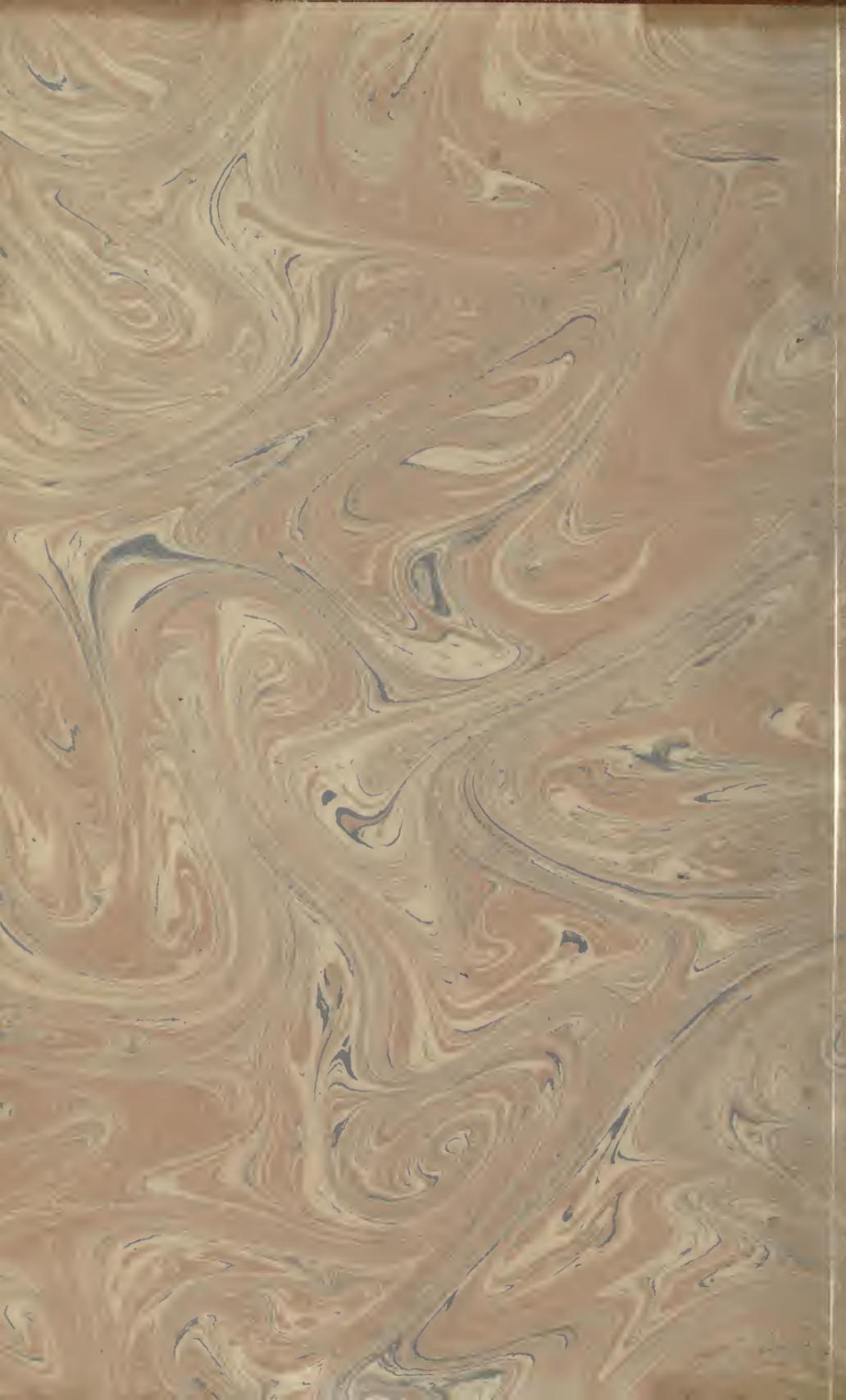


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TRAVELS
IN
ASSYRIA, MEDIA, AND PERSIA,
INCLUDING
A JOURNEY FROM BAGDAD BY MOUNT ZAGROS,
TO
HAMADAN, THE ANCIENT ECBATANA,
RESEARCHES IN
ISPAHAN AND THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS,

AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE

BY SHIRAZ AND SHAPOOR TO THE SEA-SHORE; DESCRIPTION OF BUSSORAH,
BUSHIRE, BAHREIN, ORMUZ, AND MUSCAT; NARRATIVE OF AN EXPEDI-
TION AGAINST THE PIRATES OF THE PERSIAN GULF, WITH ILLUS-
TRATIONS OF THE VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS, AND PASSAGE
BY THE ARABIAN SEA TO BOMBAY.

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN PALESTINE AND THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE JORDAN; TRAVELS
AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES; AND TRAVELS IN MESOPOTAMIA; MEMBER OF THE
LITERARY SOCIETIES OF BOMBAY AND MADRAS, AND OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

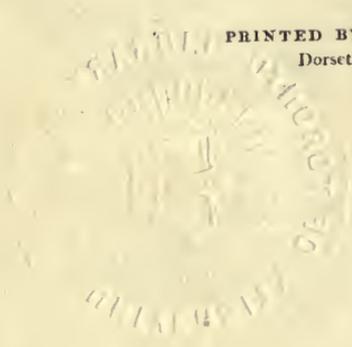
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TO
SIR CHARLES FORBES, BART. M.P.
ESPECIALLY DISTINGUISHED AS THE WARM AND STEADY FRIEND OF OUR
ASIATIC FELLOW-SUBJECTS IN INDIA,
AS WELL AS THE BENEVOLENT ADVOCATE AND PROMOTER OF
THE FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS OF MAN, WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF
COLOUR, CASTE, OR COUNTRY,
THESE VOLUMES OF TRAVELS,
COMMENCING AT BAGDAD AND TERMINATING AT BOMBAY,
ARE HUMBLY INSCRIBED,
AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE, ESTEEM, AND
REGARD, BY HIS
FAITHFUL AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

IN presenting to the Public a Fourth Work of Travels in the Eastern World, I am not without the apprehension that this portion of my labours may be thought to have been executed with less care and attention than preceding ones. It has unquestionably been my desire, as well as my interest, to make them all equally worthy of public approbation ; but the circumstances under which each of the several volumes were prepared, and over which circumstances I had no power of control, differed so ma-

terially from each other, that this alone would be sufficient to account for still greater variations in their execution than is even likely to be discovered in them. The Travels in Palestine were prepared in India, under the disadvantages of absence from books and authorities essential to their illustration ; but, on the other hand, with the advantage of more complete leisure than it has ever since been my good fortune to enjoy. The Travels in the Decapolis, or Hauran, and Countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, were written out for publication entirely on ship-board, during a stormy and disagreeable passage from India, under circumstances of the most painfully oppressive nature, and the most hostile to calm and abstracted literary composition ; but, on the other hand, with the advantage of freedom from all other occupation, and ample command of time, whenever the intervals of moderate weather admitted of writing. The Travels in Mesopotamia

were written and arranged in London, under the disadvantage of repeated interruptions from ill-health, and the anxiety and labour dependent on the prosecution of my claims for redress of injuries done me by the Government of India, before a Parliamentary Committee; but with the advantage of a mind more at ease than it had been for seven years before: my perseverance having been just then rewarded by a complete triumph over the traducers of my personal character and literary reputation, the tribunal to which I appealed having completely vindicated all my claims, and put to shame the wickedness of my accusers. The Travels in Assyria Media, and Persia, which form the present Volume, and complete the Series of the continuous Route followed in my overland Journey to India, have been prepared under circumstances which are probably without a parallel in the history of literary undertakings, and may at least excuse many imperfections, which, under other and more favour-

able auspices, could not claim such indulgence. The favourable reception given to the previous Volumes, and the natural desire to have the Series completed by the publication of the present, combined to urge its early appearance: but being, at the period of commencing its preparation for the press, almost incessantly occupied, by having in my own hands the Editorship of a Daily and a Weekly Political Journal, and of a Weekly and a Monthly Literary Journal, I could only hope to accomplish the task of bringing out this Work, in a manner at all worthy of acceptance, by devoting a portion of those hours which are ordinarily given to recreation and repose, to the labour which such an undertaking involved. This resolution was accordingly made, and has been at length faithfully redeemed; for I may truly say, that not a single page of it has been written, arranged, corrected, or revised, but after the hours at which even the most studious generally repair to their couch, to

recruit by sleep the exhaustion caused by the labours of the day.

That, under the circumstances described, errors of style and defects of arrangement should appear, will not be deemed wonderful; and that, under other circumstances, the task might have been more satisfactorily executed, cannot admit of doubt. But, when it is not possible to do all we desire, and in the very best manner we could wish, it is better to endeavour to execute our duty in the best manner that we are able, than altogether to abandon the attempt as impracticable. It is on this maxim, at least, that I have acted; and it is rather in extenuation of imperfections, which this necessarily brings in its train, than from any other motive, that I have ventured at all to allude to the subject. It will complete the picture of hurried and interrupted composition, if I state, what is literally the fact, that having left London on business of some importance, which called me to cross the Chan-

nel to Guernsey, and being driven back by tempestuous weather, in the Watersprite, which made an ineffectual attempt to accomplish the passage, and, though one of the finest steam-packets in the service, was obliged to bear up, and anchor again in Weymouth Roads at midnight, I am now writing this Preface, in the Travellers' Room of the Crown Inn, at Melcombe Regis, with an animated conversation passing all around me among the enquiring and intelligent fellow-passengers who are occupants of the same apartment. Having pledged myself to the Publisher, to finish every part of my task before a given day, this cannot be deferred till my return, and is therefore thus hurriedly completed : but it is at least in keeping with the whole picture, that a Work begun amidst the conflicting duties and labours of four separate and voluminous Journals, already described, should be terminated by a hasty sketch like this, in the interval of a stormy passage by sea,

and in the momentary expectation of seeing the signal for immediate re-embarkation displayed.

I cannot conclude, however, even this imperfect address, without saying a word or two on the subject of the Illustrations, and the typographical execution of the Work. To Colonel Johnson, of the East India Company's Engineers, I am indebted for the beautiful View of Muscat, which was painted by Witherington, from a sketch of Colonel Johnson's, and engraved by Jeavons, on a reduced scale, for Mr. Pringle's Annual, 'The Friendship's Offering,' a copy of which Colonel Johnson kindly permitted me to take. To the same friend I am also indebted for a View of the Entrance to the Harbour of Bombay, with the several characteristic features of a trankee, a peculiar kind of boat; fishing-stakes, marking the boundaries of certain banks, secured from general navigation; and a fisherman on a catamaran, a rude raft, of three logs of wood,

encountering and killing a sword-fish, larger than himself and his raft together; all of which are accurate delineations of real and natural objects seen at Bombay: but which, by some irremediable oversight, has been placed at the head of the Chapter descriptive of Bussorah, on the Euphrates, the chief port of the Persian Gulf. To the kindness of my friend, Mr. James Baillie Frazer, the intelligent author of a *Tour in the Himalya Mountains*, and a *Journey in Khorasan*, I owe the two interesting views of the Ruins of Persepolis seen under the aspect of an approaching storm, and the Ruins of Ormuz, with its sweeping bay of anchorage. With these exceptions, the Illustrations of the Work to the number of twenty-six, are from original sketches of the scenes and objects described, taken in the course of the journey, and completed from descriptions noted on the spot. The manner in which these have all been drawn on the wood by Mr. W. H. Brooke, and in which the greater

part of them have been executed by the respective engravers, whose names appear in the list, is such as, I hope, will confirm the established reputation of the artists themselves, at the same time that they cannot fail to gratify as well as to instruct the reader. The typography may fairly challenge a comparison for beauty with the production of any press in the kingdom.

And now, having said thus much in indication of what I am sure will be admitted as merits, being the production of other hands; and in extenuation of what I am ready to admit as defects, being the production of my own; I commend these hurried labours to the indulgent spirit of my intelligent countrymen; sincerely wishing them perpetual exemption from all the privations and inconveniences which they will find detailed in the ensuing pages, and which are inseparable from travelling in countries so far removed from our own in habits, manners, and usages, as well as in geographical

distance ; and assuring them, that if the performance of these journeys occasioned me more suffering than I should again be willing to undergo, the retrospect affords me a continual and inexhaustible source of agreeable associations ; and that I shall consider myself amply rewarded for all I have undergone, if I have the happiness to find that the humble record of whatever I may have deemed worthy of observation in other countries, may be thought to deserve the approbation of the enquiring and intellectual classes in my own.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Weymouth, Nov. 16th, 1828.

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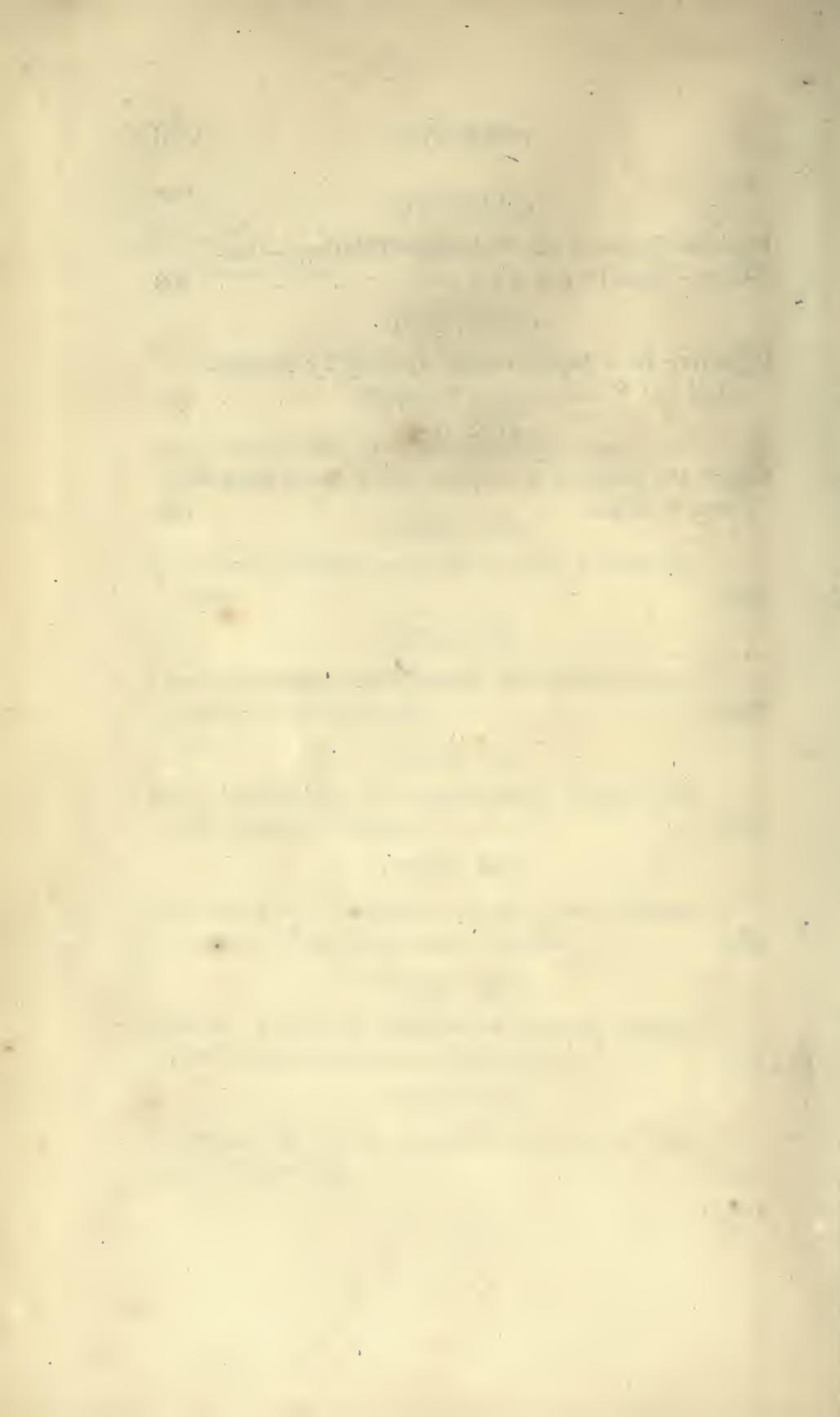
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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE

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CHAPTER I.



ASSEMBLING OF THE CARAVAN, UNDER THE WALLS OF BAGDAD.

CHAPTER I.

FROM BAGDAD, ACROSS THE DIALA, TO KES-
RABAD OR DASTAGHERD.

AFTER my journey from Aleppo to Bagdad, by a circuitous route through Mesopotamia, a severe fever, followed by extreme exhaustion, rendered repose more than usually agreeable to me: and I was fortunate in finding, in the ancient City of the Caliphs, all the comforts of an English home, in the house of the British Resident, Mr. Rich, and the society of his amiable family. My course being directed to India, enquiries had been made as to the comparative facilities of prosecuting the remainder of my way to "the further East," by descending the Tigris and Euphrates to Bussorah, and going from thence on ship-board down the Persian Gulf, or accompanying some caravan into Persia

by land, and passing through Kermanshah, Hamadan, Ispahan, and Shiraz to Bushire, where vessels for Bombay were always to be found. After much consideration, the latter course was adopted, as being, on the whole, more favourable to certainty and expedition, as well as attended with the advantage of a better climate, which, considering my state of debility from previous suffering, and the intense heat of the season that still prevailed, was a matter of the first importance. The last days of my stay at Bagdad were therefore passed in making preparations for the further prosecution of my Eastern journey by this route.

SEPT. 3rd.—We had been put off, from day to day, with assurances of a Persian Ambassador's being about to return to Teheran, in whose train we might make a safe entry into Persia. He had performed his pilgrimage to the tombs of Ali and Hossein, as well as to that of Imâm Moosa, near Bagdad, and now only wanted the permission of the Pasha to commence his journey homeward. This had been promised him at every morning's divan, so that we waited to set out with him. It was now

publicly signified, however, that as some of the troops of his Sovereign were at this moment in Koordistan, supporting intrigues among the Pashas who are nominally dependent on Bagdad, he could not be suffered to depart from hence until news should reach of these troops having been withdrawn.

A large party of Persian pilgrims, who had been waiting, with ourselves, for many days, to profit by this occasion, for the sake of protection, now determined therefore to set out without it, and rely on their own strength for defence. We began accordingly to prepare for our journey, as I had determined to delay no longer, but to accompany them.

The future companion of my way was an Afghan Dervish, named Hadjee Ismael,—one who, besides his own tongue, understood Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, was of a cheerful temper, well known on the road, and neither so impudent nor so ignorant as most of those who belong to his class. He was acknowledged to be one of the first engravers on stone in all the East, and had executed some seals and rings for Mr. Rich, which were finer than any this gentleman had seen even in Constantinople.

With a very ordinary degree of industry and application, this man might have acquired a moderate share of wealth; but, in becoming a Dervish he had followed the strong bent of his natural inclination,—which was to renounce the sordid cares of this world, to live a life of indolence and pleasure, and to move from place to place for the sake of that variety of incident and character which he loved to meet and to observe.

Such a companion was in many respects very congenial to my wishes; and what rendered him more so in this particular instance was, that it was his own desire that I should pass with him as a Mussulman, under the name of Hadjee Abdallah, ibn Suliman, min Massr: i. e. “The Pilgrim Abdallah, (the Slave of God,) the Son of Solomon, from Egypt.” He had even engraved a ring for me with this name on it, offered to assist me in reading the Koran, and to become my voucher on all occasions, provided I would constantly support the character of a Mohammedan, and state myself to be an Arab of Egypt, since that was still the accent of my Arabic, and that the country with which I was most familiar.

The disadvantages of such a companion were only these;—that I should be obliged on all occasions to be my own groom, cook, and servant; and on some occasions perhaps his also, from our being so completely on a level; but for all this I was well prepared by long previous discipline.

The horses on which we rode were both my own, with all else that belonged to them, as I wished to be as independent as possible of assistance. My papers, money, and all articles on which I set any value, were carried in a pair of khordj, or small hair-cloth bags across my own saddle; and the rest of the baggage, consisting only of a change of linen for myself, a coffee-pot, and tobacco bag, carpets, &c., for our joint use, were carried beneath the Dervish.

My own dress was that of an Arab of the middling class, and my arms a good lance of fifteen feet long, a pair of pistols, and a Damascus sword. Ismael wore also an Arab dress with which I had provided him, and was armed with a Persian sword and an English musket.

During my stay at Bagdad, I had collected together such notes for my journey as Mr.

Rich's library and my own intervals of health would allow me to arrange; and by that gentleman I was furnished with letters for the governors of the great towns, in the event of my needing them; so that every preparation had been made to render our journey both secure and agreeable.

At El-Assr, the hour of prayer between noon and sunset, all was ready for our departure, and the moment came in which I was required to take a painful leave of the individuals in whose society I had been of late so happy. As it is impossible for me to praise in adequate terms the warm and generous behaviour of every member of that circle towards me during my stay, so it is in vain to attempt a description of my own feelings in quitting them: they were as poignant as I ever remember them on any similar occasion, for there are few people for whom I ever felt more of affection mingled with respect, after so short a period of acquaintance, than for Mr. and Mrs. Rich.

We quitted Bagdad by the gate of Imâm Azam, so called from its leading to the tomb of that saint, who is venerated as the chief of the Hanefies, and whose mausoleum is

about an hour's ride to the north of the city. This was the gate by which I entered on my arrival here; and being in the N. E. quarter of Bagdad, it is the principal point of arrival and departure for all the great roads on the east side of the Tigris.

We found a small caravan, composed of about fifty persons, and as many animals, in horses, mules, and asses, but no camels, assembled without the gate, and preparing to load. As their departure would be delayed, however, until muggrib, the hour of prayer at sunset, we spread our carpets amidst the crowd, and sat patiently down to await their movements.

I was accompanied thus far by Mr. Rich's Armenian dragoman, and the Persian secretary of the Residency, who were charged to see me safely off. The chiefs of the caravan were then introduced to me; and as I was by far the best-dressed and best-mounted individual of the whole company, excepting only those who were of my own party, the Persians thought themselves sufficiently honoured by sitting beside the Hadjee Aga, the "Sir Pilgrim," as I was called, receiving with great respect my pipe and coffee when

offered to them, and enquiring earnestly about Egypt and the City of the Prophet.

In all my journeys, I never remember to have seen such shabby, old, infirm, ill-dressed, ill-equipped, and helpless persons as these fifty or sixty pilgrims with whom I was going to set out on a road acknowledged to be a dangerous one. They had all been absent from Persia several months, on a pilgrimage to the tombs of Imâm Ali and Hossein; visiting also that of Imâm Moosa, near Bagdad, and of another Imâm at Samarra, the city so celebrated in the history of the Caliphs, and whose remains are still considerable on the banks of the Tigris, two days' journey from hence.

None of them, however, had reached as far as Mecca. In the journeys which they had already performed, they had most of them been routed and plundered two or three times by the Arabs of the Desert; and many of them had lost their companions by fatigue and sickness. The numbers carried off in this way are indeed considerable; for, of the retinue of an Indian widow and her son, who came through Persia to Bussorah, twenty or thirty had died on their way to

Bagdad, by the river; and advices had been received from Mecca, of the rest having been taken off on the road across the Desert, and in the country of the Hedjaz itself.

It must require a degree of superstitious attachment to a religion, difficult to conceive, to induce such crowds of all classes to run, from year to year, the imminent risks, which the performance of these journeys involves. The reason assigned by most of the Persians of the caravan whom we questioned, for not going to Mecca, was the inadequacy of their means, after being plundered and stripped; and this seemed plausible enough: but there were not wanting many among them who seemed to think the Caaba, the sacred temple at Mecca, an object of less veneration than the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, or than those of the Caliphs and Imâms already enumerated;—in the same manner as by the lower order of Greeks Saint George is equally esteemed with the Messiah himself, and the Virgin Mary ranked quite as high as her unbegotten Son with the same class of Catholics.

The dresses of our Persian companions were of the ordinary fashion of their coun-

try, consisting of a long robe made tight about the arms and waist, the latter being long and slender, the lower part of the robe representing a full petticoat, the breast covered by a thin and coarse shirt, and the head-dress consisting of a conical cap of black sheep-skin. Their horses were of the worst kind imaginable, and their arms and caparisons were suitably mean. It was asserted, and I believe with great truth, that five well-mounted Arabs of the Desert had arrested and deliberately plundered as large a party of Persian pilgrims as this; and it was even admitted by the people of the caravan themselves, that ten good horsemen of the Beni Lam tribe would be more than a match for all their party!

Among them were some women, whose veils struck me as peculiar; these wore the blue chequered cloth mantle of the Bagdad females; but instead of the black horse-hair covering for the face, they had a large white cotton veil tied round the head like those of Egypt; and instead of the eyes being shown through two large holes, as in that country, there was a small grating window, of about

three inches in length by two in depth, placed between the eyes and in the centre of the veil, apparently made of stout threads crossing each other with wide intervals between them.

The men looked altogether like a tribe of Polish Jews, or old clothesmen, mounted and armed for some temporary expedition of robbery and plunder; and the women partook of all their meanness of appearance, without making, however, the same show of arms to conceal their cowardice.

At muggrib, or sunset, three separate parties of these women performed their prayers in public, spreading a cloak on the ground in the usual way, but still remaining covered. Whether they performed their previous ablutions above the ankles and elbows as the men, I did not perceive, as I saw them only after they had begun. It was the first time of my ever having seen women pray thus publicly in a crowd, or thus encumbered with their veils and outer envelope; and this last circumstance sufficiently embarrassed them in making the prescribed genuflections.

We were not all in movement until the

sun had completely set, and yielded up his empire to the milder queen of night.* The course we took was about north-east by north, for the first three hours, which led us over a bare plain of fine earthy soil, wanting only water to render it fertile. Over this were so many tracks of animals that we got twice into a wrong path, at this short distance only from Bagdad.

At the end of about three hours, we reached a small building near a well, which produces, in the winter only, a scanty supply of brackish water. This is called "Orta Bir," a compound of Turkish and Arabic, signifying "the half-way well," from an idea that it is just midway between Bagdad and the first caravanserai to the east of it. There were here many mounds which appeared to be of fine earth, and formed perhaps the sides of channels for filling the well with rain-water; but as we had seen near this several small heaps, with a few scattered bricks in the way, there might possibly have

* One must travel in the parched deserts of the East, to feel the full force of the contrast between the burning day and gentle night, and to understand the Oriental admiration of the moon and stars.

been buildings of some description or other along it. The people of the country, indeed, have a singular traditional notion, that all the plain from the Tigris to the mountains was once covered by the great city of Cûfa, of which they know perfectly well the name and the celebrity, but seemingly little else. The ruins of the city are thought to be recognised on the other side of the river to the west, below Bagdad.

From the well, our course went nearly a point more northerly; and after going for two hours on a similar road, we reached the khan, or caravanserai, called also "Orta Khan," from an idea of its being midway between Bagdad and Bakouba. The khan appeared to be small, and built of bricks. A few huts were seen near it, and the barking of dogs showed these to be inhabited; but as we passed through, leaving the dwellings on our right, and the khan on our left, without alighting, we saw none of the people of the place.

We had hitherto travelled in very straggling order; and the Persians often sang some popular song, which drew forth at intervals loud shouts in chorus; but as the

moon declined, we marched in closer order, and all was more silent, evidently from fear.

We continued from hence on a line of about north-east, for four hours, without any prospect to break the monotony of the road; when, as the Pleiades, Aldebaran, Orion's Belt, and Jupiter, formed altogether a splendid train in the eastern heavens, and were shining with unusual brilliance, the first blush of day appeared, and we began to discern some thick groves of palm-trees before us, and soon afterwards came on the banks of the Diala.

The river was flowing here in a deep but narrow bed, from north to south, though below this it turned off about south-south-westerly. The western bank of the stream was the steepest, and represented a cliff of stratified earth in horizontal lines, about fifty feet in height. The river itself seemed scarcely of greater breadth than this, and, excepting some deep water near the western shore, we forded it easily. The water was sweet and clear, and the rate of the stream little more than a mile per hour. From hence, when the day more clearly broke, we obtained the first sight of a range

of low hills to the eastward of us, distant apparently from thirty to forty miles, their general direction seeming to be from north-west to south-east, and their outlines smooth. Ascending the eastern shore, which was thickly covered with palms, we went for about a quarter of an hour east, and then turning to the left, entered some lanes between garden-walls of mud, which led us into Bakouba, where the caravan dispersed, and we ourselves alighted at a public khan.

SEPT. 4th.—When the necessary duties of the day had been completed, and we had fed and reposed, we strolled together around the place. It is a large straggling village, formed of mud-built dwellings, gardens, date-grounds, &c. all intermingled, with a poor bazar and two small mosques. The inhabitants do not exceed two thousand, all of whom are Arabs, and nearly half of these Sheeahs or of the Persian sect. The place is under the command of Yusef Aga, who is dependent on Assad Pasha of Bagdad; its produce is purely agricultural, and this very scanty.

The old city of Bakouba is well known in Mohammedan history; but this was much

farther eastward. De Sacy, in his *Memoirs on the Antiquities of Persia*, says: "There are two Bakoubas,—one at the extremity of the province of Nahrvan, the other only ten parasangs, or ten leagues, from Bagdad,"* which last he thinks to be the *Aakoubé* of Thevenot.† The distance seems very accurate, as we had been full nine hours in performing it, and, being all lightly laden, had gone somewhat more than three miles an hour.

The language of the village is Arabic, though Turkish is understood by many, and Persian and Koordish by a few.

From all the enquiries which I made of the people here respecting the source of the Diala, I could learn nothing definite. All agreed that it arose in the mountains of Koordistan, and the most general distance assigned to it was three days' journey to the north-east. No one knew of any tributary stream flowing into it from the west of its main body, though all spoke of several small ones joining it from the east, which, it was said, we should cross on our road.

* Page 363, 4to. Paris.

† Thevenot, vol. iii. p. 215.

At sunset we prepared to depart, and when the twilight was just closed we were all in march. Our course lay nearly east for the first hour, when the road wound to the north-east, going constantly over a bare plain of hard and dry earth. It had once been intersected by canals; over the mounds, and through the beds of which, we often passed; and many parts of the low levels still retained traces of being recently watered, which was said to be only by the rains of winter lodging here.

We had gone from the winding of the road, about three hours on a north-east course, when we came to the bank of a canal, now full, leading from an arm of the Diala, and watering a portion of the land through which it flowed. We kept along the western edge of this in a northerly direction: the ground here, however, was covered with a thorny shrub, and uncultivated; but on the east were several scattered hamlets, and the barking of dogs announced the existence of living beings there; while such patches of cultivated land as we could indistinctly see by the light of the moon, offered a momentary relief to the general monotony of our way.

An alarm was now spread, from the rear of our caravan, of an attack, and several muskets were fired, though they could scarcely be heard amidst the general outcry and uproar which prevailed. When the explanation came, it appeared to have been only four or five peasants on foot who had occasioned all this panic,—an accident which gave us no favourable impression of the coolness or courage of our numerous party.

In another hour we reached the stream from which this canal led, over which we crossed, by a steep and high bridge of one arch. The stream itself appeared to me an artificial one, as it ran slowly between steep banks like mounds, and was not more than twenty yards wide. It was called Nahr el Shahraban; it came from the north, and was said to go into the Diala, south of Bakouba, having small canals leading off from it in the way. From this bridge were seen on the left of us, distant less than half a mile to the westward of the road, some palm-trees rising from a village called Aghwashek. This was originally the retreat of a dozen Fakeers, who lived here in indolence on the charities of devout passengers; but their easy way of

life having attracted others of the same class about them, the settlement has increased, and now contains about five hundred persons, chiefly of the original description.

From the bridge, our course went again north-easterly, and in about an hour from thence we reached the town of Shahraban, which we entered through mud-walled lanes and dusty roads, just as the moon was setting; and with some difficulty, at this unseasonable hour, found our way to a khan.

SEPT. 5th.—The village of Shahraban is composed, like that of Bakouba, of scattered brick dwellings, some few regular streets, and mud-walled gardens and palm-grounds. It has one mosque with a well-built minaret, and two khans, but nothing else worthy of notice. Some canals from the branch of the Diala, which we crossed over by the one-arched bridge an hour before entering Shahraban, run through the town itself, and supply the inhabitants with water for their daily use, as well as the peasantry for cultivation. The population may be estimated at about two thousand five hundred, of whom two-thirds are Soonnees, and the remainder Sheeahs, there being neither Jews nor Chris-

tians here. The language is Turkish, though Arabic is still understood, and the Aga of the place is subject to Bagdad.*

In the course of the day, information having being brought us of the road to the next town being unsafe from some predatory Arabs having taken up a position near it, our intended departure at night was postponed until the following morning, that we might the better see such of our enemies as might attempt to obstruct our way.

In my enquiries about the towns of Mendeli and Ghilan, I could obtain no very precise data for fixing their positions, as there were no high-roads from hence to either of them.

Mendeli is described as a large town containing about six thousand inhabitants, Turks, Arabs, and Koords, the language of the former chiefly prevailing: it is three days' journey from Bagdad, to the south eastward.

Ghilan is the name of a district of some extent, reaching to the foot of the moun-

* This town is thought to be the site of the ancient Apollonia, which communicated its name to a particular canton. — See *D'Anville's Ancient Geography*, vol. ii. p. 469, *English Edit.* 8vo. London, 1791.

tains of Louristan: its chief town is called Boksyé, and contains about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Arabs. This is also three days' journey from Bagdad, in nearly an eastern direction.*

As this district had been celebrated in antiquity for its pastures and its horses, I was inquisitive from those who had been all over it as to what state the country was now in, and whether its horses were still

* In the march of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatáná, it is said that he marched to the towns called Celonæ, which was therefore then the name of a district as well as at present. It was in this place, says the historian, that the posterity of the Beotians settled themselves in the time of Xerxes's expedition, and there remain to this day, having altogether forgot the laws of their country. For they use a double language, one learnt from the natural inhabitants, and in the other they preserve much of the Greek tongue, and observe some of their laws and customs. Thence, when it grew towards evening, he turned aside and marched to Bagistames to view the country. This country abounds in all manner of fruit-trees, and whatever else either conduces to the profit or pleasure of mankind, so as it seems to be a place of delight both for gods and men. Afterwards he came into a country that breeds and pastures an innumerable company of horses: for they say that there had been here an hundred and sixty thousand horses that ran at pasture up and down the country; but at the coming of Alexander there were only sixty thousand. He encamped here for the space of thirty days.—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. 17, c. 11.

thought superior to all others.* It appears that the whole of the plain, from Boksye to the mountains, is possessed by a tribe of Arabs, called the Beni Lam, who are thought to have twenty thousand heads of families, and are all Sheeahs, like the Persians. The extensive tract over which they roam is now mostly desert, no doubt from the neglect of the canals by which it was formerly watered: their horses, however, are still esteemed as excellent, and inferior to none but those of the Nedjed Arabs and the Turcomans.†

* From the plains in which these horses were bred, it was a march of seven days to Ecbatana. (Septimus deinde castris Ecbatana attingit Mediæ caput.)—*Freinshemius Supplement to Quintus Curtius*, vol. ii. p. 547.

† In describing this district, Major Rennel says: "Between Ghilanee and Kermanshah are the celebrated pastures of the Nisæan horses. This country of Media was the cradle of the Persian power, for the Medes held the sovereignty of Asia previous to the Persians: it produced a hardy race of men as well as horses. Nisæus was a *district* in Media, remarkable for these last, as Ghilan is the name of the district still. The chariot of Xerxes was drawn by these animals, and the sacred horses in the procession were Nisæan (Polymnia 40). Alexander gave a Nisæan horse to Calanus, to carry him to the funeral pile. The King of Partha sacrificed one to the Sun, when Apollonia of Tyana visited his court, and Masistius rode a Nisæan horse at the decisive battle of Platæa. The Nisæan

The whole of the tract from Bagdad to Shahraban is now called Arudth-el-Cûsa, from a tradition that it was once all occupied either by that city or by numerous settlements dependent on it.

