised countries. There is a stone bridge over the river, the masonry and architecture of which are excellent. A ruined church, also built of excellent materials, and of a most finished workmanship, stands conspicuous on a height; and at a small distance is a burial-place, some of the tombs of which denote proprietors of consideration. This part of the country is studded with churches and monasteries, of different sizes and denominations, all built of stone, and almost all upon one plan. They are placed upon



conspicuous heights, and are intended to attract the devotion of passengers from afar. Most of them are now neglected and in ruin; and to judge by the inscriptions that we saw upon one or two, none are of greater antiquity than seven or eight hundred years. These inscriptions consist generally of the names of the founders of the churches: for in Armenia, as in some other countries, the erection and endowment of a place of worship is an apology for a whole life full of sins.

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On the 17th we commenced our ascent from the hot region of the plain into the mountains. We had been apprized long before of the difference of climate we were to expect, and we were not disappointed. Our rise was gradual; yet every step we made up the slope of a

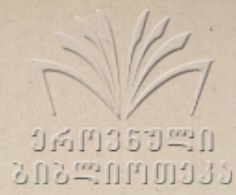


mountain, green to its very summit, informed us of the corresponding change. Our tents were pitched upon a most beautiful and rich, though elevated pasturage, in the neighbourhood of numerous black tents of the wandering tribes, which at this season flock to this delightful region. The river of Ashtarek flowed close by us, in the same deep rocky bed ; whilst, as far as the eye could reach over mountains and vallies that surrounded us, all was one continued carpet of verdure. This height is called *Aberan**, I suppose from the circumstance of its being generally obscured by clouds. To the southward and eastward is the verdant mountain of *Aligez*, at the present season covered with snow, and remarkable from its being crowned by two peaks, not unlike the mountain of the Asses' Ears in the Persian Gulf. In the east appears a long range of high mountains, that border the lake of *Sivan*, some parts of which are covered with snow. *Aberan*, during the three severest months of the winter, owing to its intense cold and to the depth of the snow, is impassable. It is the favourite *Yeylák*, or cold residence, of the Courds and other wanderers ; and they are seen in every part of it, their black tents from afar appearing conspicuous on the green, surrounded by their numerous flocks of sheep and goats.

To give an idea of the difference of climate between *Ashtarek* and our encampment at *Aberan*, it will be sufficient to say, that at the former place the thermometer, in the hottest part of the day stood at 95°, and at the latter at 77°.

The next day after having crossed the *Ashtarek* river, about three miles from the encampment, we were met by a party of Cossaks headed by a Russian officer, and at two miles from the next stage, we crossed a small river, which is the boundary between the Russian and Persian territories. Close on the borders of this stream was a body of Russian infantry, drawn up in line, with a gun on one of its flanks. After all the necessary compliments of saluting, &c. had taken place, we pro-

* *aber*, in Persian, cloud.



ceeded to our camp, and from this time forwards the Ambassador was in the Russian possessions.

It is unnecessary to particularize the topography of each following stage, because as far as Kara Klisseh, which is the chief military post of the Russians on this frontier, we saw only the traces of habitations, the whole having been kept a complete desert, by the desultory sort of warfare which for the last fifteen years has been carried on between the two nations. Even the grass confirmed this, for it was occasionally strewed with human bones, and the bones of horses.

From the encampment of Aberan, we went to a spot in the mountains called Gavmishlú, from a village which once existed of that name. From Gavmishlú we pitched our tents near Hamamlú, a village still possessing a few habitations, and famous for being the scene of one of Abbas Mirza's defeats. Here we saw a small tract of cultivated ground. The next day we encamped near Kara Klisseh, and this was the termination of my excursion with the Ambassador.

As far as Hamamlú, the country was hill and dale, and the whole one continued coat of verdure. From Hamamlú it begun to be wooded, and to our eyes, which had been accustomed to nothing but the arid, hard-featured rocky hills and mountains of Persia, nothing could be more delightful and refreshing. We followed the stream of the Pambek, beautifully wooded on each side, and presenting some of the sweetest landscapes that the imagination can conceive. Previous to reaching our camp, the Ambassador had been met by the Colonel Commandant of this district residing at Kara Klisseh, and a large body of officers, all with European faces, and when a band of music struck up a lively air, away went Persia and her barbarities, and we all appeared restored to our right places again.

Kara Klisseh is most romantically situated in a deep dale, formed by the bases of high hills, which, covered with wood to their very summit, entrench it on every side. The Pambeki river, that runs close by it, and at length flows into the Kur, enlivens the whole of its landscape. It is the chief place in the district of Pambek, and the Russians gene-



rally keep here a force of about two thousand men, with artillery in proportion. On an eminence is an old Armenian church, where a few monks perform divine service. The town is unprotected by walls, but the Russians have constructed a fortress of palisades, upon which they have about twenty guns mounted, and which makes an impregnable defence against such enemies as they have to contend with. The houses of Kara Klisseh, as well as those of all the villages in this part of the country, are built under ground, which gives them a barbarous appearance, more wretched if possible than the mud-houses of Persia; but they seem to be the best protection against the snows and cold of this elevated region. The Russian officers at Kara Klisseh, construct for themselves temporary houses of wood, which are very commodious, and reminded me much of the post-masters' houses that I have seen in Hungary and Transylvania.

Here, for the first time since we landed in Persia, we saw swine; large herds of which are led to feed on the hills. So completely ignorant are the original Persians of this animal, that a native of Tabriz, (one of our servants,) on seeing them, exclaimed, "See what sheep they have in this country!"



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CHAPTER XXII.

I QUITTED the Ambassador at Kara Klisseh; and having passed the next day (the 22d) with Colonel Pestel, who, in the absence of General Lissanowitch, was commandant of the district, we returned to the pastures of Aberan on the 23d, by taking a short cut over a high range of mountains, some parts of which were still covered with snow.

The Ambassador having taken the greater part of the public servants with him to Teflis, I remained encamped at Aberan until their return. During the first part of my stay, my tent was pitched near a ruined Armenian church, in the vicinity of a river, (the same that flows by Ashtarek,) and in the neighbourhood of the Serdar's artillery-men, who kept guard at my tent during night. Some days after my arrival, the Serdar came from Erivan, and fixed himself near the foot of the mountain of Aligez, whither he invited me to follow him. He first paid me a visit, on his return from determining the spot where his camp was to be situated; and, according to the fashion of the country, brought his own breakfast with him, which consisted of large pots full of boiled rice, and some stews of meat ready dressed. When he was well settled in his camp, I changed the position of ours, to a pasture about half a mile from his; and, excepting a dinner or two which he gave us, nothing passed to relieve the wearisome monotony of our pastoral life.

We became acquainted with Hossein Aga, the chief of a great Courdish tribe, who with several of his relations frequently visited our camp. The countenances of these men were so originally ferocious, being blended with caricature, that I endeavoured to sketch the portraits of three of the most remarkable. The man with a spear in his hand was connected with the Serdar by marriage, and was called *Okous*, bull, on account of his great strength.

I must not, however, omit to mention one incident, which is highly characteristic of the tastes and amusements of the Persians. The day the Serdar visited me, he pointed to the two snowy peaks of Aligez,



COURDISH CHIEFS.



and said, "I know you are fond of cold weather; we will all go up yonder one of these days, sit upon the snow, and eat *kabob*."* Accordingly we fixed a day; and about eight o'clock in the morning we mounted our horses, and having joined the Serdar, who was surrounded by a numerous train of his attendants, we proceeded up the mountain. The Serdar's huntsmen, with hawks and dogs, were on each side of us, beating the country for game; whilst a singing man, whom the Serdar entertains purposely to amuse himself and his friends, was opening his whole throat upon us as we rode along.

We first struck into a deep valley, profusely covered with coarse weeds and herbage, and through which flowed a stream, formed by the melting snow. We had scarcely got half way up this valley, when we were overtaken by a most violent shower; and we should all have been drenched to the skin, if we had not most opportunely reached at the time an encampment of Courds, at one of whose tents we immediately alighted. An old man with a white beard, chief of the encampment, immediately ran to the Serdar, kissed his hands and his sleeve fifty times over; and exclaimed, "I am your slave; my tents, my cattle, every thing that I have is yours." The Serdar, who did not seem backward in accepting his gift, ordered his men to get two lambs for the promised kabob, and requested the old man's son to take them up to the snow for us. The old man again, with apparent sincerity, repeated the assurances of his entire devotion, and ordered his son to proceed up the mountain with the lambs. "How long," says the Serdar, "have you been here?" "I?" replied the old Courd; "why, I, my father, my grandfather, and all my ancestry, know no spots but these; it is here we have always fed our cattle." "And are ye not afraid?"—"Afraid of what, as long as we have the Serdar for our protector?" "What sort of wives have you got there?" "They are good enough," said the old man: "I got one of them some time ago, with some mares, from the Courdistan."

The weather having cleared up, we proceeded to our destination, which

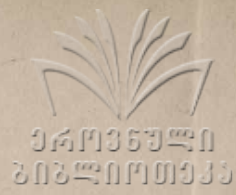
* Roast meat.



was a large patch of snow, close to the foot of a fine cascade that fell from a rock about sixty feet in height. On this snow, we spread carpets and erected a tent. We scrambled up with the old Serdar close to the foot of the cascade, where it really was extremely cold. "This is just the place," said he, "for drinking wine," and invited us to drink some, swearing at the same time, that if he had not promised the Shah Zadeh* to leave it off, he would join us with all his heart. We then wrapt ourselves up in all the warm clothes which we could get, and seated ourselves upon the carpets, while his servants prepared the kabob. The Serdar in the mean time got impatient, "Come," said he, "I think we may as well be doing something; bring the lamb hither, we will cut it up and roast it ourselves." When all was ready, he ordered his singing man, an old fellow about sixty, to sit near us; and whilst we eat, this personage sang. Part of the entertainment consisted of an immense cauldron of *aub-dough*, a species of butter-milk, of which the Persians drink most plentifully at this season of the year. It is, indeed, a most cooling and refreshing drink. This entertainment was completely to the taste of the Persians, who are enchanted with a roving, unsettled state of existence. Their happy days are past in a camp, with their horses grazing about them, and their happiest when they are climbing their rocky mountains in search of game.

Besides the visit to Aligez, there was only one incident during my stay at Aberan, which deserves to be recorded: it was a visit to the Armenian patriarch at Etchmiatzin. My principal object in this excursion was to inspect the library of the monastery, where I heard that treasures of literature lay buried, which no stranger had yet explored. Accompanied by the surgeon of the Embassy, I descended into the hot plain, and came unawares upon the good old Patriarch, who appeared much pleased at our visit, and insisted upon giving us his own room to live in. Here we were almost devoured by the musquitoes, who tired of their fat but constant food, the patriarch and his monks, fed most ravenously upon us, just fresh from the pastures of the cold moun-

* The son of the King.



tains. I found no difficulty in gaining the Patriarch's permission to inspect the library. As for himself he seemed completely ignorant of its contents, and all that he knew about the books, was, that formerly there were a great many more. He conducted me to it himself through a dark narrow passage, contiguous to his own apartment. The books were ranged in thick rows along the sides of a small dark chamber, abundantly covered with dust, and apparently not much disturbed by their present possessors. I asked in vain for a catalogue; the majority of their books were treatises on religion, lives of saints, and copies of the Evangelists. As a scarce book, they produced to me an old volume of Pope's Homer. They had several Armenian manuscripts of the gospel, but none worthy of remark. It was difficult, from the extreme ignorance and indifference of my guides, to extract the smallest information about the books, how, when, and by whom collected, and what were their particular subjects. It is more than probable, that the library contains nothing valuable to any but Armenian priests; and from the specimen of that class which I had before me, it appeared to be a matter of little consequence, whether the books existed, or whether they were sent to light the baths of the Mussulmans.

[The day we remained with the Patriarch, we had an instance of the extent of Armenian superstition. I have already said, they hold it for certain, that the head of the sacred spear which is kept as a relick in the church, has amongst its many virtues the power of stopping the progress of the plague. This terrible disorder had broken out with violence at Teflis, and was making great havock amongst the inhabitants. A deputation was in consequence sent to the Patriarch, requesting the loan of the spear head, in order that the evil might meet with a speedy termination. We happened to be present when the deputation arrived. The Patriarch received it in great form, and long consultations were held, whether the sacred instrument should be permitted to go out of the walls of Etchmiatzin or not. At length it was determined that it should proceed to perform its holy office, and after a multitude of ceremonies, such as chauntings, prostrations, kissings, and ringing of bells, it was delivered over to the deputation, who forthwith returned to Teflis. We afterwards learnt, that it was most devoutly be-



lieved by some at Teflis, that as soon as the spear head had entered the city through one gate, the plague in the shape of a cow with a human head had darted out through another, and that then the disorder instantly ceased.

We had promised the Patriarch to remain the following day with him; but when we went to bed we knew not the nature of the night's entertainment preparing for us. Wrapt up under the protection of musquito nets, which yet left us exposed to the constant buz of the insects around us, we had just managed to fall asleep, when at about midnight all the bells of the church (not fifty yards from our ears) began ringing, to which was added, a chorus of all the monks. As we were accustomed to the quiet and solitude of the mountains, these strange sounds astonished us all. In vain we expected that their zeal would soon be expended; the din continued without intermission till the break of the morning, when, unable to sleep, we softly got up, stole down to our horses, had them saddled, and long before the good old Chief of the Armenian church could have been aware of what had happened, we were half way to our tents.

A day or two after, by way of apology, he sent me a superb letter, gilded and ornamented, to accompany a small tin box full of what he was pleased to call antiquities, in the pursuit of which, he had heard that all Englishmen were mad. These consisted of 1st, a figure riding on a fish, cut upon coral, which he was pleased to call the portrait of one of the ancient kings of Armenia, Samson by name; which however happened to be a Neptune. 2d, A snuff-box of composition stone, mounted with gold rims and hinges, worth about ten shillings, and about as old as his Eminency himself. 3d, Three Sassanian coins, and one large silver Spanish dollar, well worn down in the pocket of some Armenian priest. Of course my acknowledgments were equal to the value of the present, and we were all great friends again.

During our stay at Aberan, a drove of two hundred dromedaries arrived from Circassia, for sale. They were exhibited by their owners, who were Circassians, to the Serdar, who bought several. Their forms were slender, and their double humps instead of remaining erect, flapped down, being as it seemed composed of a fleshy substance.



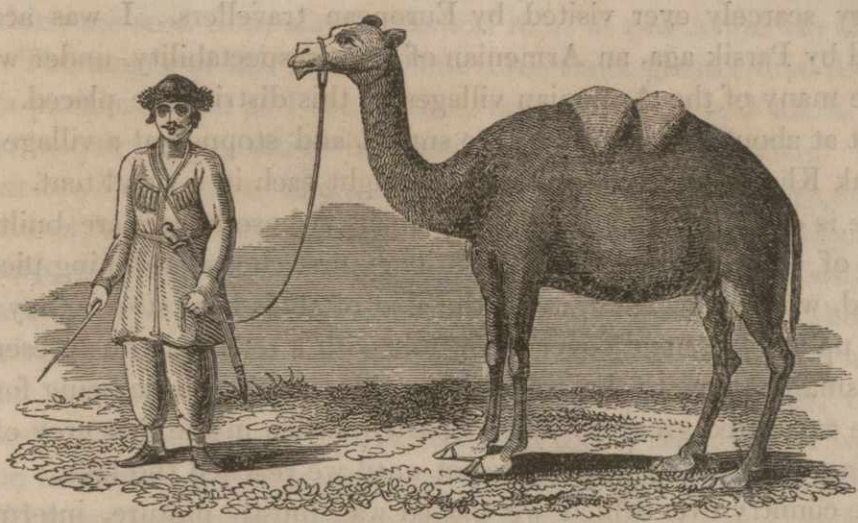
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James Morier del.

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MOUNT ARARAT and the PLAIN of ERIVAN from the VILLAGE of KINAKIN.



On the 21st July, the servants and equipages arrived from Teflis, and after having made them perform a quarantine, they were admitted to pratique; two days after we proceeded towards Tabriz, by making the first stage at Kinakir, a village on the heights, about three miles from Erivan. The morning of our arrival, I was greeted with the appearance of a Tatar from Constantinople, who brought me intelligence, that Mr. Ellis, invested with a special mission to the King of Persia, would follow him in a few days. I determined therefore not to proceed farther on my journey for the present, and accordingly fixed on a more elevated spot for the camp, and finally settled myself there. Full in front of my tent Ararat reared its hoary head, and with the extent of its immense base, filled up the whole side of the panorama to the southward. In the fore-ground of the intervening distance, between the camp and the base, was the village of Kinakir with its church, and the hills over it, and then the rich campagna of Erivan enlivened by the windings of the Zengui and Araxes. To the northward and westward were the mountains of Aligez and Karniarekh, which furnished us with an almost unceasing supply of clouds, wind, and rain, during the whole of our stay.

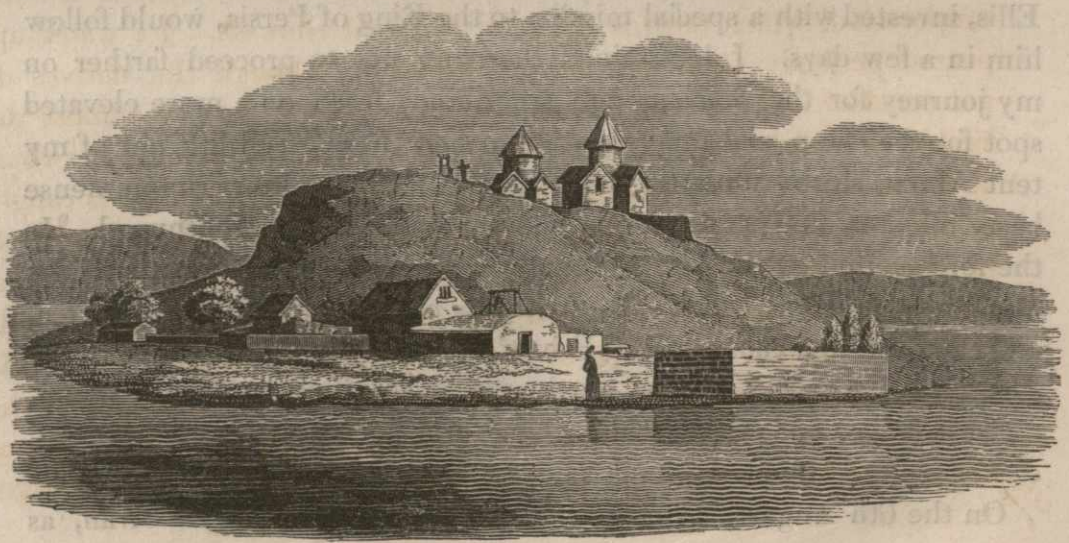
On the 6th August, I made an excursion to the lake of Sivan, as

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much to ascertain its geographical position, as to see a part of the country scarcely ever visited by European travellers. I was accompanied by Parsik aga, an Armenian of great respectability, under whose charge many of the Armenian villages of this district are placed. We set out at about three hours before sunset, and stopped at a village called Guk Klisseh, where we passed the night each in a small tent. This village is entirely composed of Armenians, whose houses are built like those of Georgia, under ground. They first choose a sloping piece of ground, where they excavate to the size of their habitation; they then build up a front, and cover the whole with a terrace; thus presenting but a small surface to the cold, three sides of the house being formed by the excavated ground. We departed hence in the first grey of the morning, and saw no inhabited spot until we reached the lake.

The country over which we passed was mostly pasture, intermixed with tracts of rock. It was similar in height to Aberan, to the level of which we concluded, by the coolness of the weather, that we had reached. The mountain of Karniarekh was on our left, whilst hills were close on our right. The lake did not present itself until we were within two or three miles of it. It is surrounded by wild mountains, and cheered by no habitations. Its most striking feature is a





small island situated on its northermost end, and upon the summit of which are seen from afar the conical roofs of two Armenian churches.

The length of this lake is about three times greater than its breadth : its position, as far as I could learn, is nearly north and south. I could not acquire any positive information of its circumference. My companion, Parsik Aga, told me that he had been three days making the tour of it, travelling moderate stages ; but he could not give me a more exact admeasurement : the circuit may be accomplished with fatigue in two days. From this, and other circumstances, I should conceive the distance to be about seventy miles. To the northward and eastward, the lake is bounded by abrupt mountains, rising immediately from the margin, barren and totally destitute of wood. To the northward it recedes into a bay, also bounded by mountains, but which are less rugged, being partially covered by wood, and green to their very summits. In this direction is a tract renowned for its pasturage and picturesque beauties, called the *Dereh chichek*, or the valley of flowers, a favourite haunt of the wandering tribes. Its southern extremities are girded by lands of less height than those to the northward, but extremely rugged and barren, and apparently the resort of none but wild beasts. One of the characteristics of this lake is the constant array of clouds by which it is surrounded, caused by the evaporation, which returns again in frequent showers. Its water appeared perfectly fresh and fit for drinking, although the natives do not consider it to be wholesome. It swarms with fish, the most desirable of which is the trout, called in Persian *Kizzil allah* ; and which at the mouths of the rivers that communicate with the lake, is caught in incredible quantities. This is doubtless the nursery for the immense numbers of trout that are found in all the streams about Erivan. Thirteen rivers of different sizes flow into the lake ; and one considerable river, the Zengui, flows out of it. At the place where it leaves the lake, its stream is only about a foot deep, but it is soon swoln by the accession of other waters, and finally discharges itself into the Araxes at the base of Mount Ararat. It is said that the waters of the Zengui



have a tendency to petrification. They are decidedly heavy, and very unwholesome for drinking.

The island is about half a mile from the shore, and is inhabited by Armenian monks, who are sent there in exile for bad conduct from Etchmiatzin. At the time of our visit, thirteen people were living upon it; three or four priests, and the rest working men. They communicate with the shore by means of a raft, which they paddle backwards and forwards with two large oars, and they never venture across to strangers. As soon as Parsik Aga, my conductor, arrived opposite the island, he set up great shouts, waving his cap at the same time, and thus drew the attention of the exiles to us: shortly after we saw them launch their raft, and paddle towards us. The chief priest came to inspect the party; and when he had ascertained who we were, he approached the beach, and we all got into the raft, seated ourselves upon a sort of platform or upper work, and reached the island in safety. The priest, who was in rags, wearing an old tarnished hood, and whose countenance bespoke a fit subject for exile, immediately ran to the church, and began ringing a bell with all his might, in order to do honour to his guests, and then lighted up three tallow candles, with the intention of performing a mass. The odour of the building was such, that we declined waiting the termination of the ceremony; and we walked up to the top of the island, to look at the two churches which have the reputation of being very ancient. They are such as are seen in most parts of the district of Erivan—strongly built, but little worthy of notice. They attest, indeed, more particularly how flourishing in former days must have been the state of Armenia, which could have encouraged and supported a religious establishment on so large and splendid a scale as these numerous and admirably constructed buildings would indicate.

The island is in latitude $40^{\circ} 30'$ North, according to an observation taken by Captain Monteith. I should judge it to be near a mile in circumference. Its soil is a mixture of earth and rock, and the exiles cultivate a small tract of it in vegetables and fruits.



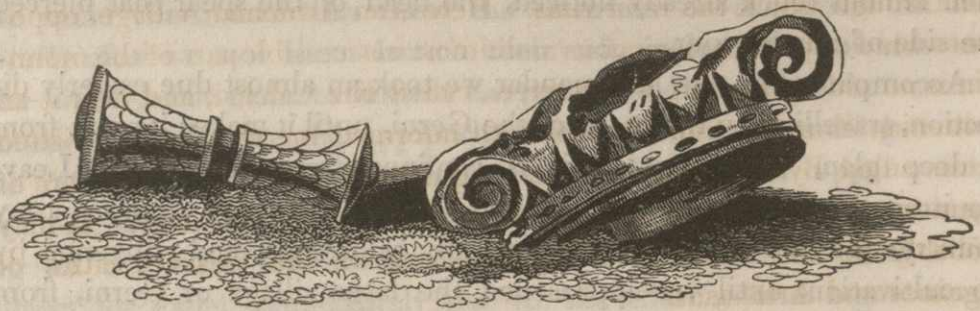
We returned the next day to our encampment. On the 14th of August Mr. Ellis arrived; and on the 27th we departed for Tabriz, with the intention of retracing, as far as Nakhjuwan, the road by which we had arrived, and crossing the Araxes at Gerger. We were unfortunately stopped at the outset of our journey by an alarming illness that attacked Mr. Ellis, and were obliged to halt at our first stage upon the banks of the Gerni river.

1814 a.m.

I took advantage of the delay to see the church of Keghort, esteemed in the country as a place of great curiosity, and celebrated among the Armenians as having been for a long time the sanctuary of their famous relic already noticed, the head of the spear that pierced the side of our Saviour.

Accompanied by the Mehmandar we took an almost due easterly direction, travelling on the banks of the Gerni, until it makes its exit from a deep glen, within which it is confined from its source. Leaving it on our right hand, we travelled over an excessive dreary, stony country, the soil of which was generally calcareous, and enlivened by no cultivation, until we approached the large village of Gerni, from which the river now takes its name, where we once more appeared to enter upon an inhabited region.

This place is situated upon the brink of an immense chasm, on the opposite side of which arises an arid perpendicular mountain. On the side of the village the ground is formed into a variety of slopes and precipices, where are to be seen the remains of a fortress, consisting of a gate and a long extent of walls. In one corner of it, immediately upon the brink of a precipice, are the remains of a building of the Ionic order, of the architecture of the middle ages, bearing every mark of Roman workmanship, and quite foreign to any thing Persian or Armenian. It struck me as the remains of a small temple, although, from its complete dilapidation, it would be impossible to decide with precision what was its original shape. The diameter of the columns was of two feet. The Ionic capital, the ornaments of the frieze, parts of the ceiling, and all its remains, were in perfect good taste, and still so well preserved as to show that it was a highly finished building.



The gate and walls of the fort also denoted an origin of much greater antiquity than the generality of Armenian ruins; and from the solidity of their masonry, the size, fitness, and good workmanship of their masses, were evidently coeval with the Ionic building.

In the country itself, almost all antiquity is wrapt up in fable and ignorance. Moses of Chorene, however, gives an account of Gerni, and particularly of the castle, and the Ionic building above mentioned. In lib. 1. chap. xi. p. 34. he wishes us to believe that Gelamius, the ninth in succession from Japhet, first built it, and gave it his name, but that it was afterwards named *Garni*, from his nephew Garnicus. He says, too, that it was built on the banks of the Rhazdanus; it must, therefore, be the Gerni of the present day. At lib. 11. chap. lxxxvii. p. 224. it is remarked, "At this time, Tiridates finished the building of



“ the castle of Gerni, which he had built with square and hewn stones, “ fashioned with lead and iron; and also there erected an *umbraculum*, “ or summer-house, a monument carved with wonderful art, for *Chosroï- “ duchta*, his sister, and in it made an inscription in the Grecian cha- “ racter to her memory.” Tiridates flourished in the time of Diocle- tian, according to the table given by the Armenian historian at the end of his work.

From Gerni (which is about eleven miles or three fursungs from our encampment) we entered farther into the mountains which assumed an excessively wild and romantic appearance, and descended into the deep glen through which the river runs. Here is an Armenian village, oppo- siteto which, upon a conspicuous and almost inaccessible part of the moun- tain is an old square fort with turrets, called Kiz Calehsi, and near it an Armenian church. Captain Monteith informed me that he had visited a ruin called Byrs, situated on a strong natural position in this chain of mountains, and that it bore the marks of very great antiquity. It may probably be the remains of Babyrsa, one of the treasure cities of Tigranes and Artabasus.*

The scenery beyond this, as far as the church and monastery of Keg- hort, is wild and grand in the extreme. The mountains present im- mense masses of earth, rock and shrubbery, in the most extravagant combinations. In some places the strata are almost perpendicular, as if some great commotion had uprooted the whole mass to its very foundation. To reach Keghort, it is necessary to travel on a nar- row path, which winds on the side of the mountain. The monas- tery appears suddenly on the abrupt turn of a rock, situated in the most romantic manner in an amphitheatre of stupendous rocks that arise wildly all around it. The building consists of a church surmounted by a conical roof, built of stone, like the other churches seen all over the territory of Erivan, and of a set of rude chambers around, which served the double purpose of a fortification and of habitations for the

* Strabo, lib. xi. p. 529.

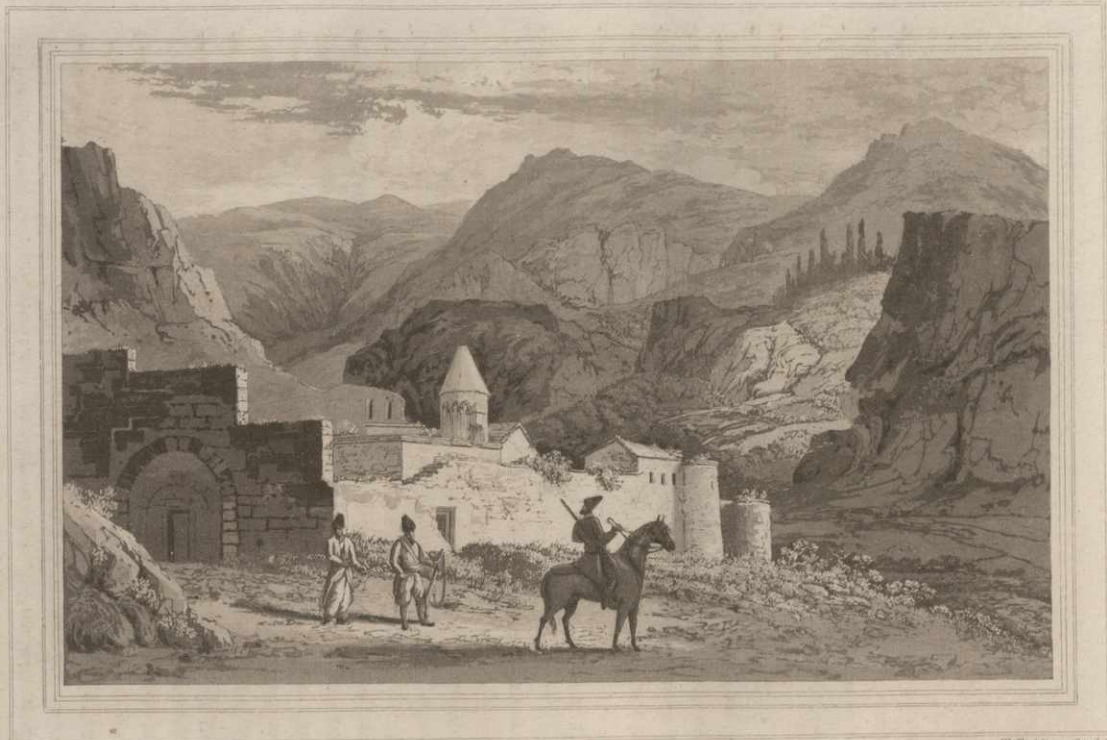


monks. The curiosities of this church are certain excavated chambers, which are specimens of the pains and labour used for the completion of this building. These chambers are three in number, lighted by a perforation of the rock from above, and carved into altars, recesses, and confessionals, all of a taste so gross and barbarous, as only to be invented or approved by a modern Armenian. The mountains and rocks around and in the immediate vicinity of the church are carved and excavated in many places, either by the pastimes or the penitential labours of the monks; but all are in the same rude and barbarous taste.

The walls of the church, both within and without, are carved with inscriptions in Armenian, chiefly in memorial of the charitable donations, voluntary repairs, and ornaments of the church made by pious individuals. A long inscription over the principal altar expresses words nearly to the following purpose: "Let it be made manifest, that " on account of our great and manifold sins, we were visited by Timour " Leng (Tamerlane) and his destructive armies, who after having killed " and taken captive many unfortunate Christians, came to this church, " destroyed it, and carried away the great treasure that had been accu- " mulated in it from the zeal of devout and charitable persons."

This place has now been abandoned by the Armenians about forty or fifty years. It is still in tolerable repair, on account of the great solidity of its structure; and with very little expense might be made perfect. The Armenians, at a particular season of the year, frequent it as a pilgrimage; and I observed over the altar, hung upon pegs, little bows made of twigs and cord, which I presume were votive offerings, but of the meaning of which I have not been able to gain any information.

On returning from Keghort we visited the Armenian church of Virab, distant about nine miles from our camp. The road led through several flourishing villages, and across a plain highly cultivated in corn. Virab, a quarter of a mile from the Araxes, is situated on the south side of some hills, in the neighbourhood of which is a tract of fine turf, here and there swampy, and at this season of the year swarming with wild geese.



James Morier del.

T. Fielding Sculp.

KEGHORT CHURCH & MONASTERY.

MODE OF CATCHING QUAILS.

The whole establishment has been abandoned, but the church is in excellent repair, and with a little cleaning might be fit for use. In a corner of the inclosure, built over St. Gregory's well, is a subterraneous chapel, narrow and dark, to which none of our party descended on account of the encumbered state of the stairs.

Our detention on the banks of the Gerni proved very detrimental to the general health of our camp; for scarcely was there an European, Indian or Persian, among us, who did not fall sick with fever and ague. I was so happy as to remain free from disease, by the means of timely medicine, and also by exercise which I constantly took every morning. At this season the plain of Erivan swarms with quails, of which we killed great numbers around our camp. The Persians hunt this bird in a very curious and indeed successful manner. They stick two poles in



their girdle, upon which they place either their outer coat, or a pair of trowsers, and these, at a distance, are intended to look like the horns



of an animal. They then with a hand net prowl about the fields, and the quail seeing a form, more like a beast than a man, permits it to approach so near as to allow the hunter to throw his net over it. The rapidity with which the Persians caught quails in this manner was astonishing, and we had daily brought to us cages full of them, which we bought for a trifle. In one of my rambles with a gun, I met a shepherd boy, who laughing at the few birds I had killed, immediately erected his horns, and soon caught more alive than I had killed.

During the long time that we were in the neighbourhood of Mount Ararat, although we made frequent plans for attempting to ascend it, yet we were always impeded by some reason or other. We were encamped before it at the very best season for such an undertaking, namely, during the month of August, and saw it at the time that it has the least snow upon it.

The impossibility of reaching its extreme summit, even on the side where it is apparently most easy of access, was decided (so we were assured) some years ago by the Pasha of Bayazid. He departed from that city with a large party of horsemen, at the most favourable season, and ascended the mountain on the Bayazid side as high as he could on horseback. He caused three stations to be marked out on the ascent, where he built huts and collected provisions. The third station was the snow. He had no difficulty in crossing the region of snow, but when he came to the great cap of ice that covers the top of the cone, he could proceed no farther, because several of his men were there seized with violent oppressions of the chest from the great rarefaction of the air. He had before offered large rewards to any one who should reach the top, but although many Courds who live at its base have attempted it, all have been equally unsuccessful. Besides the great rarefaction of the air, his men had to contend with dangers of the falling ice, large pieces of which were constantly detaching themselves from the main body and rolling down. During the summer, the cap of ice on its summit is seen to shine with a glow quite distinct from



snow, and if the old inhabitants may be believed, this great congealed mass has visibly increased since they first knew it. One of the great features of this mountain is the immense chasm that extends nearly half way down it, and is very visible from Erivan, and all its surrounding territory. A large mound of earth apparently foreign to the original and natural conformation of the mountain, is to be seen in the vicinity of the chasm, in the deepest recess of which is a mass of ice, whose dimensions, according to the natives, may be compared to those of an immense house, or tower. It has evidently fallen from a cliff, discernable at a great distance, which impends very considerably over the chasm. The Armenians who watch the progress of the accumulating ice on this cliff, expect that another mass of equal dimensions to the former, will shortly separate itself from the mountain, and be precipitated into the abyss. Experience has taught them that this fall takes place after a lapse of twenty years; and some credit is due to their testimony, for they look upon Ararat as a most sacred spot, and consequently are frequent and regular in their observations of it. The mass of ice that is now seen in the chasm, has fallen in such a situation that it only receives the heat of the sun upon its surface for about two hours during the day, which is just sufficient to dissolve so much of it as to produce a fresh congelation as soon as it is again immersed in shade.

The snow-worms, so confidently mentioned by Strabo as existing in the Caucasus (lib. xi.), and as generally believed by the Persians and Armenians to exist at the present day in the snows of Ararat, appears to be fabulous. We repeatedly offered rewards to those who would bring us one, but never succeeded. The Persians represent them as a small white worm, so excessively cold that one will effectually cool a large bowl of sherbet. In the month of August, on approaching towards the top of Ararat, and even at the village of Akh-ora, the noise of the cracking ice is said to be heard during the hottest part of the day, which is from the hours of two to four. When near the snow the sound is described as most awful, but those



who have witnessed the fall of a large mass of ice from the cliff into the chasm, declare that nothing can equal the concussion.

“ Treman le spaziose atre caverne
E' l'aer cieco a quel rumor rimbomba.”

The sign of the greatest heat is when the snow has entirely left the summit of *Little Ararat*. When encamped on the heights of *Aberan* we watched its daily diminution, until it completely vanished. At this period the cultivators of melons cut their fruit, and in general the snows of *Ararat* are used by the agriculturists of *Erivan* as a calendar, by which they regulate the sowing, planting, and reaping of their fields. The *Eelauts* also are guided in their motions by the operations of the weather on this mountain, keeping to their *Yelaks*, or descending from them according to the falls of snow.

The soil of this great mountain appears to be one immense heap of stones, confusedly thrown together, unenlivened by vegetation. Here and there indeed are a few plants; but *Tournefort's* circumstantial relation will show how scanty are the gleanings of the botanist. In many parts of the *Little Ararat* are tracts of a very soft stone, and in others a species of vitrification. Lava is also to be seen, but the soil which most frequently intervenes between the rocks is a deep sand.

The wild animals that inhabit this region are bears, small tygers, lynxes and lions. Perhaps the most dangerous are the serpents, some of which, of a large size, are venomous in the highest degree. They are reputed so fierce as to attack passengers. When we resided in the vicinity of *Ararat*, a tale was prevalent that a dragon had got possession of the road which leads between the small and greater mountain to *Bayazid*, and, like the serpent of *Regulus*, had impeded the passage of the caravans. This proved to be one of the large snakes. The base of *Ararat* on the banks of the *Araxes*, is girded by extensive swamps, in which are great quantities of wild



boars. In these and on the banks of the river are also immense flocks of wild fowl. On the mountain itself there are many eagles, and a great variety of hawks.

Tournefort seems to turn into ridicule (vol. ii. p. 147.) the report of travellers who mention the existence of anchorites on Mount Ararat, but within the great chasm there is a cave, in part built up, in which it is believed a hermit used to live. The wilds of this mountain give refuge to all the rogues and outlaws of the surrounding country; and there is a cavern between the great and little Ararat, in so strong a situation, that not long since some turbulent Courds who had taken possession of it, held it in despite of the Serdar and his forces.

At length, Mr. Ellis having sufficiently recovered to permit us to travel, we proceeded to Tabriz and crossed the Araxes at Gerger. Between this place and Marand we found in several places in the middle of the road, mill-stones, which having been cut from blocks in the mountains, had by a slow progress been rolled thus far on their way to Tabriz. Xenophon mentions, that the inhabitants on the Euphrates were digging mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale.* The stones we saw had an axle-tree of wood, and had been there already a considerable time; and their owners whenever they might be in want, would probably make another effort to get them forwards. A stone of the same description I remarked during all the time we were at Tabriz, not two hundred yards from the walls of that city.

As we proceeded on our journey, the numbers of sick in our camp rather increased than abated. Of thirty Indian cavalry that formed the body guard, only two attended us on our entry into Tabriz, all the others being unfit for service; and we had not long been arrived before we had to deplore the loss of one of our companions, Captain Snodgrass of the Bombay army, a fine young man in the bloom of life, whom we buried in the Armenian church. Having paid our respects

* Anab. lib. i. c. 2.
Y Y 2



RETURN TO TABRIZ.

1844 Dec.

to Abbas Mirza, we proceeded to Teheran, where after a short negotiation, Mr. Ellis and I concluded a definitive treaty with the Persian government. That gentleman, attended by Mr. Willock, then Persian Secretary to the mission, departed for England on the December following, and left me at Teheran.

travellers who mention the extent of the mountain range but within the great chain there is a cove, in part built up, in which it is believed a fortress would be easy. The wilds of this mountain give refuge to all the forces and outlaws of the surrounding country; and there is a cavern between the great and little Ahar, in so strong a situation that not long since some turbulent Kurds who had taken possession of it held it in defiance of the Pasha and his forces. At length Mr. Ellis having sufficiently recovered to permit us to travel, we proceeded to Tabriz and crossed the Ahar-Gorge. Between this place and Ahar we found in several places in the middle of the road, mill-stones which having been cut from blocks in the mountains had by a slow process been rolled thus far on their way to Tabriz. Xenophon mentions that the inhabitants on the mountains were digging mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale. The stones we saw had an axle-tree of wood and had been there already a considerable time; and their owners whenever they might be wanted, would probably make another effort to get them forwarded. A stone of the same description I remember to have seen at Tabriz, not two hundred yards from the walls of that city. As we proceeded on our journey, the number of sick in our camp rather increased than abated. The thirty Indian cavalry that formed the body-guard, only two attended us on our entry into Tabriz, all the others being unfit for service; and we had not long been arrived before we had to deplore the loss of another our companions, Captain Good-grass of the Bombay army, a fine young man in the bloom of life, whom we buried in the Armenian church. Having paid our respects



CHAPTER XXIII.

IN the spring of 1814, rumours of disaffection in the eastern provinces of Persia, and of a continuation of hostility on the part of the Turcomans had determined the King not to pass the summer as usual at Sultanieh, but to proceed to Khorassan. His object was to overawe the disaffected parties, and to take advantage of such disturbances as had already arisen, by exacting fines from those who were engaged in them. He had not proceeded farther than Firouz koh, on the confines of Mazanderan, when an event occurred for which he was totally unprepared, and which would have been attended with very serious consequences if he had not acted with immediate vigour and good policy.

It was suddenly announced that Mahomed Zemaun Khan, a Cajar by birth, and Governor of the city and territory of Astrabad, though a man of little estimation and celebrity, had entered into a league with the Turcomans, had disavowed the King's authority, and had himself made pretensions to royal power and prerogative. This measure was attributed to the hatred which he had conceived against the King and his government, in consequence of heavy fines imposed upon him during the preceding winter. At that time he had been called to Teheran to account for his malversation in the government of Astrabad, was nearly stripped of all the wealth which he had amassed, and would have been deprived of his situation if the strongest intercessions had not been made in his favour. When, however, he was permitted to return, he immediately began to put into execution the schemes which had been suggested by his exasperation. He connected himself with the hostile Turcoman chiefs, informed them that he was commissioned to induce them to go to Teheran, but at the same time warned them not to go, "For," said he, "you will be detained as hostages—you have but one plan to pursue—resist his orders, and I will join you in the resistance. Instead of obeying him, you shall be my masters, and we will bid



“ defiance to the Shah and his power.” The Turcomans, happy in such an ally, agreed to his proposals ; a large body of their troops were immediately admitted into Astrabad, and the guard of the walls and gates was confided to them. It is probable that they would have also engaged the people of the city to second his cause, if he had not taken the impolitic step of sending the principal inhabitants and persons of consideration to a strong fortress in the possession of the Turcomans by way of hostages for his own good faith. This proved his ruin, for to this may be ascribed the success that awaited the measures adopted by the Persian government.

As soon as the King was apprised of Mahomed Zemaun Khan's rebellion, he moved his camp from Firouz koh to Cheshmeh Ali, and dispatched a messenger to him with a firman, ordering him to return to his obedience on pain of his displeasure. The messenger was ill treated, and the firman was not permitted to be read. The King then issued three firmans, one to the Khan, another to the Seyids, and a third to the Rayats or the body of the people, and confided them to a messenger who was introduced into the city dressed as a labourer. To the first he threatened the severest punishment if he did not immediately deliver himself up ; to the second he enjoined an active interference against the rebel ; and to the third he promised reward and protection, provided they seized and delivered to him the person of the Khan, but the most severe vengeance and extortion if they gave him the smallest help or countenance.

Mahomed Zemaun Khan treated the second firman in the same manner as the first. But those addressed to the Seyids and the Rayats produced their desired effect ; for both these parties, secretly holding a meeting, and reflecting upon the great power of the King when compared to the small means of the rebel, determined unanimously to seize the latter and deliver him over to his Majesty.

Accordingly, the people of Astrabad, aided by some of the Khan's own servants, collected themselves into a body, surrounded his palace, and before he and the Turcomans who were with him could have time to defend themselves, forced their way into the place where he was seated, seized



and bound him, and immediately dispatched a messenger to the King, requesting that an officer might be sent to take him into custody.