At sunset, we all moved up to the terrace of the khan, to pray, to sup, and to spread our beds in a cooler and purer air than we could breathe below. The view from hence, where the country was at all visible through the palm-trees, was one level and desert plain,* in which the sun set at

pastures are spoken of in Diodorus, lib. 7, c. 2, and in Arrian, lib. 7.—See *Rennel's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus*, 4to. p. 268.

* The Nisean horses are placed by Ammianus Marcellinus in the plains of a fertile country of Assyria, on the western side of a high mountain called Corone. This is evidently a part of a chain called Zagros, Orontes, and Jason, in the same place; and Corone is written perhaps Clone, the name of the district where these horses were bred.—*Ann. Mar.* book xxiii. c. 6. vol. ii. pp. 269, 270. Ecbatana is placed at the foot of Mount Jason, which is the same therefore with Orontes. b. xxiii. c. xvi. p. 273. It was in the march of Alexander from Opis on the Tigris, through Celonæ, (which place Xerxes had peopled with a colony of Beotians, who still retained some of their native language,) and on his way towards Ecbatana, that he is said to have viewed the field wherein the King's horses used to graze, which Herodotus calls Nisæum, and the horses Nisæan, and where, in former times, 150,000 were wont to feed, though

W. by N. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. by compass, and the moon succeeded without an interval of twilight.

SEPT. 6th.—We were in motion before the moon had set; and just as the day broke we quitted the town, when the sun greeted our departure as he rose from behind the blue ridge of hills immediately before us.

Our march was directed to the east-north-east, over a plain somewhat less bare than that which we had traversed during the two preceding days, and having tobacco and dourra growing in several parts of it. Camels were also feeding in the neighbourhood, and were the first that we had seen since leaving Bagdad. These signs of life and activity were entirely owing to the presence of water, of which we crossed several small canals and one large one, with rushes on its banks. The whole of the low country indeed, on both sides of the Tigris and the Euphrates, wants only the irrigation which could be so easily given it by canals from these rivers, to render it as fertile as Egypt or the riverlands of China: but in the absence of this,

Alexander found not more than 50,000 there, most of the rest having been stolen away.—*Arrian's Hist. of Alexander's Expedition*, b. vii. c. 13. vol. ii. p. 150.

as the heats are excessive, and little rain falls even in the winter, the whole has fallen by neglect into general barrenness.

In an hour after quitting Shahraban, we came to the main stream from which the smaller ones of the plain were derived, and crossed it by a brick bridge of a single arch. This is called Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen, from its rising near a place of that name farther on in our road, and it goes from hence into the Diala, discharging itself to the southward of the branch which we crossed yesterday. Like this, however, its stream is not more than twenty yards wide, its current slow, and its bed lying deep between two steep banks covered with rushes.

From hence, we continued nearly the same course as before, and in another hour reached the foot of a ridge of sandstone-hills, called Jebel-el-Shahraban. It seemed to be the only practicable pass through them to which our road led, and even this was not an easy one. The ascent was very gentle, over a gravelly road; but, from the soft nature of the rock, several narrow passages had been worn, which barely admitted of a horse going through, and forbade the passage of a

laden mule. Masses of the rock, the layers of which were generally oblique to the horizon, had also fallen, and obstructed some points of the way; so that, few as our numbers were, great confusion prevailed. This was increased, too, by the general alarm which was felt, as it was here that the road was considered the most dangerous, from its being favourable to any small party obstructing it.

Accordingly the bravest and the lightest of the troop ascended the points of the hills to reconnoitre, and fired their muskets as a signal of defiance. As all these were of the match-lock kind throughout our company, excepting only the one which my Dervish carried, the matches were all lighted; but though we were thus fully prepared to repel an attack, it was evident that every one advanced with fear and trembling.

In half an hour we gained the summit of the hills, from whence we could see the plain to the eastward of them before us; and, as this appeared to be clear of wanderers, a shout of joy was set up, thus giving vent to fear, as tears are found to afford a momentary relief to sorrow.

The line of these hills stretched generally from north-north-west to south-south-east, and their highest point did not appear to reach a thousand feet above the level of the plain below. From their summits, which were every where rocky and barren, we saw before us other more lofty ones, at the distance of fifty or sixty miles, half obscured in a blue haze.

The whole passage of these hills, from our leaving the western till our descending on the eastern plain, occupied little more than an hour; and from thence we still went on about east-north-east, towards the town of Kesrabad, now in sight before us, at the distance of six or seven miles.

We found this portion of the plain watered also by small channels from the Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen; and several parcels of land were laid out in dourra, and in cotton plants, both of them now in verdure, it being the spring of the second harvest.

We were met here by three horse Arabs, who had the hardihood to make up towards us at full speed, brandishing their lances for attack. Two of the Persian horsemen, with their match-locks, and myself, with a long

spear of their own kind, rode off at a gallop to meet them, and, firing a pistol in the air as we approached, ordered them to stand. We neared each other very cautiously, as the caravan was still half a mile behind, each having his eyes fixed on his man, in all the suspicion and watchfulness of actual combat, each with his arms ready-balanced for the stroke, and the warmed and conscious horses fretting under a tightened curb, and seeming to upbraid our lingering, by their impatience for the fray. At length, after some harsh words, the "Salam Alaikum" was exchanged, our arms were dropped with caution on each side, and our opponents withdrawing the covering from their faces (which they always wear across it when rushing on to the attack, to prevent their being recognized in cases of blood-revenge), they gave us a signal of submission and peace, and thus the matter ended.

In addressing themselves to me as an Arab, which every part of my dress and accoutrements bespoke me to be, they were exceedingly inquisitive as to the object of my journey eastward, and wondered at my prompt appearance at the head of a troop of

Ajamees or Persians, of whom they spoke openly with the greatest contempt. The Persian soldiers, who understood enough of this to be offended at it, now began to be insolent in their turn, as the coming up of the whole caravan during this parley, gave them an additional motive to boldness.

For myself, I proposed that as we had taken these three men in the very act of an attack upon us, and as they scrupled not to avow their motives, we should make them prisoners, and take them on to the next town, to deliver them up for punishment. All, however, agreed that this would be a certain way of involving the next caravan in the most imminent danger, since the whole tribe of Mujummah, to which they belonged, would not fail to revenge, upon the next body of Persians that passed, the injuries thus done to children of their tents. The soldiers, however, growing more insolent, as the crowd thickened behind them, drove the Arabs off the road, by pushing their horses with the muzzles of their long muskets, and imprecations and abuse passed with equal freedom on either side; while the dastardly crowd, who had witnessed all at a

very safe distance, now shouted in triumph at the poor defeat of three individuals, whom they had not the courage to seize and punish.

Such being the usual result of cases like this, it can hardly be wondered at that the roads here are not safe. A party of idle Arabs, having nothing better to do, as their wives and children tend their flocks, and perform the duties of their camp, mount on horseback, and cross over the great highways of the country. If they descry a party who are too few in numbers or too deficient in spirit to resist their attack, some gain at least is certain. But should they be unexpectedly checked in their career, no risk is run by the attempt, as they are permitted to gallop off, and direct their course in some other direction for a more successful foray.*

* The power of the desert horse to endure privation and fatigue is quite extraordinary; and must always have been remarkable, to have given rise to the extravagant opinions entertained on that subject in antiquity. Among others, Pliny says:—"The Sarmatians, when they were about to make a great journey, prepared their horses two days before by giving them no meat at all, and allowing them only a little drink;

We continued our way in closer march than before, and after crossing many small streams and pools of water, with some huts of rushes inhabited by Mujumma Arabes, we approached toward the town of Kesrabad, entering it about eleven o'clock, two hours and a half from the eastern foot of the hills we had crossed, and about five and a half from our leaving Shahraban; so that its distance may be from eighteen to twenty miles east-north-east of that place.

As we remained here the whole of the day, I had an opportunity of seeing more of the place during a sunset walk. Like the stations through which we had already passed, this abounded in palm-trees. The town was larger than either of the preceding ones, and contained about a thousand dwellings, and three thousand stationary inhabitants. The houses are all small, and built of mud, with brick door-ways in front; they are more closely placed, however, than in the villages before-mentioned, and assume the form of

and thus it was said, they were enabled to gallop them one hundred and fifty miles. an end, without drawing in their bridles."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 8, p. 42.

regular streets, in one of which is a public bazar and two khans.

In the southern quarter of the town is a rising ground, on which the houses are elevated, so as to be seen farther off than those standing entirely on the plain. To the east of the town is a similar hill converted into a burial-ground, and on the north are extensive gardens enclosed.

The grounds in the neighbourhood are all artificially watered by canals from the Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen; and dates, and melons, pomegranates, and gourds are abundant.

The language of the people is altogether Turkish, and they are all Soonnees. Two mosques were spoken of, though I saw but one, and this was meanly built and without a minaret. The town is subject to Bagdad, and the support of its population is drawn from the culture of the lands, and the supply of caravans halting between Persia and Arabia on this route.

SEPT. 7th.—The wind from the eastern hills was cold and piercing during the night; and as I slept on the house-top or terrace, exposed to its full force, and without a cover-

ing, I felt myself severely affected by its influence.

I had arisen and armed myself, however, before the day broke, and stirred my Der-vish from his sleep, under the belief of the caravan setting out at an early hour, as yesterday. But when our horses were saddled, and some few others had followed our example under the same persuasion as ourselves, we were surprised to find the major part of our company still snoring at their ease, and some few others who were awake making no preparations to be gone. On enquiry, our surprise was heightened to learn that it was not intended to move to-day, as they had heard news of troubles on the road. Daood Effendi, the Dufterdar of the Pasha of Bagdad, had, it was said, come out of the city, and putting himself at the head of five thousand troops previously prepared by his agent, had set up the standard of rebellion, and intended taking the city from his former master, without attempting to offer any plea of excuse for such treachery, as in these countries power is tacitly acknowledged to constitute right, however

much the contrary doctrine may be preached by those who feel their own weakness.

It was not easy to see how this could affect the safety of the roads to the eastward of us, but it was thought to do so by the timid pilgrims, and this was sufficient to spread a panic among all the rest who were bound that way; for though, on our arising, there were several preparing to depart, and we had offered to join them if they would go on, yet there was not at last one individual who would start with us, and we were therefore obliged to yield to the delay.

My indisposition made me sufficiently indolent; notwithstanding which, however, being without a book or a companion, my Dervish having already given himself up to such pleasures as the town afforded, the time hung heavily upon me. When I caught him for half an hour, near noon, I prevailed on him to write me some Persian words with their Arabic relative ones opposite to them in a small blank book; so that I now began to learn a language of which I yet knew nothing, through the medium of one which, however fluently I could express my-

self in it, was equally new to me as a written one.

From the time that I had been travelling among different races of people speaking Arabic, my proficiency might indeed have been much greater than it really was at this moment; but I had never yet enjoyed sufficient repose at any one time or place to apply myself to the study of it grammatically; and from the great variety of dialects into which this language is divided, both as to the words themselves, and the manner of pronouncing them, in Egypt, Arabia Proper, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, I had found it difficult even to follow up these changes, for the mere purpose of expressing my wants in such a way as not to betray myself to be a stranger.

The Koran which the Dervish had procured for me in Bagdad, and which he had promised to instruct me in reading during the leisure intervals of our way, had been already stolen from me by some of the holy personages of our pilgrim-train. It was of the smallest size that could be had, yet perfectly legible, from being well written; it

had cost me sixty piastres, and was admirably adapted to my purpose. It was contained in an appropriate case, which I wore by my side during the day, and at night placed it with such other things as were immediately under my own charge beneath my head. As I had been seen looking into it at different times by several of our party, it had no doubt attracted the cupidity of one more pious than the rest, who might have consoled his conscience for the theft, by devoutly regarding the holiness of the prize as a sufficient excuse for the stealing it. Illogical and senseless as such reasoning may appear to those who view things through an unprejudiced medium, it is nevertheless that which is often found among religious Mohammedans, where the cause of God and his Prophet has been supported by persecution and oppression; and in the East, as well as in the West, devotion and dishonesty are thus often found to go hand in hand.

On the discovery of my loss, strict enquiry was made about it, but without leading to restoration; for we were not sufficiently strong to insist on searching the baggage of the suspected, nor sufficiently

rich to bribe the proper officer for this duty; so that no hope remained of our recovering the stolen Scripture.

During the day, we heard of a place near this having been already attacked by Arabs, on the news of the state of things at Bagdad; and so many particulars were given in the details of this affair, that we could not refuse it credit. A few hours afterwards, however, a caravan arriving here from the eastward contradicted the report, as they had passed by the very spot named without hearing any thing of the matter. These, however, on now learning the news of the Bagdad road, which had given rise to the report on which we questioned them, made their determination to halt here for a while; though the news thus learnt from us might, for aught we knew, have been as ill-founded as the rumour which they themselves had so satisfactorily contradicted.

As we were now positively assured of our way being safe, I expected that we should suffer no more delay; but the majority of our party, to whom despatch seemed of no great consequence, still determined to prolong their halt. In an evening stroll, about

an hour before sunset, under the guidance of one of the natives of the place, and accompanied also by my Dervish, we came upon a large and remarkable heap of ruins, about a mile to the north-east of the town. It was in form and extent nearly like that of the Makloubé, the supposed castellated Palace at Babylon, except that it was less in height, and whatever buildings had once occupied this site had been rased nearer to the ground. It was still, however, sufficiently high to form a conspicuous object on the plain, even from a distance, its highest part being forty or fifty feet above the common level.

By the people of the country, it is called Giaour-Tuppé-sé, or the "Hill of the Infidels;" and it was asserted by our guide, and confirmed by many others of the place, whom we questioned afterwards, that there had been often dug up from, and found on the surface of the ruins, small idols of copper, some of them representing men in a sitting posture, without seats to support them; which, from their size and material, as well as from their attitudes, imitated by those who described them to us, must have been of the

same kind as one of the Babylonian idols in Mr. Rich's collection.

In examining the surface of this mound, we saw in many parts that had been excavated, portions of excellent masonry, in large, square, red, burnt bricks, some layers of thick lime cement, with others of what seemed to be either a very fine stucco, or else a peculiar kind of white marble. There were no appearances of any outer wall that encircled the whole, though possibly such might have existed beneath the rubbish. The interior part seemed to have been composed of many small buildings, like the Palace at Babylon; and indeed similar edifices are still seen throughout the East, where all the domestic offices are included within the same area with the principal abode. Having my compass with me, and pretending to use it to ascertain the precise point of the Caaba for evening prayers, I obtained from the spot the bearings of such surrounding objects as were in view.*

* Town of Kesrabad, south-west by south, one mile. Town of Tewak, with date trees, west-south-west, five miles. Town of Baradan, with a high mound, west, five miles. Mound call-

To the north, from eight to ten miles off, were two ridges of low hills, going along nearly east and west, and the eastern horizon was intercepted by the chain of mountains leading from Koordistan to Lauristan, and dividing Irak-Arabi on the west from Irak-Ajami on the east.

The stream which we had crossed about an hour before entering Kesrabad, and which was there called Nahr-el-Khan-e-Keen, from a belief that it was the same which flowed by that place, was here called Giaour-Soo, or the "Water of the Infidels," evidently relating to the "Giaour-Tuppé-sé," the hill on which we stood. From hence it was seen flowing from the north-east through a fine plain, the stream itself being visible from a bearing of north to west, and its banks plainly to be traced still farther each way, from their being covered with verdure, and having fine green plots of cultivated land on each side.

This river was distant from the ruins in question little more than a mile, and might be said to have covered the approach to it

ed Nimrood-Tuppé-sé, south-west, half a mile. Mound called Shah-Tuppé-sé, south-by-east half east, quarter of a mile.

from the north-west. It was this consideration chiefly, though strengthened considerably by the appearance of the ruins, the name both of it and the river which covered it, with the figures and coins found here, which led me to suppose that it might be the site of the celebrated Palace of Dastagherd.

M. D'Anville, in his "Memoir on the Euphrates and the Tigris," when treating of the expedition of Heraclius against Persia, and the flight of Chosroes, by which it was terminated, says: "In that campaign, Heraclius passed successively the Great and the Little Zab,* and a third river, named Torna." This is conceived, with some show of probability from the resemblance of names, to have been the Tornadatum of Pliny.†

A river, called Physcus by Xenophon,

* In the expedition of Cyrus, the first of these rivers is mentioned as the Zabatus, and said to be four plethra in breadth; and in a note on this passage it is observed, that the Zabatus, or Zabus, called also by the Greeks Lycus, preserves its original name Zab.—*Geog. Anc.* tom. ii. p. 243.—*Expedition de Cyrus dans l'Asie Supérieure, et la Retraite de Dix Mille, par M. Larcher.* Paris, 12mo. 1778, tom. i. l. 2—19. p. 148.

† When speaking of an Antiocha, thought to be the Opis of Xenophon and Strabo, Pliny describes it as seated "inter duo flumina Tigrim et Tornadatum."

Gorgus by Ptolemy, Odoine by Tavernier, and Odorneh by D'Anville, is assumed for this ; among all which names, no one like Diala certainly appears. Its position, however, as the third river from Nineveh to Ctesiphon on the east bank of the Tigris, may form a more certain guide than names varying with every writer and in every age. The river in question is called the third, after counting the Great and Little Zab as the first and second ; and between this last stream and the Diala, there is no other that is now known to deserve the title of a river ; so that this only can be the third intended, whether called the Diala, or any of the other varied names bestowed on it.

D'Anville continues to examine into the question of the site of Dastagherd,* the palace which for twenty years enjoyed the distinguished preference of the Persian monarch over that of Ctesiphon.

All that the power of a great sovereign could effect toward the gratification of a lux-

* In the Pascal Chronicle, this name is read Dastagerchosar, according to Theophanus and Cedrenus, which, if a corruption of Dastagherd, Kasar, would signify, in the language of the country, simply, the castle or palace of Dastagherd.

urious Asiatic taste was here accomplished; and the sober page of history is swelled beyond its proper bounds, by an enumeration of the objects of state and splendour which were here collected for the pampered taste of royalty to feed on.*

* Parviz avait dans son serail, douze mille jeunes filles, aussi belles que la lune, aussi suaves que l'odeur de l'ambre. Il avait aussi douze cent elephans, et une certaine quantité d'or que l'on pourrait faire tout ce qu'on voulait sans le secours de feu. Cinquante mille chevaux mangeoient de l'orge dans des ecuries, et douze mille chameaux étoient employés à porter le baggage de sa maison. Shebiz, l'un de ses chevaux dont la vitesse surpassait celle du vent, est célèbre dans l'histoire. Parviz avait aussi un musicien nommé Barbano, qui n'a jamais eu son semblable. On raconte tant de choses de la magnificence de ce Prince qu'un homme sensé ne peut ajouter foi à tous qu'on dit.—*Mémoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse, par M. Silvestre de Sacy. Paris. 4to.*

On vante aussi l'incomparable magnificence de sa cour, et l'immensité de ses trésors. Il entretenoit habituellement quinze mille musiciens, six mille officiers du palais, vingt cinq mille cinq cents chevaux et mulets de belle, et, pour le baggage, neuf cent soixante elephans. Quand il sortoit à cheval, deux cents personnes l'accompagnoit avec de cassolettes, où brûloient de parfums, et mille porteurs d'eau arrosoit le chemin. Parmi les objets précieux, et même merveilleux qu'il possédoit, nous ne citerons qu'un essuie-mains qu'on jetoit au feu pour le nettoyer : il étoit sans doute en amianthe. Ce fut sous son regne que l'on amena en Perse des jeunes elephans blancs.—*Notes par Langles sur les Voyages de Chardin. Paris. 8vo. 1811. tome 10, p. 181.*

In describing the local features of this delicious spot, it is said to have been seated in a fine plain or valley, and to have had a deep and clear stream to cover its approach, which when the army of Heraclius had passed, the precipitate retreat of Chosroes threw open the palace of Dastagherd to the Greek Emperor without resistance. To avenge himself for the devastations and calamities which his own empire had suffered from the inroads of Chosroes, Heraclius destroyed this palace, and caused to be consumed by the flames whatever had constituted to form its ornaments or its delights.

The Diala has been already said to be the third river enumerated among those which Heraclius passed from the Tigris, in his march to Dastagherd. A fourth is then spoken of, as a deep and clear stream, covering the approach to this palace, and consequently lying to the north-west in the line of approach from Nineveh, and the two rivers of the Great and Little Zab.

The same geographer continues: "We read in history, that Heraclius, having made three marches in advance from Dastagherd, found himself within twelve miles of a river

called the Arba, close to which (and probably along its southern bank) the Persian army were assembled to cover the approach to Ctesiphon."*

We have thus, therefore, these fixed data to guide us in our search after the site of Dastagherd. First, its situation in an agreeable place, so as to command whatever is thought to contribute to the gratification of an eastern taste, in wood, water, shade, &c. Secondly, its being necessary to cross three rivers, the Great Zab, the Little Zab, and the Diala, in the march toward it from Ctesiphon. Thirdly, its approach being covered by a deep and clear stream on the northwest. Fourthly, its being three days' march from it to within twelve miles of the Arba, which covers the approach to Ctesiphon, or within twenty miles, at least, of that city itself.

The situation of the ruins here, at Giaour-Tuppé-sé, or the Hill of the Infidels, cor-

* From local position, it is probable that this Arba was some stream flowing from the eastward into the Diala before the junction of this last river with the Tigris: for, between the Diala and Ctesiphon, there is no river now existing, nor the bed of any ancient one apparent.

responds, in an extraordinary degree of accuracy, with all these particulars. The whole of the extensive valley in which it is placed may be called a delicious country. The Great and the Little Zab and the Diala must be crossed in the march to it from Nineveh, or from Moosul, where the ruins of that ancient city are. The approach to it is covered by the deep and clear stream of the Giaour-Soo, or Water of the Infidels, on the northwest. And the distance of three days' march from hence, to within twelve miles of the river that covers the approach to Ctesiphon, is as near the estimate of that distance as one can expect, since the precise distance of that river, within eight or ten miles, is not known, if it be a branch of the Diala.*

* D'Anville seems to have been perplexed by the multiplicity of names applied to this river, and to have spoken of it sometimes as two distinct streams.

After saying: "On lit dans l'histoire, qu'Heraclius ayant fait trois marches en avant de Dastagerd, se trouva à douze milles d'une rivière nommée Arba, et près de laquelle l'armée Persanne était rassemblée pour couvrir les approches de Ctesiphon;" he observes, "Or nous sommes instruits d'une manière positive, qu'au-dessous de Bagdad, et au moins de distance au-dessus de Modain, le Tigre reçoit une grosse rivière, dont le nom de Delas dans l'antiquité subsiste distinctement en s'écrivant aujourd'hui Diala."—He adds, "Comme il n'est point dit

The name of the present town of Kesrabad, signifying "founded or peopled by Kesra," the Arab name of Chosroes, may be thought, perhaps, to give some support to the supposition of this being the site of his favourite palace, seated in a beautiful plain, bounded on three sides by hills, and on the east by lofty mountains, commanding an extensive prospect, enjoying a delicious climate, and wanting only the hand of taste and la-

qu'Heraclius ait passé cette rivière, il faut en conclure que ce fut la terme de cette expedition; et, que Chosroes n'existant plus par le crime de son fils, Siroes, c'est ce que donna lieu à un traité qui mit fin à cet armement de l'empire Grec contre le Persan." p. 104, *et seq.* 4to.

But we have before seen that Heraclius must have passed the Diala, to have destroyed the palace of Dastagherd, since, in the words of M. D'Anville himself, "la rivière qui couvroit ce lieu à l'approche d'Heraclius, et dont le nom dans l'antiquité est Delas, le conserve encore, étant appelée Diala."

There is an evident confounding of the same river with some other stream, by making it appear in two different positions under the same name: for if the Diala had been crossed to arrive at Dastagherd, it would have been necessary to re-cross it again before the army could come upon the lower part of it, as covering the approach to Ctesiphon, which re-crossing is nowhere specified, that I remember. Besides which, the Diala is enumerated as the third river after the Great and Little Zab, from Nineveh, and the one covering the approach to Dastagherd is spoken of as a fourth.

Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot think the Arba to be

bour to render it one of the most agreeable abodes that could be inhabited.

The strength of this position would be only such as art could give it, since it derived none from nature ; but, although it would seem reasonable that a place, containing such immense treasures as Dastagherd is described to have had within it at one time, should have been well fortified ; yet, from the precipitate flight of the monarch, who abandoned it without resistance to the Greek Emperor, it might at least be presumed that its

again this Proteus river, as D'Anville would have it, but conjecture it rather to be some stream leading into it, under the name of the Afit-Ab of the Maps, though I have no positive knowledge of the existence of such a stream from any other source. The branch running by the small town of Imaum Eske, in the road from Bakouba to Mendeli, in Kinnier's map of Persia, may possibly be the same stream, as it seems to lead towards a discharge into the Diala, though its continuation to such discharge is not carried on in the map itself.

Great confusion, it must be confessed, exists both in the writings of the Ancients, and in those of their ablest illustrators among the moderns, on the subject of such small local features of distant countries as these : but we may say with Rennel, that “ notwithstanding these inaccuracies, it is curious to trace the geographical ideas of the people who ranked high as historians, warriors, and philosophers, on a country whose divisions then formed a subject of speculation, like the interior of Africa, and the course of its rivers at the present day.”

means of defence were not very considerable.*

It is worthy of remark, that Dastagherd is mentioned only as a palace, and no notice is taken of a metropolitan city near it,† which corresponds also with the actual appearance of the place, there being no other ruins

* “The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, were deposited in an hundred subterraneous vaults, and the chamber *Badaverd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds, which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble and plated wood that supported the roof, and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac.”—*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46. p. 225. 8vo.

† “Chosroes enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of his victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But in the space of twenty-four years he was deterred by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon, and his favourite residence of Artemita or Dastagerd was situate beyond the Tigris about sixty miles to the north of the capital. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate: the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, and in the number of three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia, some happy concubine might console her master for the age or the indifference of Sira.”—*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46. p. 224. 8vo.

than those of the isolated buildings enumerated, among the mounds of which the bearings are given from this spot.*

We returned at sun-set by the western quarter of the town, passing round the gardens, and coming along the banks of a canal leading from the Giaour-Soo,† and running

* I have not been able to find any mention of Dastagherd in D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, though the Life of Chosroes, its possessor, is given at length from Mirkhond. Gibbon, however, who had an opportunity of consulting the best authorities, constantly speaks of it as a palace, or a retired seat, rather than a city; though he couples it with Artemita, without assigning a reason for what had not hitherto been disputed. This historian, in his account of the third expedition of Heraclius, A. D. 627, after describing the victorious results of the battle of Nineveh to the Greeks, says: "The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of forty-eight miles in four-and-twenty hours, his vanguard occupied the bridges of the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes, they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagherd, and though much of the treasure had been removed, and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. From the palace of Dastagerd he pursued his march within a few miles of Modain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped on the banks of the Arba by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital."—*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46. p. 250. 8vo.

† The term "Giaour," so commonly applied to infidels by

close by the walls, from which canal the town and neighbouring gardens are watered.

On further enquiry respecting the river here, we were told that Bakouba was seated on the main stream of the Diala; that Shahraban stood on a smaller stream, going afterwards into that river; but that the Giaour-Soo is a distinct stream from all these, discharging itself into the Tigris, though the exact point of such discharge no one here knew accurately. Neither of these streams, it was said, were the same as that of Khan-e-Keen, as had been told us before, this last being the Sirwund of some, and the Silwund of others; while at Kassr-

the Turks, and used in that sense as a title of one of Lord Byron's beautiful poems, is thought by some to be a corrupt abbreviation of Guebr, or fire-worshipper, bestowed on the followers of Zoroaster, who were the first infidels against which the Mohammedan arms were directed out of their own country.—*Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 200.

Tavernier says: "Je recontraï, à Isfahan, en 1647, un de ces Guares, ou anciens Persans, qui adoraient le feu." And again: "Je passe maintenant à la religion de Gaures, ou Guèbres."—*Voyages des Tavernier*, par J. B. J. Breton. Paris, 1810. 12mo. tome i. c. 5. p. 108; ii. c. 3. p. 138.

Langles, the celebrated French Orientalist, says: "Gaour est la corruption de Kafour, pluriel du mot Arabic Kafer, Infidèle."—*Voyages de Chardin*. Paris, 1811. vol. viii. p. 365. 8vo.

Shirine, and at Sirpool further east of us, is the Erwend or Elwund, with the same permutation of letters.*

* In the routes given in the Appendix to Morier's Travels through Persia, all these streams are confounded in one, and spoken of as the Alwund, even to Bakouba, which is evidently erroneous. The names of places there are also often mis-spelt; but the difficulty first of obtaining accurate information on what an enquirer does not see for himself in these countries, and next of committing it to record on the spot, is a sufficient excuse for much greater errors than these.

CHAPTER II.



BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIVER SILWUND.

CHAPTER II.

FROM DASTAGHERD TO ARTEMITA, OR KHAN-
E-KEEN, AND FROM THENCE TO HELLOW-
LA, OR KASSR-SHIRINE.

SEPT. 8th.—The morning came, without any preparation for departure, and I began to fear we were fixed here for many days to come. By going round, however, to all the cells and chambers of the khan, and using alternately expressions of encouragement and reproach, we at length persuaded about half a dozen of the most courageous of our companions that it was pusillanimous to be afraid of moving, when no danger was known to exist on our way: and it was amusing to see how soon the few whom we were able to win over, turned their backs upon their former comrades, and called them woman-hearted, and timid creatures, for refusing to

follow their example; to which the others made no reply.

As I was now looked upon as the caravan-bashi, or head, from being the chief mover of this party, and as the Dervish Ismael and myself were indeed by far the best mounted and most completely armed of the whole troop, we performed the duties of leaders, by filling the pipes and nargeels of all our companions from our own stock of tobacco, and serving coffee to our select comrades from our own coffee-pot. All this was done with great dispatch, so that soon after sun-rise we were mounted, and quitting the khan, leaving behind us within its walls, a caravan destined for Bagdad, and the Persian pilgrims who had come with us from thence, thus far, but who refused to go on without further protection.

Our course now lay nearly east, over a plain, which brought us in half an hour to the two heaps called Nimrod-Tuppé and Shah-Tuppé, between which we passed, without seeing any thing remarkable in them, more than common mounds of earth; though they probably might have shown vestiges of former buildings had they been carefully ex-

amined, a task which I could not now step aside from the road to execute.

The Nimrod-Tuppé has a tradition attached to it, of a palace having been built there by Nimrod; and the Shah-Tuppé is said by some to have been a pleasure-house; by others, to be the grave of an Eastern monarch, coming on a pilgrimage to Mecca from India, who, being pleased with the beauty of the situation, halted here to take up his abode, and ended his days on the spot.

Just beyond these mounds, we crossed, by a flat bridge, over a good artificial canal. The stream which filled it was narrow, but deep and clear, and came from the river called the Giaour-Soo, watering several portions of the surrounding country in its way. Our next hour's journey was over a gravelly and desert tract, which brought us to the foot of a ridge of sand-stone and gravel-hills, running north and south across the plain.

We were about an hour in ascending these on the western, and descending them on the eastern side, at the foot of which we came on a second plain, similar to the first, both in its soil and extent. The traversing this occupied just another hour, when we enjoyed

an extensive view of the plain of Khan-e-Keen, which seemed to have more verdure and fertility than any grounds we had seen, since quitting the environs of Bagdad.

Our course across this was about east-north-east, and, when we had gone an hour and a half, we had, abreast of us on our left, a small village of mud-built huts, called Butrakus, and near it some grass and reeded huts, of Arab families. The tribes occupying this plain, are those of El-Boozweid, El-Mujumma, and El-Beni Weis; they live together in great harmony, having their separate portions of land well defined. Unlike the Arabs generally, they are cultivators of the soil, as well as herdsmen and shepherds: for this, however, they have to pay a regular tribute to the Pasha of Bagdad.

In another half hour we entered the town of Khan-e-Keen, passed through the first portion of it, crossed the bridge which connects this to the second, and alighted at an excellent caravanserai in perfect safety, not having had the slightest cause for alarm throughout the whole of our journey.

From the circumstance of our having tra-

velled in so small a party, and from a supposed Arab being at the head of it, there were so many persons of the town, and travellers halting here on their journey, who came to hear the news, and pay their respects to the Hadjee-Aga, that I was occupied the whole of the afternoon in receiving and entertaining company.

At El-Assr, I washed for prayer, my Dervish having already perfected me in this ceremony, the prescribed forms of which are minute and intricate; and taking occasion while I was thus employed, to hint to the visitors that a little repose would be welcome after devotion, they gradually dispersed, and left me, for a short period at least, alone. I profited by this occasion to take some clean linen, and go down to the river's side for the double purpose of washing, and of being unobserved, that I might put to paper my notes of our route, as it was impossible, from the crowded state of the khan, to attempt to write there, without betraying myself as a stranger.

I enjoyed my evening bath with all the privacy I could desire; but as the sun was nearly set, I caught only a few minutes after-

wards to execute the other portion of the task for which I had thus stolen away.

The town of Khan-e-Keen consists of two portions, occupying the respective banks of the river Silwund, which are connected together by a bridge across the stream. The river here flows nearly from south to north through the town; about half a mile to the southward of the bridge the bend of the river is seen, where the stream comes from the eastward; it then goes north for about a mile, and afterwards turns westerly, bending gradually to the southward, so as to form the Giaour-Soo, which runs to the west of Kesrabad.

The river is here, however, called the Sirwund or Silwund, and has its source in the eastern mountains, though no one at the place pretends to know the exact distance of it from hence. The bridge is newly built of brick-work, and is supported on thirteen pointed arches and buttresses, all of good masonry. It is high, broad, and well paved across, and is a hundred and eighty horse-paces long, though the river itself is not, on an average, more than half that breadth.

Advantage has been taken of a bed of solid rock, which lies in the centre of the stream, to make it the foundation of the bridge; and the water of the river is led under each of the arches, through a narrow and deep channel, originally cut no doubt in the rock, but since worn into deep and apparently natural beds, leaving each side of the rock dry. In this way, each arch has under it two broad level spaces of stone, with a deep and rapid current going between them; so that, at this season of the year, when the water is low, a person can walk dry-shod across the rock, by the side of the bridge: and the places beneath the arches form so many shady retreats, where parties assemble to enjoy refreshments by the water, which is peculiarly clear, from running in a gravelly bed, and is of pure and excellent taste.

The western portion of Khan-e-Keen, which is the largest, approaches close to the edge of a cliff, overlooking the stream, and is banked up in some places by a brick wall. The eastern division is smaller, but contains an excellent khan, built in the Persian style, and capable of receiving a large caravan.

Both divisions contain together about fifteen hundred dwellings, and a population of from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants. There are two principal mosques in the place, and the people are all of the sect of the Soonnees. Among the inhabitants are a few Jews, but no Christians. The Governor is subject to Bagdad, and pays a tribute to the Pasha, which is drawn from agriculture and the profits made on supplies to casual passengers. The language spoken is chiefly Turkish.

There are many excellent gardens at Khan-e-Keen, and no want of trees; while the banks of the river, which are low both above and below the town, though one of them is high at the town itself, are covered with verdure. Tradition says, that in this place was formerly a fine park, and two palaces, the work of Ferhad, the celebrated architect and sculptor, and lover of Shirine; one of these palaces, named Berzmahan, being for Shirine herself, and the other the place from whence Khosrou, or Kesra, her lord, used to survey his troops. No situation could be more agreeable for parks or palaces, but

no remains of any great buildings were now to be traced.*

In the Memoir on the Expedition of Heraclius, before alluded to, mention is made of a city called Artemita, of which, from the correspondence of relative distance and local feature, I should conceive this place of Khan-e-Keen to be the site.

Strabo speaks of Artemita as a celebrated city. Isidore of Charax says, that it was seated on a river called the Silla. Its distance from Ctesiphon and Seleucia is given respectively by Isidore of Charax, at fifteen schoenes, in "Stathmis Parthicis;" by Strabo at 500 stadia; and by the Theodosian Tables at seventy-one Roman miles. According to Isidore it was a Greek city, and its name is

* "Ferhad, que l'amour de Schirine avait suivi jusqu'au fond des solitudes, construisit un immense parc, dont on voit encore les restes, entre Bagdad et Kermanschah, proche de *Kharkin* (Khan-e-Keen) et au milieu duquel s'élevoient en amphithéâtre deux palais en regard: l'un, nommé Berzmahan, destiné au logement de Schirine; l'autre plus spacieux et contigu à une haute tour à plusieurs étages, où Khosrow devait se placer pour faire la revue de ses troupes."—*Itinéraire d'un Voyage en Perse par le voie de Bagdad, par M. Rousseau, Consul General de France à Halep, 1807. Mines de l'Orient, tom. 3, p. 91. Vienne.*

thought to have been derived from the Greek term *ἄρτεμις*, or *αρτεμιᾶ*, signifying a healthy and advantageous situation; though it had another name among the people of the country, which the same author writes Chalasar.

It will be seen that Khan-e-Keen is seated on the river Silwund, which may well be the Silla of antiquity; that its distance corresponds, with sufficient accuracy, to that assigned to Artemita from Seleucia and Ctesiphon.* And that no place could more justly deserve a name implying a healthy and advantageous situation.†

M. D'Anville says, "Artemita was a Greek city, on a stream whose name, which is sometimes written Silla, should rather be

* There is no measuring off the exact distance of this place on Kinnier's Map, as in it its name is altogether omitted. In a route from Sennah by Kermanshah to Bagdad, by Mr. Webb, attached to the geographical memoir for the illustration of this map, Khanakee is stated to be eighteen miles from Kuzzelroobaut (or Kesrabad) and this measures exactly sixty miles, the distance of Dastagherd from Ctesiphon, making the whole seventy-eight.

† Its present name is formed of خان a Caravanseria, and قين collecting together, adjusting; repairing, composing; mending, forming, framing, adapting, &c. — *Richardson's Arabic Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 745.

called Delas, the modern form whereof is Diala.”*

We have already seen that this river has been as frequently confounded with other streams in antiquity, as the Elwund has been in the latest Itineraries of our own times, and in each case the confusion has given rise to other errors.

It is thus that Artemita and Dastagherd are considered by D’Anville, to be the same place under a Greek and an Oriental name, (though that name is given by Isidore of Charax as Chalasa) merely because the same river which passed by Dastagherd is said by Isidore to have passed by Artemita also: not considering that a river may pass by twenty cities in its course, without its being therefore necessary to unite them in one, unless their distances, from some known point, agree exactly with each other.

But though it does not follow, because the same stream is said to have passed by Artemita and Dastagherd, that these are therefore but one place under different names;†

* Compendium of Ancient Geography. English Edit. 8vo. vol. 2, p. 469.

† Though Kinnier has omitted the name of Khan-e-Keen in

still this fact gives great strength to the opinion, that the Silla is no other than the Silwund of the present day, which, after flowing through Artemita at Khan-e-Keen, goes along by Dastagherd at Kesrabad, sufficiently distant to the north-west of that place to cover the approach to it from that direction; being there called the Giaour-Soo, or Water of the Infidels, most probably in allusion to the Greeks being partially impeded by it on their march against the palace there.

SEPT. 9th.—At sun-rise we left Khan-e-Keen with the same party with which we entered it on the preceding day, and went east-north-east, over rugged, gravelly, and barren hills, for three hours; when we reached an old enclosure of low walls with loop-holes, being a very poor and modern fort of the Arabs, called Khallet-el-Subzey, in a solitary situation, and renowned for

his Map of Persia, and argues strongly against the supposition of Artemita and Dastagherd being the same place; it is singular enough that he has given them both the same position in his map as "Artemita or Dastagherd," and placed them in a situation with which, as he himself admits in the memoir, the distance of Artemita did not at all agree!—See *Kinnier's Memoir*, p. 306.

murders and treacherous deeds. We proceeded here with lighted matches and primed pistols, and were shown the graves of several passengers who had been killed by the Arabs, and buried by others following them on the same road.

Going for three hours more on the same course, having all the way barren and hilly ground, we arrived just before noon at Kassr-Shirine; and about a quarter of an hour before entering it, we touched at a bend of the river coming from that place, without crossing its stream in our way.

We found at the caravanserai a drove of asses, laden with salt, which had been brought from Mendeli, and was transporting to Ker-rund: it was of the rock kind, and was said to be procured in abundance from salt-mines in that neighbourhood. A few questions put to the people who were employed in the conveyance of this commodity, though asked with great caution, were sufficient to excite suspicion of my motives; so that it was found unsafe to follow them up by others.

The Sheeah sect of the Moslems, which embraces nearly all the Persians, appeared to me to be much more fanatic than the

Soonnees, whom they regard as heretics, and themselves as orthodox ; which order is of course reversed by their opponents. They are, comparatively speaking, the Roman Catholics of the East,—revering tombs, and saints, and relics, more than the Soonnees. They are more punctual, and longer in their prayers and washings, and they despise the Soonnees heartily for their want of ceremony ; besides which, many of them will neither eat nor drink knowingly with an unbeliever ; nor even take water out of the same cup after him, without first cleansing it of its defilement. Among such a people I felt myself continually under apprehension, and was straitened so much in my opportunities of making observations on the route, or of noting them down, that as long as I remained with them, I despaired of being able to record more than outline memorandums for future reference and use.

Towards evening, under pretence of washing in the river and performing my evening devotions by the stream, I stole an hour to ramble over the ruins here. The pile more particularly called Kassr-Shirine, is a square of about one hundred and fifty paces on each

side, and appears to be the remains of a military fort. It is now about thirty feet high in its most perfect parts, and has six circular bastions on each front, built in the Saracenic style. The interior of the square is nearly filled up by the rubbish of buildings formerly within it, many parts of the walls of which are still standing.

Like all the old Eastern castles, this seems to have been erected on a naturally elevated mound, which was subsequently cased over with masonry on its exterior face,—thus forming the hill of fortification, while the edifices within stood on the high level of its summit, sheltered only by a parapet wall surrounding the upper edge of the mound itself. The masonry of the outer fort, as seen at present, is of large unhewn stones, rudely but strongly imbedded in a mass of lime cement; but from its extremely rough appearance it is probable that it once had an outer coating of brick, or of smaller hewn stones, as a casing to this rude interior. Near this fort is a small mound, which is called Kassr-el-Sughyre, or the little palace, to distinguish it from the Kassr-el-Kebeer, or the greater one before described.

Both of these castles, or palaces, are seated on an elevated ground, on the northern bank of the river Alwund, and about a quarter of a mile distant from its stream, which here flows from east to west, along the valley to the southward of the ruins; and on the north, at the distance of a mile or two, are steep and rugged hills; while all around, the soil is bare, destitute of wood, and in general void of beauty.

Besides the ruin called Kassr-Shirine, which gives name to the place itself, there are here extensive remains of a large city, stretching for a mile or two to the eastward. Among these, no one edifice is seen entire; but the outer wall of enclosure is perfect in many parts, and is elsewhere so easily traced, that a plan of the *enceinte* might be made upon the spot. These walls are built of large hewn stones, well cemented with thin layers of lime, and are of strong and finished masonry.

The native Persians still preserve the tradition of these works being the remains of the city of Hellowla, which they say belonged to the Infidels before the days of the Prophet, and was founded by Kesra the king.

This opinion is consistent with the testimony of history, and each thus confirms the accuracy of the other.

D'Herbelot, under the article Khosrou Ben Hormouz, says: "Ben Shohnah dit que Chosroes batit une ville, du nom de sa maîtresse Shirin, située entre les villes de Huluan et de Khanekin."* This corresponds precisely with the situation of the present Kassr-Shirine, which is just midway between Halouan, the present Zohaub, and Khan-e-Keen, the last station we had passed on our way.

The Arabic geographers and historians place the city of Hellowla, which they say was founded by Khosrou Parviz, and used as one of his favourite abodes, at six or seven fursungs from Khan-e-Keen; which also corresponds with the site of the present remains. Some of the native Persian authors indeed say, that Khosrou, or Kesra, built seven kassrs in seven different places, for the accommodation of his beloved Shirine, one of which was at Hellowla.

It is evident, therefore, that all advert to

* Bibliotheque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 445. 4to.

the same place ; and as Hellowla is spoken of as existing at the period of the palace in question being built, it might have been also that the name of Shirine was thenceforth conferred on Hellowla as a farther mark of honour. Be this as it may, the situation and relative distances cannot be mistaken, and evidently point to the same spot ; while the tradition of this city being the Hellowla of the Infidels, is known to every one here, though the name of Shirine is still more readily preserved, from its being more intimately associated with the popular tales of the country.

Of these I had already heard several, depicting the violence of the passion entertained for this lovely female by Ferhad the Georgian, whom the jealous Khosrou employed in works of sculpture and architecture to divert his attention, but who nevertheless, by the aid of a thousand ingenious stratagems, enjoyed the embraces of this fair queen in secret. Many portions of these tales, as far as I remembered them, corresponded with what I had read on the same subject, though others were tinged with still higher extravagance of passion, and enter-

prize and adventure to gratify it, than the more sober records of the written page.*

The modern town of Kassr-Shirine consists of about fifty dwellings, enclosed within a wall of mud and stone, between the ruins of the old palace and the river. The khan, however, which is outside this enclosure, is large and commodious; in its construction were used a large quantity of square red bricks, similar to those seen at Modain, and

* “ On lit dans quelques livres d'Histoire que Shirin étoit le nom d'une fille, qui d'abord étoit esclave d'un des premiers Seigneurs de la Perse. Parviz dans sa jeunesse alloit de tems en tems chez ce Seigneur, et se plaisoit à badiner et à se divertir avec cette jeune esclave. Le maître de la maison defendit à Shirin de se prêter aux jeux de Parviz ; mais elle n'eut aucun égard à cette defense. Un jour, Parviz ayant ôté son anneau, le donna à Shirin ; le maître de Shirin en étant instruit, entra dans une grande colère et ordonna à un de ses confidens de prendre cette jeune fille et de la jeter dans l'Euphrate. Lorsque Shirin se vit sur le bord du fleuve, elle supplia celui qui la conduisoit de lui sauver la vie. ‘ Je ne puis,’ lui dit cet homme, ‘ desobéir à mon bienfaiteur, mais je vais vous jeter dans un endroit d'où vous pourriez vous sauver.’ L'ayant donc jeté dans l'eau, il s'en alla, Shirin sortit de l'eau, et se retira chez un moine, qui demeroit à peu de distance de ce lieu. ‘ Je me suis,’ lui dit elle, ‘ donné à Dieu, et je suis venu dans l'intention de m'attacher à votre service.’ Ce moine consentit à la recevoir, et elle demeura long-tems avec lui. Dans la suite, après que Parviz fût monté sur le trône, une troupe des soldats de son armée passant près de ce monastère, Shirin, qui le vit,

taken probably from the ruins above. The river Alwund flows by the spot, in a valley running from east to west; and after passing the town about half a mile, it makes a bend to the south-westward: its stream is narrow, but rapid and clear, and its banks are generally covered with rushes.

Sir John Malcolm, and after him M'Donald Kinnier, had conceived the ruins here to be those of Dastagherd; but besides that the circumstances described correspond so ac-

chargea l'un d'entre eux de dire au roi, lorsqu'ils seroient rendus plus près de lui, que Shirin l'esclave étoit dans un tel monastère; et elle lui donna son anneau afin qu'il le portât à Parviz comme une marque à laquelle reconnoitrait la vérité de ce qu'elle le chargeat de lui dire de sa part. Parviz ayant reçu par ce soldat le message de Shirin, lui donna des grandes récompenses, et il fit partir des officiers de son palais avec des filles esclaves pour aller chercher Shirin, et l'amener dans une litière à Madain, avec un grand cortège."

To show, however, that even the histories of his day, notwithstanding that they agreed in the main facts, were as varied in their details of this romantic story, as the traditions of the present times are on the same subject, the writer says: "Ce récit n'est pas conforme à ce qu'on lit dans le Shahnameh."

He adds: "On dit qu'une beauté parfaite doit réunir quarante qualités, et que dans le siècle de Parviz, aucune autre que Shirin ne remplissoit toutes les conditions requises."—See *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, par M. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 404. Paris, 4to. and the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. "Ferhad, Khosrou, and Shirin."

curately with the site of Hellowla and Shirine, it is deficient in the three leading features given to the site of Dastagherd. The approach to it from the northward or westward is not covered by a deep river, the stream being on the south: the situation itself is such as could not be easily made to have around it every thing that is agreeable in nature; and its distance is more than three days' march from the halt of Heraclius, at the river, twelve miles from Ctesiphon. Mr. Kinnier, who in his map fixes both Artemita and Dastagherd at this station of Kassr-Shirine, endeavours in his Memoir to prove that these two were not one and the same place. He objects more particularly to its being the true site of the former, from its disagreement in distance with the five hundred stadia of Isidore and Strabo, or somewhat more than sixty miles, at which this is placed from Ctesiphon, — Kassr-Shirine being, as he himself observes, ninety miles at the lowest computation.* If it be too distant, then, from the capital for the site of Artemita, which is called five hundred stadia,

* Geographical Memoir on Persia, p. 306, 4to.

or seventy-one Roman miles, it is still more so for that of Dastagherd, which is expressly said to have been only sixty miles from thence.* The situation of this last, too, seems to have been in a plain, and surrounded by a country of great beauty and fertility, to judge by the descriptive features which are preserved of it; † so that all these considerations united, confirm me still more in the opinion that Artemita is to be sought for at Khan-e-Keen, and Dastagherd at Kesrabad.

It was late before I returned to the khan, and many wonders and alarms had been expressed at my long absence; but a timely distribution of coffee among the enquirers, and the prayers of the night being recited in a loud voice, happily quieted all scruples.

* Dastagherd was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital.—*Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. viii. p. 244; and *D'Anville*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxxii. p. 568.

† “The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks and herds; the paradise, or park, was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roebucks, and wild boars, and the noble game of lions and tigers was sometimes turned loose for the bolder pleasures of the chace.”—*Gibbon*, vol. viii. c. 46, p. 225. 8vo.

SEPT. 10th.—We were stirring with the dawn, and left Kassr-Shirine before the day broke clearly. Our course lay east-north-east, and led directly through the ruins of Hellowla, which extended in broken portions for nearly an hour's ride. The most conspicuous features were the walls before described, built of large hewn stones. The whole of the city stood on an elevated level, and appears to have been of an irregular form, while the Alwund flowed along in a valley about half a mile to the southward of it.

As we passed through these ruins, I again tempted the tale of wonder and of love, and found a readiness, on the part of those by whom I was now surrounded, to answer all my enquiries. Questions asked of them relative to objects immediately before our eyes were too natural to excite suspicion of the motives which led to them, though, at the same time, these very individuals would have wondered much if I had made a single enquiry relative to Zohaub, or any other place at all out of our immediate route.

Among the feats recounted of Ferhad the lover of Shirine, and one which it was ac-

knowledged that nothing but the violence of his passion could enable him to do, was, that he used to come from Kermanshah and Bisitoun, across the mountains of the Tauk, passing over river, rock, and valley, in one night, enjoying the smiles of his beloved, and returning again to his labour there, between the setting and the rising sun. The horse he rode on, said they, was one from the plains of Bajelān below us, to which there were then none equal in the world; and this animal, whom he loved next to Shirine herself,—since by his aid only could he enjoy those stolen pleasures,—he fed with new milk, and corn steeped in honey, always from his own hands.

In recounting the end of this renowned beauty, they said that she either died of grief, or killed herself in despair, from being detected in admitting the embraces of her devoted lover Ferhad,—Khosroe the King having shut her up, after the discovery, in closer confinement than before. This, however, does not correspond with the testimony of Mirkhond, who terminates her romantic history by a death of self-devotion in the tomb, and on the body of her former lord

Kesra, like the unhappy Juliet over the corpse of her beloved Romeo*.

It was not for me to decide on the probability of either the one or the other of these narratives; but after having recited that version of the tale with which I was most familiar from my reading, a young lad of fifteen, who was of our party, very shrewdly asked, "If the passion of Ferhad was so warmly returned by Shirine, was it likely that she would kill herself on the tomb of Kesra?" All exclaimed, Certainly not. And though it might perhaps be more to the honour of her sex, that such a tale of her death should obtain current belief,—yet all our morning party (for every one gave an opinion on the subject) thought it much more likely that her death was from the cause and in the manner which *they* had stated.

* "On raconte, qu'après le meurtre de Parviz, son fils Schirouieh devint amoureux de Shirin, et que comme il la sollicitoit vivement de condescendre à sa passion, elle demanda à Schirouieh de lui faire ouvrir la porte du lieu où étoit déposé le corps de Parviz. Ayant obtenu ce qu'elle desiroit, elle se rendit en ce lieu, et avala un poison violent, dont elle mourut au même instant."—*Mirkhond*: translated by De Sacy, p. 404, et seq. Paris, 4to.

Those who have travelled extensively themselves need not be told how important the most trifling traditions appear when related and canvassed on the spot to which they refer : to those who have not, however, this explanation is perhaps necessary : and it may be added, that it is just in proportion to the remoteness of the scene and the rudeness of the people that these local tales have charms, for him who treads upon the spot itself, which it would be difficult to convey to one who reads the narrative of a journey in his library or his closet.

CHAPTER III.



OPEN SQUARE, OR MARKET PLACE OF ZOHAUB.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HELLOWLA, BY THE PLAIN OF BAJILAN, TO ZOHAUB AND SERPOOL.

IN about three hours after leaving the khan at Kassr-Shirine, and going east-north-east over a rocky and hilly ground, we saw on our left an extensive plain, covered with verdure and encircled on all sides by mountains. This was called the Plain of Bajilān, being the northern termination of the district of Ghilan, which was on the south of us, and the southern point, or commencement of Koordistan to the north. It was from this plain that the celebrated horse of Ferhad was said to have been brought, to which there was no equal; and it is probable enough that the Nisæan pastures, so renowned in antiquity for the breed of horses there produced, was also on this spot itself.

The road from hence led directly to Serpool, our next stage, in an easterly direction, and was just three hours more. The town of Zohaub, the seat of the Koordish Pasha of Bajilān, was pointed out to the northward of us, just discernible by a white dome amid a cluster of trees, as it stood at the other extremity of the plain, at a distance of at least nine miles. There were two persons of our party destined for this, who intended leaving us here; and as the day was yet early, and we were assured that we could reach Serpool sufficiently in time to continue our way with the caravan of asses on the following morning, we determined to profit by so favourable an occasion of going up to Zohaub. In doing this, we were careful, however, to assign a proper motive, by insisting that we had business there with a certain Mohammed Aga, of which name there were no doubt twenty in the place (the name being as common as John Smith or William Jones in England), and should push on to Serpool to arrive there before night.

We accordingly quitted the direct road, and pursued our way across the plain, on a course of north-north-east, passing several

Koord villages of straw huts, and having on each side of us fields of rice, cotton, tobacco, melons, &c. all now verdant, and watered by running streams flowing northerly through the plain, and leading off from the Alwund, which we had left to the southward of our road.

The Koords of the plain all live in dwellings of a description that might be called either huts or tents, for they are composed of the materials generally used in both, and are not altogether stationary. Like the tents of the Turcomans, the awning or roof is often of black hair-cloth, and the sides and partitions of straw matting, crossed by diagonal lines of black thread. The occupations of the people as pastors and cultivators, as well as their whole domestic economy, resemble those of the half Bedouin Arabs, on the eastern frontier of Syria. Their dresses, however, are different. Short coats or long jackets of a thick white woollen-cloth, with overhanging sleeves like the Albanian soldiers, narrow trowsers, large shoes made of plaited woollen-yarns sewn together, and a conical cap of the same thick white cloth as their jackets, with the bottom part cut into

several divisions, which are either turned up or let down at the pleasure of the wearer, form the more striking peculiarities of their costume. Most of them wear their hair long, which is often brown, and hangs in curls upon their shoulders. Their persons are stout and well made, though rather shorter and thicker than the ordinary standard. Their features are decidedly different from either Arabs, Turks, or Persians, and are rounder and flatter than either, approaching nearer to the Tartar face than to those named. Their language has a nearer affinity to Persian than to any other, which may have been caused by proximity of situation, for in their persons they are evidently a different race of men.

As we approached the town of Zohaub, we were frequently deceived into a belief of seeing the minarets of mosques in different directions, but these proved on nearer approach to be tall white obelisks in the burying-grounds of this people. Some of these were seen for several miles off, and must have been at least twenty or thirty feet high. Such as we saw were rudely built of stone, and coated over with a white plaster. They were all

of the form used in ancient Egypt, and are here placed only over the graves of the dead, the size and height being proportioned to the wealth and consequence of the occupier. This was a kind of monument that I had not noticed before, though we were assured that it was in use among all the Koords, but was peculiar to them.

We reached the town of Zohaub about noon, entering it by the southern gate; and passing through the greater part of the interior we alighted at a small and crowded khan, near the market-place, at its northern extremity.

As this town is out of the common route between Turkey and Persia, and, properly speaking, belongs to neither, since it is as often independent as otherwise, our arrival here caused very general enquiry as to what had brought us this way. A message even came from the Pasha of the district, ordering us into his presence; and it was said that since news of the designs of Daood Effendi on Bagdad had reached his ears, great vigilance and strict enquiry was exercised on all who might arrive from thence, as few wars happened in these quarters without the

Koords taking part with one or other of the belligerents.*

We repeated the story of our having business to transact with a certain Mohammed Aga of Zohaub, since from this we could not retreat, as our companions had circulated the same tale; and no less than four of that name and title came to us within the space of an hour, but we persisted in it that neither of these was the man.

My Dervish, who was a proficient in the art of dissimulation, at last exclaimed, "God

* Diodorus, as well as all the ancient writers, bears testimony to the warlike disposition of the Carduchians. The ten thousand Greeks, in their retreat to their own country after the defeat of the younger Cyrus at Cunaxa, had to pass through their mountains, as they had determined to avoid the barren deserts by which they had approached from Issus, through Thapsacus on the Euphrates, to Babylon. These Carducians, or Carduchi, are described as a free and warlike people, enemies to the King, and very good soldiers, especially skilful and experienced in hurling great stones out of slings, and shooting in bows of a vast bigness and more than ordinary strength. These people galled the Grecians from the rising grounds, killing and miserably wounding many of them; for their arrows, being above two cubits long, pierced both their shields and breast-plates, so that no armour could repel their force; and it is said that these sort of weapons were so extraordinary big, that the Grecians used to cast these as *Saurians*, instead of their thong darts.—See *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 14. c. 5.

knows! I have a suspicion that all is not right. It may not be so!—God forbid, indeed, that it should. But I firmly believe this said Mohammed Aga, to whom you lent the hundred piastres at Bagdad, to be some scoundrel who merely assumed the name for his wicked purpose, and, abusing your piety and generosity, cheated you under the semblance of a Zohaubi, without ever having been near Zohaub in his life.”

The people of the place protested that there was no other Mohammed Aga among them whom they knew of, except the four here assembled; and when I had acquitted these of all claim, we were suffered to rest awhile, and our tale gained general credit, though it excited much more blame for our misplaced confidence than pity for our supposed distress.

The town of Zohaub is thought to contain about a thousand dwellings, which is an estimate certainly not much beyond the truth. These are all small; but as they have each a garden or court adjoining, they spread over a large space of ground. We did not perceive any dwelling more than one story high; and the khans, of which there were two or three,

as well as the bazaars, were all comparatively diminutive.

The town is enclosed by a wall, turreted and flanked by bastions, or round towers, in the Turkish style: it has no ditch, but the wall itself, without this, is a sufficient defence from cavalry and foot soldiers, the only forces known here, artillery being seldom or never employed.

The Governor, Futteh Pasha, was himself a Koord, and commanded the whole of the district of Bajelan, the most southern part of Koordistan. All the Koords in this neighbourhood were subject to his authority, and he himself was tributary at this moment to Bagdad, though the place has been often subject to Persia, and as often defied *all* its masters.

The people are represented as of a ferocious and bad character, as all who have to deal with tyrants, and who struggle for liberty, are sure to be considered in the estimation of those who think passive obedience the highest virtue. To us they behaved civilly and hospitably enough, though it might have been unsafe, perhaps, for us to have trusted their virtues too far.

The men of the lower orders were dressed as the peasants already described; those of the higher class wore turbans of deep red, with fringed edges striped with blue; the women went generally uncovered, and were of better features and complexions than Arabs usually are. In the town we saw bullocks used for burden more frequently than any other animals; and we observed that the market was well supplied with food. The inhabitants are all Moslems of the Soonnee sect, and have one mosque with a large white dome, but no minaret.

Among the various materials which I had collected to direct my enquiries regarding the site of the Palace of Dastagherd, was a note furnished me by Dr. Hine of the British Residency at Bagdad, which said, "About three fursungs to the eastward of Zohaub is a place well known to the Koords by the name of Khallet-el-Yezdegherd. It is strongly seated on the mountains; it presents the appearance of considerable ruins, has extensive caverns, and is about two or three fursungs in circumference. In the plain, at the bottom of Yezdegherd, are pieces of brick spread thickly over the country, giving the

idea of the remains of an extensive city. These are called the ruins of Zarda or Garda, and may probably be those of Dastagherd; but no information is to be obtained from books about them."

I was most anxious to make some enquiries about this reported castle of Yezdegherd in the neighbourhood, and even to go there, if it lay at all in our way; and therefore I requested my Dervish to enquire openly in one direction, while I ventured on indirect questions in another.

We learnt, from our united labours, that at the distance of two hours and a half's ride to the northward of Zohaub, in the mountains, was a deserted fort or castle called "Duzgurra," or Duzkurra, and sometimes "Duzkurra-el-Melik;" but no place of the name of Yezdegherd was known of, any where in the neighbourhood.

This castle was said to be much smaller than the Kassr-Shirine at Hellowla, to be built of stone on the peak of a steep hill, and to be exceedingly difficult of access. It was represented to have been deserted rather than destroyed; since such as it originally was it still appeared to be, namely, a mere

enclosure of defence, deriving its strength from situation rather than from construction.

At the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, there is said to be a small modern settlement of a few dwellings only, but I could hear of no extensive ruins of a city as there reported, though it is quite possible that such might exist, and yet not be recognised by our informers. All, however, agreed that the castle itself was small and nearly in a perfect state, as it is resorted to by the Pasha of Zohaub as a retreat in time of trouble, and was used for this purpose very lately, when Abd-el-Rakheem was trying his fortune against the late Abdallah Pasha of Bagdad.* It was particularly insisted on,

* The ancient inhabitants of these parts were very nearly the same kind of people as the present race. The Cossæans, against whom Alexander undertook an expedition from Ecbatana, after the mourning for the death of Hephæstion, were a warlike nation, bordering upon the Uxians. "Their country," says Arrian, "is mountainous, and their towns not fortified; for when they perceive their land invaded by a strong army, they immediately betake themselves to the tops of the mountains (either in a body or in separate parties, as it happens) where no enemy can approach: and when the invaders of the country are retired, they return to their habitations, and take up their former trade of plundering and robbing their neighbours, by which

that there was no river or branch of a river near it, and that the country there was rocky and generally barren, the few shepherds on the hills getting their water from springs.

In the name of this place it is easy to recognise the Dascarael-Melik of D'Anville. The name, my Dervish insisted, signifies in *old Persian*, "the small castle of the Prince," from "Deiz," a castle, "gurra," small, and "el-Melek," the Prince; but I know not whether this etymology is indisputable. There are many reasons, however, for not admitting it to be the Dastagherd of antiquity;—first, that no deep river covers its approach; next, that it is a barren wild, and in no sense a delicious spot; and, lastly, that it is more than even *five days' march*

means they support themselves."—*Arrian*, b. 7. c. 15. v. 2. p. 156.

Strabo (lib. ii.) describes these same Cossæans as a people bordering upon Media, and so intractable a race that the Persian monarchs were wont to buy their peace of them to keep them from infesting their territories with their usual depredations; "for," says he, "whenever they attempted to subdue them, the Cossæans, retiring to their mountains, easily frustrated all their designs. So that the Persian kings were forced to pay an annual tribute when they went to their summer palace at Ecbatana, for their safe passage back again to Babylon. —*Rooke's Note to the passage cited.*

from the river before Ctesiphon. Again, the castle is too small for that described as containing the extensive establishment kept up at Dastagherd, and too perfect for the building which Heraclius is said to have *totally* destroyed by flames. Besides which, from such a place, if once invested by hostile troops, the possessor could not make a precipitate escape; this could only have been done in a plain and open country like Khan-e-Keen, where Dastagherd was most probably seated.

It has been said that the present town of Zohaub occupies the site of the ancient Holwan, which was also one of the fertile abodes of Khosrou; and this—from its having behind it a steep range of mountains, and before it a noble plain of a circular form, nearly nine miles in diameter, and being hemmed in all around by lofty hills,—might have made an agreeable residence for the most luxurious prince.

We saw nothing like ancient ruins here, but our examination was a very hasty one. If, however, this be the site of Holwan, as its relative distance from Khan-e-Keen and Kassr-Shirine would seem to imply, D'An-

ville has erred in placing it on a branch of the Diala, for no river, nor even the arm of one, flows through or near the town.

The most contiguous stream is the Alwund itself, at the other extremity of the plain, nearly ten miles off; and from this all the streams for watering the rice grounds lead up northerly towards Zohaub, the level declining that way.

Kinnier has placed Holwan at a place called Albania, near the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; but Zohaub agrees more accurately with the position assigned in its latitude, which is nearer to thirty-four degrees than thirty-five degrees, as well as with its distance from Bagdad, which is fully one hundred and twenty miles, or five days' good travelling; whereas Albania, of which place I have not heard, would be at least thirty miles further—by its position on the map.

We remounted at the khan of Zohaub, about El-Assr, (four o'clock) and going out of the western gate, came round the outer wall, and went along the high road to Serpool. Our course lay about south-south-east, keeping close to the foot of the western hills. In little more than two hours we regained

the common road to Serpool, to the westward of the spot at which we had branched off from it, and then went for nearly another hour over a succession of rising hills.

At sunset we came to the foot of a steeper hill, on ascending which, and reaching its summit, we had to go down over a rocky slope that might be almost called a precipice, and would, in any other country than this, have been thought impossible for horses to traverse. Here we alighted, unloaded our beasts, and both we and they might be said to have literally slid down one half the way, and tumbled down the other. Our guide insisted on this being the common passage, though we afterwards learnt that he had lost his road, and had brought us by this unfrequented way.

It was quite dark when we reached the khan at Serpool, and we were all sufficiently wearied, by our excursion from the beaten track.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM SERPOOL, ACROSS THE CHAIN OF
MOUNT ZAGROS, BY THE PASS OF THE
ARCH.

SEPT. 11.—We passed a sleepless night, tormented by myriads of mosquitoes, from the rice-grounds that surrounded us; and though I had covered myself with a thick woollen cloak, these insects got under it in sufficient numbers to sting me into agony, so that I arose in the morning with my hands, feet, and forehead swoln and burning with pain. Our impatience to get out of this place induced us to quit it even before day-light, so that we saw no more of it than the light of the moon admitted. The village itself is small, not having more than thirty or forty dwellings, and these all inhabited by the Koords of the Plain. The khan however is

CHAPTER IV.



ASCENT TO THE PASS OVER MOUNT ZAGROS.

large and commodious, and was built by the Shah Zadé of Persia, for the accommodation of the Kerbelai, as they are called, namely, those who go on pilgrimage to the Tombs of Imam Ali and Imam Hussein, none but those who go to Mecca being dignified with the title of Hadjee.

Serpool stands near to a remarkable pass between the two detached masses of bare lime-stone rock, rising in spiral points from the Plain, as if shot up from the earth by the most violent effort of nature; and it has running by it a stream of good water, for the comfort of those who may halt there.

The level tract extending from it to the eastward was irrigated by canals from this stream, and covered by rice-grounds in full verdure. Our way across this plain lay south-east for about half an hour along the foot of the bare and steep masses of rock described, having these on our left; while on the opposite side, on our right, was a boundary of more even and rounder hills, one of which was called "Mamaky," or "My Mother," and the other "Looloo," both in the language of the Koords.

As we passed by the first opening in the

rocks, called the Boghaz, or Pass, I remarked a mound of old bricks, hewn-stones, and other vestiges of some former building, which had either been an old khan now entirely destroyed, or the site of some still older fort to guard the pass, immediately opposite to which it stood.

It was about half an hour after passing this, and less than an hour from the time of our quitting Serpool, that we went through a second Boghaz, by turning to our left, and going north-east for a few yards, which brought us out into another cultivated plain.

These passes, though not more than one hundred feet wide, have both of them the appearance of being entirely natural. The hills, of which they form the separation, are rugged masses of lime-stone, perfectly bare, and about five hundred feet high, rising on their more sloping sides in a succession of spiral points, over-lapping each other, and showing on their more perpendicular sides, lines of strata almost at right angles with the horizon; so that the whole looked as if it had been blown up from the bowels of the earth by some violent explosion.

My Dervish, who professed to be a great admirer of the wonders of nature, and who was struck with the wild aspect of these hills, asked me whether mountains grew progressively up from the earth like grass, but at an infinitely slower rate? He was a good deal surprised when I told him that observations on the earth's surface made by men the best qualified for the study, tended to prove that mountains, and every other part of the mineral world in sight, were rather in a state of decay than of growth. He confessed that, on reflection, all he had seen bore testimony to such a doctrine; though from want of considering with proper attention even that which he had seen, he entertained an idea that the mountains of Abraham's day were considerably higher now than they were when the good old Patriarch lived, and that they would continue to increase in altitude until their final destruction.

In this mountain-pass was shown to us a small natural cavern, which a lion had made his den, and to which he had dragged many an unwary passenger as his prey, inspiring such terror as to put a stop to all journeying by this route. It happened that two young

Koords were at this period disputing the possession of a Virgin of the Plain, whom they both loved; but as *they* lived on the one side of the pass, and the object of their affections on the other, there was an end put to their evening interviews, by the intrusion of this destroying lion.

It was thought too bold an enterprise, even for a lover, to force this passage alone; but as the object to be attained by such a step was equally dear to both, they for a moment threw aside the jealousy of rivals, and exchanged reciprocal pledges to stand or fall together in the attempt. Then arming themselves, and mounting two of the best horses of the country, they vowed in the presence of their friends, entire and cheerful submission to the will of fate, stated their intention of forcing together this interrupted pass, and dragging out the lion from his den,—being content, if both should escape destruction, that the voice of their beloved should decide on their respective claims, and if one only fell a victim, that the other would have his dying consent to marry her.