By this act, the threatened hostilities of the Turcomans were for the moment suspended. They retired from Astrabad, and Mahomed Zemaun Khan was carried before the King. When he had reached the camp, the King ordered Mahomed Khan, Chief of his camel artillery, to put a mock crown upon the rebel's head, *bazubends* or armlets on his arms, a sword by his side; to mount him upon an ass with his face towards the tail, and the tail in his hand; then to parade him throughout the camp, and to exclaim, "This is he who wanted to be the King!" After this was over, and the people had mocked and insulted him, he was led before the King, who called for the Looties and ordered them to turn him into ridicule, by making him dance and make antics against his will. He then ordered, that whoever chose, might spit in his face. After this he received the bastinado on the soles of his feet, which was administered by the chiefs of the Cajar Tribe, and some time after he had his eyes put out.

The strong coincidence between these details and the most awfully affecting part of our own Scripture History, is a striking illustration of the permanence of Eastern manners.

The King returned to Teheran, without having entirely suppressed the spirit of rebellion, which had shown itself among some of the chiefs of Khorassan; and as it was announced early in 1815, that the summer's campaign would again take place in that province, preparations were made accordingly. The governors of towns and provinces received orders to lay up provisions for the King and his troops, and the *kúrúk*, or the "warning off," was made at the different pasturages where it was supposed the army might encamp.

The heats of Teheran become insupportable by the middle of June, and the city is then abandoned by almost the whole of its inhabitants; those who are attached to the King and the court (forming perhaps the largest portion) follow the camp; the shopkeepers and merchants go to Shemiroun, and the different villages situated at the foot of the neighbouring mountains, and none remain but the very poor people, who

1815



cannot afford the luxury of a *Yeylak*. The women of those who follow the camp are left behind at Teheran during the summer, and it is said throw off all restraint. The King's harem is dispersed throughout the villages at the foot of the mountains, in most of which there are houses purposely provided for them. At Jelalabad is a house entirely appropriated to the *Bazigers*, or the dancing and singing women. Hassan Ali Mirza the Governor, has a wooden summer house built in an extensive garden, where he resides during the week, and only goes to town on Fridays for his devotions, and for the transaction of business.

Both the King and Mirza Sheffea had already pointed out the town of Demawend, as the most agreeable summer residence in the neighbourhood of Teheran: they extolled its delightful climate, its good water, and talked in raptures of its apples and honey. It was judged that this place would in every way be the most convenient place for our summer quarters; for, situated between Khorassan and the capital, taking advantage of the numerous couriers that always would be going backwards and forwards, we should be able to keep up a constant communication with the Persian authorities. The King was pleased to appoint Kerim Khan, an Afshar*, to be our Mehmandar; but knowing his character, which was officious in the highest degree, and also that his expectations for remuneration were high, it was requested that a person of less distinction might be appointed. Kerim Khan no sooner heard this than he entreated that he might be permitted to accompany us, and being probably aware of our feeling towards him, promised that he never would trouble us with his presence unless we wished it, that he would never speak unless he were spoken to, and that he would be contented to receive fifty tomans at the termination of his office, a sum which he was made to understand would be the utmost given to a Mehmandar. The Prime Vizier however put an end to all difficulties by immediately appointing Mahomed Reza Beg, also an Afshar, to attend us. The obsequiousness and servility of this person were so great, that

* The Afshars, Nadir Shah's tribe have the character of being *fouzouls*, a word difficult to be rendered into English, but implying officious servility, flattery, loquacity, &c.



upon entering the room he always made the *ser ferou*, the obeisance made by servants before their masters ; and, as if he were talking to a Prince, made use of the most extravagant expressions of humility. But with all this, his bigotry was so great, that he never would eat any thing dressed by us, on any account. His faith in talismans was such, that he always wore the whole of the Koran about his person, half of it tied on one arm, and half on the other, rolled up in small silver cases.

1815 icons

On the 18th of June, 1815, we set off from Teheran at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and went to Jajrood, distant nearly four fursungs, or fifteen miles. The road leads through the dreary mountains which gird the plain of Teheran to the eastward, and presents nothing but a succession of ascents and descents, until about two miles from Jajrood, where there is one long descent into the deep glen in which it is situated. At Jajrood there is nothing remarkable, except its river, which is rapid, and flows from the mountains in an undefined bed, more or less deep, until it reaches the plain of Veramin, where it is expended in cultivation. La Rochette has called this river the ancient Eparthus. Remains of a long bridge which apparently had been a solid structure are seen near the caravanserai. The impetuosity of the stream at the melting of the snows carries every thing before it, and one of our attendants upon crossing it was forcibly borne away, and only stopped by a large stone.

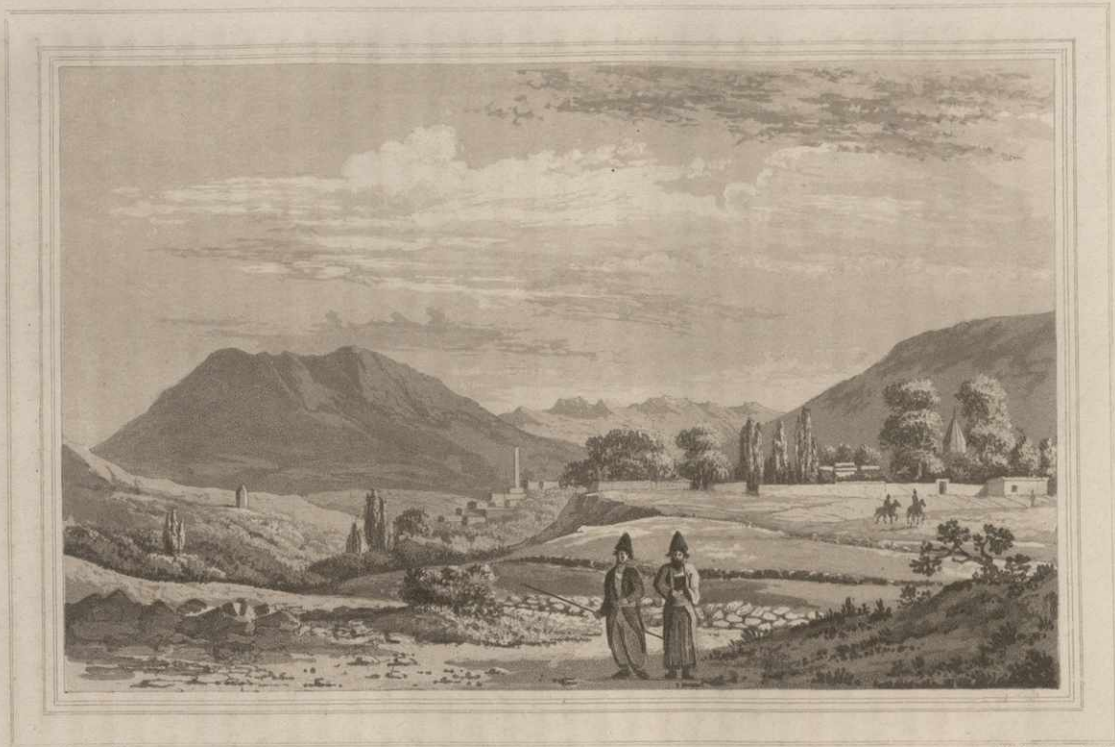
The King has constructed a caravanserai in the glen, in which are some chambers, and a bath for his own accommodation. To this place he frequently resorts in the winter for the purpose of hunting the *Kapk*, or red-legged partridge, with which the surrounding hills are covered. From Jajrood, the road again enters upon mountains of arid appearance, and presents no trace of habitations until Boumyeen, a large village on the left hand, on the road to Demawend ; and this owes its existence to a stream which irrigates the small territory attached to it, and like all the streams in this region, flows south into the fertile plain of Veramin. In the same direction as Boumyeen are several other villages, the largest of which is Ah, close to a royal summer-house, which is



called the *Bagh zemerood*, or the Emerald Garden. It is composed of a *Serder*, a gateway, and a room above; and of an *anderoon*, built under the shade of some ancient and spreading plane-trees, rising upon four successive terraces. All these villages are under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Demawend.

From Boumyeen to Demawend is about three fursungs. Three miles from the latter place, we left the high road over which the King and his army had already passed, and turned to the north, keeping at the foot of one of the high mountains that encompass the small vale of Demawend: we then discovered the town amongst trees and corn-fields. It is situated in a hollow on the banks of a river, and on the road from Teheran, is first distinguished by some old turrets which stand conspicuous on an eminence, and by one brick *minar*, which formerly belonged to its best mosque. The vale is about three miles in length, and two in breadth, inclining on a gradual descent from the north to the south, and thus its corn-fields are levelled like terraces. Besides the town of Demawend situated nearly at its lowest extremity, it contains ten villages, and nothing can be more lively and flourishing than the appearance of this little tract. It is watered by two streams, the one flowing from the N.W., which is small, the other from the north, which is the principal river; they both meet at Demawend and flow through the town. On the borders of these streams are planted willows, poplars, and walnut-trees, which add greatly to the landscape. The interior of Demawend is thickly shaded by them, and the conjunction of trees and water tends to keep up a constant coolness, even in the hottest part of the day.

The town is spread over a hill, the principal street leading at the foot of it near the river. It consists of about five hundred houses, three hundred of which are Demawendies, and the remainder Kerman families, brought from that province by Aga Mohamed Khan. It is governed by Aga Khan, a Seyid, who has a large house at the south end of the town, and whose jurisdiction extends over all the villages that are dependant upon Demawend. Of these there are about thirty in number, situated according to the quantity of water near them.



James Morier del^t

T. Fielding Sculp^t

DE MAWLEND.



The mountain of Demawend, so conspicuous every where else, is not seen from the town to which it gives its name. Upon this, the Persians, who are great punsters, say, on arriving at the town and looking for the mountain.—Koo Demawend? which has the double meaning of where is Demawend? or Demawend the mountain. It is seen from the high road that passes through the plain below, and there bears N. 15° W. The natives assert that it sometimes emits smoke; and the circumstance of sulphur* being found in small craters near its base, may perhaps lead to the conclusion, that the cone is the crater of a volcano. Very severe earthquakes are sometimes felt at Demawend. We had a strong shock whilst residing there in June, and nine years ago they were so violent and repeated, that many villages in Mazanderan were totally destroyed, and all the country around thrown into a great state of alarm. Snow lies upon the mountain all the year round, but only in large single patches, parts of its extreme summit being totally uncovered. It does not look so high as Ararat, although its cone is much more abrupt, nor does it in any manner rest upon so extensive a base.† None of the modern Persians appear to have ascended to the top; and they assert that the attempt is hopeless. Those who seek for sulphur, which is found at the highest accessible point, go through a course of training previous to the undertaking, and fortify themselves by eating much of garlick and onions.

At about five miles in direct distance from Demawend, is a lake, apparently formed by the waters of melted snow, which have accumulated in a valley without an outlet‡: it is situated at a considerable height above the town of Demawend, in the bosom of some very craggy moun-

* Coal also is found on the mountain. The blacksmiths in the town make use of that which they find at the surface of the ground.

† Hanway, as he was sailing in the Caspian from Langerood to Asterabad, says, “We were four days in sight of the great mountain of Demaon, which is said to be thirty leagues inland. At a distance of four or five leagues from the shore, we could distinguish it very plain, rising in form of a pyramid.”—Vol. I. chap. xxv. p. 109.

‡ See the observations and questions of Michaelis upon this subject.



tains, without the possibility of a natural outlet; a water-mark all around shows the maximum of the collection when the snows have entirely melted, which is in the spring; since that time we observed that it had decreased several feet, in consequence of evaporation alone. Some of the old inhabitants of Demawend assert, that whenever the waters of this lake decrease below their usual quantity, several springs in the neighbourhood of the town become dry. This lake or bason, whose water is quite fresh, and of a most piercing cold, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circumference. Its depth is great, and in the winter it is frozen; were it possible to drain it for irrigation it would be invaluable to the country, but now the surrounding region is a complete desert, and no habitation is to be found within many miles. It is entirely enclosed to the northward by an almost perpendicular chain of high mountains, the snows of which afford it the greatest supply of water; an earthquake might open it a passage on the westernmost side, but it would require a mighty effort of nature to dispose the mountains, so as to produce a channel. When the snows cease to melt, the accumulation of water ceases, for the rains are never plentiful enough to supply what the evaporation takes away. It does not appear that at any time the inhabitants of Persia, could have drained off its waters for the uses of agriculture. To get at this lake, we were obliged to travel 12 to 15 miles, taking a very circular direction over steep hills, and on the shelving sides of mountains, where a false step would have demolished us long before reaching the bottom of the precipice. We returned by the nearest road, which saved us indeed half the former distance; but the sort of path over which we paced is almost indescribable. It led on the side of nearly a perpendicular hill, for about three or four miles, scarcely ever more and generally less than two feet wide, whilst a rapid stream was foaming in a rocky bed under our feet. The firmness and dexterity with which our mules and horses kept on the path were quite marvellous. Nothing but a sense of their own danger, if once they made a false step, could have given them such extraordinary sure-footedness. Close to the lake here described is situated a second but smaller one to which we did not go.

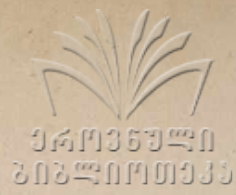


An *Eyd* or festival peculiar to Demawend took place on the 31st August. It is remarkable from being unconnected with Mahomedanism. Its ceremonies are designed to commemorate the death of *Zohak*, the celebrated Persian tyrant, and consist of a general rejoicing, in which all the inhabitants of the town and villages of Demawend join, gathering together in the fields on horses, mules, and other beasts, and riding about on the full gallop, with loud shouts. At night they light fires on the tops of their houses, and make illuminations in all parts of the town.

The tradition is, that *Zohak* had two serpents growing out of his shoulders, which it was necessary to feed daily with human brains; that two men of Demawend were every morning killed for this odious purpose; and that at length, a youth resolving to rid his country of such a scourge went to slay him, and informed his townsmen, that if he should succeed he would light a fire on the top of the neighbouring mountain, as a signal of the tyrant's death and of his triumph. *Zohak* was living near the mountain of Demawend, whither the youth repaired, and slew him: and the illuminations are intended to commemorate the promised fire which he lighted. This is the popular tale among the husbandmen; but it is related more at length and with a larger variety of circumstances by the Persian historian *Mirkhond*, in the *Roset al Sefa*, which gives a greater degree of interest to the festival. It is called the *Eyd Courdi*, or the Courds' Holiday, probably from the circumstance of its commemorating more particularly the emancipation of those unfortunate runaways, who had fled to the mountains to escape the sacrifice to the tyrant, and who it is said formed the origin of the Courdish people.*

It is pretended that the city of Demawend is one of the oldest in Persia, that it was founded by *Siamek*, and that it was the seat of government of *Zohak*, the hero of the history already told. The approaches to it are by two passes, one to the west, which is broad, and another to the south, which is narrow, both formed by the bases of

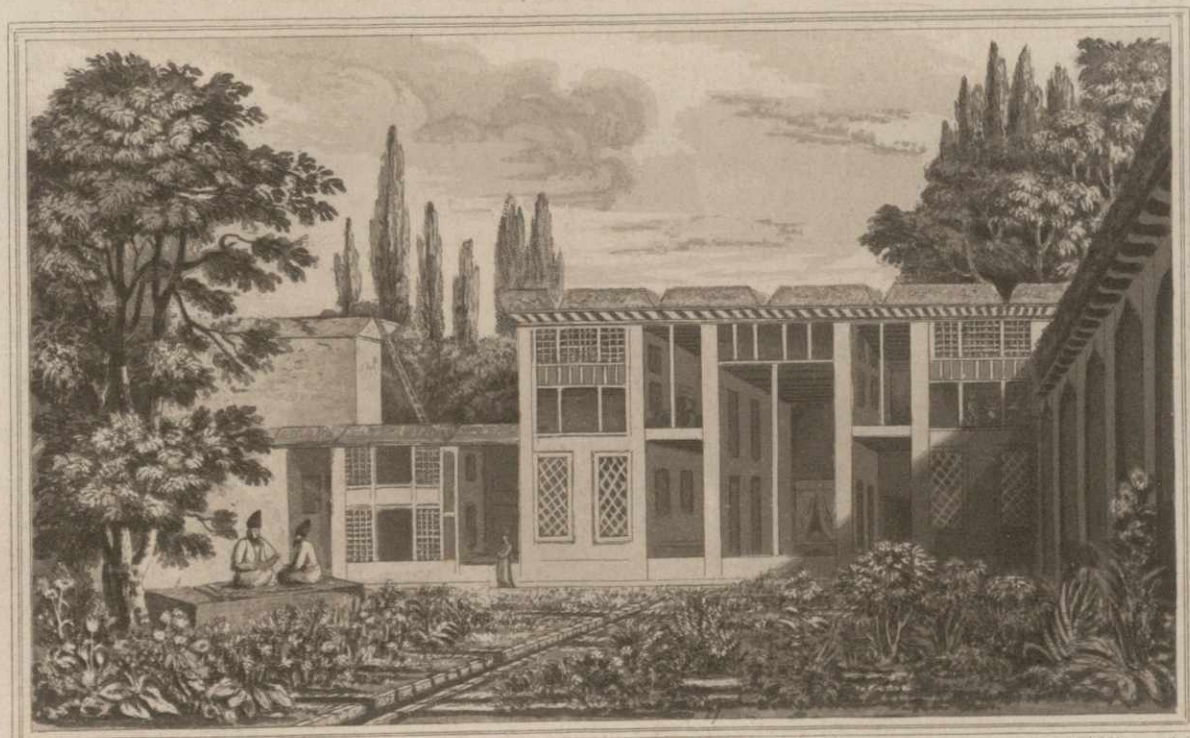
* Vide d'Herbelot. Art. *Zohak*.



opposite hills: these they assert were closed by thick walls and gates, of which not the smallest remains at present exist. They are called *Dehanehs*, or mouths; the difference between a *Dehaneh* and a *Teng* is, that the former is the interval between the bases of two hills, the latter a narrow defile between two perpendicular lands or rocks. In the *Descriptio Persiæ*, Demawend is called Dehenna Kassabi Demawend, and is placed in $87^{\circ} 27'$ long. and $36^{\circ} 10'$ lat. from the tables of Ulugbeg: its climate is certainly the most delightful of any place which I have seen in Persia. During the summer the thermometer scarcely ever rose above 80, and in the greatest heats, and at the commencement of September, in the morning before sun-rise, it was at 55° . The serenity of the weather during the three months of our residence there, was unvaried, and we were never once incommoded by the violent wind and suffocating atmosphere, so common to Teheran and its vicinities. Including our excursion to the King's camp, we remained three months at Demawend. Our principal lodging consisted of the second best house in the place, the first being the Governor's: it belonged to a man of respectability, a sort of principal farmer, who was then absent, but part of whose family lived in an adjoining house. It consisted of a *Serder*, or a room over the principal entrance, which formed the *Biroon*, or the place where the master received his male visitors, and of the *Anderoon*, which was occupied by his women and family. This forming the principal *corps de logis*, consisted of different suites of apartments and closets; and considering the rank of the persons to whom they belonged, were very clean and neat. In point of lodging, the peasants of Persia are well provided: their habits are so simple and their wants so few, that it is easy to accommodate them. To accommodate the different persons attached to the mission, it was necessary to empty seven houses besides the one already described, and they were mostly situated in the same street. The horses of the mission and those of the body guard were picquetted in a most picturesque spot, about two hundred yards off under some spreading walnut-trees, whilst the servants attached to them took up their quarters in the open air near them.



MOUNTAIN OF DEMAWEND.



James Morier del^t

T. Fielding sculp^t

HOUSE AT DEMAWEND.



Where there are so few amusements, exercise on horseback and the care of horses are great enjoyments. We scarcely ever passed a morning without taking a long ride, accompanied by grey hounds or with our fowling-pieces, and spent at least an hour each day in the inspection of all the details of the stable. In the plain below, when the harvest was finished we found great quantities of the *bokara cara*, (black-breasted partridges,) blue pigeons, and doves. The mountains abound in foxes, hares, and antelopes; and not far from Demawend we heard of wild boars. Persian sportsmen frequently brought us mountain goats, which they shot in those parts where their passage was frequent.

Having received an invitation to proceed to the King's camp, then at Sawyer, near Asterabad, so good an opportunity of seeing a part of the country, which in modern days had not been visited by Europeans was not to be missed. His Majesty dispatched Aga Khan, the Governor of Demawend, on purpose to escort us; and such was the speed of his journey, that he and six servants reached Demawend in three days, having performed a distance of about 188 miles upon the same horses.

Aga Khan was a young man of family, and one of the King's *gholam peish khedmits*, or chamberlains. Although bigotted to an excess, and avowedly inimical to every religion but his own, yet he never permitted his feelings to get the better of his politeness. He constantly brought on discussions upon religious points, and although our arguments were carried on without reserve, yet he never lost his temper. His family are Seyids, the descendants of Ali; and with that ancestry he feels that a greater degree of sanctity is required of him than of others; consequently he was very rigid in all the exterior rites of his religion. He never failed in his five prayers daily; in the coldest mornings of our march, he stopped as the sun rose near a running stream, called his servants about him, pulled off his boots and stockings, washed his hands, feet, &c. spread his carpet and prayed. He constantly made exclamations of *Ya ali!* oh ali! *Ya allah!* oh God! — *Allah allah il allah!* there is no God but one God, &c.; and it was only during the fast of the Ramazan that he seemed impatient of any inconvenience in



his religion. At every place where he found a Mollah he held long consultations with him upon the nature of his duties. — Whether, during the Ramazan, he really could without sin eat on the days of travel? Whether remaining three days successively at one place he was obliged to enter upon his *Rouzeh* or fast? Whenever he came to visit us, he was evidently under restraint, being from civility obliged to drink our coffee and take our refreshments. Sitting on an English sofa, he looked fearful lest he might imbibe some contamination, and when he thought nobody saw him, he blew over each of his shoulders, as if to keep off the uncleanness of infidels from him. Every good mussulman being enjoined to make as many converts as possible, Aga Khan never failed to endeavour to prove the excellence of the religion of Mahomed over every other; but when the arguments that he urged were disputed, and the falsity of their foundation pointed out, he was silent, and in extreme surprize to find that any thing could be said against that which he had ever been accustomed to esteem as the absolute and exclusive truth. In regard to miracles, he possessed a degree of credulity greater than can be conceived. When we talked of the proofs which our Saviour gave of his divine mission, and of the miracles which he performed, such as causing the blind man to see, the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, &c., he exclaimed, “What are these miracles compared to those of our Prophet? Such as those which you mention are performed by our holy men at the present day, and there is now a Seyid at Meshed, who only a few months ago restored sight to a girl born blind; but did Jesus ever perform a miracle equal to Mahomed, who with his finger cut the moon in two?”

1816

In company with this person, we departed from Demawend on the 22d July, and arrived at the Bagh Shah, computed a distance of fifteen miles. The high range of Albours, which surrounds the plain of Teheran, at Demawend diminishes in size, and is split into smaller ranges. One of these stretches to the eastward, and our road led to its lowest extremity, winding on the northermost side of a valley about twenty miles in length, and four in breadth. On the opposite side,



soon after getting disengaged from the narrow pass leading from Demawend, is a collection of four villages, Abserd, Taskeen, Ahroon, and Bidek, on the borders of a small stream. At two fursungs from Demawend we came to a larger village called Aineh verzoon, around which, to the extent of about one mile in length and half a mile in breadth, we remarked the cultivation of wheat, barley, and clover. This yields, according to the account of the Ketkhoda, from 200 to 300 *kherwars* of grain, the ground giving five mauns for every one sown. The water, which is the cause of this produce, and indeed of the existence of the village, proceeds from a spring in the neighbouring mountain. Two miles further on is Jahboon, with cultivation of about a mile in circumference surrounding it; and two miles still further is the Bagh Shah, where we halted for the day. In all this plain of twenty miles in length and four in breadth, there may be about four square miles of cultivation; the rest is an arid, stony desert, yielding only thorns and little succulent herbs, over which the cattle of the Eelauts range in the fullest liberty.

The Bagh Shah, or the King's garden, consists of an enclosed piece of ground about five hundred paces square, (through the centre of which runs a broad alley of poplar-trees, with other alleys at right angles,) and is completely filled in its other parts by fruit trees. It only yields a revenue of thirty tomauns. The entry is through what is called a Serder, which consists of a pair of folding gates below, and a room above, with other small rooms and offices about it. Aga Mahomed Khan first established this as a hunting seat. The present King still keeps it up, but does not frequent it so much as his predecessor. Both, however, are celebrated for their passion for the chase: the Khan delighted in running the deer with greyhounds, the Shah in hawking and shooting. Near the Bagh Shah is a small glen, which is the passage of the wild goats and mountain deer from their Kishlak* to their Yeylak †, and here it is said that Aga Mahomed Khan used to take his station, making a carnage which is described as very great.

* Hot region.

† Cold region.



On the 23d July we travelled to Firouz Koh. At about two miles from the Bagh Shah, the valley terminates, and the road strikes at once into the mountains, which gradually become extremely wild. Their asperities are grander, and in general appearance they are much more remarkable as mountain scenery than any we had seen in Persia. Here we saw the pine-tree growing to the very top, with other hardy trees denoting a cold region. The pine grew to large sizes, and added greatly to the wildness of the scenery; besides which, we remarked the wild almond, and some stunted oaks. The sides of the road swarmed with the red-leg partridge. After three hours travelling from the Bagh Shah, we descended into a deep glen, at the bottom of which runs a river to the southward, called the *Deli chai*, or the Mad River, from the violence with which it flows in the spring.

When we had issued from this tract, we opened a view more extensive, but more dreary than that which we had before seen. Mountains rose over each other in long brown ranges, the strata of which generally inclined obliquely to the eastward. The direction of the ranges was also east and west.

About six miles from Firouz Koh, we crossed another river, called the Rood Nimroud, that flows to Khawar, and thence to Veramin, upon the banks of which are many villages, and much cultivation. We continued to descend as we approached the valley of Firouz Koh, which is enclosed with mountains on all sides, except on the more immediate approaches from the westward. On a bearing of N. 67° W. the superb cone of Demawend appears conspicuous, overtopping every other mountain. The northerly mountains were covered by clouds, the produce of the boisterous Caspian, brought thither by a remarkable fierce and cold wind, quite peculiar to this part of the country: it is so violent and cutting in the winter, that travellers are said to be frequently killed by it. It first announces itself by covering the northerly mountains bounding Mazanderan, with a low ridge of white clouds, which as it increases, like those over the Table Mountain at the Cape, roll down their sides, and frequently overspread the adjacent country by a mist, which they call *mey*. It is said to be periodical, blowing



either one, three, or seven days and nights successively. The elevation of the region just described, and of Firouz Koh, must be great above the level of the sea, if we may judge either by our own sensation or by the progress of cultivation. The whole tract over which we travelled this day did not present one spot of cultivated ground until we reached our stage, where the corn was scarcely ripe. Firouz Koh is a large village situated at the base and on the acclivity of a high lime-stone rock, that is situated close to a perpendicular mountain of the same. Its peculiar position makes it a remarkable object, and we may believe what its inhabitants assert, that its site is ancient. Of positive antiquity we saw nothing, nor were we inclined to scramble up the steep rock to see what were described to us as the remains of a wind-mill and a bath as old as *Iskander* or Alexander. A hill forming a suburb to the village is pierced with small caverns, which have been excavated for the reception of cattle in the winter, making the best and warmest stabling during the great colds and snows which here are more peculiarly felt. A plentiful stream, that rises about five fursungs to the eastward near Gour Sefid, runs between the village and the mountain, and fertilizes the greater part of the adjacent territory, which is sown for the most part with wheat and barley. It has, besides, large tracts of *chemen* or pasture land, which is one of its principal attractions to the King, who was encamped close to it for a long time during this summer. The ground here yields but poor crops, giving only three mauns of produce for one of seed.

The mountains to the north, north-east, and north-west of the valley of Firouz Koh, have a particular hard appearance, being composed of nothing but bare rock. On a N.E. bearing, through these mountains, there are two passes which are great natural curiosities, and which well repaid the trouble we took to visit them. We rode for about eight miles in the plain, and leaving a small village on the left hand, we came to the foot of mountains without any appearance of an apperture. On approaching nearer we perceived a dark and narrow passage, extending from the foot to the summit of the mountain as if it had been rent asunder, which on entering we found about six or ten feet wide, extend-



ing about three hundred paces. The mountain on each side rose at least two or three hundred feet over our heads, whilst a stream of the purest and coldest water generally filled up the road between the bases. Having quitted this, we entered upon a small open valley, through which meandered this beautiful stream; and about a mile further, we again entered a pass similar to the former, but still more extraordinary. Water oozed from the highest summits, falling in small showers, whilst on both sides were large natural excavations and refreshing grottoes. The Persians, who generally are indifferent to the sublime and the picturesque, were here all extacy and astonishment. The King who had previously pointed out the place, had said, "Go, see the wonderful work of God." Having traversed the second pass, we ascended a steep declivity, with the stream roaring in occasional cataracts through a very contracted bed, and came to another gorge more open than the others, on the rocks of which we saw large flocks of mountain goats, jumping from one crag to another over the most awful precipices in a manner truly astonishing. We succeeded in killing one, but skilful gunners might have destroyed twenty.

The whole of these passes and valleys are called *Sawachi*, and are one of the most favourite hunting places of the King. When he makes his summer excursions to the eastward of Teheran, he generally passes a week or ten days in this spot, for the sole purpose of enjoying its delightful water and climate, and of hunting the numerous goats and deer with which it abounds. Firouz Koh is under the government of Abdullah Khan, whose place of residence, or his *khoneh* as it is called, is Arjumend, four fursungs north of it. He has the command of a thousand horse. The confines of Mazanderan are about that distance from Firouz Koh, and the country there begins to be covered with wood. We learnt the derivation of Mazanderan at this place.—*Max*, in the patois of the country, means a boundary, and *anderan*, the common Persian word *within*, would give it the meaning of *within the boundary*.

On the 24th July, we started at a quarter before two in the morning, and reached Anasseran at a quarter after ten; and deducting from this time one hour for loss of road, by which we deviated one fursung,

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we may fairly calculate the distance at about forty miles. At about six miles from Firouz Koh, the Mazanderan road leads over the mountains, to the left, and that of Khorassan, to the right. Nearly at their separation, is a stupendous pass, formed by two masses of rock, rising opposite to each other, about one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, with a narrow channel at their bases about twenty or thirty paces in breadth, part of which is occupied by a stream and part by the road. The pass in its various turns may be about three hundred paces in length; but it is neither so narrow nor so remarkable, considered as a natural curiosity, as those of Sawachi. On its easternmost gorge are the remains of a castle on a hill, consisting of one large round tower, but intitled to no greater antiquity than the age of Timour, or Jenghiz Khan. It is called Caleh Surkh, or the Red Castle, from its being situated on a red hill. The pass is known to the people of the country by the name of *Teng Ser enza*, a Mazanderan appellation, of which we could not discover the meaning. Having passed it, a high road, which may be called the road into Parthia, strikes off on a direction almost due east to Semnan, whilst ours, which has only become a high road from the recent passage of the King and his army, took a N. E. direction.

I was at first inclined to suppose that this pass and those of Sawachi might be the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, but on referring to Pliny, and to the distances given by Arrian of Alexander's march in pursuit of Darius, I found that it could not be. The former writer says that they are eight miles in length, and that the tract which encompasses them is without fresh water for a space of thirty-eight miles.* The latter, that Alexander reached the Pylæ in one day from Ragis.† The passes which I have described are short, and the distance from Rey (supposing Rey to be the ancient Ragis) to Firouz Koh, at the nearest is twenty fursungs, which even with light troops, such as accompanied Alexander, would be almost impossible to travel in one day. Those which best agree with Alexander's march, and with Pliny's description, are, I should

* Pliny, lib. vi. chap. 14.

† Arrian, Expedition of Alexander, lib. iii. chap. 7.



conjecture, contained in the *Ser Dereh Khor* or *Khawar*, and consist of a succession of passes, sometimes very narrow, and at others more expanded, through a *Caveer**, or desert, of a soft soil, broken into great inequalities, and through which flow many salt streams. Roads here branch out in different directions, one to Kashan, another to Firouz Koh, another to Tabbas: the principal roads lead to Semnan and Damgan. The commencement of the *Dereh*, or valley, is ten fursungs from Rey, which would be the probable distance that Alexander marched with light troops. This is the high road to Parthia, through which the great generals of the east have passed; but this particular dereh is described as being dangerous to strangers, who without good guides would be likely to lose themselves in the intricate passes formed by the inequality of the ground. Nadir Shah was stopt here by the Afghans, and he only succeeded to get through by sending part of his army in a devious direction, and then attacking the enemy on a given signal. The dry and thirsty tract mentioned by Pliny, comprehends perhaps the whole of the dereh through the *Caveer*, which is about twelve fursungs in length, and the eight miles of the pass, the narrowest part of the broken lands. There is a village and a district of the name of Khor or Khawar, which is generally coupled in its designation with the neighbouring tract of Veramin.

After passing the *Teng Ser enza* and the Red Castle, the country loses much of its rocky appearance, and is broken up into a variety of volcanic hills, of various colours and strata. Grey, red, and ochreous soils were intermixed, whilst in the vallies formed by their bases were patches of pasture, with small streams and occasional swamps. The tract we travelled through was partially cultivated, but in no places were the habitations of the cultivators to be seen. In these fine climates the ground is tilled by peasants, who deem it no hardship to travel several miles, or even days' journies from their houses. A little temporary mud-wall serves them for a retreat, their cattle browse on the hill, and their food consists of bread and water.

This tract is possessed by Zulfakar Khan, Governor of the town of

* کوبیر Saluginous ground where nothing grows. — Richardson.



Semnan, whose *khoneh* or seat is at Talebabad, not far from that place. This man is brother to Ismael Khan telai, the King's favourite, and enjoys great reputation among his peasantry, for being less of an extortioner than most Persian Governors. The annual tribute which he pays to the King for the enjoyment of his *Mulk*, is reported to be 5000 tomans, of which 900 are in cash, and the remainder in kind. The kind is a tenth of the produce of grain, the money is levied on fruit trees, and cattle, and by a capitation. In this part of the country the ground is fertile, but water scarce. Large portions of land remain fallow one year, and are tilled the next. On a tract of mountains of about fifty miles in circumference, we observed on the declivities of one of their highest parts, a small patch of corn, about two acres in size, to which it required the greatest labour to ascend. The attraction of this spot originated in a spring just sufficient for its irrigation, and hence it may be judged what is the value of water in this dry country. To the thrashing floor of this tract, at the foot of the hills, all the surrounding corn is carried on the backs of mules and asses, there winnowed, and thence transported to the granaries of the Khan.

Our *Menzil* or stage was near the ruin of a castle, and the traces of what was once a village, on the verge of a very wild and savage assemblage of lands. Well may the Persians place their *Dives* and *Jins* in these countries, for they look fit for no other inhabitants! Asseran forms a portion of the district of Hezar Jerib, part of which is in Khorassan, and part in Mazanderan. Here the land yields five for one, and if they give it *rishweh* (literally, bribe it,) by which is meant manure, it yields much more. The greatest part of the Hezar Jerib is watered by the *Deyim* or rain, which may be accounted for by its vicinity to the country of Mazanderan.

On the 25th we proceeded to Foulad Mahaleh. We set off at twenty minutes before 2, and arrived at half-past 10. The road distance may be called 40 miles.

We first wound deep into the mountains, in the bottoms of which were small patches of cultivation, although far distant from any habi-

1815 March



tations. We ascended a steep hill of a deep chalky soil, extremely worn by the passage of the King's troops, and reached a summit, on which we found a hard, flat *chemen* or pasture: thence we continued on the tops and sides of mountains, occupied by large flocks of sheep, which in the cool of the morning lay collected in the warm dales. Here they lead out their sheep to graze at the close of the day until midnight, and also in the grey of the morning, never exposing them to the noon-day heats. We saw occasionally immense flocks distributed over the brown waste, browsing apparently upon the bare stones. On a sudden we broke upon a very remarkable tract of wilder mountains than before, of a soft crumbling soil, composed of chalk and limestone. On their crests the grey stone prevailed, as in the whole of the region of Demawend. Leaving these heights we entered upon a region romantically wooded with pines, and full of the red-legged partridge. Its air and appearance were truly delightful. Between the bases of the mountains were lawns, of a bright green, which here and there were covered with the conspicuous black tents of the Eelauts.

We stopt at one set of these tents that belonged to some Hezar Jeribis, all drest in the Mazanderan costume, speaking the language of that province, and extremely dirty. They were churning their *moss* or curdled milk into butter, which they afterwards boil and lay by for *rog hun*, the common ingredient of Persian cookery. Just before reaching the small plain of Foulad Mahaleh, a superb view opens and discloses very distant ranges of mountains, that border on the territory of Asterabad and the Caspian Sea.

Foulad Mahaleh is a dirty mud-built village, situated upon a hillock insulated on the plain, consisting of about eighty houses. Its inhabitants are very poor, if we might judge from the misery of their appearance. The women were particularly turbulent and clamorous, and appeared entirely to regulate the foreign relations of the village. They resisted a demand made upon them for horses, by throwing stones, and taking up so menacing an attitude as to become formidable. This miserable place belongs to the Mollah Bashi, or chief priest of



Teheran, who seems to keep his peasants in the lowest state of indigence, and seizes from them without compunction every thing but their lives.

The small plain that environs this village bears evidence to the miserable existence which its inhabitants lead in times of trouble, and particularly during the inroads of the Turcomans. Close to each corn-field are erected small square fortifications, into which the cultivator retires the moment the marauders appear, and thence fires upon them, whilst he frequently has the mortification to see his fields laid waste under his own eyes. This is the case on all this frontier, and throughout Khorassan; wherever there is a patch of cultivation, immediately a protecting tower is erected close to it.

26th July.—We were 7½ hours on our road from Foulad Mahaleh to Cheshmeh Ali, which we calculated at 32 miles. We first travelled on a good road, leading through mountains whose bases were not more than a mile separate. They were as usual bare: the same grey rock prevailed, particularly on their crests. This was the driest track we had travelled over, almost totally unprovided with water, until we reached Cheshmeh Ali, where, indeed, we found a luxuriant abundance of this great blessing.

1815

At this place we were well recompensed for our former bad lodging, by being introduced into one of the King's summer-houses, which has the capability of being rendered a beautiful place, beyond any that we had seen in Persia. From under an impending rock issue many copious springs of the most limpid water, which form at once a large stream. They have been enclosed within walls and towers, and are made to flow in a large square basin, across which the building has been erected. Both sides of the enclosure are planted with fruit trees and poplars; and immediately over the springs grow a large plane tree, and two aged and picturesque elms. The constant transition of water, its extraordinary clearness, and the great size of the basin, give the building a delightful freshness: but the instant one goes without the walls, the whole beauty of the scene vanishes, and nothing but a horrid desert of dreary mountains is to be seen. Such is the magic



of water in Persia! This stream forms at once a respectable river, flows towards Damgan, and there irrigates the greater part of its extensive cultivation.

Cheshmeh Ali, or Ali's spring, is so called because it is said to be one of the miracles which Ali performed, at the prayers of the inhabitants of this dry country, who were starving from the effects of a great drought. He spoke, and the waters flowed. But it does not appear that Ali ever was at this place, which these determined believers only add to the magnitude of the miracle.

1915
Cheshmeh

On the 27th we reached the King's camp, situated in a valley called *Sawer*, and were 6½ hours on the road, which we reckoned at 26 miles. At a fursung and a half from Cheshmeh Ali we passed by the village of Kelateh on the left, and taking a northerly direction we entered upon a plain, partially cultivated with corn. On the right, close under the mountains, was the large village of Chahardeh, surrounded by trees; and then Toweh, situated immediately at the entrance of a pass of the mountains, on a commanding situation. There is another road from Cheshmeh Ali to Toweh, that leads over the mountains, and passes near the *Cheshmeh Bād*, or the Fountain of Wind, celebrated through this part of the country, and indeed throughout Persia, as a phenomenon. It is believed by all ranks of people, that as soon as a small stream of mineral water, which flows from the mountain, is polluted by any thing unclean, such as the dung of animals, &c. the touch or impurities of unbelievers, the air is convulsed by a most violent wind, storms arise, clouds obscure the sun, and every thing seems to threaten a total dissolution. This continues to rage with unabated fury, until the members of a particular tribe, who are said alone to be able to make it subside, are called, clear away the pollutions, and restore sunshine and harmony to the heavens. It is affirmed, that the late King paid dear for his curiosity, by ordering the spring to be disturbed; for he saw the whole of his camp swept off the ground by the wind that immediately arose. His present Majesty, whenever he travels this way, is so afraid of a similar catastrophe, that he always stations a *Nasakchi*, or police officer, to see that no one approaches the



spring, on pain of death. In opposition to all these facts, Mr. Campbell ventured to stir up the stream, with all the pollutions he could devise and gather together, and notwithstanding every presage, the heavens continued so obstinately serene, as to shake the faith of the Persians. From Toweh the road leads over mountains of easy access, until it reaches a remarkable and difficult pass, called the *Teng Shemshir bür*, which means *the pass cut by sword*, because it is said that Ali, with one stroke of his scymitar, clave the mountain in two. It is principally formed by an interval of about 8 or 10 feet, between two strata of perpendicular rock, an intermediate layer of which appears to have been carried out to a distance of about 120 paces, as if expressly to form the road. In some parts the sides are so even, that it would appear the hand of man had been employed in the formation of the pass. At its termination to the north, the opening is through a sort of natural gateway, about four or five feet in width. The descent into it, from the southward, is extremely difficult for cattle, particularly camels; and passengers must get off their horses and walk through. About two miles further on is another still more difficult pass, composed of a slippery rock, over which water constantly flows; it is, however, only 20 paces in length. Most prudent people prefer a road over the hill, the descent of which is nevertheless extremely sharp, for the only advantage of the pass is, that it shortens the distance.

Upon approaching the camp we were met by Afrasiab Beg, the Grand Vizier's confidential Georgian, who informed us that the King had ordered that no one should inform his master of the death of his only son, an event that had lately taken place; and requested us, if we were questioned on the subject, to say that the child was well the last time we had heard of him. The object of the King was to keep up the spirits of his minister, whose services and activity were now of the greatest necessity to him; and that a fitter opportunity than the present might be taken to inform him of a loss which would overwhelm him with grief, and destroy the energies of his mind.

The Grand Vizier had tents in readiness for us, and at our first interview he did not fail to make many questions about the health of



his child. All his servants were sworn to secrecy by the King; and the Vizier, in his anxiety, every now and then called them before him, to swear an oath upon the koran, that, to the best of their knowledge, his child was well. It was curious to see the faces which they made after every oath.

When it was made known that we intended visiting Asterabad, the journey was strongly opposed by the Grand Vizier, who said that the road was dangerous on account of the Turcomans, who lay wait in the woods to steal travellers, and carry them into captivity. "If the Elchi were stolen," said Mirza Sheffea, his ransom could "not be effected under 5000 tomauns, which I should be obliged to "pay." However, upon being admitted to an audience of the King, the request was renewed, and our anxiety to visit the seat of the Cajars (His Majesty's own family) was strongly urged; for we said that it would be shameful to have been so near, without making an effort to see it. His Majesty was pleased to assent, but warned us to take advantage of the present moment; for in three days it was his intention to depart, and after that it would not be safe to travel in this part of the country. He then ordered Mustafa Khan, an Asterabad Chief, to attend us with ten mounted fusileers; and gave him injunctions to bring us back in safety on the morning of the second day.



CHAPTER XXIV.