They sallied forth, and amid applauses of their comrades, and the wish of all that the

bravest should have his reward; when one of them was torn in pieces by the beast, and the other came off triumphant by slaying the animal as he feasted on his companion's corpse.*

* The determined valour of the people who formerly inhabited this country was observed and admitted by ancient writers. Arrian, describing the march of Alexander against the Cossæans, who refused to submit to his government, says:—“ This people are a very warlike nation, and inhabit the hilly and mountainous parts of Media; and therefore, confiding in their own valour, and the fastnesses of their country, would never be brought to admit of any foreign prince to reign over them, and were never subdued during all the time of the Persian Empire. And at that time they were so very high, that they slighted the valour of the Macedonians. Alexander, however, conquered them in the space of forty days, and, building some towns at the most difficult passes through their country, he marched away.” See b. xvii. c. 11. and *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 27.

The existence of wild beasts, caverns, and rocky passes in this part of the country, is also noticed in ancient writers.—We learn from Arrian, that in the struggles for dominion which followed the death of Alexander, when Antigonus marched from Mesopotamia into Media, after Eumenes, he took his army through the mountains inhabited by the Cossæans. They are described by the historian as having been a free people, time out of mind, who inhabit in caves, and feed upon acorns and the salted flesh of wild beasts;—and, contemptible as they were held by Antigonus, who declined purchasing his passage through their country, he found more difficulties to surmount in forcing their passes, and lost more men in so doing, than if he had been opposed by a numerous and well-disciplined army. See b. xix. c. 2.

From this pass we went up easterly, over a gently ascending plain, well cultivated, and thickly strewed with clusters of Koord hamlets in every part; while on the hills before us were wood and water, the former supplying an abundance of fuel, and the latter descending in small rivulets to fertilize the land.

In about an hour and half we began to ascend the steeper side of the mountain, having the stream of the Alwund close on our right; and about half-way up we came to its source, which issued out from a narrow cleft in the side of the steep rock, and produced at once a full stream of clear and excellent water. As the mountain became steeper, it was necessary to alight, and walk up with our horses. The scenery was fine, without being either romantically grand or magnificent; the mountain was of lime-stone, of different qualities, and presented many cliffs near its summit, as well as steep slopes lower down, the whole of which was well wooded with small trees of dark green leaves now in full foliage, and the valleys were abundantly verdant.* In some of the views which pre-

* This corresponds with the ancient descriptions of this district. Among others, Diodorus says: "The country, on the

sented themselves as we wound up the mountain by a serpentine path, I observed several that reminded me of similar ones in Lebanon, particularly near the cedars, and the valley of Hazbeheah, on the way from Tripoly to Balbeck.

It was about an hour after our commencing the steep ascent, that we came to a Roman ruin, called the Tauk, or Arch, as the building at Ctesiphon is called Tauk Kesra, or the Arch of Kesra. This ruin, if it may so be considered, for it is still in nearly a perfect state, represents an arched recess, the back of which is formed by the rock of the mountain planed away for that purpose, and the sides and roof are built of masonry. The recess appeared to be about twenty feet in height, twelve in breadth, and eight in depth inside. The form of the arch

first entrance into Persia from the west, and as far as the Ladders, as they are called, (i. e. the Passes of Mount Zagros,) is flat and low, exceedingly hot, and barren of provision; but the rest is higher, of a wholesome air, and very fruitful. In this part there are many shady valleys, a variety of pleasant gardens, natural walks bounded on either side with all sorts of trees, and watered with refreshing springs; so that those who journey this way, frequently halt here and regale themselves in these pleasant places with great delight."—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. xix. c. 2.

is Roman ; it is well constructed, and not a stone has apparently been moved from its original bearing, though their outer surfaces are corroded by time and the atmosphere of an elevated region. The sides are formed of large blocks of smoothly hewn stone, closely united without cement, and even polished on the outer surface. The front presents a moulding on the arch, which is itself supported by pilasters of no determined order,—having the plain lines of the Doric, with a sort of chain band or fillet at the setting on of the capital on the shaft, but all the rest is entirely devoid of ornament.

By the side of this arched recess, a large space of the rock had been planed away on the face of the mountain, probably for an inscription. It was of an oblong form, and from twelve to fifteen feet in length, by six to eight feet in height. It was just of the same size and form, and placed in the same relative situation on the side of the rock, overlooking the highway, as the tablet on the Roman road at the Nahr-el-Kelb, or river Lycus, in Syria, containing a Latin inscription in honour of the individual who pro-

jected and executed the road over the promontory there. This was, no doubt, intended for a similar purpose here, but I could discover no traces of any inscription now visible; and from the surface of the tablet being itself still smooth, I should conceive that it had never been engraved on, rather than that it had been once written and since obliterated.

To what period these works may be assigned, an examination of the early histories of expeditions into these countries will best determine. This range of mountains is the Zagros of antiquity, which separated Persia from Assyria; and as the pass here is now the only one practised in this part of the chain, and contains the vestiges of a once noble road, it is not improbable but that it might have been the one marched over by Alexander on his way from Ecbatana to Babylon; and from the known fondness of that conqueror for great public works, of which his footsteps have left as many traces as those of other great men do of devastation, it is likely enough that he either made the road himself, or considerably improved it,

and that the arch and tablet here were intended to commemorate his munificence.*

There were several passes in Mount Zagros, noted by the ancients as communicating between Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana. Strabo enumerates three, the first of which passed by Messabatenus,† and is thought to

* Alexander, after passing the Tigris, on his march towards the country of the Uxians, was obstructed by the difficulty of the passes, which were all guarded by Madates, a Persian general related to Darius, and commanding a strong and well-disciplined army. He was conducted by an inhabitant of the country, through such a strait difficult pathway over these mountains, as that, with a very little trouble, they soon found themselves standing over the heads of those who guarded the passes below. The guards, seeing this, soon fled; and as the Macedonians had now surmounted the chief difficulty of their march, and were in complete possession of the pass, the cities of the Uxians soon submitted to their power. From hence, it is said, the King decamped and marched towards Persia, and the fifth day came to a place called the Susian Rocks, which was another pass, and guarded also by a large Persian force. —*Arrian's Expedition of Alexander*, b. xvii. c. 7. p. 550.

Both these passes were, unquestionably, through the range of hills dividing Persia from the Turkish Empire and from Khusistan, and known among the ancients as Mount Zagros. The first of them may very probably be the present one of the Tauk, where the arch and ancient road remain; and the last, a pass further to the southward, in a line between this place and Persepolis, and nearly abreast of Susa, as its name would suggest.

† Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 744.

be the royal road mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, from Susa to Ecbatana;* the second went from Gabiene to Susa,† and was no doubt that which traversed the country of the Cosseans;‡ and the third went directly from Media into Persia. All of these, however, must have been to the southward of our place of crossing the chain, and this corresponded more accurately with the situation of the Pylæ Zagriensis, or Median Pylæ, properly so called, of which the height was estimated by Polybius to be about a hundred stadia.§ The details of Alexander's return from Ecbatana to Babylon are not sufficiently minute to decide on the precise route which he followed; but as this last pass lies in the shortest and most direct way, there is sufficient ground to infer that it was by this he returned after his expedition against the Cosseans of the mountains, during the winter, with Ptolemy, his general, as related at length by Arrian.||

From the Tauk we continued still to

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. xix. c. 19.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. and Arrian's Expedition, b. vii. c. 15.

§ Polybius Hist. lib. v.

|| Arrian's Expedition of Alexander, b. vii. c. 15.

ascend by a winding path, with a steep valley beneath us, and an abundance of trees and several fine springs around us in different stages of our way, when, in about half an hour more, we gained the summit, to enjoy repose for a moment from the toil of our ascent, to feast on an extensive prospect, and to breathe a delicious air. The summit of the mountain is about three thousand feet above the level of the Plain of Bagdad, and two thousand above the level of the Plain of Bagilan, or Ghilan, on which its base reposes, there being at least one thousand feet in progressive ascent from the first of these levels to the last. As Bagdad, however, is elevated from the sea by so much only as is necessary for the descent of the waters of the Tigris into the Persian Gulf, it would not require much to be added to complete the height of this part of Zagros from the level of the ocean; so that three thousand feet may be considered as very near its total elevation from the sea.

On that part of the summit over which we passed, the snow lies for three full months in the winter, so as to render it impassable for caravans, though single passengers and mes-

sengers traverse it at all seasons. There are other parts of the chain, to the north-west of this, which are considerably higher, particularly those seen from Altoon Kupry, which were covered with snow in the month of July, when I passed in sight of them; but such parts of the range as we could see from hence to the south-east, were but very little higher than this on which we stood.*

Our descent from the summit of Mount Zagros was more easy than our ascent had been, this lying over round woody hills, with grass turf and weeds on the soil; and in about an hour after leaving the pass we came to the ruins of an old khan, with a new one near it, now building, and not yet half finished. We found, however, sufficient shelter for our small party, and consequently alighted there.

This is called the Khan-el-Tauk, having no town near it to give it another name, and the present new one is the work of the Shah

* There was a Cœle Persis (Koilé Persis,) as well as Cœle-Syria, both expressing a hollow country, as a Syria or Persia between the mountains. The province of Media is styled Koo-estan by the Persians, and Al Jebal by the Arabs: both express a region of mountains, corresponding to the Zagros of the Greeks.

Zadé, the King of Persia's son, the existing lord of the district of Kermanshah. Our whole road from Serpool, thus far, had occupied nearly five hours, and was mostly in an easterly direction; but from the nature of our road, the distance, in a straight line, could not have been more than seven or eight miles.

It had been perfectly calm throughout the day, and hot in the plains on the west of the pass, even at sun-rise: but on the summit of the mountain we enjoyed an atmosphere that was truly delicious, cool, yet soft, refreshing, and invigorating, without being at all sharp or biting,—such an air, indeed, as I had not breathed since leaving the delightful spring months on the mountains of Jerusalem.

We had now entered the territory of Persia: the Pass of Zagros, or the Tauk, being the frontier between it and Turkey. There are Koords in the plains on each side of this range of mountains—those on the west being subject to the Pasha of Zohaub, who is tributary to Bagdad; and those on the east to the Shah Zadé of Kermanshah himself, without the intervention of a Pasha of their own.

I had looked about with more than usual

care for the vestiges of some distinct race of people here, the descendants of the old Bœotians, who were carried away by Xerxes, and placed near to this Pass of Zagros;* but I had as yet seen none that I should have taken for people of such an origin. The Arabs were too familiar to me to be mistaken wherever I saw them, even among a crowd of strangers; the Koords also are a very marked race, and appear from their physiognomy to be of a Tartar origin; while the Persians are, if possible, a still more distinct family than either.

But, in the course of my enquiries, I learned that there were formerly in these moun-

* Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Quintus, speaks of a city called Celonæ, in the district of Ghilan, inhabited by certain Bœotians whom Xerxes had transported into the East, and who retained strong traces of their origin in their language, which was composed mostly of Greek words, though they spoke also the language of the country in which they dwelt in their commerce with the nations of it.—Vol. ii. p. 545.

Most other authors give this name Celonæ, as the name of a country, or district.

“Tridui deinde itinere emenso Celonas perventum est: oppidum hoc tenent Bœotia profecti, quos Xerxes sedibus suis excitos in Orientem transtulit, servabantque argumentum originis peculiari ex Græcis plerumque vocibus constante, ceterum ob commerciorum necessitatem finitimorum Barbarorum lingua utebantur.”

tains a people called Nessereah, who, like those of the same name in Syria, paid divine honours to the *pudenda muliebris*, and held an annual feast not unlike the ancient mysteries of Venus. They had however made gradual advances towards Mohammedanism, though they still retained this strange mixture of pagan rites among themselves; and while they professed, in the presence of Moslems, to read the Koran, and be followers of the Prophet, they were scarcely ever seen to pray, were known openly to make, sell, and drink wine, to commit incest under the guise of religion, and to have secret laws and opinions which it would be death to any of them to divulge. They had lived long in the mountains in this state of independence, until a series of persecutions and gradual emigration had brought them to settle in the villages around.

The greater part of these people are now at Kerrund, where they form the majority of the population, and are called both Nesserahs and Ali-Ullaheeahs, from some peculiar notions which they have of an incarnation of God in the person of Ali. They are, however, regarded by all as pagans, and a

hundred tales are told to support this opinion. At their annual feast it is said that they all meet in a room, where, after some ceremonies performed by their chief, the lights are put out, and every female takes off her drawers and hangs them on a place in the wall. The men then enter, and each takes down a pair of these drawers, still in the dark, when, the light being renewed, the owner of each garment is sought out, and she becomes the partner of the man who possesses it for the night, or, as some say, his wife for the whole ensuing year.

The opinions and practices of the Nesse-reah near Aleppo, are kept equally secret; and the Syrian custom of the hosts giving their wives and daughters to the enjoyment of strangers who sojourn among them at their town of Martowan, is known to all who have passed that way. M. Volney, the first, I believe, who publicly noticed this custom, considers it as the remains of the worship of Venus; and I have little doubt but that the practices of the people here spring from a similar origin, though they themselves are too ignorant of their own history to be conscious of it, as well as too reserved to say

what they think. It is clear, however, that no part of Mohammedanism can have led to such rites, since it is as free from all mysteries of that nature as Christianity itself.*

As the original religion of this sect has been thus so mixed with later ones as now scarcely to be identified, so their race has lost all marks of primitive distinction by their having learned the language and the manners of the people by whom they were surrounded—those in Syria speaking only Arabic, and these only Persian and Koordish. The former, however, are said to intermarry only among themselves, which they can well do, from being a numerous people; but here, where they are few, it would be more difficult; intermarriages with Koords and Persians therefore continually happen, which take place the more easily, as from their outward profession there is scarcely any

* A colony of the sect of Ismael, and followers of Hassn Subah, appear to have settled in the mountains between Tortosa and Tripoli, in Syria, as well as here on Mount Zagros. The tribe of Kaindu among the Tartars practised the custom of lending their wives to their friends, as is done by the Nessereeah and Ismaëlies.—*De la Croix Hist. of Chengiz Khan*, p. 86.
—412.

distinguishing these pagans from the purer disciples of Islam.

After all that has been said, it may be judged how far these people are likely to be the remains of the Greeks before spoken of. Rennel, in his *Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus*, says: "The Bœotians, (Thebans) carried away by Xerxes, (Polymnia, 233,) were placed in the country of Assyria, at Celonæ, now Ghilan, near the ascent of the Pass of Mount Zagros. This is collected from Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii. cap. 11. Alexander saw them at Celonæ, on his way from Susa and Sittacene to Ecbatana, after his return from India. Diodorus says, that they had not altogether forgot their laws, their customs, or their language, although they had learned those of the natives by intermarrying. This was no more than one hundred and fifty years from the time of their removal from Greece.*

It has been before remarked that Ghilan is still the name of a district, and not of a town; and this district, commencing here at

* Rennel's *Illustrations of Herodotus*, p. 268.

Bagilan, goes all the way down to the ancient Susiana, to the southward. Polybius speaks of the district of Chalonites at the ascent of Zagros, which is no doubt the same with Ghilan and Celonæ.*

SEPT. 12th.—We passed an agreeable night at the Khan-el-Tauk, though we felt keenly the cold of the open air: but this change, after the intense heat of Bagdad, was delightful. We mounted our horses again at day-break, and enjoyed a still higher pleasure in the fresh breeze of the morning. The situation of the khan in a hollow valley, surrounded on all sides by steep rocky mountains and smaller wooded hills, offered us a magnificent sun-rise view.

We went hence, for nearly two hours, in an east-south-east direction, through fine mountain scenery, and woods hemmed in by steep rocks on all sides. The trees were of many kinds, and all in full foliage, but the most numerous were those called in Persian Belloot and Sameel. Springs of water were also abundant, and on the banks through which they ran, we saw not less than a hun-

* Polybius Hist. lib. v. c. 5.

dred of the large and beautiful mountain partridges of the country. Many syrens, a solitary magpie, and some crested hoopoes were among the number of the rest, but there was neither thrush nor lark to cheer us with their morning songs.

After clearing the mountains, we came out on a fine plain covered with Koord huts and villages, the land being well cultivated in some parts, and having good pasture in others. This plain I should conceive to be two thousand feet above the level of Bagdad, as from the summit of the mountain to this its eastern base, we had not come down more than one thousand feet in a perpendicular line. The climate here was like that of an English summer's morning, and we proceeded with such light hearts, that I caught myself singing a song of home, a most unseemly occupation for a bearded pilgrim, and one for which my Dervish gave me a timely check, by exclaiming, "Ya Hadjee! Selah al Nebbe!" "O pilgrim, pray to the Prophet!" not meaning that I should actually alight and perform my devotions in earnest, but merely as a preparatory summons of my attention to some questions with which he very judi-

ciously thought it necessary to interrupt my dangerous dream.

In about an hour after our entering on the plain, we passed a small village, seated under the hills on our left, called Khallet Zenjey, with many poplar trees, and a fine stream of water descending from it into the plain, but no castle near it, as its name would seem to imply.

In another hour, having gone south-east for two hours over the plain, and been in all about four hours and a half from the Khan-el-Tauk, we entered a fine large caravanserai, a little below the town of Kerrund, and alighted there before noon.

When the necessary care had been taken of our horses, a duty which fell always to my own lot to execute rather than to superintend, we left the khan and walked up to the town, which is about a quarter of a mile to the northward of the high-way. Our road led through narrow stone-hedged lanes, on each side of which were large vineyards and gardens, with an abundance of poplar trees planted in rows. The vines were yet bending beneath the weight of their clusters, and pomegranates studded other trees

in full ripeness. The town itself too, as we drew nearer to it, presented a picture of more comfort and industry combined, than I had yet seen in so small a place, since leaving Syria. It resembled, both in its situation and general aspect, many of the Druse villages in Lebanon, and gave me a favourable impression of the character of those who peopled it.

The town consists of two portions facing each other on opposite sides of a clear stream running down between them. Each of these portions stands on so steep a slope of ground, that the houses rise in stages above each other; and every street, which consists only of one side towards the hill, has the terraces of the houses below on a level with its edge on the other side. Both these portions taken collectively, are seated also at the foot of a bare lime-stone range of rock, which rises up almost perpendicularly behind the town to the north, in spiral points, overlapping each other like so many separate beds of columns tapered away at the upper parts and uniting in one solid mass below.

Before the town to the south, and extending for several miles south-east and north-

west, is a fine plain, of the highest fertility, watered by the stream which issues from a cleft in the rock behind the town itself, so that its situation is as favourable for agricultural industry as could be desired. The number of dwellings may amount to five or six hundred, and of inhabitants to nearly two thousand, the greater part of them being Nessereah, and the remainder Mohammedans of the Sheeah sect.

The occupations of both are chiefly agricultural; but by the former of these are manufactured muskets and pistols, of a very superior quality, to the value of a thousand piastres, or 50*l.* sterling, per pair.

My Dervish had halted a week here, on his way from Kermanshah to Bagdad, about a year since, for the sake of a kind and pretty damsel of this Aphrodisian race, who listened to his vows. During the whole of our way he had praised the beauty and the compassionate disposition of this fair one, and promised me a thousand times, on his eye and his head, that I should see her for myself, and drink out of the same cup as he had done, if I desired it. When we left the khan, therefore, I had indulged the hope of

such an interview, and even expected, from the reputed frankness of the fair one's heart, and her hospitality to strangers, to learn some curious particulars regarding the race to which she belonged ; but we were both sadly disappointed, the Dervish in his anticipations of pleasure, and I in my hopes of information, when we learnt that, only two months since, a young Koord peasant had married her, and taken her away to his hamlet, where now, perhaps, she discreetly kept all the secrets we should have else attempted to draw from her.

We returned to the khan with heavy steps, and met at the door of it a small caravan, conveying a consignment of dead bodies from Kermanshah. This caravan was composed wholly of mules, each laden with two corpses, one on each side, and a takhteravan, or litter, borne also by mules, though it contained only one body, which was that of a person of some distinction. These were all packed in long narrow cases or coffins, and secured with matting and cordage, like bales of cotton. They were the bodies of devout dead, from different parts of Persia—two from Ispahan, and one from Shirauz, which were

being conveyed for interment to the grounds of Imaum Hussein, at Kerbela. Besides the charge of carriage, which is double that of any other commodity of equal weight, large sums, from two to five thousand piastres, are paid to the Mosque there, for a sufficient space of ground to receive the body, and other presents must be made to the tomb of the Imaum himself; so that this is a distinction which the comparatively rich only can enjoy.

When the animals entered the khan, the bodies laden on the mules were cast off, without ceremony, and placed at random in different parts of the court-yard, the one in the litter alone being paid any attention to; so that, as they were neither marked nor numbered, they were probably the bodies of individuals who had been just able to pay the lowest price of admission into this sacred ground, and would be laid there without inscriptive stones, or other funeral monument; for it could scarcely happen, from the way in which they were lying about, that they should not be mixed and confounded one with another.

The presence of these dead bodies in the

khan made no impression on the living who were there, as the mule-drivers stretched themselves along by the side of them at night, with an indifference that argued their being long familiarized with such cargoes. This was a scene which I could imagine to have been frequent enough in ancient Egypt, where all the population, who could afford it, were embalmed in state, and others, at the charge of the nation, their mummies being transported from place to place, according to their peculiar temple of worship, or their favourite place of burial.

On enquiry of some of the muleteers, who had come up from Mendeli to this place with salt, we learnt that it was five days' journey from hence, in nearly a southern direction, and that there was a river flowing down by it from the northward.

SEPT. 13.—We quitted the khan of Ker-rund at sun-rise, and going south-east through the plain before it, we came, in half an hour, to a well, with a deep spring of fine water, called in Koordish, Ain-Chermook, or the White Fountain. We met here some female peasants, who drew water for our horses with great readiness; and as

no males of their tribe were near, they laughed and jested with great freedom. None of them were veiled, and few, indeed, had their bodies completely covered. Among them were some fine forms, but their features were coarse, and their complexions browned by the sun; though their long tresses of black glossy hair, and brilliant eyes of the deepest jet, gave an expression of great vivacity to their whole appearance. The village in which they lived was at the foot of the southern hill, and was called the White Village, giving its name to the fountain at which we drank.

In an hour from hence we entered a narrow valley, of a winding form, called, in Koordish, Teng-e-Rush, or the Black Pass, from its being reputed to be the scene of dark and treacherous deeds. We went through it, however, in safety, and without seeing a living being, though a vigilant look-out was extended on all sides. After ascending through this, we came upon gentle hills and wavy lawns, spread over with trees in full green foliage, which, contrasted with the yellow stubble of the recently reaped corn, produced a most agreeable effect. The

whole of the scenery for the next two hours, still in a south-east direction, was indeed as much like that of a fine English park as could be imagined, and resembled very strongly the beautiful grounds between Khallet-el-Hhussan and Tartoose, in Syria.

As we drew towards the termination of our day's journey, the eminences became more abrupt, rocky, and destitute of wood, till at the end of it we came out on another fine plain, stretching from north-west to south-east for nine or ten miles, and being from four to five miles wide, bordered by a ridge of high hills on each side. In our way through this, on the same course, we passed two Koord villages and several small settlements of reed huts; and in two hours from our first entering on it we alighted at the caravansera of Harounabad.

The situation of this town, at the foot of a line of hills, with a stream of water near it, and a wide plain extending along its front is very similar to that of Kerrund. Its style of building is also the same, but it has not the fine vineyards and gardens of that place, there being no Nessereah here to consume the wine. The population of this village

scarcely exceeds a thousand, and these are all Persians and Koords of the Sheeah sect. The name of this place signifies "built or peopled by Haroun," but whether by the celebrated Haroun-el-Raschid, or any other of that name, is not known. The birth-place of this Caliph of Bagdad was the city of Rey, the Rhages of the Scriptures, whose ruins are near to the present Teheran, and this continued always to be one of the chief seats of his magnificence, containing in its splendour, according to Oriental Historians, three millions of inhabitants. As Bagdad became, however, the residence of his latter days, and the tomb of his wife Zobeida is still shown there, this town of Harounabad might have been a station in his way from the one place to the other, retaining his name from some connection with his presence or patronage, now perhaps forgotten.

The stream which rises here is called Serneshoor, and is considerable enough to require a bridge near its source. It goes easterly from hence, and probably falls into the Kara Soo, or river of Kermanshah; but the people, satisfied with its watering their

plain, knew nothing further of its course beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

SEPT. 14th.—There being two horsemen going from hence soon after midnight, who intended making the two stages to Kerman-shah in one, we determined to accompany them, and mounting when the moon had risen, we went together south-east over the plain, and along the stream of Serneshoor, for half an hour. From hence we turned up northerly through rocky hills, by a nearer by-path, known to our companions only, and passing over them came again into the high-road on a course of east-north-east.

A little before day-light we ascended a very rugged steep, which was appropriately called in Persian “Kotel-Nal-Shikund,” or “The horse-shoe-destroying Hill.” Our course after this was all the way east-north-east, and we seemed to be gradually raising our level by every successive hill, until the sunrise opened to us the beautiful prospect of “Mahee-Dusht,” or the “yearly-birth-giving-plain.” This presented to us an extent of about fifteen miles in length, by ten in breadth, of perfect level, stretching from

north-north-west to south-south-east, and bounded by lofty hills with ragged summits on the one side, and by gentler and more rounded ones on the other.

It was studded with villages in every direction, not less than twenty of which presented themselves successively to our view; some on little eminences in the plain itself, and others peeping out from nooks and valleys in the sides of the hills, which opened but for a moment on our sight, and then closed again as we passed along. These villages were formed of well-built houses, many of them containing apparently two hundred separate dwellings; and besides these was a still greater number of grass and reed huts scattered in clusters over the face of the plain. The soil was watered by a clear stream, at the source of which we drank. It issued from the foot of the hill, from the brow of which the view first opened on us, and only a few paces to the left of our road. It is called the "Water of Maheedusht," and is said to lose itself in that plain, extending its fertilizing influence no further.

The land was divided into apparently

equal portions of arable and pasture; the corn grown on it is praised for its excellence, and the virtues of its grass are particularly celebrated. The popular opinion is, that even barren animals brought from other parts will there become fruitful; and it is said that every species of cattle bred on this plain, and continuing constantly to graze there, will bring forth its young, invariably, every year, from whence its expressive name. Others, however, give this epithet a different interpretation, and say that it signifies "the yearly-purchase-giving-plain," meaning, that whosoever may buy a portion of the soil there, or place animals of any given worth to graze upon it, will every year reap the amount of his purchase in actual profit on them; or in other words, make a profit of cent. per cent. per annum. A long dispute was maintained on this subject, even in our small party, which was at last amicably terminated by the general admission that such a name was chiefly meant to indicate the great fertility and excellent qualities of the soil; and that in either case the epithet was sufficiently expressive.

We continued to go east-north-east over

the plain, for upwards of an hour, when we reached the caravanserai, having been about six hours on our road from Harounabad, on a general course of east-north-east. There were only a few dwellings near the khan, which had been erected on the banks of the stream that ran by it, for the shelter and supply of passengers halting on the road; and even from these, though small, we procured what we had not been able to do from the largest towns since leaving Bagdad. We found here milk, lebben, cheese, dates, good bread, and fruits of several kinds, in abundance; so that we enjoyed our repose, and prolonged it until noon before we prepared to move.

After prayers, we remounted and continued our way, still going across the plain in an east-north-east direction, and having the high and ragged summits of the mountains of Bisitoun in sight above the range that formed the boundary of the plain before us. In about two hours we reached the foot of this boundary, when we began to ascend over bare hills, and through uninteresting scenery, with a total absence of wood. In half an hour we halted, and drank at a

fountain of excellent water, rising in the hills, called in Koordish "Ain-el-Koosh," and considered to be exactly half-way between the khan of Mahee-Dusht and Kermanshah. From hence, after a short ascent, we went over two or three swelling eminences, till we came in sight of the gardens of Kermanshah, the fresh and verdant bowers of which offered a beautiful contrast to the brown aspect of the barren hills. We now began to meet crowds of passengers issuing from the town, many of them apparently coming out on an evening excursion only; and about sunset we came in sight of the town itself.

We watered our horses at a small stream just below, and in the immediate skirts of the town; but not at the Kara Soo, as the maps had led me to expect from their placing that river west of Kermanshah. The appearance of the place, from this point of view, was that of a very large provincial town, but not of one which was the seat of Royalty. There were neither lofty minarets nor fine domes to be seen, and excepting the harem of the Shah Zadé, seated on an eminence in the midst of a verdant gar-

den, and the octagonal and flat-topped kiosk of his own dwelling in the castle, there were no striking objects to arrest the attention.

We entered by a mean gate, through a wall newly built of unburnt bricks, flanked by round towers, turreted, and showing loopholes for musketry, and ports for cannon; but without a ditch, or any mounted ordnance on the battlements. The first streets through which we passed, after entering the town, were not superior to those of the commonest villages, but we soon came to works of a better description. The whole town seemed to be in a state of building, as if just rising from the ashes of some former one, or just founded by a colony of foreign settlers. We now went through fine streets in every stage of their progress,—from those just finished to those but newly begun. All was like the bustle and activity of a perfectly new place. The shops were decked with finery, as if to catch the eye, and force themselves into early custom. There seemed an abundance of every thing to be desired, both necessaries and luxuries. The half-built streets and new bazars were thronged

with people, all extremely busy, and intent on some important errand.

I fancied myself in what I should have expected a Chinese town to be,—amidst a crowded and active population, seeing on every side ingenious devices to attract the attention, and hearing at every moment the cries of those who did not depend on the mere silent exhibition of their wares alone to sell them. Every thing offered a striking contrast to the towns of Turkey and Arabia. There were no coffee-houses at which grave idlers were lounging over their pipes; no slow and solemn-paced passengers who moved as if for pleasure only; no fine flowing dresses or gay colours, compatible only with stately attitudes and a freedom from menial occupations; no narrow and dark passages to exclude the rays of the sun; and neither mosques nor camels to complete the characteristics of great Oriental towns. But in lieu of these were seen a hundred better pledges of the ingenuity, comfort, cleanliness, and activity of the people, and the gratifying sight of building and repair instead of gradual neglect and decay.

We made our way through the town, passing by all the large khans, until, arriving at its further extremity, we found a small caravanserai, in which were only a few poor workmen having chambers; but as we were likely to find here the privacy we so much desired, we accordingly alighted and took up our quarters in this welcome obscurity.

CHAPTER V.



PERSIAN HALL, AND EVENING ENTERTAINMENT.

CHAPTER V.

VISITS AT KERMANSHAH, TO THE FRIENDS OF MY COMPANION.

SEPT. 15th. — We took an early walk through all the principal parts of the town; in the course of which, my companion, the Dervish Ismael, met with a hundred of his old acquaintances, and forty or fifty of his best friends, he having been at different periods a frequent resident of Kermanshah. The salutations between them were in all cases cordial, but with the chosen few it was that of the closest and fondest affection. They kissed each other on the lips, on the cheeks, and on the shoulders; drew off to look for a moment face to face, as if to assure themselves that the joy of meeting was not a mere illusion; and re-embraced again and

again, with greater warmth than before. We were thus taken into several private parties, saw the interior of many of the largest houses, and were entertained after the best manner of the country. All these were gratifying advantages, and afforded me much unexpected pleasure; but it was still inferior to the gratification I derived from witnessing at every succeeding interview, so much of cordial attachment and friendly joy, which unequivocally displayed itself in those happy meetings of men who evidently regarded each other sincerely.

Every step of our road from Bagdad thus far, had given me more favourable impressions of the general character of my companion than I had anticipated. The extent of his information, and the depth of his metaphysical researches, had often surprised me; while, though several dark spots tainted his history, there was nevertheless such a total absence of the meaner qualities of the soul, so high and independent a spirit, so frank and undisguised a heart, and so much of charity and benevolence mingled with every feeling to which it gave birth, that the good seemed to me to outweigh by far the evil. I

could not therefore but feel an esteem for the man, mixed with a constant and a deep regret that so much natural talent and overflowing benevolence of disposition should have been half lost, and half perverted to worthless purposes, from the want of a proper bias being given by education and example in youth.

Ismael, for such was his name, was by birth an Aghwan, or Affghan, from the country between Hindoostan and Turkomania. His father was poor, but avaricious to an extreme degree; and he conceived that it was the constant sight of this sordid passion displayed before him in its excess, which gave him a contempt for wealth and worldly honours at an early period of his life.

His brothers, he said, were of similar dispositions with their father; and he therefore left them all, before he had attained his tenth year, and that too without a sigh of regret, excepting only those with which he answered a fond mother's tears, as she wept over her darling boy at parting. He promised, however, constantly to think of her, and to prove a friend when all the world should have neglected her.

After wandering through the whole of the Khorassaun, visiting the great city of Bokhara in the north, and obtaining always the mere supply of food and raiment which he desired, by the occupations which fortune threw in his way, he came down through Persia to Bagdad, and there for a period settled.

He had by this time read most of the Poets and Philosophers of the East, since he already understood the Persian, the Turkish, and the Arabic languages, sufficiently well to write in each. He had studied Astronomy, Alchemy, and Physiognomy, as sciences,—not on those principles of demonstration which form the basis of scientific pursuits in Europe, but after the best manner which the learning and learned men of the country could point out to him. He had come at last, however, to the conclusion of the Royal Hebrew, who was called the wisest of men, that all was vanity and vexation of spirit. Like this luxurious monarch, he had tasted of every pleasure which either courage or money could procure him. In his pursuit of sensual enjoyments, he had broken down every barrier of moral or religious prohibi-

tion; and, conceiving himself to be the lord of his own soul, without future tribunal or account, had launched into the abyss of forbidden gratifications—in which he became so deeply immersed, that the satiety of their excess, as he himself expressed it, wrought out its own cure.

At Bagdad he became more correct in his conduct, though still equally regardless of wealth or of worldly honours. Having an extraordinary talent as an engraver, he applied himself to the engraving of rings and seals; in which he soon became so celebrated, that there was not his equal throughout the land of Islam. Applications were made to him from Constantinople and all the great towns of Turkey, as well as from every part of Persia, from Tabriz to Shiraz. As his charges were always extravagantly high, from his consciousness of being without a rival, and from its requiring a very powerful inducement to draw him either from his studies or his pleasures, money flowed fast into his purse. Had he possessed half the avarice of his father, he might soon have been a wealthy man; but the moment that he found himself master of a sufficient sum, he quitted

Bagdad on an excursion of pleasure, generally into some parts of Persia, where he remained until all was expended, and then returned to his occupations to recruit and prepare for further relaxations. Without this variety, he said, life would be insupportable; at the best, he thought it had too much of monotony, even in its pleasures, for a vivid and ardent mind; and if this were not relieved by those occasional flashes of joy, and pangs of torture, which at one moment intoxicate, and at another harrow up the soul of the man of feeling, it would be better to terminate than to continue a life not worth the trouble of preserving.

Ismael had been known to the English residents at Bagdad for several years, during which period he had executed a number of seals and rings in a way that could be done by no one else in the city. He was well known, therefore, both to Mr. Rich and Mr. Hine, who equally approved of my making him the guide and companion of my future journey.

The circumstances under which our intimacy took place were these:—Being desirous of having a seal-ring engraved, for my own

use, with the Arabic name of Abdallah-ibn-Suliman, the Dervish Ismael was sent for by the gentlemen of the house, and was brought by Mr. Hine to my chamber. Some complimentary salutations having passed between us, we sat down together; and, Mr. Hine leaving us alone, when the order for the seal was perfectly explained, we fell into other topics of conversation. Not many minutes had passed, however, before my visitor started up hastily and exclaimed:—"W'Allah! ya Hadjee Abdallah, in can t'roakh al thaany Doonya, ana u'idjey maak"—By God, O! Pilgrim Abdallah! if you go even to the other world, I will follow you." I answered "Al Ullah,"—It rests with God. And thus our first interview ended.