THE camp completely covered a valley two miles long, and one and a half broad, in the centre of which were the King's pavilions, known by their crimson colour, surrounded by a long range of *serperdehs*. Through the centre of the camp, facing the royal tents, runs a long and broad street, which is regularly laid out by the *Ferash Bashi*, or head of the tent pitchers, but they preserve no other order in the encampment. The immense retinues of each chief are encamped in small tents about the pavilion of their master, where his horses, mules, and cattle are also collected. Amongst these are intermixed baths and shops. The only regularity in encamping, which we observed, was among the Serbaz, or disciplined troops, where the tents were placed in rows. On the 28th we departed at the break of day for Asterabad, we started at half past three, and arrived at twenty minutes before one. The mountains that surround the vale of Sawer are entirely clothed with pines. These trees are not of a great size; but as we proceeded, they became larger, and we saw also large maple trees, and the genuine oak. The highest summit of the range that overlooks Asterabad and the Caspian, is called the *Jehan Nemah*, or, as we might say, the Cosmorama. This is almost always obscured by the *mey* or mist; and, therefore, very seldom is there a distant view of the immense expanse of sea and country which it commands. The King kept people there to inform him when it was clear, in order that he might go to enjoy the view. As we ascended to the *Jehan Nemah*, the country became more beautiful, the trees increased in size and beauty, hill and dale arose in a varied succession, and the whole had a park-like appearance, quite novel to an eye accustomed to the other parts of Persia. After three hours' riding, we passed through a narrow rocky pass, the only entrance from the low to the high country, called the *Derwazeh* or gate, where we found a guard of Mazanderanees, composed of about ten men, who at the worst of times

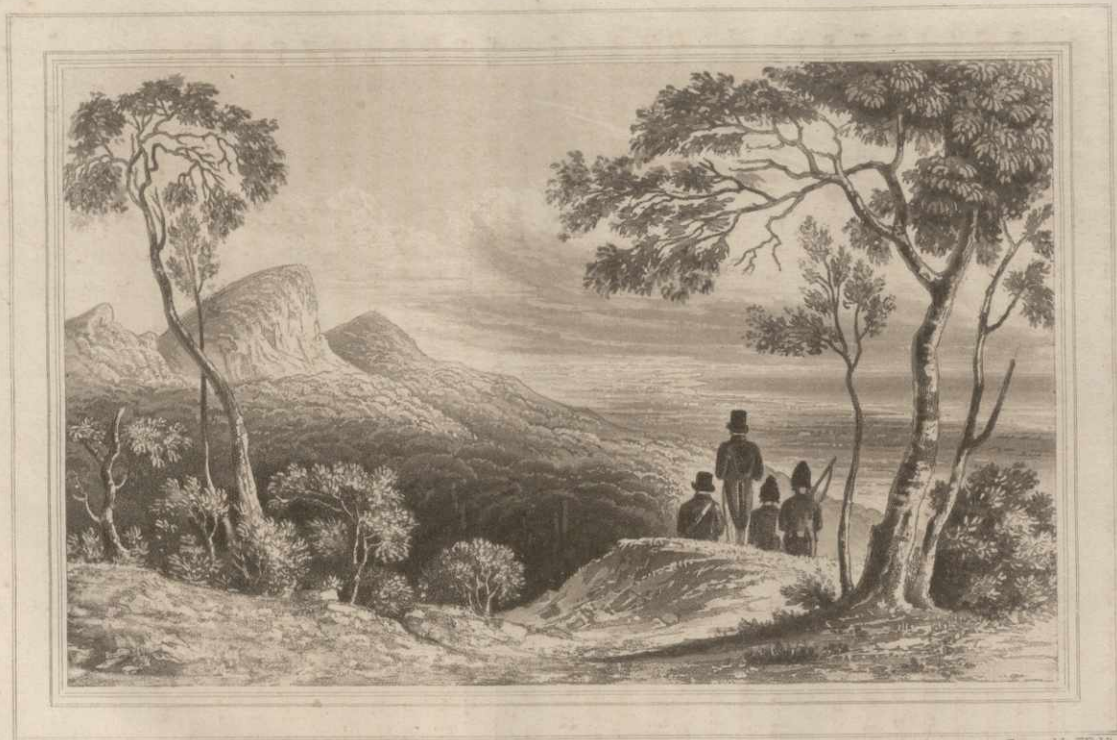


are looked upon as a sufficient number to guard this pass. Here we entered the great mass of wood, extending to the plain of Asterabad, and began to descend the great range of mountains which forms the boundaries between the Caspian, the Turcomans, and Khorassan. The trees in these forests grow to the most stupendous sizes. Oak, elm, beach, ash, alder, larch, maple, and all forest trees, are here to be seen in their greatest beauty. Every precipice is clothed, except two conspicuous abrupt peaks of the highest summits, where a white soil intervenes between the wood. The road is the most difficult over which I ever travelled, being composed of a soil constantly moist, in some places deep in mud, in others broken with slippery rocks and loose stones. Not very far from the Derwazeh is a second pass, called the *Sandúk* or the trunk, which gives its name to the whole mountains, and is indeed the very worst of bad roads. It consists of a succession of slippery and shagged rocks, over which there is a path, but so narrow, that a loaded beast can scarcely pass it, and none but the horses of the country tread it with safety, for all others run the greatest hazard of breaking their limbs. Similar passes, but neither so long nor so dangerous, intervene on the descent, at each of which the passenger must from necessity get off his beast: it took us near four hours to reach the plain of Asterabad.

The whole account of the march of Antiochus from Hecatompylos into Hyrcania as described by Polybius, is so exactly descriptive of the country over which we travelled, and particularly of our descent to Asterabad, that there is reason to suppose, that we pursued the same route. The mountain of the *Sandúk* will then be the *Labutas* of that historian, Asterabad, the site of the ancient *Tambracus*, and the country of *Gurgan*, situated close to Asterabad, will be *Hyrcania* of the Greeks.*

Although the mist was very thick on the tops of the mountain, yet we were fortunate enough to get an extensive view of part of the

* See Polybius, lib. x. 24.



Drawn by James Morier, Esq.

Engraved by T. Fielding

THE CASPIAN SEA FROM THE SANDUK MOUNTAIN.



bay, and of nearly the whole plain of Asterabad, of several capes to the westward, projecting into the Caspian Sea, of the mouth of the Gurgan River, and of the commencement of the Dasht kipchak. As soon as we had descended into the plain, on a level with the sea, we lost the vegetation of a cold climate, and found orange and vine trees growing in the wildest and rankest profusion. We rode for two hours on flat ground, along paths sometimes not more than two feet wide through the jungle. It is impossible to conceive a country that would be more easily defended against an invading enemy. On the track over which we travelled, little ground was cleared away for cultivation, and that little, we observed, was entrenched within wooden fences. Their dried straw was piled upon stacks, raised on high wooden platforms. What most attracted our admiration was the cattle, which were of beautiful colours and forms, of large size, and equal to those of Europe. The bulls, most superb in their appearance, had the hump common to India.

The jungle continues unbroken to the very walls of Asterabad. About a mile before we reached that place, we came upon the high road from Mazanderan, which here is about fifteen yards broad, paved in some parts, but in winter extremely difficult on account of its deep clay. Asterabad is enclosed by a wall and turrets, and a ditch choked with bushes and brambles. It may be above one fursung, or four miles in circumference. The houses are all covered with baked tiles and shelving roofs, and are constructed of sun and kiln burnt bricks, much intermixed with wood. At present the interior of the town looks like a large straggling village, where here and there occurs a succession of connected streets, and where the houses are much interspersed with trees. The great and almost continual rains have taught the inhabitants more comforts than are seen in other Persian cities. Wherever the houses are connected into streets a pavement intervenes; their doors and windows are better contrived; and the general structure of the buildings is more solid and compact. But the whole bespeaks a great want of population and prosperity. They reckon only 1000 families resident in Asterabad, of which few are in good circumstances. A great appearance of



dearth and poverty is to be remarked, with few traces of the habitations of a richer class, except in the great palace of the King, which was built by his predecessor.

Asterabad is called the *Dar al Moumenin*, or the gate of the faithful, from the number of Seyids who inhabit it. The Asterabadies have the reputation of being very courageous, a character which they have acquired perhaps more from the impenetrable nature of their country, than from real prowess. Almost every man is armed with a matchlock gun, which is a precaution rendered necessary by the neighbourhood of the Turcomans, who in their inroads often surprize them, whilst they are labouring in the fields, and carry them away into servitude.

The territory of Asterabad yields rice and corn, the former is the chief food of the people, the latter is made into bread, only for the richer sort. The soil yields ten for one, and almost the whole is watered by the *deyim* or natural irrigation. On the coast they have a fishery, which is frequented by the Russians only, who pay to the Governor of Asterabad 100 tomauns annually for the liberty. Seven or eight small ships are employed in this fishery, which consists of sturgeon, from which they extract the caviar.

We were lodged in the palace built by Aga Mahomed Khan, which considering the comparatively decayed state of the province is still an excellent building, even superior to the palaces of Teheran. It is entered as usual by a *maidan* or square, that leads to the principal gate, which is lofty, and well ornamented with gilding and paintings. Here we remarked two or three old howitzers, and one long gun, bearing an inscription of Aurungzebe, all brought hither by Nadir Shah. From the gate we entered into a large well paved court, planted with orange trees, now loaded with fruit. The farthest end of the court is occupied by a very lofty *Dewan Khaneh* or hall of audience, supported by two immense wooden pillars, and painted all over with the portraits of the old Persian heroes. On the sides are large rooms, also very curiously painted, from which I copied the picture of a woman playing on



a stringed instrument, and over them are suites of upper apartments, from the windows of which a great tract of the country surrounding the town is to be seen. Behind the Dewan Khaneh is a large *anderoon*, or the women's apartment, strongly secured by very massive doors.

At Asterabad much is heard of the Turcomans. Their principal tribes on the frontier of Persia, are the Yemout and the Gúklan; these united, about 8 or 10,000 families in number, are nominally subject to Persia, but their subjection amounts to little else than a present of a few horses annually to the King, who is so careful not to give them cause of disgust, that he generally returns them more than he receives. Their frontier is about eight firsungs from Asterabad, and they constantly communicate with Persia. The only agreement that seems to exist between the parties, is a tacit sort of convention, that they shall not *chappow* (as it is termed), that is, plunder each other. These tribes occupy the first part of the *Dasht* or plains, as far as the Gurgan river, inhabiting tents of about twenty or thirty in



an encampment, which is then called an *Obah*. Beyond these is the tribe of Tekeh, the largest and the most powerful. It extends beyond the Atrak, and generally is at variance with the Yemout and the Gúklan, who for mutual preservation are in strict alliance with each other, and whose united forces are sufficient to oppose those of Tekeh. It is at variance also with the Persians, and whenever the parties find a fit opportunity, they do not fail to make inroads, and carry away booty and prisoners. Beyond these again are the tribes of the *Keik* and *Kargi*, situated near the Jihoon. The Yeylak, or summer quarters of the Yemout is on the banks of the Atrak, and that of those who inhabit the Atrak, in the Balkhan. Their Yeylaks and Kishlaks are most strictly defined; the *Charwah*, who are the richest, taking the best, whilst the poorer families, who are called the *Chumal*, put up with the secondary situations. Every tribe is independent, and each family acknowledges only its own chief; but every twenty or thirty families, which generally form an encampment as before observed, have their elder or *Reishsefeed* chosen from among themselves. He merely presides over the affairs of his particular *obah*; but when the interests of the whole tribe are concerned, as on questions of war or peace, of distant expeditions for *chappow*, or any other general object, then the chief *Reishsefeeds*, who are then called *On-bashis*, collect together in council, and the remainder abide by their decisions. There appears to be a very equal distribution of riches amongst them, and each family seems to have as much independence and liberty as can be enjoyed by man. Their *Reishsefeeds* are neither the most rich nor the most powerful, but those who have gained the greatest experience.

The Turcomans however have a sort of spiritual chief, who sways only by the force of poverty and forbearance. He resides at Bokhara, and enjoys the title of *Khalifeh*, or Calif. The history of Beg Jan, father to the present Prince of Bokhara, is very remarkable, because it shows the great power that may be acquired over a bigotted and ignorant people by one who will put himself to the trouble of affecting austerity and devotion. Beg Jan was revered as a saint, and every part of his conduct tended to establish his reputation in that character.



He reserved to himself only one small portion of land, which, after the manner of Mohamed, he called the *Beit-al-mal*, and this he cultivated with his own hands. The corn it produced he not only cut and winnowed himself, he even ground it into flour with a hand-mill, and with no other addition than vinegar, made it into bread for food. His horse he fed himself, but the corn for it was collected from each house. Whatever more was necessary for his subsistence, he gained by the labour of his hands, either by plating whips or weaving carpets. He thus acquired so great an influence over the minds of the people, that whatever he said was a law. Every dispute was settled by his word; nothing was undertaken in public affairs except by his ordinance; in a word, he enjoyed sovereign power. The present Prince, at the death of Beg Jan, his father, at first threw off the saint to assume the King; but finding that he began to be abandoned, he thought it best to assume the saint again. It is said that his revenue is derived from a tribute paid by 500 families of Jews, resident at Bokhara, who are assessed according to the means of each, the richest paying one *ashrefi* (a gold coin,) which gradually diminishes as it descends to the poorest.

Of the same nature was the influence which, within these two years, a celebrated adventurer, by the name of Mahomed Chini, gained over the Turcomans, whose hostile acts at his instigation gave great umbrage to the King of Persia. The Turcomans are *Sunnis*, and Mahomed Chini was a strenuous upholder of that faith. He came to Teheran, and for some time was the guest of Mahomed Hossein Khan Mervi, one of the principal noblemen of the Persian court. He affected great austerity, dressed meanly, and frequented the *medressehs*, or colleges, where he constantly engaged the *Shiah* Mollahs, or doctors, in controversial disputes on the orthodoxy of their faith. Whether real or feigned, he pretended to have claims on some property within the verge of Persian influence, on the confines of Khorassan, and for some time endeavoured to obtain the interference of the King; but finding that he was not heeded, he departed from Teheran, in company with



some Turcoman hostages, whose escape he had seconded, and reached their *obahs* in safety. The hospitality of the Turcomans is notorious, particularly to devotees. Mahomed Chini, by his address, his appearance of sanctity, and his arts, soon gained a great ascendancy over them. He pretended to work miracles; and imposed upon them a cup that would never empty, and a *tobrah* or horse-bag which, however a horse might eat, would always keep its full measure of corn. In the course of a short time he found himself at the head of a large body of *múrids*, or disciples, whose minds took whatever impulse he chose to give them; and he lost no time in directing them towards his private views. He headed them in inroads against the Persians, and made great ravages about Asterabad. He possessed himself of Meyamey, Ketoul, Fenderis, Tajerm, and other places in the vicinities of Kalpoush and Asterabad, and gave himself the airs of royalty. He issued firmans, and even addressed them to the King of Persia, in a style of boldness that did not fail to have a certain degree of effect. He routed the Persians several times, and was daily increasing in power, when he was killed in a rencontre near Asterabad. The Turcomans revere his memory as a saint, and make the *ziaret*, or pilgrimage, at his tomb.

Mahomed Chini was the disciple of a man still more extraordinary than himself, who seven years before had great sway in the eastern parts of Persia, and who was adored at Herat as a prophet. He went by the name of *Hazret Ishan*, and was so skilful an impostor that many of his disciples, of whom he had great numbers, were so bigotted as to offer themselves as sacrifices to evince their faith in him. His great miracle was a *digue*, or cauldron, which would feed five hundred poor with rice. He placed it in a corner of his room, made a communication with another apartment, through which he poured in fresh rice, and then collecting a great multitude together he appeared to feed them all from this cauldron. He also waged war with the Khorassanees, going to battle in a litter, carried on the heads of his *murids*, who constantly relieved each other. But he fell in a battle with the Persians, having been pierced through litter and all with a spear, when his disciples fled, and quiet was restored.



The Turcomans are great cultivators of corn; their territory yields immensely; and when a scarcity exists in Khorassan, they supply the deficiency. They are very rich in all sorts of cattle, and rear a superb race of horses, which perhaps are in more estimation among the Persians than those of Arabia. The most famous breed is that of Tekeh; for some of which Persian noblemen have been known to give to the amount of three or four hundred tomans. The forces of the Turcomans consist entirely of cavalry, which, if their tribes were united, and led on by an able chief, would be numerous enough to overrun the present empire of Persia, and to repeat the horrors of a Scythian irruption. They seem to possess a great many of the qualities of the Cossacks. When they are least expected they make their appearance in the most distant parts of Persia, and carry away captives from the very interior of towns. Their perseverance, their patience under privations, and their fortitude, are unrivalled: these qualities, if exercised in a more noble calling, would render them an invincible enemy. As they never appear but in small numbers at a time, the Persians despise them, and treat them with great rigour and cruelty; but the instances related of their individual courage and hardihood, their fidelity to each other, and their independent spirit, would do credit to the best ages of Greece and Rome.

On the 29th we returned to Saver by our former road, and having had an audience of the King we got our leave, and travelled back to Cheshmeh Ali. Thence we descended into a hotter region, and went to Damgan.

We passed by the pretty village of Astanek, after leaving Cheshmeh Ali, and then saw two ancient ruined castles, situated on the very top of hills close to the road. We could get no further account of their antiquity, than that they were *Giaour nishins*, or the residence of infidels, a common name to all very ancient remains. They consisted of round towers and walls, built of rude stones; and before the use of cannon must have been strong-holds.

Our road was on a gradual descent from the mountains into the plain of Damgan, which spread itself to an immense extent to the

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southward, bounded in some places only by the horizon, and in others by very distant mountains. The town is recognized at a distance of two or three miles by two minarets, standing conspicuous on the unbroken view. It is at present little better than a mass of ruin, the extent of which denotes how large it formerly must have been. Among these, the inhabitants count three hundred habitable houses, which contain its present population. The Governor of this place and its adjacent territory, is *Mütaleb Khan*, brother to the King's favorite, Ismael Khan, who has a very good house here, in which we were lodged. We heard that he gives the King annually one thousand *kherwar* of corn, which is produced in part from the cultivation of forty to fifty villages that surround the town. The river flowing from Cheshmeh Ali, is the principal source of irrigation to these villages, to which is added another small stream and several kanauts. The ground here yields eight or ten for one, and its principal produce is corn.

The natives say that Damgan was founded by *Housheng*, who, according to the Persian historians, was the son of Siamek, the son of Kaiumers, second Prince of the first and most antient dynasty of Persia. It has several remains of its more modern consequence, in some well-built domes and cupolas, one of which is at present used as a mosque. It was ransacked by Jenghiz, and thoroughly destroyed by Nadir; and as long as the present government of Persia lasts, most likely will never rise above the rank of a large village. There is an old *ark* or citadel defended by patched-up walls, falling to pieces, where with much care is preserved a house in which the present King was born. The region in which it is situated, though nearly on a level with Teheran, enjoys a pure and delicious air: over the whole extent of its immense plain scarcely a tree is to be seen, except a few near the villages; the soil is hard and gravelly, and where uncultivated, is covered with soapwort and the *chor shutur*. Here the want of timber for building becomes manifest, almost all the houses being entirely roofed with arches and domes. To the eastward, the plain stretches over to Bostan, Sharoot, Subswar, Nishapoor, as far as



Meshed; to the northward, it is bounded by a continuation of mountains which overlook Teheran, and which continue unbroken in heights of greater or less magnitude as far as Meshed; and to the southward and westward by the great salt desert or caveer that extends even to the confines of Yezd.

On the 3d of August we continued our route on the same plain of Damgan, to Bakshabad, a village about ten miles distant by the road, called three fursungs, about nine miles geographic. As the deviations were few, we travelled over a very fine hard road that slanted towards the mountains, with remains here and there of villages, some of them apparently large. We passed close to the inhabited one of Reisa-bad, and a little beyond our stage was an excellent clay fort, flanked with towers, called Dowletabad. The plain is said to abound in the gour khur, or wild ass.

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On the 4th we verged more to the mountains, towards a collection of three villages, called collectively Tú Derwar, that are situated in a narrow gorge on the banks of a stream, to the neighbourhood of which they owe their existence and prosperity. All around this gorge is a most wild and unprofitable waste; the verdure of the trees and fields on the margin of the river highly contrasts with the nakedness of the over-hanging mountains. The first village in the gorge, remarkable for a very large tower situated in the middle of it, is called *Sah*, the second *Derwar*, the third *Tower*. We finished our stage at the last, and preferred pitching tents under the shade of the trees, to taking up our abode in the houses, which were announced as being full of a horrible bug called the *sheb-gez* or night-walker. The wounds which this insect inflicts are quite shocking, and more than one of our party were thrown into a fever by their bite, and not cured until near a month after they were bitten. The villagers were particularly civil to us, and acknowledged (the acknowledgment is very rare) that they were contented with the treatment of their Governor, Zulfakar Khan, who takes nothing from them but *nokers*, or servants for the army. On a former occasion, before His present Majesty was King, the Tuderwaries having



given him an asylum on a particular emergency, have for that service been exempted from paying the regular tithes. The village at which we rested was thickly shaded with walnut, poplar, and fruit-trees, and counts three hundred houses.

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On the 6th, we set off early for Shahmirzad, a long distance of ten hours, which we calculated forty-five miles. After setting out, we were indeed obliged to return to our original road, which produced a considerable angle. From Toweh, we mounted a long and steep ascent, and in four hours got to the *Rasm Rúdbar*; where we still found the same encampment of black tents which we had seen on our way to the King's camp. We continued on this road for a short time, with the mountains covered with pines, bordering the valley, and then instead of going through the narrow pass leading to Asseran, we struck off in a S. S. W. direction through a most dreary track, without water, until we reached an eminence, whence we descried the site of Shahmirzad, marked by trees in the nook of the mountains. It looked quite close to us, but we were two hours in getting to it; distance like time, appears small unless there is a succession of objects to mark it. Before reaching the village on the left hand of the road, there is a conspicuous mound of earth, very much resembling the *tumuli* of Troy and Greece. If the body of Darius had not been sent to be buried among the Kings of Persia, I should willingly believe it to have marked his tomb, or at least the spot where he was killed.

Shahmirzad is a large place, embosomed within trees, and forms a central emporium to the extensive tracts of cultivation about it. It is also under the jurisdiction of Zulfakar Khan, whose chief place is Semnan, distant about three fursungs. The women of Shahmirzad are particularly fair, and the climate is reported to be very salubrious.

We proceeded on the 7th to a pasture called Goursefid, or the White Sepulchre, which we reached in $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and calculated the road distance to be 25 miles. We first crossed the mountains that gird Shahmirzad to the northward, through a very difficult pass, which adds one more to the many curious *pylæ* which we have seen in this part of Persia, and again returned to our former road, on which we entered



near Asseran. From Goursefid, where we were encamped, we had an excellent view of the mountain of Demawend, bearing N. 69½° W. The next day we again came to Firouz Koh. Here we learnt that the King was preparing to return, and that arrangements were making for his reception, as it was his intention to dismiss his troops and pass ten days among the rocks of Sawachi, for the purpose of hunting the wild goat. A messenger passed us in great haste for Teheran, charged, as we were told, with the commission of bringing up the *Bazigers*, or dancing-women, to greet his Majesty on his arrival at Firouz Koh.

We returned to Demawend to wait the arrival of my successor Mr. Willock, whose appointment had long been announced from England; and on the 17th September I had the satisfaction to see him. He had completed the journey in only 60 days. We immediately returned to Teheran, to wait the King's return from his campaign, and to make preparations for my leaving Persia.

1825 copy

Finding that the new arrangements which had been made by the English Government in regard to the Persian mission were not very agreeable to the Persians, I determined to do all in my power to leave them in as good a humour as possible with us; and consequently immediately assented to an invitation made me by Mirza Sheffea, to meet His Majesty on the day of his entry into the capital. The *Istakball*, that was preparing was to be of the most splendid nature; and perhaps it was intended to cloak the little brilliancy of the late campaign by the excess of adulation that was made to the King upon his return from it.

In the first place, as in ancient times, almost the whole of the male population of the city was ordered to meet the King*, and very early in the morning of the day of the entry, the environs on the road to Khorassan were covered with people. We were summoned by the Prime Minister in person, who was so anxious that we should be at our post at the earliest moment, that he came almost unattended to us; and having marshalled our procession, he led the way, and served us

* Quint. Curt. lib. v. c. 1.



as a guide through the streets and bazars. The activity and vivacity of this old man, are as amiable as they are extraordinary at his advanced age. We went in our smartest uniforms and on our most lively horses; the body-guard in their handsome Indian dresses created a great clang; and together with the numerous servants and attendants attached to the mission, we added greatly to the general bustle. The old Vizier at our head, apparently all the time in great trepidation lest he should be too late, put out his horse at the full trot, and at this rate we dashed through the great crowd of horse and foot passengers who had already thronged the road. When we had travelled about two miles from the town, we were placed at our post by some of the officers of Hossein Ali Mirza, one of the Princes, Governor of Teheran, when we dismounted, smoked, and seated ourselves on the ground until his Majesty should appear. In the mean time the track of his route was distinguishable over the mountains and along the plain, by a long line of dust, created by his procession. His baggage and equipages were continually passing, until we heard the *Zamburek* or camel artillery that at intervals fired vollies in advance. As they approached, the order of procession became more distinct. His more immediate arrival was marked by the drums and trumpets of his *Nokara*, the performers of which were mounted on gaudy dressed camels; then a long row of *Shatirs*, then the King, totally insulated, a speck in the plain; behind him the Princes his sons, with their suites, then the courtiers and the officers of *Defter Khoneh*, (as we might say, the chief of the public offices,) and the whole was filled up by an immense *tip*, or body of cavalry. As the King drew near, Mirza Sheffea marshalled us about 100 yards from the road side, and when his Majesty beckoned to us, we went forwards in hasty strides, which the old Vizier was anxious we should increase into a trot, it being the etiquette on these occasions, as we afterwards learnt, to run: our conductor himself, was running as fast as he could. The King, having given us his *Khosh Amedee*, ordered us to mount our horses, and then requested me to ride near him; whilst Mirza Sheffea dropped in the rear of the King about twenty paces, where was also Hossein Khan



James Mortar del.

H. Alken sculp.

ENTRY of the KING of PERSIA into TEHERAN.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, London, March 31, 1818.



Mervi. He had the condescension to converse very familiarly, and his remarks and manners are ever those of a highly polished man: he seemed also anxious to give us a public mark of his attention; for as we rode along, at two different intervals, he was presented with bowls filled with sugar candy, of which he first took a piece himself, and then ordered that it should be given to me, and to the gentlemen of the mission and our attendants. This among the Persians is esteemed a very high mark of favour; and whilst we could not refrain from smiling at the strange custom that embarrassed our hands with large pieces of sugar candy on horseback, there was scarcely a Persian around us that would not willingly have given his beard for a similar distinction.

During all this time I had an opportunity of observing the King, and remarking the different stages of the procession. His Majesty was gaily dressed in a white close vest, embroidered with spangles. His sword, his dagger, and other ornaments were entirely inlaid with precious stones. The bridle, crupper, breast-plate, were all either rubies, diamonds, or emeralds, whilst a long thick tassel of pearls was suspended under the horse's throat, by a *cord* that went round his neck. At different intervals he called for his *Kalioun*, (the water pipe,) which was brought to him by his *Shatir Bashi*, or head of the running footmen, from which he took not more than one whiff, which was afterwards emitted in one long white stream of smoke, which he managed to conduct over his beard as a perfume. He was dignified in all he did, and seemed very attentive to all that was going on. As he approached the town, long rows of well-dressed men at some distance from the road made low bows, and whenever he called one near to him he came running with great eagerness, and received whatever he had to say with the greatest devotedness. He was then received by a corps of Mollahs, and *Peishnamaz* (priests) who chaunted forth the *Khotbeh** with all their might. Then oxen, and sheep in great numbers were sacrificed just as he passed, and their heads thrown under

* This is an oration delivered every Friday, after the forenoon service in the principal Mosques, in which the Mahomedans praise God, bless Mahomed, and his descendants, and pray for the King.



his horse's feet. Many glass vases, filled with sugar, were broken before him, and their contents strewed on his road. Every where dervishes were making loud exclamations for his prosperity; whilst a band of wrestlers and dancers were twirling about their *mils* (clubs), and performing all sorts of antics to the sound of the copper drums of Looties. Nothing could be more striking than the variety of the scene that surrounded the King. Amongst the crowd I perceived the whole of the Armenians, headed by their clergy bearing crosses, painted banners, the Gospel, and long candles. They all began to chaunt Psalms as His Majesty drew near; and their zeal was only surpassed by that of the Jews, who also had collected themselves into a body, conducted by their rabbis, who raised on high a carved representation on wood of the tabernacle, and made the most outrageous cries of devotion, accompanied by the most extravagant gestures of humiliation, determined that they at least should not pass unnoticed by the Monarch. On coming close to the walls of the city, the crowd of horsemen and people encreased to an extraordinary degree, and where they were confined in some places by the walls of gardens, became quite stationary. In all the bustle I perceived the King constantly looking at a watch carried by Shatir Bashi, anxious that he should enter the gates exactly at the time prescribed by the astrologers.



CHAPTER XXV.

MR. Willock was the bearer of the Prince Regent's ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, that had been concluded by Mr. Ellis and myself with the Persian plenipotentiaries, as well as of a letter from the Prince Regent to the Shah. He also brought my letter of recall.

As it was necessary to deliver the ratification and the letters with proper solemnity, I requested that His Majesty would fix the time and place for receiving them; and as the Persians never undertake any thing without consulting the heavens, I was informed that the astrologers had just found that a lucky hour would intervene on the following day, when we were to be introduced into the royal presence. The King being aware that this ratification fixed the relations between the two countries, he resolved to make the solemnity more remarkable by receiving us in a new building, in which he had never yet seated himself, and which was yet scarcely habitable. We went in great state, and in order to reach the new palace were taken through little dirty lanes, encumbered with the materials of masonry. In our way through them, we met Ali Shah and Hossein Ali Mirza, two of the King's sons, who were on foot, surrounded by their attendants, some of whom in the most peremptory manner ordered us to get off our horses. Considering the public object of our visit to the King, we resisted their request, and were permitted to proceed without undergoing that ceremony. Alighting at a small gate, and having disposed ourselves in proper procession, we were paraded in presence of His Majesty by Mirza Sheffea, Mr. Willock carrying the letter, and I the ratification. We found the King seated in one corner of a large and cheerful room, handsomely ornamented with paintings. He received us with some suitable speeches, expressive of his hopes that nothing would ever happen to alter the happy union that at present existed between our two



DEPARTURE FROM TEHERAN.

countries; and informed us that as it was a received fact amongst them, that the being seated in a new house at an auspicious hour was ever productive of good fortune, he had expressly availed himself of such a circumstance to receive the ratification of our peace. I had still my letter of recall to deliver, which being perceived by His Majesty he condescended to call me to him, and as I knelt down to deliver it, he did not bid me place it on the carpet before him, as on other occasions, but took it at once into his hand from mine, which I was informed was a mark of his special favour. After the King had asked Mr. Willock a great many questions upon the state of the European world, and particularly what he had observed in his passage through Russia, we were dismissed by the usual nod of the King's head.

1815

The 6th of October was at length fixed for my departure, and the King was pleased to grant my audience of leave on the day preceding. Although His Majesty in the most flattering terms expressed his sorrow at my departure, yet I must own that I never felt so much happiness as on the morning when I made my exit from the gates of Teheran. My sensations were exactly those expressed by Tournefort, when he determined to return to France.* Although in the heart of Persia, yet I had scarcely quitted Teheran, before it seemed that I could perceive the dome of St. Paul's church, and the spires of London. In Persia there is nothing to attach the heart—the people (with some exceptions) are false, the soil is dreary, and disease is in the climate. At a distance from civilized life, seldom hearing from our country and friends, without the resources of society, the life we led was little better than a state of exile. My regrets, which were confined to parting from those who had been my companions, were heightened by the thought that I left them to pursue that life which had been so irksome to myself.

1815

I was accompanied as far as Tabriz by Messrs. Willock and Campbell, where we arrived on the 26th. We found the Prince engaged in

* Tournefort's Travels, 21st Letter.



the marriage of his sister to a Cajar nobleman ; and as it is the custom in Persia for brothers not to appear at the rejoicings which take place on such an event, His Royal Highness had surrendered his palace in the city to be used for the celebration of the nuptials, and had taken up his residence in a pleasure house, surrounded by extensive gardens, situated without the walls. On my arrival, I informed the Prince, that as Mr. Willock was bearer of a letter and a present to him from His Royal Highness the Prince Regent *, I requested he would appoint a suitable hour for receiving us, that we might present these marks of friendship in due form.

We were appointed to come on the following day in the morning, which we did in great procession. On reaching the Prince's dwelling, we found all the disciplined troops in his pay, then at Tabriz, drawn up in front of it. The room in which he was seated was entirely open on the side facing the troops; and as soon as Mr. Willock and I entered, the one bearing the Prince Regent's letter and the other the present, he immediately stood up, and when he advanced towards us, the whole of his troops presented their arms, their colours were lowered, and military music resounded in all parts of their line. We had always remarked, that every time we returned to Tabriz, we were struck by some new step towards the manners and civilization of Europe, and this mark of the Prince's attention, so neatly and appropriately displayed towards our own Regent, gave us the greatest pleasure, and we did not fail to make our consequent acknowledgements for it.

Our time was taken up during the few days that I remained at Tabriz, in attending the different entertainments given by the Persian noblemen on the occasion of the marriage. The Governor of the city, Fattah Ali Khan, gave a breakfast, where dancers and jugglers were introduced. On the day in which the marriage was to be consummated, Abbas Mirza made a distant excursion to hunt, and did not return until

* The present was composed of a gold snuff-box, superbly set in brilliants, with a picture of the Prince Regent on the lid.



two days after the ceremonies were over. With us, the bride and bridegroom escape from their friends to hide themselves; here it is the reverse. We formed part of a very numerous assembly, that was invited to the exhibition of fire-works in the great square of the city, and were entertained at the expense of the Prince by his Vizier. The room in which the bridegroom received his bride, was ornamented by large gold coins (five tomaun pieces), 500 of which were arranged on the shelves. Part of the Princess's dowry consisted of gold enamelled slippers. We learnt that the bridegroom was so overawed by the presence of the Princess, that instead of hastening to receive her, he shrunk from her approach.

The Prince previous to my departure invited us to a hunt, which was to take place in the mountains that environ Tabriz. Having disposed of my riding horses, I was supplied with a very fine one from the Prince's stud, accoutred with an English saddle and bridle. We departed at day-break, and met the Prince, surrounded by his guards and attendants, just on entering the gorge of the mountains. We then commenced our ascent up some of the most wild and dangerous mountains I had ever witnessed, but to which the Prince and his attendants were quite familiar, and as he rode along them, he continued to converse as coolly as if he was riding on the plain. Having reached an extreme summit, we dismounted from our horses; and then a hot breakfast, consisting of the best of Persian cookery was served up to us, as we sat upon the wild rocks that rose in grotesque forms all around us. After this was over, we took our station, with guns loaded with ball, upon the brink of a deep valley, through which the game was to be driven. The Prince had over night sent several battalions of his troops, with their drums to surround and beat the country, and at the time we arrived at the spot, the game was to have appeared in the vale, upon the confines of which we were stationed; but unfortunately the scheme failed. The advance of the troops had been ill-timed, and the wild goats and antelopes, which were to have been our prey, had escaped before we appeared.



ქართული
ლიბრარიონი



Drawn & Engr'd by James Morier

J. Fielding Aquatinta.

A PERSIAN BREAKFAST.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, London, March 31st 1818.



If we refer to the *Cyropædia* *, we shall find that little change has taken place in the mode of hunting in Persia since the days of Cyrus. The slaughter of game is sometimes immense on these parties ; for when the beasts are driven into the valleys, they find an enemy behind each rock, and the firing that is kept up incessantly, alarms them so much, that they know not where to go for safety. It not unfrequently happens, that the Prince's attendants, who in the ardour of the chase are unmindful of every thing but their game, fire at random, and shoot each other.

On the 1st of November, 1815, I left Tabriz, escorted by two Turkish Tatars, and two servants ; we were also accompanied by a Persian Mehmandar, who made levies of horses from the villages for us, according to the number specified in his firman.

Our first stage was at Sahalan, near Tabriz, a village that is the property of the wife of Ahmed Khan of Maragha. She was then on a pilgrimage to Mecca, during which she had left the administration of the village to the care of the Prince's Vizier. We successively went to Marand, Gerger, (where we crossed the Araxes,) and to Nakhjuwan. I was very politely treated by Kerim Khan, the Governor of Nakhjuwan, who gave me a Persian breakfast, which was attended by my Mehmandar, and two or three other Persians. I have before described the modes of Persian eating, but a sketch would perhaps convey a better idea, and this breakfast afforded me a fair opportunity of making one. We reached Develú in one day from Nakhjuwan, but were caught in a heavy rain, and benighted before we reached the village. With difficulty the Mehmandar and myself found our way to it, but the remainder of our party were far behind us, and as we feared that they might ramble about the plain all night, the Persians who seemed to be accustomed to adventures like this, immediately lighted a fire of straw on the top of our house, and constantly kept throwing up the lighted ashes of it in the air, which effectually served as a beacon to the rest, who at length reached us in safety.

* Lib. i.

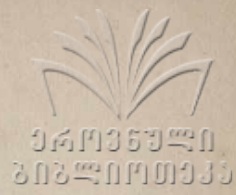


As we crossed the plain of Erivan, we met great numbers of Courds, who had fled from the Turkish territory to that of Persia, and were travelling to take possession of villages which had been assigned to them for their habitation by the Serdar of Erivan. On the day of my arrival at Erivan, I visited him, and he informed me of the circumstances that had led to the migration of the Courds. When Baba Pasha, the present Serasker of Arze Roum, first took possession of his government, the city and territory of Bayazid was in possession of Ibrahim Pasha, a man who was obnoxious to both the Turkish and Persian governments; for on his account the frontier between the two countries was always in an unsettled state. Baba Pasha came to a friendly understanding with the Serdar of Erivan, Ibrahim Pasha was deposed, and Abdullah, a man who had been recommended by the Serdar as a fit person to be entrusted with the government of the frontier, was appointed. Ibrahim Pasha, in the mean while, was detained at Arze Roum, dependent upon the will of Baba Pasha; but as he was well allied in the country with rich friends, he managed, by intrigue and bribe, to get himself once more appointed to his Pashalik. This of course was a step in every way disagreeable to the Persian government, and they made some very strong remonstrances to Baba Pasha, who, it is said, answered them with arrogance. The Pasha, in writing to the Persian government, said, "Don't you know that the power of the Osmanlis has been established for many centuries?" And he was answered, in return, "You may talk of the antiquity of the Osmanlis, but recollect that the kingdom of Persia dates from Kaiumers, who was the first King of the world."

As Hassan Aga, head of the tribe of Courds which had come over to the Serdar, was an enemy to Ibrahim Pasha, and related by marriage to the Serdar, he immediately brought over all his tribe from the Bayazid territory to that of Erivan.

On the 7th I reached Etchmiatzin, in a torrent of rain, and came quite unawares upon the venerable chief of the Armenian church, who received me in the most friendly manner, and gave me his own apartment to live in. He informed me that he had not long finished the

18/5/1868



vintage, and that the quantity of wine which had been produced was so great, that he had been obliged to fill all the cisterns in his garden, which are plastered with a strong sort of cement, and if kept well cleaned, do not hurt the wine. A similar mode of keeping wine in plastered cisterns is remarked by Xenophon*, when the Ten Thousand were in the countries that bordered upon the Carduchians and Armenia. The Patriarch entertained me at dinner, on a table set out in the European manner, and well furnished with wine. Besides His Eminency and myself, we had two Armenian Bishops, one of whom, before we sat down, said a grace in the Armenian language, near a quarter of an hour in length. The conversation of the Patriarch was entirely wrapt up in parable; and he never recommended me to a dish, or to drink of his wine, without a preface of considerable length. By way of entertainment after dinner, he ordered two singing-boys of his choir to appear before him, and made them chaunt some of their most approved church music, and sing an Armenian song, set to a Turkish tune, which, as far as I could collect, was composed in honour of the Emperor Alexander. Having been obliged to remain two days at Etchmiatzin, on account of very bad weather, we departed on the 9th, and reached the village of Haji Bairamlú, situated on the banks of the Arpachai river, which forms the boundary of Turkey and Persia. I was lodged in the house of an hospitable man, who spoke of the distressed state of this part of the country. The next morning we crossed the Arpachai, or Arpasou, (the ancient Harpasus,) a broad and rapid river, full of large loose stones, that are frequently carried along with great force by the violence of the stream. At the place where we crossed, it might be about 100 yards in breadth, increasing as it approached its confluence with the Araxes. The Harpasus, where the Greeks saw it, was 400 feet broad; but the breadth of this river, as it is of most Asiatic rivers, varies greatly according to the seasons, and according to the quantity of rain or snows that have fallen on the mountains. My Mehmandar seized two villagers, who were made to

* Καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιαλοῖς εἶχον. Anabasis, lib. iv. c. 2.



strip, and to wade through the stream on each side of our baggage-horses, to prevent them from falling; a service which, after considerable difficulty and danger, they succeeded in performing; but one of these poor fellows had found the water so cold, that as soon as he had got to the other side, and without reach of the Mehmandar, he fled, and secreted himself among the weeds until we had all passed. I never found myself so disagreeably situated as on the passage of this river. The water was over the top of my boots, and it was with difficulty that I could keep my horse's head above water; for finding no sure footing on the large loose stones, almost every step was a stumble, and an inclination to fall. One of my Tatars informed me, that he had once fallen into this stream, and had been borne away for some distance with the saddle-bags, containing his dispatches; but that such was their excellence, and the good precautions he had taken to wrap up his papers in wax-cloth, that when they were taken out of the river no damage had accrued.

Immediately on crossing the Arpachai, we commenced an ascent through a country of defiles, generally infested by robbers, on which account we were escorted by a dozen of Persian infantry-men, detached from a corps of disciplined troops stationed at Hajibairamlú; and from the top of this ascent I had a commanding view of the junction of the Arpachai and the Araxes, which is not a considerable river until it receives the water of the former. The junction is formed near an insulated red rock, of wild and picturesque appearance, about two miles below Hajibairamlú. The water of the Araxes, which in general is clear, now wore a red tinge, which was to be attributed to the soil washed into it by the preceding heavy rains.

We reached Ekrek, an Armenian village, the houses of which answer in description to those mentioned by Xenophon in Armenia; and it may be remarked, that houses upon the same principle are used throughout all this part of Armenia, including part of Georgia, which is so deservedly celebrated for the severity of its cold. The inhabitants make a considerable excavation, which, according to the nature of the ground, gives them one, two, or three sides of their house, and then



build up the remainder with huge stones, like Cyclopean walls. Upon this they lay very thick rafters, and then cover the whole with earth, in so solid a manner, that in walking about the village it is difficult to say if you are walking upon a house top, or upon the bare ground. They only leave one aperture at the top, which lights the room inhabited by the family. This room is partitioned off with large planks and railing from the great body of the interior, which is left as a stable for the cattle. In some cases, the inhabitants descend into their dwelling from above; but generally they and the cattle have one common entrance, as they have one common place of abode. The inhabitants and the cattle keep each other warm; the former by making a fire in their lodging, and the latter by the heat of their exhalations.

From Ekrek to Kars, which I must conceive to be one of the highest parts of Armenia, the whole country was covered with deep snow. This was only the 11th of November, and snow had already been a fortnight on the ground. Upon the clearing away of a dense fog, from the highest eminence above Ekrek, I had one of the most extensive and sublime views, perhaps, in the world. The grand outlines of Ararat were on the one side; the extensive plain of Erivan, watered by the Araxes, was in front; and the mountains of Aligez and Georgia on the left; whilst below me was the junction of the Arpachai and the Araxes, delineated as on a map. I also observed the junction of the Kars river with that of the Arpachai. The extreme and piercing cold that I felt at this height totally disabled me from making use of my pencil, or of taking geographical bearings with my compass; and it will be a matter of regret that I have lost so good an opportunity of bringing away at least a sketch of so vast and sublime a scene.

1815 m. alt.

I must then have been upon part of the mountains in which the ten thousand Greeks wandered about for twenty-one days* without a guide; a disaster which the heavy fogs that are common to this part of Armenia must have considerably increased.

* Vide Rennell's Illustrations, chap. 14.



After having travelled all day in the snow, we at length discovered the town of Kars, at a considerable distance before we reached it. It is situated on and about a most picturesque rock, and is watered by a very considerable river, over which there are some substantial bridges. The castle, which is built on the summit of the rock, with its castellated walls, winding about in various directions, is defended by six guns, of small calibre. These were fired on the day we arrived, which happened to be the festival of the Beyram. The houses are all built of stone, strong as castles, and are lighted by little peep-holes, on account of the excessive cold. I was lodged at an Armenian dyer's, in a large and substantial stone house, containing five or six rooms, besides store-houses, kitchen, &c., which he told me he had bought for 1000 Turkish piastres, (about £40,) but which he could not build for 3000. The women's apartments, including the kitchen, and in which indeed the whole family appeared to live, were lighted by an aperture from the ceiling.

Kars is the seat of a Pasha of three tails, who keeps up little state, as the appointment in so remote a part of the empire is not much relished by the Turkish *employés*; and consequently, living in the hope of being appointed to another government, they do not go to great expense in their establishment.