I had thought no more of this affair, regarding it as the mere flight of a capricious fancy; but the Dervish himself was more in earnest than I had conceived. He went immediately to declare his wish to Mr. Rich, who treated it as I had done myself; and thus the matter remained suspended. Some few days afterwards the ring was brought, when Ismael then told me that he had made every thing ready for his departure, and

would not listen to a refusal. I was myself perfectly passive in the case; as it was a matter of indifference to me who my companion was, provided he understood Arabic and Persian, of the last of which languages I knew but little. Mr. Rich still thought, as before, that so apparently capricious a determination was not likely to last; and that I might therefore be abandoned on the road, if I went with the Dervish only. Mr. Hine, however, thought he knew sufficiently of Ismael's character to vouch for his fidelity, and advised me to take him with me, as he desired.

In all this, not a word was said about the time of service, or of the compensation expected for it. The affair was concluded as a matter of pure attachment, by his saying, "I shall lose here the opportunity of gaining two or three thousand piastres for the execution of orders now on my hands; I shall suffer more in tearing myself away from two or three friends who are very dear to me, and from one tender object of my affections who is of far more value to me than my own existence; but from the moment that I saw you and heard your voice, I felt that your

soul contained what I had all my life been searching for in vain, and that it was my destiny to follow you wherever you might go." He added, "I shall go and bury my sorrows in the bosom of love, and await the moment of our separation with all the tranquillity of a soul resigned to its fate." I did all that was in my power to combat this illusion, for such it evidently was, but in vain. The Dervish remained fixed in his purpose, beyond all the power of entreaty or refusal to shake it.

When the day of our departure from Bagdad came, Ismael appeared before me in tears, and his eyes were red and swoln with shedding them; but when I asked him why he would make such painful sacrifices for my sake, he answered only by beating his hand violently upon his heart, stifling a deep sob, and turning aside his head to hide the vehemence of his grief. We armed ourselves in my room, before we descended into the court to mount; and when I braced on my pistols, he handled them, and tried their locks with a sort of frantic pleasure. His own musket, which was a small East India military one, of English make, pleased him

extremely ; and he tried the elasticity of my lance, shaking his head at the same time, and regretting that he was not expert in the use of so appropriate a weapon as this was for a horseman. He examined every item of my baggage with scrupulous attention, demanded to know the exact sum of money which I took with me, and what was the nature of the papers I possessed. In short, his behaviour appeared to me so strange and unaccountable, that I felt myself now and then relapsing into those suspicions which my kind advisers had previously removed. But my naturally confiding disposition overcame all doubts, and I was ultimately quite satisfied with the arrangements made.

We set out therefore together, without any other feeling on my part than a strong desire to know more of my companion, whose conduct appeared so inexplicable,—and every day partially accomplished that wish. At the gate of Bagdad, Ismael was met by an elderly Christian merchant, whose name was Eleemas, and the parting between these was like that of a father and a son separating never again to meet. Tears flowed fast from the eyes of both ; and when I learned that

this venerable old man was the father of Ismael's love, there was something associated with the idea of a Moslem Dervish dying with affection for the daughter of a Christian merchant, and these—though one was poor and despised the world, and the other wealthy and attached to it—hanging over each other's neck in all the sorrow of the most closely united souls,—there was something in all this so strange, yet so affecting, that I felt my own sympathies powerfully touched by the scene.

On our way, the Dervish was always too much occupied, either in his own reflections, or in conversation with me, to attend to the common duties of the road ; so that all this, as I expected, had fallen on me. But for this I was prepared ; and although it occupied more of my time than was favourable to the making such ample observations on our route as I desired, yet it in no way interrupted the general tranquillity of my mind, and I was therefore content and happy.

The Dervish was as regardless of his own immediate concerns as of mine ; for, after quitting Bakouba, he had lost a purse con-

taining forty-five gold sequins,—a small bag, in which were some fine stones that he had promised to engrave for his friends, during his absence, at the first place he should find leisure,—as well as a paper in which were written certain commissions for him to execute for his friend Eleemas, from Ispahaun, the loss of which last affected him more deeply than all the rest.

We had travelled thus far, however, happily together; and each appeared satisfied with the other. On the road, the Dervish scarcely ate or drank sufficiently to support nature, and slept always on the bare earth without a covering. His sleep was seldom tranquil: for, besides his speaking dreams, I had been often awakened by him in the night, when I found him sitting in a corner, smoking his short pipe formed only of the clay-ball without a stem, and either repeating some passages of Persian poetry, or sighing out occasional exclamations in his native tongue.

We were in every sense of the word companions; and though the vigilance of our look-out when alone, or the fear of being betrayed to suspicious observers when in a

caravan, occasioned us to talk but little when on horseback; yet, when we had alighted at the caravanserai, and the evening shadows came to veil us from the observation of others, we often sat up in close conversation together until midnight. It was in the course of these communions that I had learned such of the particulars of his history as are already detailed, with other still more striking features of his disposition.

It must be premised that this man, though bred a Moslem, and always supposed to have so continued,—as any recantation of the faith in one born a believer is punished with death,—had reasoned himself out of all belief in any revealed religion whatever. His notions on this subject, and his reasons for the opinion which he entertained that all the reputed Prophets were either misguided zealots or shameless impostors, were so like those of Deists in most countries as to need no detail. He professed his admiration, however, of the precept which enjoined us ‘to do unto others as we would they should do unto us;’ but, like many others who publicly make this the rule of their conduct, he very frequently departed from it. His passions

were by nature too powerful, and through life had reigned too long without control, to be made subject to any laws : so that, when doctrines stood in the way of his pleasures, he invariably trampled them under foot.

His companions and bosom friends in Bagdad were two Moslems : one a Persian of the Sheeah sect, the chief Mollah of the Tomb of Imaum Moosa, the author of many existing books on science and philosophy, and by far the most learned man of that city ; the other an Arab Soonnee, a Mollah also, of the Mosque of the Vizier, near the banks of the Tigris at Bagdad. Besides these, were eight or ten wealthy Christian merchants, Armenians and Catholics, who were known to each other as fellow members of a secret society, calling themselves ‘ Mutuffuk b’el Filosofeeah,’ or ‘ United by Philosophy.’ These men met occasionally at the house of one or other of the Christian members, and there gave loose to every sort of debauchery which could be indulged in as pleasure. Music, wine, lascivious dances, women, and, in short, all that was deemed voluptuous, was yielded to ; so that the Bac-

chanalia of ancient Rome seemed to be revived by these Eastern libertines.

During the late Ramadan, nearly a thousand pounds sterling was expended among, this knot of philosophers, for women only; by which, however, they procured those of the first distinction in the place, both wives and daughters of those high in office and in wealth. That such things are practicable and practised, is beyond a doubt; and, indeed, when the very separate state in which the women live from the men, their liberty of going out and coming in when they please, except in royal harems where they are guarded by eunuchs, and the impossibility of recognizing one woman from another in their street-dresses, be considered,—one cannot but subscribe to the opinion of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, ‘that as far as the safety of intrigue is implied by liberty, the women of Turkey have more than those of Europe.’ The separate purses of the husband and the wife, and the stated allowances of the latter, contribute very powerfully to their infidelity. Shut out from that open intercourse with men which the

females of Europe enjoy, and denied the benefit of education, the only pleasures they know are those of the passions, a love of novelty in suitors for their favours, and a fondness for finery in dress. As, however, they seldom entertain any decided preference for particular individuals, and would find it generally difficult to indulge their choice, all affairs of this nature are conducted by inferior agents, and money is the only standard by which the claims of the solicitors are measured. When the sum is once fixed, the rest is easily accomplished; and whole nights are passed by supposed faithful wives in the arms of others, without their being missed by their husbands, since it is not the fashion of the country for married people to share constantly the same bed. Three thousand piastres, or about one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, were currently named as the price of the daughter of the Dufferdar Effendi, one of the Secretaries of State; and this sum was said to have been actually paid by an old Christian merchant who had a wife and twelve children of his own!

Amidst all this, I was at a loss to conceive

how the Dervish could find much enjoyment, while labouring under the strong passion which I supposed he must then have felt for the object of his affections at Bagdad, whom he had quitted with so much reluctance. What was my surprise, however, on seeking an explanation of this seeming inconsistency, to find it was the son, and not the daughter, of his friend Elias who held so powerful a hold on his heart! I shrunk back from the confession as a man would recoil from a serpent on which he had unexpectedly trodden; and I was struck silent from further enquiry, as one would be averse to moving forward while so venomous and deadly a reptile lay in his path. I was delighted to find, however, at last, that this was a pure and honourable passion. His fondness for the boy was of such a nature as that he could not suffer him ever to leave the house, or be profaned by his exposure to the sight of others, keeping him always as sacred as the most secluded member of the harem; and in answers to enquiries naturally suggested by the subject, he declared he would rather suffer death than do the slightest harm to so pure, so innocent, so

heavenly a creature as this. The friendship existing between the father of the child and its avowed lover, seemed to prove at least that the parent was satisfied as to the nature of the feeling; and all that I saw myself, though I then thought it was for a *female* person, still appeared to me, even after I was undeceived in this particular, to be the result of a genuine effusion of nature, and in no way the symptoms of a depraved feeling.

I remembered all that had been said on the subject of the love of boys among the Greeks, by those who conceived it to be a pure and honourable affection, as well as by those who thought the contrary. M. De Pauw's remarks on the beauty of the Grecian youth were fresh in my recollection, and Archbishop Potter's apology for, or defence of the practice, as springing from an honourable source, were still familiar to me. This instance seemed so strong a confirmation of the possibility of such a passion existing, and being yet productive of no corrupt effects, that I had no longer any doubt but that the greater number of instances were of this kind.

The remarks of Archbishop Potter on this

subject are so much to the purpose, that it may not be deemed irrelevant to introduce them here: He says:—

‘ Who it was that first introduced the custom of loving boys into Greece is uncertain; however (to omit the infamous amours of Jupiter, Orpheus, Læius of Thebes, and others,) we find it generally practised by the ancient Grecians, and that not only in private, but by the public allowance and encouragement of their laws; for they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their youth to noble undertakings, nor any greater security to their commonwealths, than this generous passion. This the invaders of their liberties so often experienced, that it became a received maxim in the politics of tyrants, to use all their endeavours to extirpate it out of their dominions; some instances whereof we have in Athenæus: on the contrary, free commonwealths and all those states that consulted the advancement of their own honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a view of some few of them.

‘ First, we shall find it to have been so ge-

nerally practised, so highly esteemed in Crete, that such of their well-born and beautiful youths as never had any lovers, incurred the public censure, as persons some way or other faulty in their morals; as if nothing else could hinder but that some one's affections would be placed upon them: but those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first seats at public exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing badge of honour, a sort of garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arrived to man's estate, in memory they had once been *κλεινοί*, *eminent*, which was the name the Cretans gave to youths who had lovers. The lovers themselves were called *Φιλήτορες*. One thing was remarkable in this place, that the lovers always took their boys by force; for, having placed their affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his relations, and withal certified them what day they designed to take him: if the lover was unworthy of the boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his quality and virtues were answerable, they made some slight opposition to satisfy the law, and pursued him to his lodgings, but then gave their consent. After this, the lover

carried the boy whither he pleased, the persons that were present at the rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two months at the farthest, with hunting and such diversions; then they returned him home. At his departure, it was ordered by law that the boy should receive a suit of armour, an ox, and a cup, to which the lover usually added out of his own bounty several other presents of value. The boy being returned home, sacrificed the ox to Jupiter, made an entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his flight, and gave an account of the usage he had from his lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the law allowed him satisfaction. It is farther affirmed by Maximus the Tyrian, that during all the time of their converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the ancient laws of virtue passed between them; and however some authors are inclined to have hard thoughts of this custom, yet the testimonies of many others, with the high characters given by the ancients of the old Cretan constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false imputations. The same is put beyond

dispute by what Strabo tells us, that it was not so much the external beauty of a boy as his virtuous disposition, his modesty, and courage, which recommended him.

‘ From the Cretans pass we to the Lacedæmonians, several of whose constitutions were derived from Crete. Their love of boys was remarkable all over Greece, and for the whole conduct and excellent consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as presents passed between the lovers, no foul arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another’s affections; their love was generous, and worthy the Spartan education; it was first entertained from a mutual esteem of one another’s virtue; and the same cause which first inspired the flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a suspicion of immodesty. Agesilaus is said to have refused so much as to kiss the boy he loved, for fear of censure: and if a person attempted any thing upon a youth besides what consisted with the strictest rules of modesty, the laws (however encouraging a virtuous love) condemned him to disgrace, whereby he was deprived of

almost all the privileges of free denizens. The same practice was allowed the women toward their own sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous matrons would publicly own their passion for a modest and beautiful virgin, which is a farther confirmation of the innocency of this custom. Maximus the Tyrian assures us the Spartans loved their boys no otherwise than a man may be enamoured with a beautiful statue, which he proves from what Plutarch likewise reports, that though several men's fancies met in one person, yet did not that cause any strangeness or jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved boy the most accomplished in the world; for the end of this love was, that the young men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable qualities, by conversing with men of probity and experience; whence the lover and the beloved shared the honour and disgrace of each other; the lover especially was blamed if the boy offended, and suffered what punishment was due to his fault. Plutarch has a story of a

Spartan fined by the magistrates, because the lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting. The same love continued when the boy was come to man's estate; he still preserved his former intimacy with his lover, imparted to him all his designs, and was directed by his counsels, as appears from another of Plutarch's relations concerning Cleomenes, who, before his advancement to the kingdom, was beloved by one Xenares, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate friendship, till he went about his project of new-modelling the commonwealth, which Xenares not approving, departed from him, but still remained faithful to him and concealed his designs.

'If we pass from Sparta to Athens, we shall find that there Solon forbade slaves to love boys, making that an honourable action, and, as it were, inviting (these are Plutarch's words) the worthy to practise what he commanded the unworthy to forbear. That lawgiver himself is said to have loved Pisistratus, and the most eminent men in that commonwealth submitted to the same passion. Socrates, who died a martyr for disowning the pagan idolatry, is very re-

markable for such amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incurred the least suspicion of dishonesty ; for what else could be the cause that when Callias, Thrasymachus, Aristophanes, Anytus, and Melitus, with the rest of his enemies, accused him of teaching Critias to tyrannize, for sophistry, for contempt of the gods, and other crimes, they never so much as upbraided him with impure love, or for writing or discoursing upon that subject ? And though some persons, especially in later ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the practice of the old Grecians, have called in question that philosopher's virtue in this point, yet both he and his scholar Plato are sufficiently vindicated from that imputation by Maximus the Tyrian, to whom I refer the reader. The innocency of this love may farther appear from their severe laws enacted against immodest love, whereby the youths that entertained such lovers were declared infamous and rendered incapable of public employments, and the persons that prostituted them condemned to die. Several other penalties were likewise ordered to deter all men from so heinous and detestable a crime, as appears

from the laws of Athens, described in one of the foregoing books.

‘ There are many other examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more : it shall be taken from the Thebans, whose lawgivers, Plutarch tells us, encouraged this excellent passion to temper the manners of their youth ; nor were they disappointed of their expectation, a pregnant evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the *ἱερὰ φάλαγγς*, or sacred band ; it was a party of three hundred chosen men, composed of lovers and their beloved, and therefore called sacred ; it gained many important victories, was the first that ever overcame the Spartans (whose courage till then seemed irresistible) upon equal terms, and was never beaten till the battle at Cheronea ; after which, king Philip, taking a view of the slain, and coming to the place where these three hundred, who had fought his whole phalanx, lay dead together, he was struck with wonder, and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he said, weeping, ‘ Let them perish who suspect that these men either did or suffered any thing base.’ *

* *Archæologia Græca*, vol. ii. chap. ix. p. 239, 8vo. ed. 1820.

I took the greatest pains to ascertain, by a severe and minute investigation, how far it might be possible to doubt of the purity of the passion by which this Affghan Dervish was possessed, and whether it deserved to be classed with that described as prevailing among the ancient Greeks; and the result fully satisfied me that both were the same. Ismael was, however, surprised beyond measure, when I assured him that such a feeling was not known at all among the people of Europe. ‘But how?’ said he: ‘Has Nature then constituted you of different materials from other men? Can you behold a youth, lovely as the moon, chaste, innocent, playful, generous, kind, amiable,—in short, containing all the perfections of innocent boyhood, which like the most delicate odour of the rose, exists only in the bud, and becomes of a coarser and less lovely kind when blown into maturity—can you look on a being, so fit for Heaven as this is, and not involuntarily love it?’ I agreed with him that a sort of admiration or affection might be the result, but I at the same time strove to mark the distinction between an esteem founded on the admiration of such rare qua-

lities, and any thing like a regard for the person. I did not succeed, however, in convincing him ; for, to his mind, no such distinction seemed to exist ; and he contended, that if it were possible for a man to be enamoured of every thing that is fair, and lovely, and good and beautiful, in a *female* form, without a reference to the enjoyment of the person, which feeling may most unquestionably exist, so the same sentiment might be excited towards similar charms united in a youth of the other sex, without reference to any impure desires ; and that, in short, in such a case, the lover would feel as much repugnance at the intrusion of any unchaste thought ; as would the admirer of a virtuous girl at the exhibition of any indeelicacy, or the presence of any thing, indeed, which could give offence to the strictest propriety in their mutual intercourse.

The Dervish added a striking instance of the force of these attachments, and the sympathy which was felt in the sorrows to which they led, by the following fact from his own history. The place of his residence, and of his usual labour, was near the bridge of the Tigris, at the gate of the Mosque of the

Vizier. While he sat here, about five or six years since, surrounded by several of his friends, who came often to enjoy his conversation and beguile the tedium of his work, he observed, passing among the crowd, a young and beautiful Turkish boy, whose eyes met his, as if by destiny, and they remained fixedly gazing on each other for some time. The boy, after 'blushing like the first hue of a summer morning,' passed on, frequently turning back to look on the person who had regarded him so ardently. The Dervish felt his heart 'revolve within him,' for such was his expression, and a cold sweat came across his brow. He hung his head upon his graving-tool in dejection, and excused himself to those about him, by saying he felt suddenly ill. Shortly afterwards, the boy returned, and after walking to and fro several times, drawing nearer and nearer, as if under the influence of some attracting charm, he came up to his observer, and said, 'Is it really true, then, that you love me?' 'This,' said Ismael, 'was a dagger in my heart; I could make no reply.' The friends who were near him, and now saw all explained, asked him if there had been any

previous acquaintance existing between them. He assured them that they had never seen each other before. 'Then,' they replied, 'such an event must be from God.'

The boy continued to remain for a while with this party, told with great frankness the name and rank of his parents, as well as the place of his residence, and promised to repeat his visit on the following day. He did this regularly for several months in succession, sitting for hours by the Dervish, and either singing to him, or asking him interesting questions, to beguile his labours, until, as Ismael expressed himself, 'though they were still two bodies, they became one soul.' The youth at length fell sick, and was confined to his bed, during which time his lover, Ismael, discontinued entirely his usual occupations, and abandoned himself completely to the care of his beloved. He watched the changes of his disease with more than the anxiety of a parent, and never quitted his bed-side, night or day. Death at length separated them; but even when this stroke came, the Dervish could not be prevailed on to quit the corpse. He constantly

visited the grave that contained the remains of all he held dear on earth, and, planting myrtles and flowers there, after the manner of the East, bedewed them daily with his tears.

His friends sympathized powerfully in his distress, which, he said, 'continued to feed his grief,' until he pined away to absolute illness, and was near following the fate of him whom he deplored. On quitting Bagdad, however, the constant succession of new scenes and new events that befel him, in an excursion through Persia to Khorasan, progressively obliterated the deep impressions which sorrow had made upon his happiness. It was on this occasion, of his leaving the city, that his feelings burst forth in an elegiac 'Ode to Love,' which he paraphrased from his native tongue, the Pushtoo, into Arabic; and even in that form it appeared exceedingly eloquent, and reminded me powerfully of the praises which Anacreon bestowed on his lovely, and, perhaps, equally chaste Bathyllus.

From all this, added to many other examples of a similar kind, related as happening

between persons who had often been pointed out to me in Arabia and Persia, I could no longer doubt the existence in the East of an affection for male youths, of as pure and honourable a kind as that which is felt in Europe for those of the other sex. The most eminent scholars have contended for the purity of a similar passion, which not only prevailed, but as we have already seen, was publicly countenanced, and praised, in Greece; and if the passion there could be a chaste one, it may be admitted to be equally possible here. De Pauw ascribes it in that country to the superior beauty of the males to the females, which is hardly likely to have been the sole cause; but, even admitting the admiration of personal beauty to have entered largely into the sources of this singular direction of feeling, it would be as unjust to suppose that this necessarily implied impurity of desire, as to contend that no one could admire a lovely countenance and a beautiful form in the other sex, and still be inspired with sentiments of the most pure and honourable nature toward the object of his admiration.

One powerful reason why this passion may exist in the East while it is quite unknown in the West, is probably the seclusion of women in the former, and the freedom of access to them in the latter. People of such warm imaginations and high sensibilities as some among the Asiatics unquestionably are, must pour out their hearts and discharge the overflowing affections of their nature on something, and they are likely to fix them on that which they deem most amiable and lovely among the objects familiar to them. Had they the unrestrained intercourse which we enjoy with such superior beings as the virtuous and accomplished females of our own country, they would find nothing in nature so deserving of their love as these. But in countries where scarcely a virtuous and never an accomplished female exists, where almost every woman is without education, and where opportunity and high payment are all that is required to make the most chaste a willing prey; in countries, in short, where, besides the debased state of female society, men are so completely shut out even from this, that the occasional sight of their

beauty cannot inflame them, where can any thing so love-inspiring else be found, as a young, an innocent, an amiable, and an intelligent youth? And who but those of the very basest of their species, would think of degrading, even in their own eyes, a being, whether male or female, whom they devotedly and sincerely loved?

Such debauchees as we have in England, who pride themselves on the number of innocent girls they have seduced and betrayed, might perhaps do so; but these are surely not a criterion by which to judge the great mass of any country. Even where custom and habit may have deadened the feelings of shame at this crime, the voice of nature must be always heard to plead against it. And such, indeed, is the fact; for while the Jelabs or public boys of Turkey and Persia are as much despised and shunned in those countries, as abandoned women are with us, or even more so; the youths who are the avowed favourites or beloved of particular individuals, are as much respected, and thought as honourably of, as any virtuous girl, whose amiable qualities should have

procured her an honourable lover, while her companions were seeking in vain for such a distinction.

But it is time to return from a digression, which it is hoped will not be thought wholly irrelevant, as tending to elucidate a very important feature in the manners of the East, and one on which much misconception exists. My Dervish, then, notwithstanding this disposition, unknown and almost inconceivable among us, had many excellent qualities which Europeans, as well as Asiatics, know how to appreciate. He was brave and fearless in the highest degree, a virtue in the estimation of all men, from the savage to the sage. He had a heart that felt most warmly for the distresses of the poor, and had relieved many from his own purse, and pleaded the cause of others in appeals to mine, during the short time we had been together. On our route, we had found a little orphan boy, whom his master had left behind him on the road, from his incapacity to walk as fast as the daily journeys of the caravan. As his feet had swollen from his being shoeless, Ismael set him on his own horse, and walked

from Harounabad all the way to this place, on his account alone. Not satisfied with this, he had this morning sought out his master in a khan, publicly reprov'd him for his cruelty and want of feeling, purchased a pair of shoes for the lad himself, and gave him two sequins to provide against any similar abandonment. He had been hitherto faithful in all his transactions with me, whether it regarded his word or the unlimited use of my purse, and I believe him to have been sincere in his expressions of gratitude for my consenting to take him with me. He had brought his mother to Bagdad in her old age, and supported both her and her widowed sister with a large family of children for several years, always leaving with them a sufficient sum of money whenever he quitted that place on an excursion of pleasure. And to close all, he was apparently beloved by every one who knew him for any length of time, which a man can hardly be without having many real claims to esteem. In Bagdad, besides the gentlemen of the English Residency, who thought highly of his general character, and those of

his other friends who all spoke to me of his intended absence with regret, there was not one among more than fifty that we had met to-day who did not salute and embrace him warmly, expressing a hope that he was come to make some stay among them, and evincing great disappointment, and even sorrow, when he spoke of his being merely the passenger of an hour.

When evening approached, after we had passed a day of continued entertainment, with scarcely any other intermission than our passage from one house to another in different quarters of the town, we supped together in a party of a dozen of the most select, at the house of a new settler here from Ispahan. To none of his friends had Ismael disclosed the fact of my being an Englishman, so that I still passed as a Soonnee Moslem of Cairo, from the Hadj. When the reasons of my journeying this way were demanded, it was answered by Ismael, that my sister was the wife of Ghalib, the former Shereef of Mecca, whom Mohammed Ali Pasha had displaced, and that some of her money having been lent to Persian pilgrims

of distinction, whose funds had fallen short during their long journey and stay at Mecca, I was going into Persia to collect this, but wished to pass uninterrupted and without parade. The Dervish then added, that there being none among my own servants who had been in the country before, he had advised me to leave them at Bagdad, and had himself engaged to be my conductor, interpreter, and slave. All this was readily believed, but some scruples were entertained as to the rigour of my practice in abstaining from forbidden things. 'What!' said the Dervish, 'do you think then, while the Cadi of Stamboul, and half the Mollahs of that City of the Faithful, drink wine, as it is reported, until they cannot distinguish their daylight from their sunset prayers, that a Hadjee Massri, an Egyptian pilgrim, a relation of the Shereef of Mecca, would be shocked at it?' I gave my assent to the general observation that such prohibitions were intended for the ignorant (from whom the pride of every man triumphantly excepts himself); and, as it was tacitly acknowledged that none of us were of that number, we

drank deeply of the golden wine of Shirauz,
which Hafiz and Saadi have so eloquently
praised, and Gibbon so justly asserted to have
triumphed in every age over the forbidding
precepts of Mohammed.

CHAPTER VI.

DESCRIPTION OF KERMANSHAH, ONE OF THE FRONTIER TOWNS OF PERSIA.

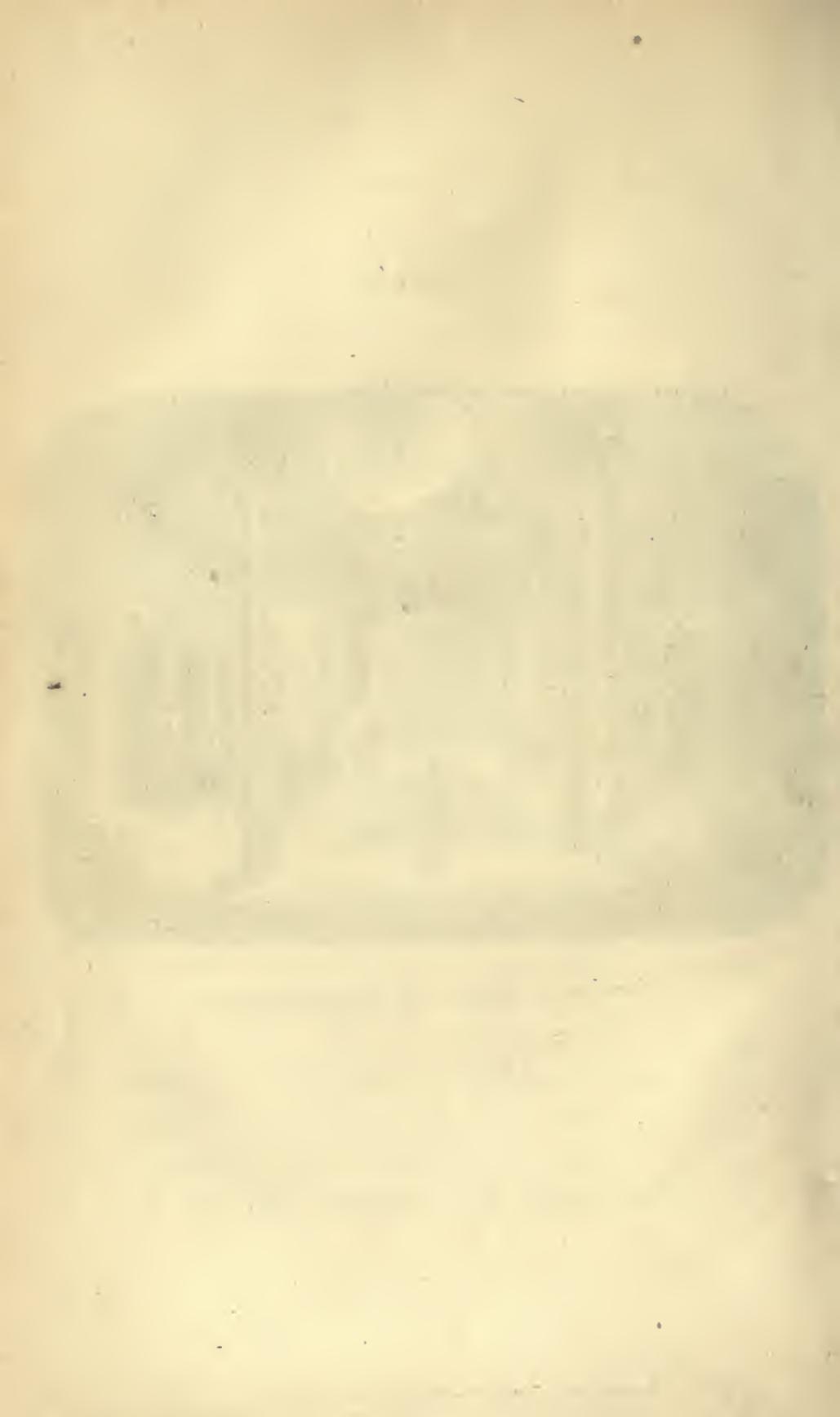
SEPT. 16.—On my leaving Bagdad, Mr. Rich had furnished me with a letter to the Shah Zadé, the King of Persia's second son, who resides at Kermanshah, as well as other letters to persons of distinction here; but as we had hitherto found it unnecessary to claim the protection of the great, we thought it best not to force ourselves on their notice by the presentation of such letters, and accordingly avoided it.

As there was yet no caravan moving either for Hamadan or Ispahan, we devoted the day to completing our examination of the town, and closed it in a party in one of the best baths of the place,—said our

CHAPTER VI.



INTERIOR OF PERSIAN BATH AT KERMANSHAH.



evening prayers in the Great Mosque, and returned to the khan at an early hour.

Here, as I had hitherto found but little leisure, or privacy, since our arrival at Kermanshah, I sat up, by the light of a dim lamp, with the door closed on my small chamber, and employed myself in noting down the incidents of our stay in this place, and the impressions to which they had given rise, with the following sketch of Kermanshah itself.

This town is seated on three or four gentle hills, at the foot of a range, which is passed on approaching it from the west; so that it contains within its walls some slight and other steep ascents, with eminences of different heights, and their corresponding valleys. It is said to have been founded by Baharem the Fourth, the brother and successor of the famous embryo King Shapoor, who was himself called Kermanshah, from having filled the station of Governor of the city of Kerman.

To the north and the east it has before it a beautiful and extensive plain, at the entrance of which it may be said to stand. The boundaries of this on the north are, the high range of mountains called Kooch Tauk-

e-Bostan, including in it the peculiar masses of Kooh Parow and Kooh Bisitoun. On the south it is closed by the range of Kooh Seeah, both of these ranges going in nearly a north-west and south-east direction. Between these the plain extends for about fifteen or twenty miles in length, and from five to eight in its greatest breadth.

The form of Kermanshah is irregular, approaching nearest to a circular outline, of about three miles in circumference. The wall which surrounds it is flanked with circular bastions, at stated distances, turreted, and pierced with loop-holes and ports for cannon; but it is without a ditch, is built chiefly of sun-dried bricks, and has at present no ordnance mounted on any part of it.

There are five gates. The one on the west is called Durwazé Kubber Aga, from a pretty little tomb of an Aga there, with a flower-garden before it. The one on the north-west is called Durwazé Nedjef Asheref, meaning the gate at which a Saint dried up the sea. The story connected with the name is this. In the time of the Imaum Ali, there was a large lake here, by the side of which a poor man was sitting, shaving the hairs from

off his legs and body, when his razor and stone fell into the water. The Imaum coming by at the time, and witnessing his distress, enquired into the cause of it, and finding that the Faqueer was a holy man, ordered the lake to be dried up, which it instantly became at his word, restored the man his razor, and has remained dry land ever since. This fact is believed here with all proper respect; and from its being one of comparatively recent date to that of Moses drying up the Red Sea, it is thought fit by these superstitious Mohammedans to be placed beside it in the Chronicles of Truth, and is triumphantly cited to prove that their favourite Imaum was equal to Moses at least. The third gate, on the north, is called Durwazé Shereef Abat, from some person of that name, who probably built it. The fourth, on the north-east, is called Durwazé Tauk-e-Bostan, from its leading to the arched cave in the mountain;—and the last, on the south-east, is named Durwazé Ispahan, from the high road to that city leading from it.

Not half a century ago, Kermanshah was but a large village, the inhabitants of which subsisted chiefly by their agricultural labours

in their own plain, and by the feeding of their cattle on the fine pastures of the Ma-hee-Dusht. As a frontier town in the west was wanting, however, to oppose to the Pasha of Bagdad, in the event of war between Turkey and Persia, as well as for the more effectual government of the western provinces of Shooster, Lauristan, and the parts of Koor-distan subject to the Persian power, Kermanshah was fixed on to become the future residence of one of the King of Persia's sons.

Since that period the town has gradually increased in size, in population, and in affluence, and goes on still augmenting its numbers. During the visit of Mr. Rosseau, the French Consul General of Bagdad to this place, in 1807, he estimated the number of its inhabitants from sixteen to eighteen thousand * At this moment, however, it certainly contains thirty thousand ; and from all that I observed of the space covered by houses, and the manner in which they were occupied, I thought the number of people here at least equal to the half of those at Bagdad, which would make the estimate still higher.

* Vide "Mines de l'Orient," tome 3, p. 85.

Of these inhabitants, the great mass are Mohammedans of the Sheeah sect, the rest being made up of about twenty Soonnee families, settlers from Turkey, a hundred Jews, only one Christian of any kind, who is Yusef Khan, a Russian, and now Topjee Bashi or chief of artillery, of the Shah Zadé, some few Koord residents, and many Georgian slaves, chiefly females. The only Arabs here are merely sojourners. Armenians there are none, either as passengers or residents; and of Guebres or fire-worshippers, the old followers of Zoroaster, as far as I could learn, there have never been any resident here. The three last were enumerated, however, among the population of the place, by Mr. Rosseau. If such persons were here at the time he wrote, it could only be in the way that Mr. Rosseau and ourselves were, as sojourners or travellers: yet no one in describing the state of Kermanshah at either of those periods would reckon among its population either Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Affghans. The government of the Shah Zadé extends northward into Koordistan, southward to Shooster and the sea coast of Khusistan, westward to the Tauk or pass of Mount Zagros,

and eastward to the town of Hamadan. Over these provinces the Prince exercises sovereign authority, without reference to his father, and he is thought by many to be the most powerful of all the governors in the empire, not excepting the Shah himself. The present Prince is the eldest son of the reigning Sovereign, by a Georgian mother. He is about eighteen years of age, and is conceived to owe all the greatness of his influence to the firmness of his general conduct, and his personal superintendance of public business, a duty which is said to be neglected by his brothers. His sway is called a mild one, though, but on the evening of yesterday, two men were, by his order, blown off from the cannon's mouth for some trifling offence, which would not have incurred, even in Turkey, a higher punishment than the bastinado. He is, however, a great speculator and trader, and encourages commerce in others, as far as such a disposition in himself will admit of it without thwarting his own personal interests.