1840

On the 12th we departed from Kars, and stopped at Deli Ahmed for the night, although the regular post is at Javlak. The weather continued extremely cold; and as long as we were exposed to the air, every hair of our mustachios was distended into a stiffened icicle, and whatever was moistened by the breath immediately became ice. On the 13th we crossed the Savanlou Dagh, a long stragglng mountain, covered with fir-trees, which supply all the surrounding country with fuel and timber. It is famous for being the retreat of the Courdish robbers, who, in the summer when they and their cattle can live under the trees and on the pasturages, are constantly on the look-out for travellers or caravans. They have, however, of late been kept in awe, by the severity of Baba Pasha.



We reached Minsingird, a distance nominally called twelve *sahat*, or hours, which are here reckoned by the rate of going of an *arabah* or cart drawn by oxen. The whole of our track from Kars had been covered with snow, until we reached the valley of Minsingird, which had none. This place is overlooked by an insulated and honey-combed rock, on the top of which are the remains of a stone-built castle. I was lodged as usual in a large stable, in one corner of which was a place railed off for the purposes of habitation, and which in the company of four or five buffaloes, and as many cows, I found disagreeably warm. My bed was spread upon some planks, the ends of which rested upon heaps of dried grass, and after I had been asleep, I was awoke on a sudden by the falling of it. An honest buffalo had been feeding upon the grass under the head of my bed, which he at length had diminished so much in quantity that the planks fell by a natural consequence.

We departed from Minsingird with the intention of reaching Hassan Caleh, but our cattle could only reach Kupri Kieu, an Armenian village, close to Korban Kupri, the bridge over the Araxes.

We changed horses at Hassancaleh, and as I was seated in the post-master's room, a poor and decrepid Turk presented me some apples, and then sitting down, most philosophically exclaimed *Duniah bosh*,—the world is nothing; or in other words, all is vanity. On the same day we reached Arze Roum, and I paid a visit to the Pasha, who has acquired great celebrity among the Turks as a warrior. He was originally a Pehlivan or prize-fighter; and having performed some feats of valour in the war against Russia, he was made a colonel. From that he became a Pasha of two tails, and having been made prisoner by the Russians, upon his release, he received an additional tail, and was made the Serasker or commander in chief of the Persian and Russian frontier, and the seat of his government was established at Arze Roum. He sent me a horse gaily caparisoned, attended by several servants, to conduct me to his palace, and when I entered the room in which he was seated, I found him in a corner of his sofa, overwhelmed with pelisses, and the heaps of shawls on his head. He appeared perfectly torpid, but I make no doubt if roused, he would



be a lion in strength. His great amusement is to have Pehlivan wrestle before him. He makes himself feared by the Courdish robbers, whose heads he sends duly salted by mule-loads to Constantinople, to be laid before the gate of the seraglio. He was very polite, made me smoke out of a very long pipe, and gave me an abundance of hot coffee. We never find the Turks ashamed of their origin, however great may be the rank to which they may afterwards attain. This man appears to pride himself upon having been a Pehlivan, for the inscription on his seal is *Pehlivan, Ibrahim Pasha*,—or Ibrahim Pasha, the prize-fighter.

19 Jan 1815

I arrived at Constantinople on the 17th December, 1816, having travelled over the same road which has been described in my former journal.

The departed from Constantinople with the intention of reaching Hama...
Caleb, but our cattle could only reach Kibar Kiar, an Armenian...
village close to Kibar Kiar, the bridge over the river...
We changed horses at Hama, and as I was seated in the post...
under a room, a poor and decrepit Turk presented me some apples...
and being sitting down, I was philosophically explaining to him...
the world is nothing, or in other words, all is vanity. On the same...
day we reached Hama, the caravan paid a visit to the... who has...
and was... as a warrior. He was origi...
nally a... and having performed some feats of...
valor in the... he was made a colonel. From that...
he became a... of two... and having been made prisoner by...
the... upon his release, he received an additional... and...
was made the... or commander in chief of the...
and... and the seat of his government was established...
at... He gave me a horse with equipment attended by...
several... to conduct me to his palace, and when I entered the...
room in which he was seated, I found him at a corner of his...
overwhelmed with... and the... of... on... the...
appeared perfectly... that... he would...

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APPENDIX.



NOTE A. — Page 1.

As the Persian Ambassador attracted much interest in England, it may be gratifying to his friends, and not unacceptable to others, to receive some account of his residence in this country.

His first surprise on reaching England, was at the caravanserais, for so, though no contrast can be greater, he called our hotels. We were lodged in a gay apartment at Plymouth, richly ornamented with looking-glasses, which are so esteemed in Persia, that they are held to be fitting for royal apartments only: and our dinners were served up with such quantities of plate, and of glass ware, as brought forth repeated expressions of surprise every time he was told that they were the common appendages of our caravanserais. The good folks of the inn, who like most people in England, look upon it as a matter of course that nothing can be too hot for Asiatics, so loaded the Ambassador's bed with warm covering, that he had scarcely been in bed an hour, before he was obliged to get out of it; for having during all his life slept on nothing but a mattrass on the bare ground, he found the heat insupportable, and in this state he walked about the greatest part of the night, with all the people of the inn following him in procession, and unable to divine what could be his wishes.

One of the public coaches was hired to convey his servants to London; and when four of them had got inside, having seated themselves cross-legged, they would not allow that there could be room for more, although the coach was calculated to take six. They armed themselves from head to foot with pistols, swords, and each a musket in his hand, as if they were about to make a journey in their own country; and thus encumbered, notwithstanding every assurance that nothing could happen to them, they got into the coach. His Excellency himself greatly enjoyed the novelty of a carriage, and



was delighted at the speed with which we travelled, particularly at night, when he perceived no diminution of it, although he was surprised that all this was done without a guide. We were met at two posts from London by two gentlemen of the Foreign Office, who greeted him on his arrival; but he grew very anxious as we proceeded, and seemed to be looking out for an *Istakball*, or a deputation headed by some man of distinction, which, after the manner of his own country, he expected would be sent to meet him. In vain we assured him that no disrespect was intended, and that our modes of doing honour to Ambassadors were different from those of Persia: our excuses seemed only to grieve him the more; and although to a foreigner the interest of the road greatly increased as we approached the city, yet he requested to have both the glasses of the carriage drawn up, for he said that he did not understand the nature of such an entry, which appeared to him more like smuggling a bale of goods into a town, than the reception of a public envoy. As for three of his servants who followed us in a chaise behind, they had nearly suffocated themselves; for, by way of experiment, they had put up all the glasses, and then when they wished it could not put them down, so that they were quite exhausted for want of fresh air.

He who had witnessed the manner in which our ambassadors had been received in Persia, particularly the *levée en masse* of the inhabitants who were sent out to meet him at every place where he stopt, was surprised to see the little notice that he himself in the same situation in England had attracted, and the total independence of all ranks of people.

Although he found a fine house and a splendid establishment, ready to receive him in London, and although a fine collation was laid out upon the morning of his arrival, nothing could revive his spirits; so much had he been disappointed at the mode of his reception.

His first object was to deliver his credentials to the King as soon as possible, because in Persia it is esteemed a slight if that ceremony be delayed. In this also he was disappointed, for on the first Wednesday, the usual levee day, His Majesty happened to be unwell, and consequently there was a delay of more than ten days before he could be presented. He bitterly lamented his fate, and daily affirmed, that for this he should lose his head on his return to Persia. When the day came, he was naturally anxious about the reception which he was to find: He had formed his ideas of our court from what he recollected of his own, where the King's person is held so sacred, that few have the privilege of approaching it. He had a private audience at the Queen's House, and from the manner in which he expressed himself after it was



over, it appeared that the respect which he had hitherto felt towards our monarch was diminished. There are many ceremonies exacted upon approaching the Shah of Persia. He is first seen at a great distance, he is approached with great caution, and with many profound inclinations of the body. In his immediate vicinity, the shoes are taken off, and none enters the room in which he himself is seated, without a special command from him. Here the Persian entered at once into the same room where His Majesty was standing. He made no inclination of the body, he did not even take his shoes off; and, what is more, he put his credentials into His Majesty's own hands. He said, that he had expected to have seen our King seated on a throne at a distance, and that he could not have approached within many paces of him: his surprise then may be conceived, when, on entering a small room, he was taken to a person whom he took to be a *capijee* or porter, and was informed, that this was the King of England. He said, that if any blame was imputed to him for not having delivered his credentials immediately on arrival, that all would be pardoned him, when he should assure the Shah, that he was not desired to take off his shoes as he approached our Monarch. These circumstances will perhaps show, of what importance it is, upon the introduction of an Oriental Minister to the King, that care should be taken to show him the court in its greatest splendour.

He arrived in London in the month of November, and the gloom of the weather had a visible effect upon his health and spirits. For two months he never saw the sun, and it was fully believed by his suite, that they had got into regions beyond its influence; when one day several of them rushed into him with great joy to announce that they had just seen it, and that if he made haste he might perhaps see it also.

It was surprising to observe with what ease he acquired our habits of life, how soon he used himself to our furniture, our modes of eating, our hours, our forms and ceremonies, and even our language, though, perhaps, with respect to the latter acquirement, it might rather be observed, that he soon learnt sufficient just to misunderstand every thing that was said. He who had sat upon his heels on the ground all his life, here was quite at his ease on chairs and sofas; he who before never eat but with his fingers, now used knives and forks without inconvenience.

Of some things, it would be impossible from mere description to give any just idea. Such was an opera or a play to a Persian. The first night he went to the opera, evidently the impression of surprise which he received on entering his box was very strong, although his pride made him conceal it. His servants had been sent to the gallery, and upon going



up to hear what was their conversation, they were found wrangling amongst themselves, whether or no the figures that they saw upon the stage were real men and women or automaton. He was taken to see King Lear, and the story, which is likely to affect one whose natural respect for majesty is so profound, brought tears from him in great plenty, although he did not understand the language in which it was acted. No people would have a greater taste for scenic representations than the Persians; if we may judge from the effects which they produced on these individuals.

When it is known that a Persian *mejlis* or assembly is composed of people seated in a formal row on the ground, with their backs against the wall, some idea may be had of the Persian Ambassador's surprise upon entering an English rout. The perfect ease of his manners and unembarrassed conduct on such occasions, will be as surprising to us, as the great crowd of men and women hotly pressed together for no one apparent purpose, was to him. He gave an entertainment of a similar description at his own house, to the astonishment of his domestics, whose greatest surprise was how little noise was made by such a crowd, for said they, "What a different scene would such a number of people have made of it in Persia!"

On his being taken to hear a debate at the House of Commons, he immediately sided with a young orator, who gained him over by his earnest manner and the vehemence of his action; and at the House of Lords, the great object of his remark was the Lord Chancellor, whose enormous wig, which he compared to a sheep-skin, awoke all his curiosity. There was considerable pleasure in observing his emotion when he was taken to St. Paul's Cathedral, on the anniversary of the Charity children, where he acquired more real esteem for the institutions and the national character of England than he did from any other sight, for he frequently after referred to his feelings on that occasion.

He was one day waited upon by a deputation from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, composed of three Reverend Gentlemen, who in their robes presented him with a Bible and prayer-book superbly bound, and addressed him with a speech written on parchment. As they spoke the address he was requested to stand up, which he willingly did; but when they had departed, his servants were all unanimous that he had been made an *Isauvi*, that is, a Christian.

He frequently walked in Kensington Gardens by himself. As he was one day seated on a bench, an old gentleman and an old lady, taking him for one of his own attendants, accosted him. They asked him many questions:—How



does your master like this, and how does he like that? and so on. — 'Tired with being questioned, he said, "He like all very well; but one thing he not like — "old man ask too many questions." Upon this he got up laughing, leaving the old gentleman to find out that he had been speaking to the Ambassador in person.

If the whole history of his residence in England were worth the narrative, it is evident that this note might be greatly lengthened; but, perhaps, that which would afford the most amusement, would be the publication of his own journal, which he regularly kept, during his absence from Persia; and which on his return there, was read with great avidity by his own countrymen.

NOTE B. — Page 30.

I am indebted to Mr. Bruce, Resident of the East India Company at Bushire, for the following intelligence concerning the Island of Ormus: —

"Ships may go close to the fort, which stands on a low sandy point, where a mole has been formed, that enables boats to go up to the gates. There is no other water on the island but that which is collected in reservoirs during the rainy season from November to February. The island is covered with ruins, among which the reservoirs are found, but most of them are in a state of decay. We collected some specimens of rock-salt, of which the soil of this island is principally composed. Its high peaks, which have a particular white appearance, as if covered with snow, are in fact composed of rock-salt. The only habitable place in Ormus at present, is the fort, which is said to have been built by the Portuguese General Albuquerque, in 1507, when he took the island from the Persians: it is now in tolerable repair and still possesses some very large Portuguese cannon.

"The Imaum of Muscat keeps a garrison here of 120 Nubian slaves and 80 Arabs, to prevent the Joassimi pirates from taking possession of it. One of the inhabitants with whom I conversed, said that silver crucifixes are frequently found amongst the ruins, and that only a few years ago an old man had died, who had been an inhabitant in the time of the Portuguese. In clear weather the islands of Larrak, Kishmis, and the fort at Gomberoon are to be seen from the roads; fish is found here in great plenty, as indeed it is all over the Persian Gulf."



NOTE C. — Page 152.

Journal of the Weather at Ispahan, during the Months of August and September, 1811.

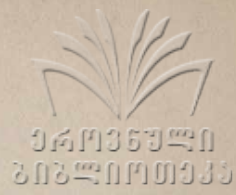
State of the Thermometer.			AUGUST.
Sun-rise.	Two P. M.	Seven P. M.	
	98		1st, 5th, 6th and 7th. — In the morning, generally a great haze over the city. Clear at about 10 o'clock, A. M. At night, wind from the E.; in the day time, the wind S. E. and E.
	97		
	98		
	95		
63	98	78	10th. — Wind Easterly.
67	87	—	12th. — Wind S. E.; light airs. At 4 o'clock a few drops of rain. Sky clouded in the evening.
61	87	78	13th. — In the evening heavy clouds and strong gusts of wind. — Sensible change in the temperature. Cool.
—	82	—	14th. — As yesterday.
57	78	64	15th. — About 4 P. M. heavy thunder and lightning. Wind S. and W. Cold and great change of climate.
54	85	68	16th. — Most delightful weather. Light clouds towards the evening.
54	86	—	17th. — The weather so cool that we rode out in the middle of the day, and were not incommoded by the heat of the sun.
56	87	—	18th, 19th and 20th. — Most delightful temperature.
54	—	—	21st. — Pleasantly cool.
53	86	—	23d. — First ploughing of the ground.
—	—	—	24th and 25th. — Owing to the change of weather, many people taken ill of fever and agues.



State of the Thermometer.				State of the Thermometer.		
Sun-rise.	Two P. M.	Seven P. M.		Sun-rise.	Two P. M.	Seven P. M.
52	80	62	26th.			
50	85	—	27th.	} People continually falling sick ; 32 in our own camp.		
52	86	—	28th.			
53	87	—	29th.			
54	88	—	30th.	— The weather gradually becomes hotter.		
—	91	—	31st.	— The heat much greater, and the sickness less.		
SEPTEMBER.						
55	90	—	1st.	— Much sickness.		
—	91	—	2d and 3d.	— Clear weather.		
—	92	—	4th.	— The weather much hotter ; fine clear morning and evening ; a very strong gust from the southward and eastward at 2 o'clock.		
—	94	—	6th and 7th.	— A violent blast of not more than a minute's duration blew from the S. E.		
—	92	—	8th.			
—	91	—	9th, 10th, 11th and 12th.			
65	87	70	13th.	— Change of weather ; heavy fog in the morning ; wind from N. and S. ; strong gusts an hour before sun-set.		
56	84	67	15th.	— Much colder, but very pleasant.		
54	85	68	16th.	— Fresh wind in the morning from the east ; in the evening, clouded in the south.		
54	85	67	17th.	— Clouded evening. Wind from S. and W.		
54	85	—	18th.	— Wind from S. and E. ; fine clear weather. Comet seen bearing N. W.		
52	85	67	19th.	— Wind from the southward. Cold morning.		
57	88	74	20th.	— Morning delightfully clear ; a light breeze from the S. W. mountains, at about 2 P. M. Strong wind from the W. in gusts. When the moon rose, the wind strengthened from her quarter.		

APPENDIX.

State of the Thermometer.				State of the Thermometer.		
Sun rise.	Two P. M.	Seven P. M.		Sun rise.	Two P. M.	Seven P. M.
60	85	70	21st. — Morning not so clear. Haze over the city. Wind S.			
53	83	71	22d. — Morning fresh.			
51	81	60	23d. — Light wind. Heavy dew in the morning, fog at night.			
52	82	61	24th.			
50	81	63	25th. — Strong gust at sunset.			
50	80.	62	26th. — Fog at night.			
50	83	68	27th. — Wind in the evening, sudden gusts during the day from various quarters.			
52	83	—	28th. — Clouds from the S. in the evening.			
50	84	70	29th. — Strong wind at sunset.			
50	75	—	30th. — Much colder.			



NOTE D. — Page 235.

The English officers when on service in the Persian army, were frequently sent into different parts of Persia, and the following information relating to a tract of country but little known, is furnished by Capt. Monteith of the Madras engineers, who was sent on an expedition to decide upon the best place to establish iron-works. It will be found a valuable addition to our knowledge of the geography of Aderbigian, and I have endeavoured to fix its different positions in my map. The narrative begins at Ahar and terminates at Nakhjuwan, to both of which places the Embassy travelled, and of which some account has already been given in this work.

“ From Ahar to Dombré the road at first leads over the plain, and then in a continued ascent N. by E. reaches to the summit of the mountains which bound the northern side of the plain of Ahar. These mountains are apparently a branch of Caucasus, which bounds the territories of Akhiska, Erivan, Nakhjuwan, and here appear to take an abrupt easterly direction. Six miles from Ahar we passed a large village called Ipresens, from which to the top of the mountains is three miles, on a bearing of north. In the same direction we descended six miles, when we turned E. N. E. for six miles more into a narrow and fruitful valley, in the centre of which is a celebrated hill-fort, called Imlong, now in ruins. It is said to have been the retreat of a celebrated robber, and is certainly well calculated for defence, although there is no water on the top. A covered way, however, led to the river which flows at the bottom; besides which the ruins of a large covered reservoir are still to be seen. After reaching this fort we proceeded up a narrow valley, on a direction of E. S. E. to the small village of Dombré, distant two miles; and two miles further on, still on the same bearing, we came to the foot of the mountain where is a most productive iron-mine. The ore is found a foot below the surface, and yields 50 per cent. of metal, and is of a dusky red colour. The Persians work it in a very rude manner, by first burning the whole substance in a furnace; they then hammer the earth and dross from each other, and the metal is afterwards made into horse-shoes, &c.



On the following day we returned to Imlong from the iron-mine, and then travelled for two fursungs on a direction of N. and N. by W. in the valley, through which runs a considerable stream, formed by the combined waters of many small springs that descend from the mountains. At Kalikbur this stream becomes a fine river, and joins the Araxes about five fursungs from the village.

“ Kalikbur is eight miles from Imlong fort, and was formerly a considerable place. Its extensive gardens have become a forest of fruit-trees, where the walnut in particular grows to an immense size, and is used as timber and fire-wood by the inhabitants. Situated above the village is a fort, which would be untenable against fire-arms, being surrounded by mountains within 200 yards of it, on almost every side. From this place, two roads lead to Karabagh, one by the bridge of Khoda Afereen, and the other by a ford; but both are very bad, and almost impassable for artillery.

“ From Kalikbur we travelled to Douoiloo. The direction of the road for the six first miles was E. by S., and then N. E. for nine miles, in the ascent of a mountain. Our road lay chiefly in the bed of a torrent, in which at present we found but little water, and the sides of the hills were covered with stunted oak trees. From this, the direction of our road, that lay over mountains, varied from N. E. by N. to N. N. E., a distance of nine miles, to the village of Ruswar, situated in a very narrow glen well watered and wooded. From Ruswar is four miles to Develoo, a small plain, the only one in this mountainous region, not being more than two miles square, and containing two or three deserted villages. It is four fursungs from Develoo to the Araxes, and six to the bridge of Khoda Afereen, over a country which is almost impracticable, and of very easy defence.

“ Having returned to Develoo, we proceeded back again to Dombré by a very mountainous, and almost impassable road for loaded cattle. After travelling five miles we reached the summit of the mountains, our route in its frequent windings varying from S. and S. by W. to S. S. W. At the foot of the mountains is a village called Harappa, distant from Ruswar eleven miles. From the former the road continues for six miles on a direction of S. and S. by W. to Usbend, and then W. by N. three miles to Dombré. The whole of which country is a continued mass of mountains covered with wood.

“ From Dombré we travelled to Masarood, a large village, near which is another iron mine. We first descended into the ravine of Dombré for two miles W. N. W., until it enters the valley of Imlong or Kalikbur (for it goes by



both names), and then the road led us N. W. by W. up the valley, with the stream flowing on our right hand. We then changed our direction to N. W. by N. for eight miles, the last three of which were through a very difficult pass. The village of Masarood contains about sixty families, lately arrived from the Karabagh, and the mine is about one mile distant. Although the quality of the stone be good, yet its distance from fuel, and the badness of the roads leading to it, render it less available than the one at Dombré. The colour of the ore is of a dark grey. In no part of the world, did we conceive it possible that a greater abundance of iron ore can exist, than in this range of mountains. For many fursungs the soil appears to consist of no other stone.

“ From Masarood to Casin a road leads directly over the mountains, said to be twenty-four miles in length, at present (28th of April), it is impassable on account of the snow, and at all times it is very difficult of passage. We traced back our former route, six miles S. E. by S., and then ascended the mountains S. W. by W. a distance of three miles. This was followed by a very steep descent of two miles in the same direction, which was succeeded by an ascent of two miles S. W. over another hill. We then entered the plain of Ahar, which bore S. 35° E. distant eighteen miles; Casin bore W. S. W. distant twenty-two miles. On this part of the route we passed many small villages, the road laying over a flat country, with the Ahar river flowing on our left. Casin contains about 200 families, has a mosque, and is the principal place of Desmaun, a district of Karabagh, which extends to the Araxes, and possesses about an hundred villages. This stage was thirty-two miles in length, twelve of which were over very difficult roads.