Being in a manner the founder of the town in its present state of opulence (for before his reign its improvement was very inconsiderable), he takes a pride in embellishing it by

public works ; and this, as it adds much to the comfort as well as attractions of the town, ensures him the praise of all parties. A large palace near the centre of the city, for himself, a country house surrounded by gardens for his harem, and a spacious mosque near his own residence for the public use, have been built from his own funds, without any extraordinary contributions. The whole range of streets, bazars, caravanserais, baths, &c. which are now erecting, are, however, building from advances of their future occupiers, in loans to the Prince, on the faith of his promise, that the sums shall be accounted for in their annual rents. The Prince is therefore the great owner of the land, and of the buildings ; and as his will is law, the rents will no doubt be so regulated, as to return him an enormous profit, in which case, instead of a munificent adorer of a city of his own founding, he can be regarded only as a monied speculator in possession of an unrestrained monopoly.

The force of the city is not at all equal to its real importance, as the western frontier town of an extensive kingdom. It had not, as far as I could perceive, at present, a single

cannon mounted on its walls. Several fine long brass pieces, of Persian foundry, and apparently very old, were lying about on the ground before the Prince's palace, and in another public square; and there was in his service a Russian Topjee Bashi, or chief of the cannoneers, so that when the more profitable improvements of building are terminated, that of fortification may perhaps be better attended to. The whole military establishment of the Shah Zadé is estimated to consist of about five hundred horse and a thousand foot. Like the soldiers of Turkey, these are required to arm and clothe themselves out of their pay, are totally without any distinguishing uniform, and as undisciplined as an enemy could wish. These few troops are thought sufficient for the maintenance of public order in the neighbourhood of the town, and for the regular guard of the Prince's person. All else would be superfluous, in his estimation, since the governor of every province under the Shah Zadé must, over and above the yearly tribute to the Prince's treasury, provide troops for the defence of his own district, out of the contributions which he is authorized to levy at will

on the people subject to his immediate control. To keep up a large army, or to train and discipline the small one really embodied in time of peace for more prompt and effectual service in war, would not enter into the conception of those who look on the duration of both the one and the other to be dependant on the will of God alone, and totally exempt from human control.

The details of the Government are nearly the same here as in the great towns of its sister kingdom, Turkey: personal favour and bribery are always of avail, and corruption exists in every office and department of the State. Notwithstanding this, however, the people appear to be happy, and are firmly convinced that no country can be equal to their own. Their climate, their water, and the productions of their soil, are justly praised; though even from these they do not derive half the enjoyment they are capable of affording, from want of the necessary knowledge how to employ them to the best advantage. But, because the signal drum is beat three times after sunset, at the last sound of which the streets must be cleared of every individual on pain of death, they

think their Government the best that possibly can be, and would certainly treat any man as an idiot or a madman who should suggest even the notion of a reform.

Among the public buildings of the town, the Shah Zadé's palace is by far the largest, occupying perhaps a quarter of a mile in circuit. The principal front opens to the south-east, into a large square called the Maidan, a place of exercise for horses. This square is surrounded by shops and stalls in recesses like those of a large khan; and having passages of communication to most of the principal bazars in the different quarters of the town, it is generally crowded with people.

The front of the palace towards this square is about a thousand feet in length, and the ascent to its centre is by an inclined plane, sufficiently steep for steps, but having none, in order that it may the better admit the passage of horses. Leading off from the top of this ascent are two long causeways or galleries, going all along the front of the building, at the height of fifteen or twenty feet from the level of the square below. The

whole of the front is a plain brick wall, excepting only the centre, where two or three stories rise over the door of entrance. The door is in the Arabian style of architecture, corrupted by modern taste, and above it, on two large pannels, are represented the exploits of Rustan, the Hercules of the Persians, in figures boldly drawn and gaudily coloured. Above this is the public divan, which has an open balcony looking out on the square, and from which the view of the town and the country must be commanding and agreeable. Here the Shah Zadé sits for an hour or two early in the day to transact public business and receive visits; but as the sun shines strongly on it at that period, it is then always covered by a perpendicular awning, or curtain, of canvass, painted in gay colours and fanciful designs.

The interior of the palace is laid out for domestic convenience, and streams of water flow through the gardens, from amidst which rises a polygonal kiosque, of the form of the stools on which the salver is placed at the meals of the Turks, and totally devoid of dignity, which must be imputed to the bad

taste of the architect, since the dome, which is appropriate to the order, might have been so well placed in its stead.

The Harem or Seraglio of the Prince is seated on a hill at some distance from his palace, surrounded by gardens. It stands, however, within the walls of the town, and is said to enjoy the most delicious air that mortal can breathe. His establishment of wives is complete; but besides these he has several Georgian slaves, of the greatest beauty that could be procured for money. In these and in his Turkoman horses, his chief pleasure is said to exist; but the horses, though praised as finer than any of the king's stud, he seldom or never mounts, and his harem he as rarely visits, generally sending for the wife or the slave whom he may happen most to desire, and leaving the rest to nurse his numerous progeny, and divert themselves as well as they can within latticed windows, high walls, and strong bolts and bars, under the continual espionage of the severe and unfeeling eunuchs, who are employed as checks upon the undue liberty of royal favourites.

There are only four mosques in the whole

town; and three of these are smaller than those seen in the poorest villages of Egypt. The largest, however, which is the work of the Shah Zadé, and is close to his palace, has a very spacious court attached to it, which of itself conveys an air of grandeur, particularly when filled by devout worshippers, performing their ablutions previous to prayer. The interior of the mosque is quite plain, showing only a large, but low hall, supported by square pillars of brick-work. In all the towns, indeed, not a fine dome or a minaret of any kind is to be seen, which one would scarcely have expected among a people who are more strict in their devotions than their neighbours, and who lavish such wealth on the tombs of their venerated Imaums.

The baths are of a superior kind; there are said to be three equal to the one we visited, and four or five others frequented only by the poorer classes. The first of these, which was not far from the palace, was entered by a porch, extremely clean, and neatly ornamented by painting and other devices on its ceiling and walls. This remarkable contrast to the low, dark, and foul passages which generally lead to Turkish baths,

was a presage, upon the very threshold, of greater comfort and accommodation within.

When we reached the undressing-room, this prepossession was still further strengthened. Here we found a square hall, well lighted from above, having on three of its sides elevated recesses for the visitors, and on the fourth, the passage from the outer porch to the hall, and from this to the inner bath, having on each side shelves, in which were arranged the clean and dirty clothes, the combs, looking-glasses, and all the apparatus of the toilette, under the immediate care of the master of the bath himself. At the angles of these raised recesses, and dividing their lower roof, which they supported, from the higher one of the central square, were four good marble pillars, with spirally fluted shafts, and moulded capitals, perfectly uniform in size and design, and producing the best effect. In the centre of the square space, which these marked out, and on a lower floor, was a large marble cistern of cold water; and at each end of this, on wooden stands, like those used in our arbours and breakfast rooms, were arranged coloured glass

jars, with flowers of various kinds in them, well watered and perfectly fresh.

The walls of this outer hall were ornamented all around by designs of trees, birds, and beasts, in fanciful forms, executed in white upon a blue ground, and though possessing nothing worthy of admiration, yet giving an air of finish, of neatness, and of cleanliness to the whole, in which the baths of Turkey are generally so deficient.

We undressed here, and were led from hence into the inner bath, where all was still free from every thing offensive, either to the sight or smell. This inner room was originally an oblong space of about fifty feet by twenty-five, but had been since made into two square divisions. The first, or outer one, was a plain paved hall, exactly like the undressing-room, except that it had no side recesses, but its floor was level, close to the walls. There were here also four pillars; but, as well as I remember, plain ones; and in the square space which they enclosed in the centre of the room was a cistern of water as in the outer one. It was on the floor of this that the visitors lay, to be washed by

the attendants; for there were no raised seats for this purpose as in Turkish baths, and the great octagonal one, with its cold fountain, the sides and tops of which are ornamented with mosaic work of marble in Turkey, was here replaced by the cistern described. The whole of this room was destitute of ornament, excepting the walls, which were similar to those without. The second division, to which this led, consisted of three parts; the central one was a large and deep bath, filled with warm water, its bottom being level with the lower floor of the building, and the ascent to it being by three or four steep steps. On each side of this was a small private room, with a cistern in the centre of each, for the use of those who wished to be served with peculiar attention.

The whole was as neat and well arranged as could be desired, and as clean as any bath can be which is open to public use. But as few pleasures are entirely perfect, so here, with all its general apparent superiority to the baths of Turkey, this was inferior to them in the most essential points. The attendants seemed quite ignorant of the art of

twisting the limbs, moulding the muscles, cracking the joints, opening the chest, and all that delicious train of operations in which the Turks are so skilful. The visitors were merely well though roughly scrubbed, and their impurities then rinsed off in the large cistern above, from which there was neither a running stream to carry off the foul water, nor cocks of hot and cold to renew and temper it at pleasure, as in Turkey.

In place of the luxurious moulding of the muscles, the use of the hair-bag, or glove, for removing the dirt, and the profusion of perfumed soap, with which the Turks end a course of treatment full of delight, the Persians are occupied in staining the beard and hair black, the nails of the toes and fingers of a deep red, and the whole of the feet and hands of a yellow colour, by different preparations of henna. This operation is the most unpleasant that can be imagined. The Persians do not shave the whole of the head, as is usual with most of the Turks and Arabs, but, taking off all the hair from the forehead, over the crown, and down the neck, for about a hand's breadth, they leave on each side two large bushy masses, depend-

ing over their shoulders. These are almost as full in some individuals as the apparent wigs of the Sassanian medals; and in others, they are sufficiently long and large to meet and cover the neck behind, which would deceive a stranger into a belief, that they wore the whole of their hair, without either cutting or shaving it. This, then, with a very long and full beard, in which all the people here take pride, is plastered with a thick paste, of the consistence of hog's lard, and not less than two pounds weight of which is sometimes used on one person. It possesses a strongly astringent and penetrating quality, and requires great skill in the use of it, to avoid doing considerable mischief. As the eye-brows are plastered with it, as well as the rest of the hair, and as it softens by the heat of the room and of the body, it frequently steals into the eyes, and produces great pain. The mustachios sometimes give a portion of this paste also to the nostrils, as well as to the mouth, and never fail to yield a most unpleasant odour to all within its reach. The patient (as he may well be called) reclines on his back, naked, and on the stone floor, with his eyes and mouth com-

pletely shut, and not daring to breathe with too great freedom. He remains in this manner for an hour or two at a time, while the operator visits him at intervals, rubs his hair and beard, patches up the paste where it has dissolved or is fallen off, and lays on fresh coats of the dye, on the nails, the hands, and the feet. Some of these beard-plastered elders, fresh from the hands of their attendants, look oddly enough, with different shades of red, black, and grey in their beards; for it takes a day or two, according to the quality of the hair, to produce an uniform blackness; and this requires to be renewed every week at least, to look well, as the roots of the hair which grow out, after each time of staining, are either brown or grey, according to the age of the wearer, and contrast but badly with the jet black of the other parts.

When all is finished, and the visitor leaves the inner bath, he is furnished with two cloths only, one for the waist, and the other to throw loosely over the head and shoulders: he then goes into the outer room into a colder air, thus thinly clad, and without slippers or pattens; no bed is prepared for him, nor is he again attended to by any one, unless he de-

mands a nargeel to smoke ; but, most generally, he dresses himself in haste, and departs.

The Turkish bath is far more capable of affording high sensual pleasure, and is consequently visited as much for the mere delight to the feelings which it produces, and to lounge away an agreeable hour, as for the performance of a religious duty ; while the Persian bath seems altogether resorted to for the purpose of the toilette, as one would submit to a hair-dresser, to have the hair cut, curled, powdered, and set in order, for a party.

The bazars have been already described, as far at least as they can be in their present imperfect state. Such of the few as are finished, are lofty, wide, and well lighted and aired, built of brick, with vaulted domes, rising in succession from the roof, and having ranges of shops, about twelve feet wide in front, divided by a central perpendicular bar, and closed by double shutters. The benches before these are built of stone, are conveniently low for the seating of passengers, and the shops within are sufficiently spacious to contain a great variety of merchandize, and leave ample room for the keepers of them,

a guest, and an assistant, which those of the best bazars in Cairo and Damascus do not. Those now in building promise to be as spacious and convenient as these already finished; and when all are completed, they will add much to the fine appearance of the town.

Besides the manufactory of most of the articles in common request for the consumption of the town and its immediate neighbourhood, there are made here muskets and pistols, of a good quality, and in sufficient request to be sent to different parts of Persia. The Shah Zadé has a foundry for brass cannon, under the superintendance of the Russian Yusef Khan, his Topjee Bashi, at which he intends casting all the ordnance for the city; and some coarse gunpowder is also made by the same man. Printed cotton cloths and handkerchiefs are manufactured also in great abundance, and carpets are wrought which are thought to be equal to any produced in the whole empire. These are chiefly the work of females of distinction; since to spin, to sew, and to embroider, are the chief accomplishments of their education. These carpets are mostly made by the needle;

with coloured worsteds, on a woven substance, in the way that young ladies in England, of the middling ranks, work mats for tea-urns. These, from their size and quality, sometimes cost fifty tomans, equal to as many pounds sterling each, though there are others at all prices below this. Others again, of an inferior quality, are altogether woven in colours, and sold at a cheaper rate, these being the work of men. There are no large manufactories of either, however; as both are wrought in private dwellings, and brought into the bazar, when finished, for sale.

Every species of provision and fruit is excellent, and in great abundance. Coffee-houses, there are absolutely none; but cook-shops, fruit-stalls, and confectioners' benches are very numerous, and in these may be had all the kinds of food in use among the people. The former of these are peculiarly neat and clean, and besides the kabobs, or sausages without skins, there is excellent bread, rice pilaus, and sometimes stewed dishes to be had, so that by far the greater number of people stationed in the work-shops and bazars, send thither for the portion of food they may require for their meals, as it is not customary,

as with us, to eat at the house where the food is prepared.

Among the fruits, after those of the melon kind, grapes, peaches, and apples are most abundant: pears and plums are also seen, but more rarely; and all of these, with every species of vegetable common to the country, are good in their kinds, and kept and served with great cleanliness and care.*

In the confectioners' shops are sweet cakes of different sorts, small loaves, and sugar refined in the town, almonds and other comfits arranged in glass jars, and sweet drinks prepared in large copper and brazen vessels, covered with engraved devices and inscriptions.

Mutton is the meat most used, as goats'

* The extent of the Persian dominions may be divided into three parts, according to the situation and climate. The southern part, bordering upon the Persian Gulf, is sandy and barren, and parched with heat. The middle part, lying more northerly, under a temperate climate, abounds in corn and grass, with many well-watered and spacious plains, as well as vineyards and gardens, furnished with trees bearing all sorts of fruits, except olives. Their gardens are delightful; their rivers and streams cool and limpid, and plentifully stored with all sorts of water-fowl. It has also extensive pastures for cattle, and woodlands for hunting. The northernmost division is cold and barren, and often covered with snow.—*Arrian Ind. Hist.* c. 40.

flesh is eaten by the very poorest of the people only, and beef is rarely seen. The sheep are large and fat, and the butchers are clean in the manner of serving and dressing them, though, from the very different modes of preparing dishes here and in Europe, no comparison can be well made in the quality or flavour of animal food, when cooked.

The dresses of the people are plain and grave, particularly after the gay varieties of Turkish towns. The men all wear a high cap of black curly fur, generally of sheep and lamb's-skin, of different qualities. The tightness of their dress about the body and arms, and its looseness below, for sitting cross-legged and kneeling, do not harmonize together. The long slender locks of hair, hanging behind over their necks, give an air of boyishness to some, and the thick bushy masses of a stiffer kind an aspect of ferocity to others; while the sameness of colour in their dresses, which are either of a dull green or blue, with the absence of rich shawls, bright shalloons, gilded and silver arms, &c. make the inhabitants of the town look much inferior to the strangers there.

The Koordish peasants have conical caps,

and short jackets of thick white woollen. The Arabs are mostly from Bagdad, and dress as they do there. The Shooster people wear turbans formed of a brown cotton shawl, crossed with white, and amply folded round the head, while one end is suffered to hang loosely behind, something like the white turban of the Arabs of Yemen. The Persian women, of whom we saw remarkably few, were all closely veiled by a white cloth, tied over the forehead and hanging low down on the breast, with a grating work of hollow thread before the eyes, and the great outer cloth or scarf, of checked blue cotton, as in Egypt.

The people on the whole, however, seemed to be exceedingly polite among themselves, and courteous towards strangers, ingenious in the exercise of their respective trades, quick of apprehension, full of industry, and intent on their respective affairs of business.

SEPT. 17th.—We were occupied during the first hours of the morning in preparation for departure from Kermanshah by such occasion as might offer. One of my horses, purchased at Bagdad, having broken out all over his body with sores, so that he could neither

be saddled, nor mounted bare, it became necessary to part with it, if possible, and look out for another. We accordingly led it to the Maidan, or place of the horse-market, without the walls, on the north of the town, where, though we found many seeking for horses, we could find no one who would purchase or barter for this, and were accordingly obliged to buy another.

The horses we saw here, except our own, were all Persian. These are larger and perhaps stronger than the Arab race, but are extremely inferior in beauty, and are said to be so in speed, and in capacity of sustaining the privations of food and water. The Persians indeed, as far as I had seen of them, did not appear to take as much pleasure in horses as the Arabs or Turks. They are less masterly and less graceful riders; and their mountings or trappings, while no more fitted for the comfort of the horse, by lightness and adaptation to its form, than either of these, are much inferior, in richness of ornament and general appearance, to both.

To leave my diseased horse at this place, seemed an abandonment of what had cost me dearly, and what might perhaps recover;

while, if we took it with us, an extra attendant would be absolutely necessary, since all the other duties of the road, which had now completely devolved on myself, were already more than sufficient. It was therefore determined that we should seek for such a person; and this was no sooner suggested, than the Dervish Ismael had one immediately ready to my hand. A Faqueer of Ispahan, who had come with us from Kerrund to Kermanshah, had supped from our bread and fruit, and smoked his evening nargeel with the Dervish after I was asleep, was recommended as the most proper person I could add to our party, as he was ready and willing to undertake any duty that might be required of him. "But," said I, "does he understand the duties of a groom? or do you know any thing of his character?" "Oh," replied Ismael, "a Faqueer understands every thing; and as for his character, I am sure that his heart is pure, and his tongue is clean." "How then?" I asked: "was there any previous acquaintance, or the testimony of any friend who had known the man?" "Not at all," was the reply; and after much hesitation—not of fear, but seemingly of un-

willingness to clear up any doubt for which he thought there was no just foundation—this explanation at length came : “ He is not a Philosopher, emphatically *one of us*,” said Ismael, (meaning the “ Mutuffuk b’el Philosopheea” at Bagdad,) “ it is true ; but the man has loved the wife of another, for whom he has wept by day, and chased away his sorrows by smoking bhang (an intoxicating drug) at night !” It was in vain that I objected to these two excellent qualities, as certain pledges of his neglecting the duties I wished him to perform on the way. “ The man’s heart must be upright,” said my companion, “ because it is tender ; and free from all guile, because he intoxicates himself with opium !” The fact seemed to be that my Dervish wished to secure, on any terms, some one who would do such things as we needed, provided he was not too rigid a Moslem to betray our laxity, or abandon us from being shocked at it. I reasoned, persisted, refused, and pretended an anger which I really did not feel. All was in vain, the die was cast, and Zein-El-Abedeen, the bhang-smoking Faqueer, was regularly invested with the care of the diseased horse, and admitted as

one of our party, beyond the possibility of revocation.

We now heard of four or five horsemen going off to Hamadan on the morrow; and as this seemed the best occasion by which we could profit, we sought them out, and agreed to accompany them; of which they were as glad as ourselves. In the mean time, as a good portion of the day yet remained to us, I determined to employ it in a visit to the antiquities of Tauk-e-Bostan, which I had been hitherto too much occupied in the town even to enquire after.

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF TAUKE- BOSTAN.

WE left the town of Kermanshah by the Ispahan gate, close to which our caravanserai was situated, about an hour before noon; and turning round to the northward by the city wall, we came into the high road leading out to the Tauk. The road led first between vineyards and gardens on each side, and then opened on the plain, going in a north-east direction. In our way we passed several villages on our right and left, peopled entirely by Koords; from one of these came out two young and gaily dressed Persian girls to invite us into their dwellings,—and they were at once so pretty and so willingly polite, that

CHAPTER VII.



ARCH OF THE GARDEN, OR TAUK-E-BOSTAN.

it required no common effort to decline their invitations.

My Dervish, who was yet young and handsome, being not more than five-and-twenty, with regular features, white teeth, large black eyes, an Indian brown complexion, and silky beard, seemed particularly to have smitten both of these ladies,—and the feeling on his part was perfectly reciprocal. His countenance brightened up with fresh animation, and his eyes flashed fire during the short interview which I permitted, as we checked the reins of our horses to listen to their discourse. I was cruel enough, however, to interrupt this scene, by setting off on a full gallop, beckoning to Ismael to follow me. When the Dervish overtook me, as I halted for him to come up, there was a mixture of surprise and anger in his look, as he asked me why I had so hastily torn myself away from the fairest occasion of passing a happy day that had yet offered itself to us since we had been together? I endeavoured to explain this, as we continued to ride along, by saying that as we were to depart from hence to-morrow, there would be no possibility of my seeing the Caves, if to-day were wasted

in pleasure; and that, as I should probably be near these antiquities but once in my life, I should often regret in future my neglect of that occasion to examine them, since they were among the works of early ages which deeply interested both myself and my friends.

The Dervish drew up the bridle of my horse, and turned himself round towards me on his saddle, as if to assure himself that these were really and truly my reasons, and that it was I and not another who assigned them. When I repeated that I was in earnest, he eyed me with a look which, though in some degree tempered by respect, was yet full of pity and disappointment, with perhaps a portion of contempt. "And is it possible," he exclaimed, "that you can be learned in philosophy, or in any way at all a lover of wisdom? You have yet to read Hafiz and Saadi, and Meznouvee, and Muntukketeer,—who would all say to you, 'What are the works of the past or the hopes of the future, compared with the more certain and far more important enjoyment of the present?'" It was plain indeed, in all he said or did, that the philosophy of the Dervish

and his school was entirely comprised in that verse of Moore's :

“ Pleasure, thou only good on earth !
One little hour resign'd to thee,
Oh ! by my Lais' lip, 'tis worth
A sage's immortality.”

Our conference ended, however, in his yielding to my wishes ; and we accordingly left the ladies to other visitors, and pursued our journey, though for an hour at least in unbroken silence.

In less than an hour after our leaving the walls of Kermanshah we came to the stream of the Kara Soo, still retaining its Turkish name, implying the Black Water. Its banks are low and shelving, its bed dark and pebbly, and its stream beautifully transparent ; so that at the least distance from its banks its purity alone gives it a cast of blackness, which well sustains its name. The breadth of the river here is not more than fifty horse paces, its depth about three or four feet, and the rate of its stream little more than two miles an hour. We found some peasants on its beach collecting the small round pebbles of its bed, and loading

them on their beasts to carry them in sacks to the town. On enquiring the purpose to which these were applied, we learned that they were used by the bakers of Kerman-shah, who laid their thin sheets of bread on beds of the pebbles, heated nearly to redness, and smoothed by small rollers like those used on the gravel walks of an European garden.

The course of the Kara Soo is in this place from north-west to south-east, though it afterwards bends to the southward, in the plain, at the distance of only a mile or two from this ford. Its source is said to be also in a north-west direction, about three days' journey off, at the foot of the mountains of Koordistan; and it flows from hence southerly through Khuzistan, passing by Shooster, and discharges itself ultimately into the Euphrates, after the union of that river and the Tigris in the Shat-ul-Arab, running with these into the Persian Gulf.

This river is unquestionably the Choaspes of antiquity, celebrated as furnishing always the drink of the Persian kings. They so rigidly confined themselves to the use of this water, that it was carried by them even in their distant expeditions; and Herodotus

relates that Cyrus, when he marched against Babylon, had the water of the Choaspes first boiled, and afterwards borne in a vase of silver, on four-wheeled chariots drawn by mules.* Milton has an allusion to this

* "Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king, in his warlike expeditions, is provided from home with cattle, and all other necessaries for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspes,† which flows near Susa, for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four-wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is deposited in vessels of silver."—*Clio*, 188.

Pliny, in adverting to this tradition, says, that the water served to the Persian kings for their drink, was from the two rivers Choaspes and Eulæus only: adding that, however distant they might be from these two rivers, their waters were always carried with them. And asking himself the reason of this peculiarity, he decides that it is not because they were rivers merely, that the Persian princes liked their waters so well, for out of the two still more famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, as well as out of many other fair and agreeable running streams, they did not drink; so that there was some peculiar and sacred reason for the preference here displayed.—See *Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 31. c. 2.

† There Susa by Choaspes' amber stream,

The drink of none but kings.—*Paradise Regained*, Book ii.

Upon the above passage of Milton, Jortin has this remark:—"I am afraid Milton is here mistaken. That the kings of Persia drank no water but that of the river Choaspes, is well known: that none *but* kings drank of it, is what I believe cannot be proved."—Add to the note from Jortin, the following, from the posthumous works of the same writer:

subject, though he uses the licence of a poet in making this the drink of kings alone, instead of confining them to the use of this water solely; and it is a fact worthy of remark, that at this moment, while all the in-

‘ If we examine the assertion of Milton, as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of Choaspes, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes or Eulæus as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, and have called it βασιλικον υδωρ, regia lympha; but none have said they alone drank it. I say Choaspes or Eulæus, because some make them the same, others make them different rivers.’

Jortin then adds from Ælian, as a proof that the subjects of the Persian king might drink this water, the anecdote which I have quoted at length.

‘ Mention is made,’ continues Jortin, ‘ by Agathocles, of a certain water which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find in Athenæus, Agathocles says, that there is in Persia a water called Golden; that it consists of seventy streams; that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son; and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.’

‘ It appears not that the golden water and the water of Choaspes were the same. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that the king alone drank of that water of Choaspes, which was boiled and barrelled up for his use in his military expeditions.’

Jortin concludes by saying, that Milton, by his calling it Amber Stream, seems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. To me, this does not seem likely; I think Milton would not have scrupled to have called it at once Golden Stream, if he had thought of the passage from Athenæus before quoted.

Ælian relates, that Xerxes during his march came to a desert place, and was exceedingly thirsty; his attendants with his baggage were at some distance: proclamation was made, that whoever had any of the water of Choaspes should produce it for the use of the king. One person was found who possessed a small quantity, but it was quite putrid; Xerxes, however, drank it, and considered the person who supplied it as his friend and benefactor, as he must otherwise have perished with thirst.—*Beloe's Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 254.

habitants of Kermanshah drink of the stream of Aub Dedoong, at which we watered our horses on the day of entry, and of the spring called Aubi-i-Hassan-Khan, the King's son alone has the water for himself and his harem brought from the stream of the Kara Soo. We drank of it ourselves as we passed; and from its superiority to all the waters of which we had tasted since leaving the banks of the Tigris, added to the thirst of our noon ride, and animating conversation by the way, the draught was delicious enough to be sweet even to the palsied taste of royalty itself.*

After quitting the Kara Soo, we continued our way on the same course as before, seeing many villages on each side of us on the plain; when, after passing by some smaller streams, gardens, and shady bowers of closely planted trees, we came in little more than half an hour to the foot of the rock in which the Caves are excavated.

* Khosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Kara-Soo river, when he received a letter from Mahommed. Enraged at being called upon by an Arabian whose name he had probably never before heard, to renounce the religion of his fathers, he tore the letter and cast it into the Kara-Soo.—*Malcolm's Persia*, v. 1. p. 158.

We alighted, fastened our horses to the trees before them, and, crossing the little brook which flows along their front, entered the largest of these recesses to look around us. We found here a party of young men from the town, who had come out to pass in this agreeable retreat a day of undisturbed pleasure; and for the moment I felt sorry that our presence should have in any way broken in upon their retired hours of joy. They were employed in saying alternate stanzas of some mourning hymn or dirge, if one might judge from the sighs and interjections of those who hung their heads upon their hands as they listened and approved. They had before them several baskets of fresh fruit, and nargeels for smoking; and inviting us, "B'ism Illah," in the name of God, to sit down and partake of their rustic feast, we did so most willingly.

This, however, agreeable as social pleasures always are, was a sad interruption to the minute examination which I was desirous of making of the numerous sculptured figures which covered the sides of the cave around us. I pondered for an excuse, and could scarcely hide my impatience. I cast my eyes

about with all the eagerness of curiosity and enquiry, until every one perceived that this was my first visit to the Tauk, and that I was yet a stranger to all that concerned it.

Some of the young men who felt themselves to be more learned than the rest, explained the stories of Rustan, whose colossal figure on horseback was the prominent one of the place, and dwelt with still more delight on the loves of Ferhad and Shirine, with which the existence of the Caves was so intimately connected. The history of the lovely Queen, with her Lord Khosrou, and his minister Shapoor, whose figures filled the compartment above the equestrian Hercules of their days, was also detailed; but I still wished to examine what more particularly caught my attention among the smaller figures, and to bring away with me correct copies of such inscriptions as might be there. I was well aware of the surprise, the enquiry, and the suspicion, which my writing on the spot in an unknown character would excite; but as we did not fear the number of our beholders, and we should leave the neighbourhood to-morrow, I had determined at all hazards to begin, though my Dervish ob-

stinately resisted this, from the fear of its betraying him as well as myself.

It was in this moment of indecision that there arrived a party of twelve horsemen, of whom the chief was evidently a person of distinction, and alighted at the Cave. The salutations of "Salam Alaikom" and "Kosh Amadeed," were passed between us as we rose at their entry; carpets and cushions were spread, a divan formed, and presently the whole of the Cave was occupied by this leader and his suite. The young men whom we had found there on our first arrival instantly withdrew, and were not recalled; but as we attempted to follow their example after our first salutations had been exchanged, the Chief beckoned us to stay; and my full beard, and the title of Hadjee, with my Arab dress, obtained for me a seat beside him, while all the rest stood.

My journey was then enquired about; and there being among the servants a man who had been in Egypt, he remarked that neither my features nor my complexion were Egyptian, though, from the Arabic not being his native tongue, he did not apparently detect my being a foreigner in this. I told him

that there was a mixture of Georgian blood in our family, as I had often been taken for one of that country, chiefly from my complexion, hair, and eyes, being all less dark than is usually seen among either Arabs, Persians, or Turks; and this explanation was deemed quite satisfactory.

The leader of the party spoke chiefly Turkish, and but just sufficient of Arabic for us to converse together face to face. His appearance struck me as very singular. His stature was short and compressed; his head small and round; his features flat; his eyes long, small, and of a greyish blue; his hair a brownish yellow; and his thin and scanty beard confined to a few long hairs on the point of his chin, such as I remember to have seen in a Chinese Mussulman at Mocha.

My surprise was heightened by finding that this man understood the Roman character; for, in looking round the Cave, on the walls of which were numerous inscriptions of visitors, in Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, and English, he pointed to some of the latter, and said, "These are the names of Franks who have been here." I asked him if he could read them. He replied "Yes;" and going to one

list, in which were the names of Captain (now General Sir John) Malcolm, Lieutenant (now Colonel) Mc. Donald (Kinnier), and Dr. Jukes, (of the Bombay army, since dead,) with several others which I did not afterwards remember, he counted letter by letter, and pretended to read them off with accuracy. His followers seeing this, expressed a very anxious desire to know what these Frank inscriptions could contain. "Not one of these infidels who have ever passed this way," said they, "have omitted to visit the Tauk-e-Bostan, and it must either be in veneration of their ancestors, by whom some think this country was once possessed, or in performance of some religious duty, that they come here to inscribe on the hard rock such long sentences as these. Do," continued they, entreating their Chief with unusual eagerness, "explain to us the writings which these Giaours leave behind them."

The names themselves, to the number of ten or twelve, were all cut in Roman capitals with great care: those of Mr. Manesty, an English Envoy and his suite, on the right of the figure of Rustan, on looking towards it; and those of General Malcolm and his

attendants on the left. The latter were inscribed within a sort of outline tablet, drawn round it; and as sufficient space was left within this line for that purpose, some subsequent French visitor had cut, in long slender characters above this array of English names, the words VIVE NAPOLEON!—As a specimen of the accuracy with which the Chief understood the character, he read this first line, by saying it meant “Bism Illah, el Rahhman el Rakheem,” or, “In the name of God, the great and the merciful.” “What!” exclaimed his companions, “do the Infidels commence their writings with the prayer which our Holy Prophet has chosen for the head of every chapter of the Koran, and for the commencement of every operation of a true believer?” “No;” replied the Chief, somewhat embarrassed by this remark, “it is not precisely the eloquent ‘Bism Illah’ of the Prophet, but it is a prayer to exactly the same effect, with which the Franks of the West commence all they do, and which the great mass of the Giaours write ‘In Dei nomine,’ but the English express by the words ‘Shipped by the grace of God!’”

The Latin and the English formulæ were

each expressed imperfectly, but with sufficient distinctness for me to recognise them both; though how this man could have learned these two, applied generally to such opposite purposes, was still to me unintelligible. My Dervish, who knew the man well, explained it perfectly however, by telling me that he was a Russian, who had been in the service of the Turks, and having embraced Islamism, had risen by progressive gradations to be the Mutesellim, or Governor of Bussorah, which station he had filled for several years. Rustan Aga, for that was now his name, becoming obnoxious to the Pasha of Bagdad, as all the servants of the great in the East are sure to do when they are supposed to become too wealthy, he was recalled to the capital, stripped of his riches, and at last banished from thence, on which occasion he had recently come here to Kermanshah as a retreat. In his capacity of Mutesellim at this sea-port, frequented by English ships, he might have learned to distinguish the Roman character from others, perhaps by the occasional sight of their package-marks, or papers; and from the last alone, he must have remembered the pious formula of

“Shipped by the grace of God,” with which all our English bills of lading are still commenced.

When we had talked of the Caves, and the visitors had decided that the large one was for Khosrou, the bench at the end for him to enjoy the caresses of Shirine, and the adjoining smaller cave for the servants and Cawajee Bashi, or chief of the coffee-preparers, a repast of fruits was served to us in numerous baskets of freshly gathered grapes and peaches from the neighbouring gardens, of which Rustan Aga and myself first partook, and afterwards my Dervish and the servants in waiting. An hour passed over pipes and coffee, with intervals of dull conversation, until the Aga growing sleepy, laid himself along upon the bench of Shirine, which is the raised base or pedestal on which the horse of Rustan stands, and expressed his wish to sleep.

I still hoped that I might be able to write, thinking the rest of the party would retire; their presence, however, still interrupted this; and from a whispering conversation between them in Persian, I feared that even they suspected me to be not what I had pre-

tended. My Dervish, who heard and understood the whole, soon undeceived me, by saying, that when the Aga laid himself down upon the cool couch of Shirine, he had given orders to his principal servant to await our going away, and then to dispatch a horseman to the village near for the two young Persian girls who had invited us to turn aside from our way. They had accosted him it seems also, and he had promised them to see their abode on his return ; but, whether the story blended with the place of his present repose had inflamed his imagination or not, his impatience induced him to send for them here ; and the consultation now was whether they should await our departure or send for them at once.

“ Not to enjoy the occasion which had been presented to ourselves, and to be an obstacle to this enjoyment in others, would,” said Ismael, “ be so like the dog in the manger,” a fable with which he was well acquainted, “ that we should deserve to be cut off for ever from its recurrence if we stayed here a moment longer.” As the accomplishment of the end for which alone I came thus far was indeed now almost hopeless, I

hardly wished to prolong my stay, so that we mounted and set out on our return.

The horseman was immediately dispatched and soon overtook us, confessing with all frankness, on our asking him, the nature of his errand. We rode together to the village, heard the message delivered, and saw the girls themselves set out to fulfil it; so that no doubt could any longer remain of their engagement. "This," said the Dervish, "is true philosophy. Behold this Rustan, born an infidel, embracing afterwards the true faith, becoming rich, abandoned by fortune, banished, and shown the whole round of poverty and wealth, of favour and disgrace, yet retaining wisdom enough amidst all these reverses to solace his banishment with pleasure, and not to suffer a moment of pure enjoyment to pass by him for the sake of the works of the past, or the hopes of the future, of which you so idly talked." I strove to convince him that it was because the man had no philosophy, and was really unhappy in his banishment, that he sought for pleasure in such sources as these; but all that I could say was in vain. Ismael contended that we had acted foolishly, and

thought not only that my disappointment at the Caves was a fit punishment for my folly, but that I should deserve all the evils which might in any other way result from it.

It was nearly sunset before we returned to the khan, and we had still many little duties to perform preparatory to our setting out in the morning. I had determined, if possible, to turn aside from the road then, and make a second visit to the Caves in our way to Bisitoun; but as that might not be practicable, I sat down by my lamp, when my companions were asleep, to note down such recollections as I still retained of the Caves, from my imperfect and restrained examination of them.

They are called by the natives *Tauk-e-Bostan*, or the Arch of the Garden, and not *Takht Rustam*, or the Throne of Rustam, as has been said. They are situated at the distance of somewhat more than a league from *Kermanshah*, in a due bearing of north-east by compass. They are hewn out at the foot of the mountain of the same name, connected with which are the separate masses of *Parou* to the north, and *Bisitoun* to the east. The rock here rises in nearly a per-

pendicular cliff from the plain, and the Caves face the south-west, looking immediately towards the town.

On approaching them, they are scarcely seen, as they are covered by clusters of trees thickly planted, some of them extending close to the fronts of the Caves themselves. On arriving at these, the appearance presented is that of a high and bare mountain, rising in nearly a perpendicular line, with a small brook of beautifully clear water flowing beneath its feet. The source of this is close by, as it issues out from beneath the rock; and over the spot are two brick arches of the Roman form, still perfect. These are not the remains of a bridge, as M. Rousseau supposes,* as they are built in the side of the rock, and lead to no passage. The purpose of them seems to have been to mark the source of the stream and keep its outlet clear; a similar arch of stone being erected in the same way over the source of the Ainel Fee-jey, near Damascus, close by an ancient temple there.

These arches are the first objects seen on the right or south-east in looking towards

* Mines de l'Orient, tom. iii. p. 94,

the Caves, and close to them are three sculptured figures on the outer surface of the rock. The tablet, or pannel, in which these are included, is just sufficiently large to contain them, and the figures are about the size of life. The sculpture is in bas-relief, tolerably executed, and still very perfect. One of these, the figure on the left, has a star beneath his feet, and a sort of halo, like the rays of a blazing sun, around his head; another, the central one, has a globe over a helmet, like the heads of the Sassanian medals; and the third, on the right, nearest the source of the stream, stands on a figure lying horizontally on the ground.* The first of these is perhaps the one taken for Ariman, or Zoroaster, but whether the others were armed or not I do not perfectly remember. The frilled drapery of their trowsers forming a line from the ankle to the hip, produces a very novel effect, as well as the sort of sandals with which their feet are bound.†

Close to this, still on the left or north-

* This is thought to be a prostrate Roman soldier, as emblematic of the fallen state of that empire at the period of its execution.

† See the plate in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, which is very correct.

west, is the first or smallest Cave. This is little more than fifteen feet square, and about the same height in the centre of the arch, which is of the pure Roman form, and the sides and floor are all perfectly level. There are, I think, no devices on the outer front of this, and the side walls of the interior are perfectly plain. The end wall is divided into two compartments by a sort of moulding running along the whole breadth of the Cave and nearly midway up the wall, so as to divide it almost equally by a horizontal line. In the lower one I do not remember any devices, and in the upper are, I think, two figures, of which I have also an imperfect recollection. They are fully as large as the life, are both standing, and executed in alto-relievo. On each side of them is an inscription of four or five lines each, in the character of the Sassanian medals, which M. de Sacy has so successfully decyphered and explained.*

* See the 'Antiquités de la Perse,' by Silvestre de Sacy; from which it appears that the Tauke-e-Bostan was excavated by Baharam, the founder of Kermanshah, as the inscription in Pehlivi, translated by De Sacy, has the name of Vararan, or Varahan, which approaches the Roman name of Baharam, who is Varanes the Fourth, of Latin history.—See also Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 113.

On the left of this is the principal or larger Cave, divided from the small one by a thick wall of rock only ; and all these objects are included within a space of fifty yards in length. In front of them, the stream, which springs from beneath the brick arches on the south-east, flows along to the north-west, touching the foot of the rock where the three sculptured figures are seen on its surface, and being only half a dozen paces from the mouth of the larger Cave. This stream, however, is not the Kara Soo, as has been said,* but a mere brook, called, from the place of its source, Aub-i-Tauk-e-Bostan, and going from the Caves south-west into that river. Its waters were painfully cold at noon-day, and as sweet and clear as the stream which it augments.

The great Cave is perhaps about twenty-five feet square, and rather more than the same height. Its roof is arched, of the pure Roman form, and, like the other, its floor and sides are perfectly level. The outer front of this excavation presents first a fine broad pilaster on each side, with a device formed by a chain of stems and flowers wind-

* Rousseau's Journey from Bagdad to Kermanshah.

ing round a central stalk, not unlike some of the rich pilasters on the doors of Palmyra, and as beautifully executed as they are tastefully designed. The arch itself has sculptured mouldings running over it to finish its front, which are also chastely done. Above this, and exactly over the centre of the arch, is a crescent, resting on what appears to be extended wings, which might perhaps be thought to have some affinity with the winged globe of the Egyptians. This device of a serpent, or a lizard (for it has been called both) with expanded wings, as seen both here and at the Caves of Nakshi Rustam, has been taken by the learned Dr. Hyde, (author of a Treatise on the Religion of the Ancient Persians,) for a symbol of the soul, and by others, for an Egyptian scarabeus; while Thevenot calls it a winged idol, and Pietro della Valle, the Devil!*

On each side of this symbol, in the angular space left between the arch and a square of the rock formed over it, are two beautiful female figures, such as in Europe we should call angels. These are larger than the life, and sculptured in bas-relief. They are robed

* Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

in fine flowing drapery, have broadly expanded wings of the eagle form, boldly drawn and executed; and they lean in free and graceful attitudes towards the central symbol, being buoyant in air; and while, with the nearest hand, they seem to present to this a circular wreath of flowers, in the other they hold a vase of the flat Roman form, filled above the brim with fruits. The faces of these female figures are round, smiling, and full of complacency and good nature: their forms are at once elegant and free, their hair short and curly, the disposition of the fingers in holding the wreath and the vase extremely natural, the wings noble, and the drapery ample and flowing, so that they give to the whole front of the excavation the most imposing appearance.

On the inside of the great cave, the largest and most prominent figures are on the end wall, immediately facing the spectator on entering. This wall is divided into two equal compartments by a broad sculptured frieze or cornice, jutting out from the level of the ground on which the designs are executed, in about the same proportion as the figures;

so that its highest part is on a level with the most projecting of the group, these last being all executed in very bold alto-relievo.

The lower compartment is entirely occupied by the colossal equestrian figure of Rustam, the Hercules of the Persians, famed for his feats of strength. His horse, though in some parts clumsy, has nothing in its form that grossly offends the sight, on seeing it at a proper distance. Its neck, breast, and shoulders, are covered with an ample cloth, richly wrought, with tassels; but its haunches are perfectly bare. The figure of the rider is on a scale of nine or ten feet high, and intended perhaps to represent the size of life in the hero himself, as the natural size seems to have been made the standard of all the other large figures seen here. This rider sits firmly on his horse, and is in the act of poising his spear; while from his neck or collar, are seen flying out behind him the ruffled plaits of a scarf, as if blown out by the wind. The face of the hero is masked, and his body is covered with a coat of armour formed of net-work, finely woven into a close cloth. The farther hind-leg of the

horse is destroyed, and a part of its head is defaced; but the rest is well preserved, and its details are quite distinct.

The upper compartment contains three standing figures, about the size of life; the two right-hand ones of which are male, and the other a female. The traditions of the country say, that the central one is Khosrou Parviz, with Shirine, his bride, on his right, and Shapoor, his minister, on his left. I was struck with nothing peculiar in these figures, except that the queen holds a vase in her left hand, as if pouring water from it, which Beauchamp had before asserted, and Rousseau had denied to exist.*

Whether this alluded to the source of the river near, as the first of these writers thought, it is not easy to determine; but the conjecture was at least a natural one. The inscription above these figures, which is said to be in the Sassanian character, I did not observe, although my hasty glance over all that I saw around me, would not admit of my saying that no such inscription existed.

The side-walls seemed to me to represent a kind of open verandah, with one large cen-

* Rousseau's Journey, in 'Les Mines de l'Orient,' p. 95.

tral and several smaller windows, through which the figures sculptured there were supposed to be seen at indefinite distances; for I thought I could trace distinctly the looping-up of the curtains with cords, to admit the view; and observe in the open basket-work of the frame of the verandah the necessary pins and cords for its support.

Upon the side-wall, on the right hand on entering, is the representation of a chase, as if seen through the large central window. The principal figure of this picture is on horseback, but not in the act of pursuit, though a graceful motion is given to the animal itself. A page holds over him a large umbrella, in the Indian style, to shelter him from the sun; but the costume either of the lord or his attendants I do not remember. Below is a herd of deer, or antelopes, in full flight; some of which are well, and others badly done. In the smaller compartments are other pictures, each distinctly seen through a small side-window of the verandah; some representing camels, led by halters, and going in trains up a hilly road; others, I think, elephants, and a profusion of figures, of which it was impossible for me

to retain a distinct recollection. The sculpture of the whole is in basso-relievo, much about the same height from the level of the surface as the best Egyptian sculptures in the caves and temples of that country. The drawing of some of the figures in motion is better, and others worse than these; but the attitudes and the finish of the details of such as are at rest, are each inferior to the best works on the banks of the Nile.

The side-wall opposite to this, or on the left when entering, is ornamented with a similar representation of a verandah, and large and small windows, through which the pictures there are seen. These spaces are crowded with a much greater number and variety of figures than on the opposite side. The same want of perspective, and confusion of grouping, is observed in both; but the figures are in general better drawn, and the whole detail of the sculpture is of infinitely more laboured and perfect workmanship than the other. The high finish of these is equal to any thing that I remember in Egypt, either at Tentyra, Edfou, Assouan, or even the temples in Nubia; and the dif-

ference, in this respect, between this and the other side of the cave, impressed me at once with an idea that they had been executed by different hands, and at very distant periods of time.

The general subject on this side seemed to be a hunting of wild boars in lakes and marshes. Water was sometimes fancifully represented in wavy lines, like a whirlpool; and though fishes were represented in this, yet a tree was also seen through it, and land animals and birds near it. The chief personage of all this multitude stood erect in a boat, and was sometimes seen drawing his bow, and at others with it relaxed. The dress of this chief was of the richest kind; and among the devices on the robes were large dragons, as if of Tartar or Chinese origin. By him sat a musician, who played on a harp of many strings, holding the perpendicular part towards his body, and resting the horizontal part on the knee. The boats were of the rudest form, and the oars were long poles, with flat square pieces of wood fastened to their extremes, in the Indian fashion. Two of these oars only were used,

one ahead and one astern ; being plied as paddles over each quarter, to act rather as rudders than as oars.

In one of the boats was a company of female harpers, playing on instruments of the same form as those described. These were very richly dressed in embroidered robes, and their attitudes were a combination of kneeling and sitting, as in use among Mohammedans in some parts of their prayers, and by most of the Eastern people when they sit before their superiors. They were well drawn, their attitudes admirably natural, and their drapery gracefully and finely wrought. They resembled strikingly some figures of female harpers which I remember to have seen on a ruin near the precipice on the banks of the Nile, and in front of the great Temple of Koum-Ombos (the city of the Crocodile), and were among the most interesting figures of the whole piece.

There were here also a profusion of wild boars, in all possible attitudes ; some flying from their pursuers, others wounded and at a stand, and others falling in the tortures of death. A number of elephants were also seen ; some mounted by riders to pursue the

game, and others employed to carry off the prey. Among the last were slain boars, lashed on elephants' backs by strong ropes: near this were men apparently preparing the dead animals for dissection, and a multitude of other figures, of which I have only the recollection of an imperfect dream. The execution of the whole was surprisingly laboured; in many instances producing the most finished details. The dresses of the people, with their appropriate ornaments, and the folds of their drapery, the attitudes of many of the men and animals, the framework of the verandah, and the pins, the cords, and curtains of its windows, were all deserving admiration, and made me regret, more than I can describe, the impossibility of my detailing them more minutely on the spot.

The purpose for which these Caves were executed can scarcely be mistaken:—their cool and delightful situation, and all the accompaniments of water, trees, and an extensive and beautiful prospect,—their name, as the “Arch of the Garden,” which is still retained,—and the purpose for which they continue to be visited to the present hour,

—all induce a belief that they were hewn out as summer-houses of pleasure for some royal or distinguished personage of antiquity, whose abode was in this neighbourhood. The sculptures appear to have nothing in them of an historical kind, nor do they seem designed to commemorate any great political or warlike event, but are merely the ornaments of general pictures appropriate to such a place. The tradition of their being the work of Ferhad, the Georgian Prince, who was enamoured of Shirine, and whom Khosrou employed in labours of this kind to divert his attention from his mistress, is believed by all here, and would require the positive testimony of history or inscriptions to overthrow.

The opinion that these sculptures at the *Tauk-e-Bostan* were the works of Semiramis, or of the Greek successor of Alexander, has been sufficiently combated by M. Silvestre de Sacy in his "*Mémoires sur les Antiquités de la Perse*;" and the correspondence of the costume with that seen in the drawings of the sculptures at *Shapoor* and *Nakshi Rostam*, as well as the *Pehlivi* inscription translated by the learned Frenchman, leave

no longer any doubt of their being the work of the Sassanian age.

The neighbouring town of Kermanshah is said to have been founded by Bahram, the son of Sapor Dulactaf, who, having conquered Kerman, assumed the title of Kermanshah, or king of that country, which he bestowed on his new city, Chosroes.

Nashirvan, according to the Nozhat Alcolaub, here erected a magnificent hall of audience, where on one occasion he received at the same time the homages of the Emperor of Rome, the Emperor of China, and the Khan of the Tartars. No ruin of any ancient building of consequence is now however to be seen, continues the author from whom this is extracted; and it is not improbable but the historian may allude to the Hall of Kengawar. As, however, the figure of Bahram, or Varahram, himself is sculptured in one of the Caves, which we gather from the inscription accompanying it, there seems no reason why this fine arched chamber should not be the hall in question; delightfully seated as it is in the most agreeable spot near Kermanshah, and distinguish-

ed as it unquestionably was by the favour of the founder, in the expense and labour lavished on it.

There are two other remarkable monuments spoken of in the mountain behind, or to the northward of these Caves, and thought to be the work of the same artist. One of these is called Keresht, and is a large passage leading through the rock to such an extent that no torches will retain their light sufficiently long to enable the visitors to arrive at its termination. The other is a large building called Beit-Khan-el-Jemsheed, or the Idol-house of Jemsheed, which is now in ruins. The first of these is four or five hours' journey from Kermanshah, and the last somewhat more distant. Of the basin and sculptures in the mountain of Harrsin to the south-west, as spoken of by M. Rousseau, we could obtain no precise information.

In Col. Kinnier's Geographical Memoir on the Persian Empire, this place seems to be coupled with Bisitoun, from which it is perfectly distinct. After a description of the figures here at the Caves only, the author says: "I have been thus minute on the sculptures at Tak-e-Bostan and Bisiton, because

I have never, in any publication, seen an accurate description of them." And after a citation of the story of Semiramis and her hundred guards, from Diodorus Siculus, he concludes: "The group of figures (here at the Tauke-e-Bostan, since he describes no others) cannot indeed be construed into a representation of the Assyrian queen and her guards; but it must at the same time be remembered, that other sculptures have apparently been obliterated to make room for the Arabic inscription."*

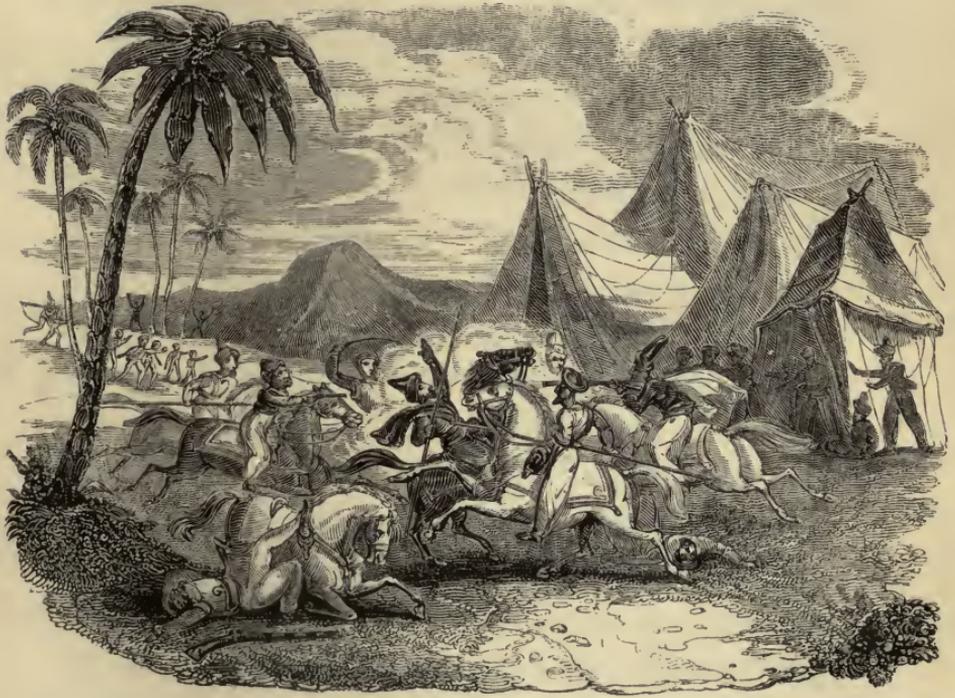
* Geog. Mem. 4to. p. 137.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM KERMANSHAH TO BISITON AND KENGA- WAR—ATTACK OF ROBBERS.

SEPT. 18th.—WE mounted our horses at the gate of Kermanshah soon after sunrise, intending to go from hence to the Caves at Tauk-e-Bostan, and from thence along the foot of the mountain to Bisitoun, by a route distinct from the main road; and after seeing the antiquities there in our way, to rejoin the horsemen, whose party we were to accompany, at the khan of the latter place. We went out of the Ispahan gate, leading our diseased horse after us; but we had scarcely turned off the highway to go towards the Caves, before we were overtaken by a party of four or five people of distinction on horseback, going out to pass a day of plea-

CHAPTER VIII.



ENCOUNTER WITH ROBBERS NEAR KENAWAR.

sure there, attended by a train of mounted servants, baggage, &c.

The Dervish Ismael insisted on it that the destinies were against us, as we had had such a succession of misfortunes and disappointments in all our attempts to see the Caves alone, during our stay at Kermanshah; he therefore urged my abandoning the intention altogether. We might still have gone there, however, on a second visit this morning, notwithstanding this unexpected party; but our presence would have been an intrusion on these great people, which their politeness would perhaps have suffered for a while; although taking notes on the spot would have been impossible, and that was the only object I wished to accomplish in a second visit. We accordingly yielded to the supposed destiny of our case, and returned at once into the high road, to overtake the party of horsemen whom we had agreed to meet at the khan of Bisitoun, from which we were to go on together towards Hamadan.

Our course lay nearly east, across the plain, in which we saw villages on each side of us, with a numerous peasantry, and abundance of cattle. In about two hours after our

leaving the gate of Kermanshah, we came to the Choaspes, or Kara Soo, which was here flowing at the rate of about two miles an hour to the southward. Across it was a lofty and well-built bridge, of six pointed arches, with buttresses, the foundation of large hewn stones, and the upper part of burnt bricks, with a good pavement above the whole. We sounded the stream below this bridge, as it was not more than a hundred feet wide, and found it to be not more than three feet deep in any part. The water was beautifully transparent, and flowing over a dark pebbly bed; it still deserved its modern name of the Black Water, as distinguishing it from the muddy yellowness of rivers in general.

In continuing our march on the same easterly course, the crowds of passengers whom we met coming from the eastward were much greater than I had ever noticed on the Bagdad road, and were almost equal to those seen on the great roads near London, though there appeared to be no particular cause for a greater concourse now than on any ordinary occasion. The number of the villages, the multitudes of flocks and

herds, and the sounds of people whom we saw every where around us, gave a highly favourable idea of the activity and improving state of the population of the country in this immediate neighbourhood at least.

In some caravans which passed us, were camels of a much larger size than any I had ever seen before; and as different in their forms and proportions from the camel of Arabia, as a mastiff is from a greyhound. These camels had large heads and thick necks; from the under edge of which depended a long, shaggy, dark brown hair; their legs were short, their joints thick, and their carcasses and haunches round and fleshy, though they stood at least a foot higher from the ground than the common camels of the Arabian Desert. As they were laden with heavy burthens, I could not discover whether they had the two humps which distinguish the Bactrian camel; or one only, like the camel of Arabia; the only answer given to our enquiry, by their drivers, being, that they were of the Turcoman breed from the north.*

* The current opinion entertained in Europe is, that the animal with one hump is the camel, and the animal with two

Among a party of well-dressed and well-mounted Persian gentlemen, who appeared to be returning from an excursion of pleasure, rather than to be on a journey, I was surprised to see a gaily dressed female unveiled, riding a spirited horse, on a man's saddle, and talking and laughing loudly with

humps the dromedary. This, however, is an error. The Bactrian camel, which is the largest, strongest, and heaviest species, and is covered with a thick, shaggy, dark brown hair, fitting him to endure the rigours of a northern climate, has two humps invariably; while the Arabian camel, which is common to Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and which differs from the Bactrian in being less fleshy and more slender in all its parts, and having only a thin covering of light fawn-coloured hair, has invariably one hump only. The difference between the camel and the dromedary is just that which forms the difference between the cart-horse and the race-horse: the former is trained to carry burthens; the latter, trained only to speed. There are, therefore, one-humped camels and one-humped dromedaries, as well as two-humped camels and two-humped dromedaries; the only difference in each case being, that the camel is the beast of burthen, and the dromedary the animal of speed. The former name is pronounced indifferently, either Ghemel, or Jemel, among the Arabs: the latter, which is a Greek word, is unknown among them: the camels trained to speed, being known by the appellation of Hedjeen only. The rate of the camel seldom exceeds a walk of three miles an hour; while the dromedary or hedjeen will ordinarily perform ten, and sometimes trot at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. Each will bear great fatigue, and sustain themselves for a long while without food or water.

those around her. As we approached nearer, she asked us with great freedom whither we were going; and wished us a safe journey, under the protection of God. Ismael replied, "Al Ullah!" and, perhaps chiefly by the sound of his voice, she immediately recognised him as an old acquaintance. The meeting, the salutations, the caresses, though all speedily ended, as we were both on our way in opposite directions, were singular enough. This lady had been the most noted Suzemaneeah, or courtesan, of Kermanshah, for many years, and had held sovereign sway ever since the Shah Zadé himself had resided here. In her youth, it was said that she was a great favourite of that prince; but she had now grown too old for the taste of royalty in the East, though she would have been still young enough for the companion of some distinguished personages of the West, "being fat, fair, and forty." It was said that she had been with these gentlemen at some retired seat or garden in the country, and had acted as procurer for the party.

As we advanced easterly, we drew progressively nearer to the range of Bisiton on

our left, which rose abruptly from the plain, and terminated in ragged masses and points, the most elevated summit of which seemed to be about three thousand feet from the base. The great body of the mountain was apparently of limestone, judging from the greater portion of the fragments below ; but among these were pieces of a stone like porphyry, some of speckled red, others of greenish white, and others of speckled black, of all of which I preserved specimens.* The plain here became contracted on our right, though the southern range of Kooh Seeah, leading south-easterly from Kermanshah, had continued to extend in that direction, by which we widened our distance from it ; yet there now intervened between us and that range a second inferior mass of hills, forming a boundary on our right. Many villages were still seen, though the soil now seemed less fertile and less cultivated than before.

In about four hours after our departure from the city walls, and two and a half after our crossing the Choaspes, we turned off the

* These were given to a friend in India, and afterwards sent to the Geological Society of London.

road a little on our right, to drink at a spring of water in a dell of fine turf grass. In the way to this, we crossed over a large heap of ruins, which seemed to have been the site of an ancient castle. There had been evidently an inner citadel, which was about a hundred feet in diameter, and several portions of the square bastions, of unbaked brick-work, were still preserved in their original place. The form of this inner citadel appeared nearly circular in its present state, and could be traced all round; the centre of it was hollow, or deeper than the walls themselves, but seemed to have been originally an open space unoccupied by buildings. There were evident appearances of two *enceintes*, or outer walls, at equal distances, surrounding the inner citadel; and from the fragments of brick and stone scattered beyond these, there might once have been still more. The whole of this stood but a few yards on the right of the high road; and immediately opposite to it, on the left, was a burying-ground of the peasants, in which were seen fragments of columns, and large blocks of hewn stone. These, the peasants whom we met and questioned on the subject, told us, were brought

from the opposite ruins, which they called Dey Seboo, and spoke of as a place of great antiquity; but we could learn no tradition regarding its history, or the age of its destruction.

From hence we continued our way about east-north-east, the rays of the sun being scorchingly hot, the sky a deep blue, with scattered streaks of white clouds, and the wind a perfect gale from the south-west, though it had been a dead calm from sunrise until near noon. In about two hours more, gradually turning round the foot of the mountain of Bisitoun in a north-easterly direction, we approached towards the khan of that name, and entered a small but beautiful plain, on the edge of which it stood.

Just opposite to the khan, at about a furlong to the north-west, and on the left of the road, we remarked that a large tablet had been smoothed away in the face of the mountain's cliff, which we turned off the road to examine. It was too near the highway for me to suppose that there would be any thing new to discover; yet, while we were approaching it, I indulged the idea of our possibly finding there the colossal figure of Semiramis,

attended by her hundred guards, as described by the ancients to have been here sculptured in the rock. The mountain rose in a perfect perpendicular from the plain to the height of about two thousand feet; and if there were any part of it from whence this Eastern Queen could have ascended to the summit upon her baggage, which was piled up for the occasion, as mentioned by historians, it was likely to have been here.*

* The following passage from Diodorus Siculus will show the nature of the undertakings entered into by this magnificent Queen:—

“ When Semiramis had finished all her works, she marched with a great army into Media, and encamped near to a mountain called Bagistan; there she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass. It was in a plain champaigne country, and had a great fountain in it, which watered the whole garden. Mount Bagistan is dedicated to Jupiter, and towards one side of the garden has steep rocks seventeen furlongs from the top to the bottom. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her own image to be carved upon it; and a hundred of her guards, that were lanceteers, standing round about her. She wrote likewise in Syriac letters upon the rock, that Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain, by laying the packs and fardels of the beasts that followed her, one upon another.

“ From hence she marched towards Ecbatana, and arrived at the Mountain Zarcheum, which being many furlongs in extent, and full of steep precipices and craggy rocks, there was no passing but by long and tedious windings and turnings. To

On our reaching the spot, however, the most careful examination led to no satisfactory result. The level surface in question was evidently wrought smooth by the hand of man, for some such purpose, but abandoned before that purpose was completed. A space of not less than a hundred feet in length, by from twenty to thirty feet in height, had been cut into the rock, in so regular a form, as to make it appear, at a little distance, to be a perfect tablet. The excavation, or incision, was about two feet beneath the level of the outer surface of the

leave therefore behind her an eternal monument of her name, and to make a short cut for her passage, she caused the rock to be hewn down, and the valleys to be filled up with earth; and so, in a short time, at a vast expense, laid the way open and plain, which to this day is called Semiramis's Way.

“Marching away from hence, she came to Chaone, a city of Media, where she encamped upon a rising ground, from whence she took notice of an exceeding great and high rock, where she made another very great garden, in the middle of the rock, and built upon it stately houses of pleasure, whence she might both have a delightful prospect into the garden, and view the army as they lay encamped below in the plain. Being much delighted with this place, she stayed here a considerable time, giving up herself to all kinds of pleasures and delights; for she forbore marrying, lest she should be deposed from the government; and, in the mean time, she made choice of the handsomest commanders to be her gallants; but after they had lain with her, she cut off their heads.”—*Diod. Sic. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

rock, and the outlines were perfectly smooth and straight. In front of this space was a platform of corresponding dimensions, supported by a temporary wall of loose stones, and a sloping buttress of rubbish. About the spot were large hewn blocks, as if some building were intended to have been constructed here; and the tradition of the people is, that Ferhad was employed to execute on this spot some grand sculptured work, which was interrupted by his death.

We returned with some disappointment to the khan, and took up our quarters there for the night. This is a large building, similar to those on the road from Bagdad to Hillah, and from the same city to Kermanshah; but the former have been the work of kings and princes in successive ages, while this was erected by a certain Hadjee Ali Khan, a private individual, whose property lay chiefly in this quarter, and who left this behind him for general accommodation, as a work of piety and public spirit. A long inscription in Persian, cut on marble blocks, on each side the door of entrance, commemorates this act of munificence; though few of those who arrive fatigued after a long ride,

stop to read it as they enter. The view from within the khan is particularly striking; the stupendous cliffs of Bisitoon, towering immediately over it, and the excavated space in its south-east point, which we had been to examine, are perfectly visible above the walls of the building, as the height of the tablet is not less than seventy or eighty feet from the base of the rocky cliff, and perhaps a hundred feet above the general level of the plain.

SEPT. 19th.—We were roused to prepare for departure before it was yet daylight; but as our companions were great smokers of the nargeel, which takes longer to fill, to light, and to dismantle, than the pipe, the sun appeared over the eastern hills as we mounted.

We had scarcely gone a hundred yards on our way, before another apparent tablet on the surface of the mountain, on our left, attracted my attention; and though this was higher, and more difficult of access, than the former, and though the wind was now blowing a hurricane, the air piercing cold, and our companions impatient, yet I was determined to alight and take a closer view.

As we drew near, I could perceive it to be a long inscription of twelve lines, in the Persian language, but the Arabic character, contained within a tablet, executed with great care. The characters were of the best form, and deeply engraved; and between each line of the inscription was drawn a deep and distinct incision, for the purpose of marking their separation.

My Dervish, who read this with facility, found it related to the khan at which we had slept. It recorded the name and virtues of its founder, Hadjee Ali, the date and purpose of its erection, as well as the boundaries of the lands in the plain, the rents and products of which were to be appropriated to its support; adding, that if there remained any surplus from these rents, after paying the establishment of the caravanserai, it was to be sent to the sepulchre of Imam Ali, at Kerbela.

This discovery did not interest me very deeply; but on mounting a little higher, to have a more distinct view of some written characters, which I saw but imperfectly from below, I found they were two long lines, in large Greek capitals, which had formed an

inscription over a group of sculptured figures as large as life, occupying a smooth space in the surface of the rock. Four of these figures could be still distinctly traced, and represented men in long robes, executed in bas-relief; but, from age and the decomposition of the rock, these were much decayed. The very centre of this sculptured story, whatever it might have been, was chosen for the smoothing away the tablet, to contain the long Persian inscription described; so that some of the figures, and both the lines of the earlier Greek inscription, had for this purpose been cut through and defaced.

I resolved to copy, however, such of the characters as I could make out, and applied to Ismael for my inkstand; a small sack, containing this, with all our coffee apparatus, and some articles in hourly demand, being always kept in his charge, in order that they might not be subject to the examination of curious eyes while I was otherwise employed. My mortification was extreme on learning from him, that the sack and all its contents had been lost during our stay in the khan; nor did it lessen that mortification to hear him express his belief that our

new companions were most probably the stealers of it. I had neither pencil, knife, nor other implements, by which I could even scratch these letters down on any substance; and, as our companions were already far ahead of us in the march, there was no hope of recovering the lost sack from them, for my present purpose at least. The copying of these Greek lines was therefore abandoned with regret to some more fortunate traveller who might follow in the same track.

We were descending from the cliff to remount, when, on turning round and casting my eyes upward to observe the magnificent height of this perpendicular cliff, other appearances of sculptured figures caught my attention still higher up than the former. These already described occupied a piece of the rock which faced the south-east. Those above were in a small rock facing the north-east, and in a situation very difficult to be seen from below. I clambered up to these last with great impatience, and at the risk of breaking my neck by two severe falls in the way; while the Dervish concluded, as he said, that I was in pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone, when he saw that, on recover-

ing from these falls, I still persevered in trying to scale the craggy cliff again.

On getting as near to this object of my pursuit as was practicable, I perceived a smaller tablet than the lower one, surmounted by the figure of a winged circle or globe, with something hanging from it downward; the whole resembling the emblem by which the Holy Ghost is sometimes represented under the form of a dove, with expanded wings and tail, but no head. This singular emblem here overshadowed a line of about thirteen human figures, half the size of life, well sculptured, and well preserved, and appearing to represent the bringing in of bound captives, and their presentation to a conquering chief.

Below this sculptured story were several oblong and perpendicular tablets, filled with inscriptions, in small, thick, square letters, void of curve, and more like Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, or Sanscrit, than any of the other ancient Oriental characters. The foot of this was perfectly inaccessible for many yards; and, at the distance from whence I saw it, I could make out nothing distinct, except that the tablets were planed smoothly

down, and their surfaces then covered with letters of some kind or other. If this was writing, as I believed it to be, there could not have been less than two or three hundred lines in all the different compartments; but of this, much was injured by time, though the figures above were still remarkably distinct.

Whether either, or which of these, related to the visits of Semiramis to this place, it was not easy to decide. The situation and the style of the designs would rather justify the belief of these sculptures being those before adverted to; while the number of the figures and their apparent occupation are at variance with the account given of the sculptures in question by the ancients.

This mountain of Bisitoun is thought, by most of the learned, to correspond with the mountain of Baghistan; in which, according to Diodorus Siculus, and Isidore of Charax, Semiramis, the Queen of Babylon, caused her figure to be sculptured, attended by a hundred guards. After quitting Babylonia, where, according to the historian, she had executed many marvellous works, to enter Media, with an army, she halted at

Mount Baghistan, which was sacred to Jupiter, and made there a garden of twelve stadia, in a plain watered by a stream, whose source was near. The mountain rose to the height of seventeen stadia. Accompanying her figure, and those of her armed guards, was an inscription in Syriac, which recorded that by piling up the baggage with which her animals were laden, this Queen mounted on it from the plain to the summit of the hill.

There are several of these features which are in strict correspondence with the actual situation of the place. The plain of Chum Chemal, which lies to the eastward of this mountain, and is thus spread out at its feet, is about three miles in breadth, and is therefore capable of containing the garden of twelve stadia spoken of; while through it flow from the northward the streams of Komeshah and Zerdoo, both of considerable size, going ultimately into the Kara Soo. Towards this plain the mountain rises in a perpendicular cliff of nearly two thousand feet high, and presents the most imposing aspect; but in no other part of the range is the rise so abrupt, or the perpendicular

height so great. Its singularity in this particular has obtained this part its present appellation, from "Sitoon," a pillar, like which it rises from the plain; while the rest of the mountain has other names assigned to its respective parts, as Paroo, Tauk-e-Bostan, &c.