“ From Casin the direction of the road for four miles was N. 70° W., then N. W. four miles, and then to the village of Hurwanna N. N. W. three miles, the latter part leading through a pass in the mountains. From Casin to Hurwanna there are two roads, the one to Astramal a large village, bearing N. or N. by W. over the mountains, but difficult of access. The other, more to the right, through a narrow valley, which might be rendered practicable for carriages. A considerable stream which flowed on our left rises near Hurwanna, receives many other streams, and falls into the Araxes at Curdasht. The distance we travelled from Casin to Curdasht is twenty-three miles; by the lower road it is twenty-six miles: the two roads separate at Harwanna. At Astramal, which is situated two miles to the right of the direct road, there are many gardens, and plantations of tobacco, the produce of which is much esteemed throughout Aderbigian. On leaving Astramal on a bearing of W. for two



miles, the road leads through a narrow glen thickly planted with fruit-trees. Then upon entering the high road its direction is N. N. W., through a fine valley for fifteen miles to Curdasht. This was once a considerable town, but is now ruined and almost deserted. It is situated on the banks of the Araxes, entirely enclosed by high rocks, on the top of which a wall has been built, and continued on the side of the river: however it would not be possible to defend it, as it is overlooked by very high mountains, not more than fifty yards distant, on the opposite side of the river. From the eastern extremity of the ruins of Curdasht, Megeri bears N. 22° W., about two miles distant. Abbas Mirza built a small castle, capable of containing 200 men, on the rocks about Curdasht, to watch the post of Megeri, when it was in the hands of the Russians, but it would be of little use, as it might be considerably annoyed from the opposite side of the river.

“ The valley of Megeri is about three miles in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth. On one side it opens on the Araxes, and a considerable stream runs through it, and falls into that river. Megeri was taken by surprize in August, 1810, by the Russians. Two Armenian villages are situated within the valley, which is cultivated like a garden. It is covered with vines, and also produces a considerable quantity of cotton. The climate is hot and very unhealthy, which made the Russians abandon it in 1813, having lost by sickness nearly 1700 men. It formerly contained 500 families of Armenians, and had 5 churches. The houses are built on the slope of the mountain, and appear to rise one over the other.

“ Ourdabad from Megeri bears W. about sixteen miles. Three roads lead to it, two of which are on the right and left banks of the Araxes, but very dangerous, and are only to be passed when the river is low. The path which constitutes the road is in some places not more than one foot and a half in breadth, and sometimes rocks or branches of trees almost touching the water, are made to connect the cliffs together. The Araxes appears to have forced a channel through this vast range of mountains, and flows with the greatest rapidity. In one place I found the fall to be 20 feet in 500 yards. The channel is much choked with rocks, and not more than 30 yards broad, whilst the mountains on each side are about 1000 feet in height.

“ The other road is by Desmaun, a village consisting of about 150 houses, with a good mosque and a small bazar. It was formerly a considerable place.

“ On leaving Curdasht, the road continues for five miles through the valley on the direction of S. S. E. then changes to west for 12 miles. From Curdasht,



the road is tolerable to Desmaun, from whence Ourdabad bears N. 25° W. Ilandaghi N. 35° W. and is 12 miles distant. For the first nine miles the road which is good, leads through sand-hills; we then crossed the Araxes, Ourdabad being three miles distant. This place is situated close under the range of mountains which branch out to the northward and bound the extensive plains of Nakhjuwan and Erivan. It is one of the most beautiful spots I ever beheld, — the climate is delightful and every fruit is found in the greatest perfection. The nook of the mountain in which it is situated, has a fine stream running through it: the gardens extend for four miles all around: its houses are in general well built of stone, and 1500 families are said to form its population. The Governor of the district of Nakhjuwan, in general resides here. Near to Ourdabad, the principal places are two large Armenian villages, situated in every respect like it, which contain about 200 families and possess twelve churches and convents.

“From Ourdabad we travelled over a very stony plain in a direction of N. 80° W. with the Araxes on our left for three miles, then six on a bearing of west to Asser, a village with a small fort on an insulated rock in the centre of a small plain: there are five other villages near it, and the Araxes is two miles distant. This is in the district of Azed. The strong hill-fort of Alanjak bears N. 10° W. 12 miles distant from Asser, and is situated on the top of a rock with only one road up: it is celebrated for having stood a siege of seven years against Tamerlane.

“From Asser there are two roads to Nakhjuwan, the shortest, which is difficult of access, leads through the mountains. The lower road continues for 14 miles on a direction of N. 80° W. until it joins the Tabriz high road; it then turns N. 15° W. for six miles, and Nakhjuwan bears N. 38° W. distant ten miles: the pass of Gerger bearing south.”



NOTE E. — Page 272.

[*Saadi.*] — This passage of Saadi may remind the reader of the few words which compose the whole of the 13th chapter of the 5th book of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix* : “ Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique.” “ A sentiment,” says Warton, “ worthy of the free spirit of Demosthenes, and an image worthy of the genius of Homer.” — *Essay on Pope*, ii. 107.

NOTE F. — Page 315.

[*St. Gregory confined at Virab.*] There is a curious account of this in Rycaut's *Armenian church*, p. 400 — 4, though it closes with a strange confusion of chronology, Diocletian and Tiridates of the third century being made contemporaries of St. Gregory in the sixth.

NOTE G. — Page 324.

In the journal of Burcard, Master of the Ceremonies of the Chapel of the Popes, there is a curious account of the transmission of a rival relique to Rome, 1492. *Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi*, Paris, 1787, tom. i. 4to. p. 94-5.

“ Peu de jours auparavant, le 31 Mai, Fête de l'Ascension, le Pape s'étoit trouvé mal à une procession, qu'on avoit faite à l'occasion d'une relique que l'Empereur des Turcs lui avoit envoyée. C'étoit le fer de la lance qui avoit percée le côté de Jésus-Christ. On doutoit un peu de l'authenticité de cette relique ; car on prentendoit, dit Burcard, que la vraie lance étoit à Nuremberg, ou on la montroit, tous les ans ; d'autres assuroient l'avoir vue à la Sainte Chapelle à Paris ; quelquesuns cependant disoient que selon une ancienne chronique, cette relique, avant la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, y avoit été transportée, qu'un citoyen l'avoit cachée chez lui, et que le Grand-Seigneur la lui avoit depuis achetée soixante-dix mille ducats ; mais il y en avoit qui représentoient, qu'en considérant ce que c'étoit que cette relique, par qui, et à qui elle étoit adressée, il y avoit lieu de craindre qu'on ne voulût tourner en dérision la religion Chrétienne, qu'ainsi il sembloit à propos de recevoir sans aucune solemnité la pretendue relique et d'écrire à Nuremberg, à Paris, et à



Vénise pour connoître la vérité. C'étoit l'avis du plus grand nombres des Cardinaux-Prêtres et il paroissoit fort sage, mais le Pape ne voulut pas montrer de doute, et accepta la relique sans hésiter. Je passe tout le cérémonial avec lequel on la reçut. Elle fut portée en procession par le Pape même, le jour de l'ascension, enfermée dans un châsse de cristal. La procession fût fort tumultueuse, et le Pape en fut si fatigué qu'il l'abrégea. L'Ambassadeur du Grand-Seigneur présenta des lettres au Pape, par lesquelles la relique lui étoit adressée. Burcard dit qu'elles ne furent point lûes publiquement, et qu'on prétendoit que c'étoit parcequ'elles faisoient mention d'un présent de quarante mille ducats, dont elles étoit accompagnées. C'étoit bien un motif pour ne pas incidenter sur la verification de la relique ; mais et la relique et l'argent avoit également pour but, de se rendre le Pape favorable relativement à Zizim frère de Bajazet qu'il avoit en sa puissance."

NOTE H.— Page 334.

[*Bell-ringing at Etchmiatzin.*] The place seems to retain its right to the title of the Church with Bells.

"This patriarchal seat is called vulgarly by the name of Etchmeatzen, but more usually in the parts of Turkey by the denomination of Changlee Chilse, or the Church with Bells, having a privilege from the Sultan to use them, which is allowed in no other place that I have heard of, unless in Moldavia, Valachia, and Mount Alhos. It is also called Ouch Chilse, or the Three Churches ; because of the three churches which are there built in a triangle, the first of which (as we have said) is this Etchmeasin, the second Rupsameh, and the third Gayeneh. The Armenians report that these three churches are founded on three rocks placed in a triangular form, under which was a strange hollowness or cavity, replete in the time of Gentilism and idolatry with the voices of prophetic spirits or ghosts which gave answers to all questions that were made to them, in the same manner as the oracles of Delphos or Jupiter Haman, until such time as Jesus Christ, intending to have his name worshipped there, descended from heaven on that place, and taking his cross on which he suffered, struck one blow therewith on each rock, with which they sunk into the ground, and thereby the diabolical spirits were displaced, for the word Etchmeasin signifies one blow or stroke, and there these three churches were founded, which are the highest in esteem amongst the Armenians."

—Rycaut's Greek and Armenian Churches, p. 316—8.



NOTE I. — Preface, page v.

Table of Bearings and Distances, from which the Map of Aderbigian and part of Armenia has been principally constructed.

		Miles.	Furl.			
<i>From Tabriz to Ak Tappeh.</i>						
To Barunj	...	6	0	Ahmedbeglou	... S. 60 W.	
Tabriz	... N. 77 W.			Savalan	... S. 21 E. and S. 15 E.	
Khajeh	... 15	0		Kara Kiah, at the foot of Sa-		
Tabriz	... N. 78 W.			valan	... 4 0	
Sheherek	... N. 34 E.			Encampment in the mountains	12 0	
Snowy points of Sa-	hand Mountain	}		Ak Tappeh	... 9 0	
				S. 12 W.		
				S. 25 W.		
	N. 60 W.			<i>From Ak Tappeh to Ardebil, &c.</i>		
Sheherek	... 12	0		To the former encampment in		
Tabriz	... S. 75 W.			the mountains	... 12 0	
Ojan	... S. 9 W.			Arjeh	... 16 0	
Savalan Mountain	... S. 85 E.			Savalan Mountain	... S. 15 W.	
Gevenjik	... N. 60 E.			Ahmedbeglou	... N. 87 W.	
Sahand Mountain	... S. 20 E.			Ak Tappeh	... N. 11 E.	
Tekelteh Mountain	... S. 12 E.			Arwah	... S. 71 E.	
Gevenjik	... 21	0		Ardebil	... S. 37 E.	
Sheherek	... S. 50 W.			Arwah	... 8	
Ahar	... E.			Savalan	... S. 36 W.	
Ahar	... 8	0		Arjeh	... N. 74 W.	
Gevenjik	... W.			Konak Kerran	... S. 25 E.	
Savalan Mountain	... S. 66 E.			Konak Kerran	... 8 0	
Kishlak	... 9	0		Savalan Mountain	... S. 25½ W.	
Ahar	... N. 60 W.			Arwah	... N. 32 W.	
Ahmedbeglou	... N. 80 E.			Ardebil	... S. 20 E.	
Ahmedbeglou	... 20	0		Ardebil	... 16 0	
Kishlak	... S. 80 W.			Savalan Mountain	... N. 80 W.	
Bijah	... N. 70 E.			Kurehim	... 21 0	
Mountain of Savalan, one				Savalan Mountain	... N. 40 W.	
summit	... S. 53 E.			Ardebil	... N. 6 E.	
The other	... S. 47 E.			Sengavah	... S.	
Bijah	... 10	0		Sengavah	... 15 0	
Kara Kiah	... N. 41 E.			Iris	... 8 0	
				Ak dagh Mountain	... S. 40 E.	



APPENDIX.

	Miles.	Furl.
Sengavah	N. 51 E.	
Ahmedabad	S. 30 W.	
Ahmedabad		7 0
Ak dagh Mountain	S. 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	
Paras		9 0
Maman		12 0
Paras	N. 35 E.	
Ahmed abad		11 0
Auk Kend		12 0
Savalan Mountain	N. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	
<i>From Tabriz to Maragha, and thence to Mianeh.</i>		
To Serd Rood		9 0
From a circular hill near Serd Rood, Tabriz and Red Mountain	N. 60 E.	
Keremalik and Bahalil Tappeh	N. 42 E.	
Middle of the Peninsula of Shahee	S. 81 W.	
General bearing of Oroumieh	N. 80 W.	
Middle of Sahand Mountain	S. 25 E.	
Mouth of the river Agi in the lake of Shahee	W.	
Khosrú Shah		11 0
Sahand Mountain	S. 45 E.	
Tabriz	N. 48 E.	
Road to Dehkhargan	S. 15 W.	
Dehkhargan		18 0
Khosrú Shah	N. 15 E.	
Shirameen		11 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0
Dehkhargan	N. 10 E.	
Ajeb Sheer	S. 10 W.	
Middle of Shahee	N. 52 W.	
Chawan		15 $\frac{1}{4}$ 0
Shirameen	N.	

	Miles.	Furl.
Maragha	E.	
Alkou	S. 80 E.	
Gultapeh	S. 65 E.	
Jukelar	N. 70 E.	
Sahand Mountain	N. 75 E.	
Alkou		13 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0
Maragha	N. 85 E.	
Chawan	N. 80 W.	
Termination of Lake	S. 62 W.	
Dinab and Tahoush	S. 35 W.	
Maragha		6 0
Sahand Mountain	N. 37 E.	
High snowy mountain on the farther side of the lake	S. 75 W.	
Hot springs at Chai Bagh	S. 12 W.	
Murdee		8 0
Maragha	N. 49 E.	
Bilkhabad	S. 47 E.	
Mountain of Mandil Ser	S. 65 W.	
— of the Cavern	S. 72 W.	
— of Sahand	N. 12 E.	
Bilkhabad		11 1
Chigeen		11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mountain of Savalan	N. 48 E.	
— of Sahand	N. 37 W.	
— of Buz Koh	N. 63 E.	
Bilkhabad	S. 37 W.	
Seraskend	N. 65 E.	
Seraskend		19 1
Khatunabad		15 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bey bolagh	N. 62 E.	
Seraskend	W.	
Mountain of Buz Koh	N. 22 E.	
Cheragh Murdan	S. 24 W.	
Bey bolagh		8
Mianeh and Coflan Koh	S. 74 E.	
Kara Zialet	S. 52 E.	
Cheragh Murdan	S. 50 W.	
Khatunabad	S. 75 W.	
Mianeh		8
Bey bolagh	N. 74 W.	
Buz Koh	N. 24 W.	
Coflan Koh	S. 20 E.	



	Miles.	Furl.		Miles.	Furl.
<i>From Tabriz to Erivan, &c.</i>					
To Sahalan	13		Mahal of Alanjak, running from W. to E. in a semicircular direction, highest point bearing N. 82 E.		
Sofian	12		In the same range, a prominent part ... N. 37 E.		
Extremity of the Peninsula of Shahee	S. 38 W.		An insulated conical rock called Ilandaghi, or the Serpent Mountain N. 77 E.		
Serd Rood	S. 21 E.		Mount Ararat (a hazy bearing) N. 21 W.		
Tabriz	S. 46 E.		Koh Nishan over Marand S. 24 E.		
Marand	17		A snowy mountain, in the Mahal of Soker, about which reside the tribe Dumbelou, the head of which is Jafer Kuli Khan N. 69 W.		
Khoshk Serai	W.		Chors S. 10 W.		
Sofian	S. 60 E.		Mountain covered with snow, in Kerist Mahal S. 40 W.		
Khoshk Serai	12		Abbasabad 22 3		
Marand	S. 70 E.		(From Nazik to Abbasabad is 20 miles, and the remainder to our encampment in the Chemen)		
Ketch Calehsi	S. 21 W.		Ilan Daghi E.		
Zenjireh	N. 86 W.		Capan Dagh N. 60 E.		
Zenjireh	11½		Another curious rock N. 50 E.		
Khoshk Serai	S. 85 E.		Termination of Nakhjuwan Mountain N. 25 W.		
Valdian	14¼		Nazik S. 61 W.		
Zenjireh	N. 75 W.		Mount Ararat N. 52 W.		
Khoi	N. 80 W.		Nakhjuwan 6		
N. B. 6½ miles from Zenjireh Mount Ararat seen bearing N. 28 W., and Hill of Ketch Calehsi S. 62 E.			Ararat N. 55 W.		
Khoi	15		Koh Soker S. 75 W.		
Parschee	5		— Kister S. 52 W.		
Megri Mountains	N. 65 E.		Ilan Daghi S. 65 E.		
Khanaka and Chors	N. 5 E.		Hok 17 6		
Khoi	N.		Our Camp 1		
Chehel Khoneh Mountain	N. 21 E.		Ilan Daghi S. 55 E.		
Khanaka	19 7		Nakhjuwan S. 44 E.		
Nazik	N. 15 E.		Mount Ararat N. 60 W.		
Parchee and Khoi	S. 5 W.		Narashin N. 18 W.		
Nazik	13¼		Gap of Sherour N. 38 W.		
Bearings taken from a hill distant 1 mile from Nazik, bearing therefrom S. 5 W.					
Nakhjuwan, taken from smoke rising there N. 61 E.					
A high mountainous range covered with snow, in the					



APPENDIX.

	Miles.	Furl.
Pass of Gerger	S. 27 E.	
Mountain on the left of the road to Tabriz	S. 43 E.	
Entrance of the Araxes into this plain	S. 52 W.	
Exit from the plain	N. 47 W.	
Narashin		15 3
Great Ararat	N. 71 W.	
Little ditto	N. 76 W.	
Sources and mountains of Arpachai	N. 42 E.	
Sherour gap (regular road to Erivan)	N. 62 W.	
Sadrek		14 4
Narashin	S. 35 E.	
Develu	N. 56 W.	
Great Ararat	N. 85 W.	
Little ditto	N. 93 W.	
Develu		13 3
Great Ararat	S. 73 W.	
Little ditto	S. 56 W.	
Gap of Sherour	S. 27 E.	
Sadrek	S. 42 E.	
Mountain of Aligez	N. 23 W.	
Akbash		18 3/4
Develu	S. 10 E.	
Virab	S. 5 E.	
Little Ararat	S. 18 W.	
Great ditto	S. 33 W.	
Caraogli Mountain	N. 85 W.	
Aligez ditto	N. 24 W.	
Entrance of Araxes into the plain	N. 80 W.	
Kars Mountain	N. 72 W.	
Erivan		9
Akbash	S. 10 E.	
Etchmiatzin	N. 86 W.	
Etchmiatzin		13
Ashtarek		11

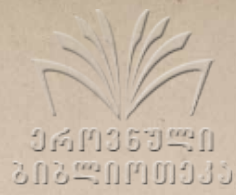
	Miles.	Furl.
Aberan		14 1/2

Bearings from Aberan.

Ashtarek and Etchmiat- zin	S. 45 W.
Mountain of Aligez	N. 68 W.
Gavmishlu	17 3/4
Mountain of Karniarekh and our encampment at Aberan	S. 20 E.
Aligez Mountain	S. 87 W.

*Bearings from an Eminence over the
Village of Kinakir, three miles dis-
tant from Erivan.*

Great Ararat	S. 29 W.
Little Ararat	S. 17 W.
Direction of Lake Sivan	N. 70 E.
Mountain of Karniarekh	N. 17 W.
— of Aligez	N. 37 W.
Etchmiatzin	S. 76 W.
Erivan	S. 40 W.
Ruined city of Ani and Montesbead	N. 70 W.
Nakhjuwan, Armenian village	N. 82 W.
Kars	N. 82 W.
Cara Caleh	S. 76 W.
Tapeh Dive	S. 75 W.
Head of the Cara Sou	S. 87 W.
Junction of ditto with Araxes	S. 42 W.
Caraogli peak and the salt pits of Kolpi	S. 80 W.
Ruined castle of Taliun	N. 70 W.
Ancient city of no name	N. 49 W.
Artik capital of Shuragil	N. 49 W.



NOTE K.—Map, page 349.

Bearings from Teheran to Demawend and Asterabad.

Mountain of Demawend }
Town of Demawend } N. 69 E.

Taken from the high road about 2½ miles to the southward of Demawend.

Mountain of Demawend N. 15 W.
Road to Teheran ... N. 60 W.
— to Firouz Koh ... S. 80 E.
Town of Demawend ... N. 40 E.
Lake N. 65 E.
Direction of valley S. 45 W.

Taken from the road to Firouz Koh 1½ hour from Demawend.

Termination of the Albors towards Karaj, and general bearing of Teheran N. 80 W.
Highest part seen of Albors N. 69 W.
General bearing of Demawend N. 55 W.
Pass leading from Khawar S.
Four villages of Abserd, Taskeen, Ahroon, and Bidek S. 5 W.
Bagh Shah S. 57 E.

From Bagh Shah.

Demawend N. 70 W.

Peak called Caleh Meshed N. 87 E.
Firouz Koh N. 80 E.

From Firouz Koh.

Mountain of Demawend N. 67 W.
Peak to Khawar S. 36 W.

From Asseran.

Foulad Mahaleh N. 46 E.
Direction of Sawad Koh in Mazanderan N. 65 W.
———— Hezar Jerib north and northerly
Shahmirzad S. 17 E.

From Foulad Mahaleh.

Cheshmeh Ali N. 54 E.
Asseran S. 40 W.

From Cheshmeh Ali.

Dangan S. 50 E.
Touweh N. 30 E.

From Touweh.

Cheshmeh Ali S. 29 W.



Damagan S. 18 E.
Sawer N. 46 E.
Chardeh, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles ... S. 40 E.
Shahdar Koh S. 49 W.

From the Sanduk Mountain.

A cape of the bay of Aster-
abad N. 46 W.

From Asterabad.

Caleh Mahram S. 85 E.
Sawer S. 40 W.

At $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Asterabad.

The Sanduk Mountain ... S. 21 W.
Sawer S. 36 W.
Asterabad... .. N. 57 E.
Point of Jehan Nemah ... S. 47 W.

From Damgan.

Shahdarkoh N. 61 W.
Chesmeh Ali N. 50 W.

Termination of mountains
towards Bostam ... N. 70 E.
Toweh N. 20 W.
Bakhsabad S. 70 W.

From Bakhsabad.

Damgan N. 65 E.
Tú Derwar S. 60 W.

From Tú Derwar.

Shahmirzad S. 50 W.
Bakhsabad N. 55 E.

From Shahmirzad.

Tou Derwar N. 50 E.
Gour Sefid W.
Firouzkoh S. 72 W.
Semnan S. 30 E.

From Gour Sefid.

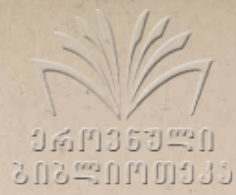
Demawend N. $69\frac{1}{2}$ W.



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THE END.

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