The height of seventeen stadia may probably be an error in estimation, or in the transcript of figures: it is sufficient, however, that the perpendicular rise of the mountain towards the garden is unusually great; and this peculiarity still remains, as a cliff of two thousand feet hanging over a plain is no ordinary feature here or elsewhere. It was perhaps the isolated situation of the whole mass, with the grand and terrific appearance of this its eastern part, which obtained for the mountain the distinction of being sacred to Jupiter, since, bare and forbidding as is its aspect, there is much of majesty and sublimity in its frown.

Diodorus Siculus, in describing the route of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana, speaks of Baghistan as a most delicious country, and fit for the recreation of the Gods themselves. In this respect also, the situation is still consistent; for, with such mountain boun-

daries, so fine a plain, such an abundance of excellent water, and so pure an air, there is no charm of Nature that might not be commanded here.

De Sacy, in his "Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse," has proved satisfactorily that the caves and sculptures at the Tauk-e-Bostan are more in harmony with the traditions of the country, which assign them to Khosrou, Shirine, and Shapoor, than they are with the works of Semiramis alluded to. It is probable, indeed, as he has suggested, that there are still other sculptures in this mountain, not generally known, among which the Babylonian Queen and her hundred guards might be found. From the remarkable correspondence of the spot, I have little doubt but that those which we had seen this morning, were really the works alluded to, and imperfectly or erroneously described by an historian who had only heard of the sculptures and their general character and object, without seeing them himself.

From this place we continued our way nearly north, for about an hour, when we turned to the east and crossed the river Komeshah, over a bridge of six arches. This

stream has its source to the northward, within the limits of the plain, and goes from hence south and south-easterly, until it falls into the Kara Soo. Its waters are beautifully transparent, and pure and sweet to the taste.

Continuing our course easterly from hence, we passed over a fine soil, watered by a second stream, called Aub-Zerdoo, coming from the north-east, and falling into the Komesah, besides several smaller brooks of fine clear water, perhaps leading from these artificially, as they now irrigated grounds sown with rice and maize. On our right, or about a mile to the southward of us, and nearly in the centre of the plain, was a large castle, apparently of modern structure, bearing the name of the plain itself, namely, Chum Chemal.

It was about noon when we reached Saana, a large village seated among gardens, on the slope of a hill, and having good water before it in the plain. The great public khans, or caravanserai, are now discontinued, that of Bisitoo being the last to the eastward; so that passengers are obliged to seek for shelter among the villagers, or sleep in the open air.

We halted here about half an hour, chiefly

to learn the practicability of reaching a more advanced station of halt before night; on ascertaining which, we set out again on our way.

Our companions insisting upon going by another route more southerly than the one we had chosen, we here separated, and continued our course about east-north-east, over gently-rising ground. We had not proceeded far, however, before we met a party of twelve persons, among whom were two women and an old man; the whole of them on foot, and all bitterly bewailing their fate. On enquiring into the cause of their sorrow, we found that, about two miles distant, on the road we were pursuing, a party of four horsemen and ten men on foot had robbed them all of whatever was worth taking away. The old man, who was a green-turbanned descendant of the Prophet, had lost a fine mare, with all her lading; and the women, both of whom were his wives, had been dismounted from mules also charged with their personal baggage. The others had been stripped of such money and arms as they possessed, and all were made sufficiently to repent their own want of union and firm-

ness; as they were divided among themselves on the occasion, and no attempt at resistance was made. They conjured us, who were now only three in number, the Dervish Ismael, the Faqueer Zein-el-Abdeen, and myself, by every thing sacred, not to go on, as our fate was certain if we did.

I consulted my companions, however, and by a seasonable appeal to their pride, made them ashamed to confess their fears: then, going through the form of swearing the one on his musket, by making him kiss the lock and the muzzle, and present it for firing, and binding the other by his sword, as he kissed its hilt and point, and directed it upwards to heaven, that we should all stand or fall together, we went on in a dead silence for nearly an hour.

At length the very party who had been minutely described to us, appeared approaching towards us from ahead; the four horsemen kept the centre of the main road, six of those on foot were on the high ground on their right, and four on the low plain on their left. They were yet about a quarter of a mile off; and between us both, but closer to our own position, were several goats-

hair tents of shepherds near the road. We made no halt; but as we passed these tents, several ill-looking fellows, armed with bludgeons, hoes, and hatchets, came out of them, and intercepted us, by forming a line right across our path. This was danger from a quarter that we had not at all expected; and as the eyes of those farther on, whom we now believed to be aided by those near, as colleagues, were no doubt fixed upon us, we determined to push through this first obstacle, if only to show them that we were prepared for the second. Accordingly, drawing one of my pistols, which I held with the bridle in my left hand, and poising my spear high in my right, I set off at full gallop, and my companions steadily followed me.

We succeeded completely in breaking the line of our enemies, one of whom fell, and was trampled on by my horse; another had a deep wound in the side, and his garments torn to ribbands by my spear; and a third received a cut from the sword of the Faqueer, who came last in the train; but no shots were fired, those being reserved for future use. The horsemen ahead, seeing this,

made a bold push towards us; and, without at all checking our reins, we met the shock on a gallop, by which the Faqueer and two of our opponents, with whom he had come in contact, were unhorsed. I myself received a slight spear wound in the side, but had the satisfaction to unhorse two opponents; one by the shock of meeting, and the power of my lance, and the other by a close encounter with the sabre. The men on foot were evidently afraid to draw near; and they could do us no harm at a distance, their only weapons being large bludgeons and hatchets. The Faqueer remounted with great alacrity, and the Dervish behaved steadily throughout the whole affair. We therefore caught this opportunity of the general panic, to raise our tone as conquerors, and to insist upon our opponents, who were altogether five times as numerous as ourselves, instantly going on towards their colleagues at the tents; adding, that whoever among them dared to look back on the way, should meet a harder fate than even the wife of Lot.

We followed up our triumph by pushing on one of the horsemen by the butt of the musket, and another by the end of the spear;

and, discharging our pieces over their heads, created a sufficient degree of terror in all parties most effectually to hasten their escape from us.

We now went over bare land, still keeping our course to the eastward, and ascended a high range of steep and barren hills; from the summit of which we noted the bearing of *Jebel Bisitoun* to be west by north, by compass. From hence we went down over a rocky road, coming out on a plain below, considerably above the level of that which we had left, before crossing the range. On our right was a large village, and near it a castle of modern structure, standing on an artificial ground of more ancient date. The name of the village we could not learn, but the castle was known to both my companions as the *Giaour Khallah-se*, or *Castle of the Infidels*. We could learn no farther particulars regarding it than its name.

From hence we ascended to the north-east over barren land, and overtook a party of *Suzemaneeah*, or *courtezans*, one of whom was not more than twelve years old, and beautiful as an angel. Their place of residence or retirement was pointed out to us.

by them, in the hills on our left, being an isolated cottage remote from all other dwellings. In answer to the enquiries of the Dervish and Faqueer, they assured us, laughingly, that when we returned this way, they should be most happy to entertain us in the manner which our good appearance bespoke us to deserve ; but that for the present they had guests engaged, whom they had too high a sense of honour to disappoint.

We now came to a second plain ; in passing which, we crossed over a long, low bridge of many arches, leading over a marshy tract. To the north-east of this, about a mile, was a small village, with gardens and modern walls ; and beyond it, three or four miles in the plain, a large castle, ruined and deserted. This was called Boat Khana Jemsheed, or the Idol dwelling of Jemsheed :—of this we could learn no more than the name.

It was about an hour from hence, and past sunset, when we reached Kengawar, having been nearly twelve hours on the road ; our course being about east by north, and the distance forty miles. There was no khan, or place of public reception, here ; and the governor had given to one of his subjects a

monopoly of selling corn for the horses of passengers, so that we became completely at the mercy of this man. He refused, indeed, to let us enter the town at all ; obliging us to sleep below, on a marshy ground, with some Persian robbers, who were going as pilgrims to the tombs of the Imams ; and, disagreeable as this was, there was no remedy for it : we therefore bore it in patient submission.

SEPT. 20th.—The night was so cold and stormy, and a vigilant look-out after our horses, among an acknowledged herd of holy thieves, was so necessary, that we obtained not a wink of sleep. When we remounted in the morning, we went up through the town, into which we had been prevented from entering on the preceding evening ; but as our passage through it was rapid, there was no time afforded for the examination of its minuter features. Its general aspect was all that could be caught.

Kengawar is seated on the side of a gentle hill, at the north-western edge of a fine plain, and has within its site several eminences and depressions. In its present state, it contains about two thousand dwellings, with two mosques for the population, who

are all Sheeahs. Most of those dwellings are well built; and besides these there are extensive and well-furnished bazaars, the shops of which have their doors secured by long diagonal bars of iron, going from the locks obliquely across them, in a way that we had not noted any where else.

The town appears to have been once much larger than at present, as vestiges of buildings, and the wreck of human labour, are seen in several places beyond the limits of its present site. These, however, appear to be of a higher antiquity than the Mohammedan era. The most remarkable feature of this kind is the portion of a large building, nearly in the centre of the present town, and called the Castle of the Infidels. To one part of it is attached a new mosque, the outer enclosure of which is continued from the castle's walls. The foundation of the western front, with the surbasement of the building there, and a range of marble columns still standing on it, apparently in their original place, are all perfect, and are undoubtedly the work of a people either coeval with, or antecedent to, the visit of the Greeks to this country. There is nothing

Saracen in all its appearance; and if not a work of western conquerors, it is undisputably of the early Persian or Median empire. The walls are formed of large well-hewn stones of a yellowish colour, and the surbasement of the front is terminated by a plain moulding: the white marble columns, as they now stand, are of perfectly plain shafts, without base or capital; they are from four to five feet in diameter, of a low proportion in height, and in this respect, as well as in their intercolumniation, approaching nearer to the Doric order than any other. These pillars are now built up by portions of modern wall between them, as is seen in the front of the great Temple of the Sun at Baalbeck, and in most of the temples of Egypt; many of which, like this ancient edifice, are inhabited by several poor families.

The situation of whatever city might have occupied the site of Kengawar, must have been always a most agreeable one: a fine and extensive plain before it, on the east and south; a deliciously cool air in the summer; at an elevation of nearly four thousand feet from the level of the sea; a good supply of water for gardens and cultivation, and a

temperature suited to the production of almost all kinds of fruits. The edifice whose remains are thus imperfectly described, appears to have been a palace rather than a castle; but its exact form, or the precise extent of its *enceinte*, would be difficult to be made out at this remote period.

The few features that are detailed in ancient authors of Ecbatana were still present to my mind, and many of them seemed to me to correspond with the local peculiarities of this situation; but it was yet necessary to see Hamadan, and estimate its claims, before any decisive opinion could be formed on this subject.

D'Anville fixes on this place as the site of Concohar,* and is followed in this opinion by Macdonald Kinnier. This last writer says, "We read in history of three places which will in some degree apply to the situation and description of Kengawar: the Palace near Ecbatana, where Antigonus retired after the defeat by Eumenes; the Temple of Jupiter Belus, in Elymais, plundered by Antiochus the Great, to pay the Roman tribute;

* Compendium of Ancient Geography.

and the town of Concohar. As the exact position, however, of the Royal Palace is not stated by Diodorus, and the country of the Elymais is considerably to the south of Kengawar, I am inclined, from the striking similarity of name—(for the *b* and the *v* are continually pronounced alike)—to give the preference to Concohar.”*

There are several errors, however, in these data, as will be hereafter shown; and the conclusions from them are of course equally erroneous. Antiochus the Great being compelled to retire beyond Mount Taurus, and to pay a fine of two thousand talents to the Romans, to which his revenues were unequal, attempted to plunder the Temple of Belus in *Susiana*, which so incensed the inhabitants that they killed him with all his followers. His son, the fourth Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, or the Illustrious, attempted to plunder Persepolis, but without effect. Diodorus and Justin say that Antiochus Epiphanes having learned that a Temple of Belus, in the Province of Elymais, contained a great treasure, he entered it du-

* Geograph. Memoir of the Persian Empire, 4to. p. 130.

ring the night, and carried off all its riches. Others assert that this Temple was consecrated to Diana. Tacitus says, merely, that there was a Temple of that Goddess in Persia, and Strabo adds that one of the Parthian Kings carried off from it ten thousand talents, and that the Temple was called Zara. But Elymais was the Jewish name for *Persepolis*: from Elam, their name for Persia, generally; and it was to the Temple of Diana *there*, that the views of Antiochus Epiphanes was directed; so that, besides the confounding the situation of these places, there seems to be no sufficient grounds for fixing the Temple of Diana at *Concobar*, as is done in the Map of Persia.*

* Diodorus Siculus says, "The river Eulæus forms a partition between the high country of Persia called Elymais and Susiana. This river issues out of the country of Media, and in the midst of its course becomes lost in the ground, but re-issuing again, it runs through Mesobatene, and environs the Fort and Castle of Susa, with the Temple of Diana, which is had in great reverence and honour above all other temples in those parts:—indeed, the very river itself is in such request, and the water so highly regarded, that the Kings drink of no other; and therefore they carry it with them a great way into the country."—B. 6. c. 27. From one part of this passage, it would appear that the Temple of Diana was in the lower part of Persia, near Susa; but, on the other hand, Elymais is repeatedly

On leaving Kengawar we went east by north over the plain, and after we had gone about a mile and a-half, we had opposite to us, on our right, distant less than a mile, a large castle, and an enclosed town, standing on a long artificial mound. This place was called Wellashgherd, and the whole is said to be the work of a certain Firooz Ullah Khan, evidently a Moslem, but of whose age or history we could obtain no satisfactory details.

From hence we continued to go east, and east by north, over a stony and barren land, drinking at a small and poor village in the way: and in about six hours from Kengawar we came on a fine fertile soil, when, after passing through many gardens, and over streams of water, we entered the large vil-

said to be the higher part of Persia, and the Temple of Diana is here said to have been seated in Elymais. Yet, in the same chapter, Elymais, before called the high country of Persia, is said to be so marshy, and abounding with water, that there was no way through it without making a great circuit. It was filled also with serpents which bred in the rivers flowing through it. This, therefore, could only apply to the low country of Susiana; and the Temple of Diana, if it were near to the Castle of Susa, must have been in this low tract of country. It must be confessed, however, that the ancient geography of this part is extremely confused, and often baffles all conjecture.

lage of Sadawah, where we found shelter in a private house, and took up our quarters.

The character of the mountains here begins to change: at Bisitoun and Kengawar, they were chiefly of lime-stone; but here, in the plain, we had large round masses of grey granite, with a profusion of blue slate and white quartz, with reddish veins in it. The walls of the gardens were built of large square masses of mud, placed edgewise on each other, like those at Damascus; they were lofty, solid, and of great extent. The doors, however, were all of stone, and traversed on a pivot from their own body, exactly like those of the buildings and dwellings of the Hauran and Syria. The largest of the stone doors here, however, did not exceed three or four feet square; their thickness I could not ascertain, as most of them were closed. They were formed each of one solid slab of blue slate, perfectly plain, and were secured by a bolt on the inside, access to which was had by thrusting the hand through a circular hole in the door itself.

The village of Sadawah occupies, with its numerous gardens, an extent of scarcely less than three or four miles in circuit; though

the population is thought not to exceed four thousand souls. It stands at the eastern extremity of the plain we had crossed, and has a lofty range of mountains rising above it on the east, over which the road to Hamadan leads. Its gardens, which are numerous, and well-watered, are its chief support, and furnish occupation to the greater number of the inhabitants. In Sadawah itself, I was struck with the presence of a great quantity of old pottery, in fragments, scattered over the town, some glazed and coloured, and some plain; but I noted no vestiges of architecture, or remains of ancient buildings there.

About a mile to the north-west of the town, is an old castle, standing on a very high artificial mound, which can be seen from a great distance. It has now a small village, called Khakree, within its enclosure; but the age of the castle itself we could not ascertain. About the same distance in the opposite quarter, or a mile south-east of the town, is a pretty village, called Imam Zadé, seated on a rising ground among gardens, but thinly peopled.

We were visited at our quarters in this

place, by an exceedingly clever Dervish, from Herat, in Khorassan; who, as well as Ismael, had been at Bokhara, the chief city of the Turcomans. He was young and handsome, but most fantastically dressed; he was a perfect master of the Persian poets, entire odes from whose works he repeated by heart, with a facility that surprised me, and charmed Ismael, to whom they were all familiar, absolutely into tears. The politeness of our new friend was of the most polished cast, and could have been acquired only in the best society.

This man, who spoke sufficiently of Arabic for us to converse without the medium of translation, dressed as he was in rags, with bare breast and arms, uncovered by even the fragment of a shirt, with naked legs, and half-naked thighs, a beard and mustachios never trimmed, thick locks of hair hanging uncombed over his neck and forehead, a fancy-coloured painted cap on his head, a large, heavy, and rusty chain of iron, with brass rings, wound round his arms, and a huge ram's horn slung across his shoulders by a thong, talked of Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle, whose Systems of Ethics he had

read in Arabic, with a freedom and accuracy that proved him to be better acquainted with the philosophy of these sages, than many who had read them in their original languages.

He conceived Aristotle to have been a man of the greatest mind, but too universally occupied on all subjects of human enquiry. Socrates, he thought, was too fond of the neatness and pith of a saying, to be always just or excellent in its meaning; but Plato he considered to be the prince of moral philosophers, and estimated the worth of his short Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, at a higher rate than all the volumes which all the other philosophers of his age and country had written.

This Dervish was well acquainted with all the countries he had visited, and they included nearly every part of Asia. His conversation was most interesting; and I regretted beyond measure the being unable at the moment to note down many striking particulars, which, for want of immediate record, soon escaped my memory.

Of Herat, the place of his birth and long residence, he repeated the tradition of its

being founded by one of the Emirs of Neri-man, the hero of the world, who bore the name of Herat, and gave it to this city, which after being once destroyed, was rebuilt by Alexander the Great. He repeated to us the Persian proverb, which says, "If the soil of Ispahan, the fresh air of Herat, and the water of Khorassan, were united in one spot, the inhabitants of it would never die;" as well as that which says, "The world is like a vast sea, in the midst of which the district of Khorassan is like a fine oyster, and Herat is the pearl contained within its shell." He enumerated the tombs of several learned men there, and spoke of many wonderful works of the infidels in the neighbourhood, now in ruins; admitting also, that in the dynasty of the Ghaurides, there were in the city of Herat itself twelve thousand shops, six thousand public baths, caravanserais, and water-mills, three hundred and fifty colleges, five temples and monasteries, and four hundred and forty-four thousand inhabited dwellings. The population is even at present greater than that of Bagdad: the people are chiefly Soonnees, and are still famous for their works in metal, particularly swords,

and other arms, of the ancient iron of Kho-rassan, which is superior to that of Damascus.

On most of these subjects I had questioned him very closely ; and though politeness, and a wish to acquiesce in my views, might have in some instances influenced his replies, yet, in almost all cases, he evidently understood the subject well, and hesitated, denied, approved, or explained, as the occasion seemed to him to require.

The Dervish was also well acquainted with the account given by Mirkhond, of the taking of the true cross of Christ, as well as with the tradition, that Poorandocht, a Persian queen, had restored it to Jerusalem, and that Shah Abbas had taken it again from the Turks ; and in reciting all the passages that he remembered, from his reading, on this subject, he concluded with the beautiful distich of Ferdousi, expressive of the transitory nature of human greatness—"The spider weaves his web in the palace of the Cæsars, and the owl keeps her watch, like a sentinel, upon the ruined tower of Afrasiab."

In calling himself a Soofee, he was well acquainted with the modern application of that term to a sect of Indian philosophers,

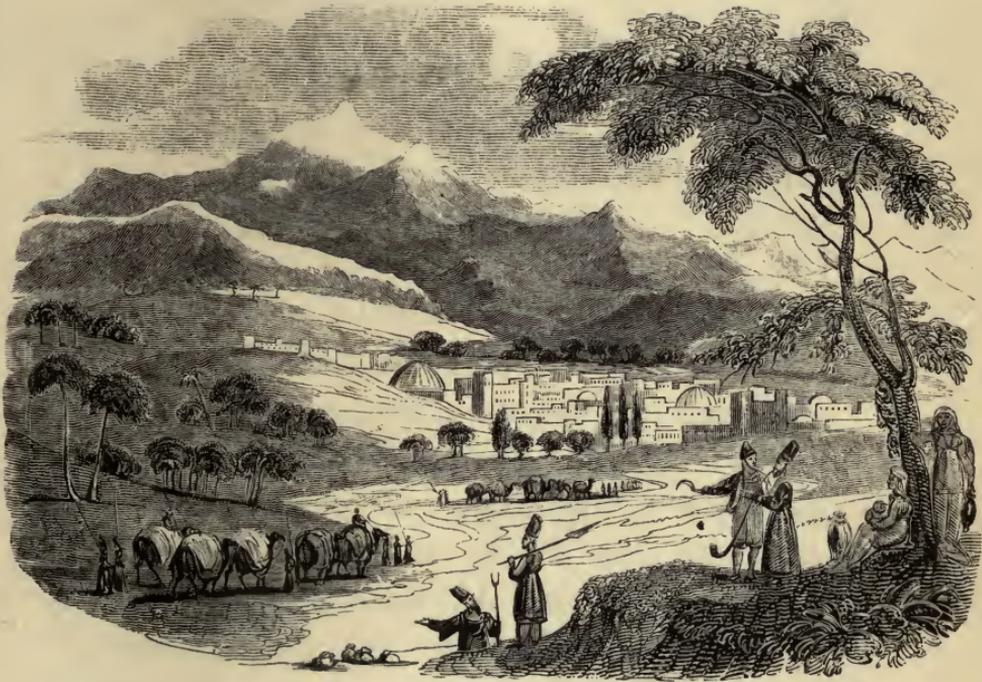
called Pramnæ, by Strabo, who were uninfluenced by the superstitions of the country in which they lived (India), and who were in constant opposition to the Bramins, and entered into controversy with them, on their particular tenets, whenever occasion offered. He knew also that the Soofees of his own day had endeavoured to reconcile the ancient doctrines of the Metempsychosis, as taught by the Hindoos, and the two principles of good and evil, as taught by Zoroaster, with the tenets of the Christian religion.*

This man, like my own Dervish, Ismael, was a perfect Epicurean in faith and practice; he held pleasure to be the only good worth pursuing, though the means by which he sought its enjoyment seemed unaccountably strange. He had been over almost all the Eastern World, and was now going to

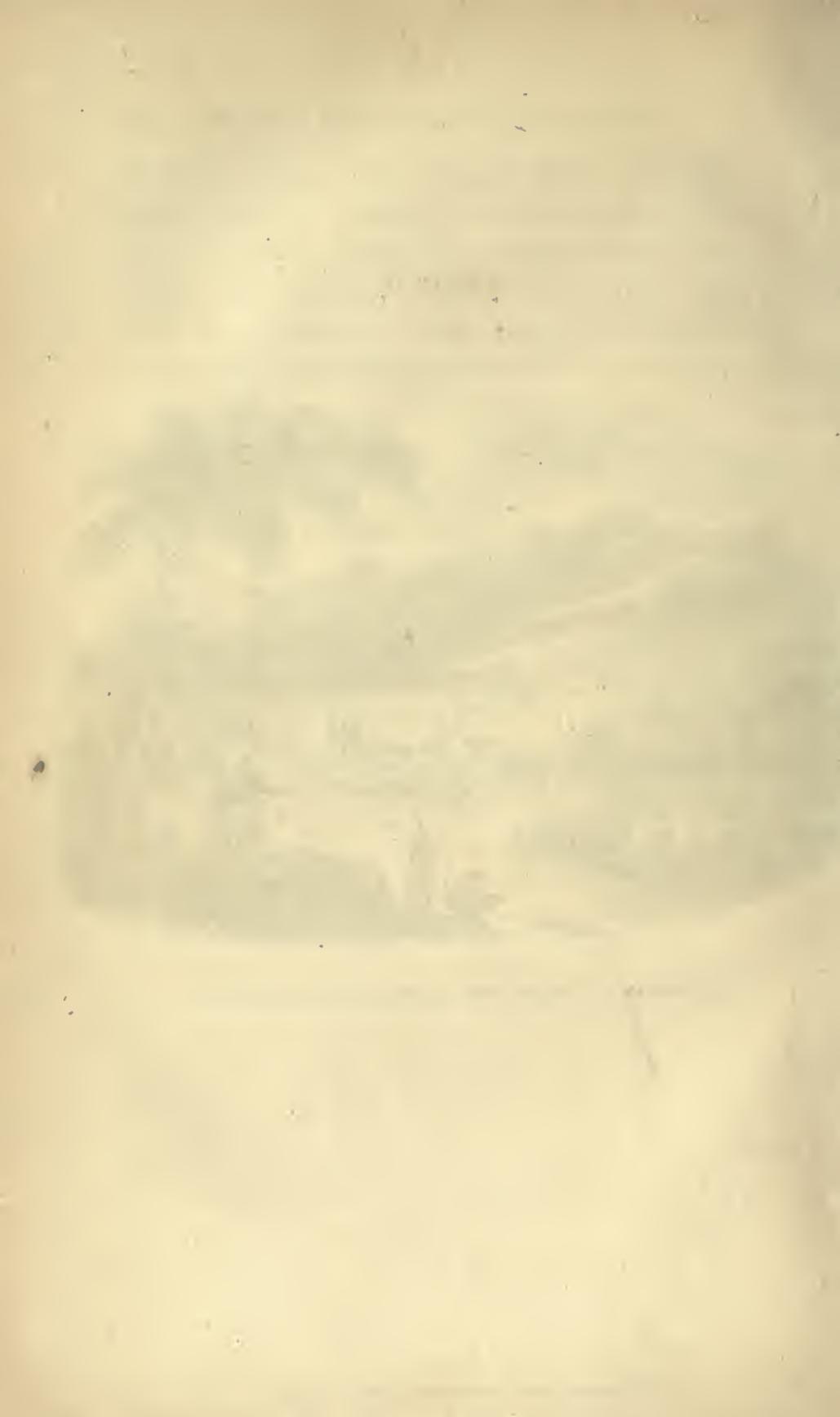
* One of the leaders of this sect, at one time, retired to a cavern, after the fashion of impostors, and brought out from thence paintings and writings, which he pretended to have received from Heaven, and called himself the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by Jesus to follow him; but he and all his disciples were at length put to death by Baharam, and the skin of the impostor was stripped off, and hung at the gate of the city of Shapoor.—*Malcolm's Persia*, vol. 1; p. 101.

Bagdad, where Ismael gave him introductions to his best friends ; and, embracing him with fervour, expressed a hope that they might one day meet again. He continued with us, however, until nearly midnight, when mere weariness alone led to our separation.

CHAPTER IX.



HAMADAN AND MOUNT ALWUND, THE ANCIENT ECBATANA.



CHAPTER IX.

ENTRY INTO HAMADAN—THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT ECBATANA.

SEPT. 21st.—Leaving Sadawah at daylight, we ascended the mountain to the eastward of it, by a winding road, passing in our way a small domed tomb, on an eminence, which was venerated as the sepulchre of a Sheikh Rubbeagh. We were about two hours in gaining the summit of this mountain, walking up the greater part of the way, to ease our horses, the road being everywhere of steep ascent.

The composition of the mountain throughout was blue slate, interspersed with veins of quartz; and the height of its summit appeared to me, by rough estimation, to be about three thousand feet from its base, which

is itself an elevated level of about the same height above the plain of Bagdad; so that the tops of this range may be perhaps about seven thousand feet above the level of the sea.

We found the air very sharp and cold, and were exceedingly glad to hasten our descent on its eastern side, which showed everywhere the same materials, but was more rugged, and broken into deeper ravines and bolder cliffs. In the way we met some Persian shepherds, with their flocks, and passed a few springs of bitter water, descending into the eastern plain.

Near the foot of the hill we came to a small khan, called Karwansera Mear Kotel Sadawah, which had been erected by some humane individual, as a shelter for passengers. During the four winter months, this mountain is said to be impassable by caravans, from the snows with which it is covered; and it is asserted that not a season passes without the death of many shepherds and peasants from the cold alone.

Our descent on the east was not much more than half the distance of our ascent on the west in perpendicular height, when we came out on an extensive and fine plain,

covered with villages, gardens, and brown ploughed fields; and, turning to the south-east, we opened the prospect of Hamadan, seated in the same plain, and standing amidst a profusion of trees and verdure.

The whole distance of our journey from Sadawah to Hamadan was about eight hours, and our course on the whole about east-south-east. On entering this town, we passed through a burying-ground, of which the tombs were of an unusual kind; some of these were like stone chests, or sarcophagi, of the common size of the human form, closely covered on the top, and sculptured all over the sides and ends with devices of flowers, &c., and very ancient characters of Arabic inscription on them: others, again, were four times the human size, in height, breadth, and depth, and were formed of large slabs of polished stone, like the planks of a chest, each side in one piece, and all perfectly plain, except the upper part, in the centre of which was a small tablet, for the inscription. The tombs of the females had devices of combs, and other articles of the toilette, to distinguish them from those of the males.

The entrance to the town of Hamadan

was as mean as that of the smallest village we had seen, and great ruin and desertion was apparent on every side. We saw an old dilapidated brick sepulchre, standing detached, of a square form, and evidently of ancient date as a Mohammedan work, but now entirely neglected. This was said to be the tomb of Sheekh Aboo-el-Senna, or, as he is sometimes called, Abu Ali-ben-Senna, the Avicenna of Europeans, a distinguished philosopher, and author of the Arabic work called Mukamat-el-Arafin; but whose name and reputation seems to be almost forgotten here.

We continued our way through poor bazaars and miserable streets, until, after much difficulty, we obtained shelter in a half ruined caravansera.

During our detention of three days at Hamadan, where we were kept waiting for a safe opportunity to proceed on our way, I had the ill-fortune to be seized with a violent fever, originating, perhaps, in the combined causes of sudden change of temperature, bad water, and the free use of fruits, which, from necessity and convenience, formed

here our chief food. This confined me to the khan more than I could have wished ; but I still profited by our stay, to examine many parts of the town, and extend my enquiries to such particulars as most interested me at the moment ; the record of which was, however, necessarily very brief and hurried, though there is no spot where I should have been more pleased to have been able to make extended enquiries, and amass copious materials for description and investigation. It is not in the power of travellers, however, always to command what they desire ; and in barbarous countries especially, they are often detained against their will in places of no interest, and hurried away as precipitately from those at which they would gladly prolong their stay.

Up to the time of Sir William Jones, whose authority on subjects of Oriental geography, few dared to dispute, it was considered that Tabreez was the site of the ancient Ecbatana ; but subsequent authorities almost universally agree in placing this capital of the Median Empire at Hamadan. The data on which this conclusion is founded are very

clearly and concisely stated by Macdonald Kinnier,* and can leave no further doubt on the subject. As we have seen before, Ecbatana was a city existing in the time of Semiramis, by whom it was visited nearly two thousand years before the Christian era ;

* 'There is every reason to believe, that the city of Hamadan either stands upon, or near the site of the ancient Ecbatana. Pliny says, that Susa is equidistant from Seleucia and Ecbatana, and that the capital of Atropotia (Azerbaijan) is midway between Artaxata and Ecbatana. Isidore of Charax places it in the way between Seleucia and Parthia ; and Diodorus Siculus describes it as situated in a low plain, distant twelve fursungs from a mountain called Orontes. These testimonies are as strong in favour of the position of Hamadan, as they are irreconcilable to that of Tabreez, which Sir William Jones supposes to be the Median capital. The former is nearly equidistant from Susa and Seleucia, is in the direct road from Seleucia to Parthia, and situated in a low plain, at the foot of the celebrated Mount Elwund : but Tabreez is neither equidistant from Seleucia and Susa, nor is it in the road from Seleucia to Parthia ; on the contrary, it is situated in a distant province, which has almost as often been included in the kingdom of Armenia as in Persia. When I was at Hamadan, in 1810, I was shown the tomb of Mordecai and Esther : † a circumstance, of itself, sufficient to attest the antiquity of the place. The Persians, themselves, say it was the favourite summer residence of most of their sovereigns, from the days of Darius to that of Jungeez Khan ; and, indeed, it is reasonable to suppose, that a preference might be given to its fine situation. During eight months in the year, the climate is delightful ; but in winter the

† 'The tomb of Avicenna is also at Hamadan.'

and Diodorus Siculus, in describing that event, gives some of the local features of the place, which mark its identity with Hamadan, — especially the description of the mountain Orontes, the plain below it, and the general want of water.* Pliny, in his

cold is excessive, and fuel with difficulty procured. The plain is intersected by innumerable little streams, covered with gardens and villages, and the vegetation is the most luxurious I ever beheld.

Elwund, which is, no doubt, the Mount Orontes of Diodorus, when viewed at a distance, has the appearance of a long range of mountains. The length of Elwund proper is, however, not more than twelve miles. It is completely separated from the northern ridge; and near its summit, which is tipped with continual snow and seldom obscured by clouds, is a beautiful valley, perfumed by a thousand sweet-scented flowers. This mountain is famed in the East for its mines, waters, and vegetable productions. The Indians suppose that it contains the philosopher's stone; and the natives of Hamadan believe that some of its grasses have the power of transmuting the basest metals into gold, as well as of curing any distemper to which the human frame is exposed. The only curiosity I observed on this mountain was an inscription upon a rock, called Gunj-Nauma, or history of the treasure: a name which it has received, from a belief that it contains an account of a treasure buried near it. This inscription is in the same character as those at Tukti Jumsheed, Maudir i Solimane, and on the Babylonian bricks. — *Geog. Mem. on Persia*, 4to.

* When Semiramis came to Ecbatana, which is situated in a low and even plain, she built there a stately palace, and bestowed more of her care and pains here than she had done at any other place. For the city wanting water, (there being no

general description of Persia, speaks of Darius the king having transferred the city of Ecbatana to the mountains, as if there had been a place of that name originally in the lower parts of Persia, near Persepolis and Pasargarda, or the Tomb of Cyrus.* In another part of his writings he speaks of a peculiar oily spring near Ecbatana, of which I could gain no information at the present day, though such springs are not among the most permanent features of nature.† The

spring near,) she plentifully supplied it with good and wholesome water, brought thither with a great deal of toil and expense after this manner. There is a mountain called Orontes, twelve furlongs distant from the city, exceedingly high and steep, for the space of five-and-twenty furlongs up to the top: on the other side of the mountain there is a large lake, which empties itself into the river. At the foot of this mountain she dug a canal fifteen feet in breadth, and forty in depth, through which she conveyed water in great abundance into the city.—*Diod. Sic. b. 2, c. i.*

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 6, cap. 26.*

† Polyclytus (he says) speaks of a certain fountain of Cilicia, near to the city of Soli, which yielded an unctuous or oleous water, that served instead of oil. Theophrastus reports the same of another fountain in Ethiopia which had the like quality. And Lycas states that among the Indians, there is a fountain, the water of which is used in lamps to maintain light. The same thing (he adds) is reported of another water near Ecbatana, the capital city of Media.—*Plin. Nat. Hist. b. 31, c. 2.*

It is more than probable that this is the same substance, not

locality of Ecbatana is, however, corroborated by other authorities. Ammianus Marcellinus, for instance, in speaking of the Nisæan horses, places them in the plains of a fertile country of Assyria, on the western side of a high mountain, called Corone. This is evidently a part of the chain called Zagros, Orontes, and Jason, in the same place; and Corone is written perhaps for Celonæ, the name of the district where these horses were bred. Now Ecbatana is placed by Ammianus at the foot of Mount Jason, in the country of the Syro-Medes, which just before he

oily water, but petroleum or bitumen, mentioned by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*. He says 'Alexander traversed all the province of Babylon, which immediately made its submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulph of fire, which streamed continually, as from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of naptha, not far from the gulph, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The naptha in many respects resembles the bitumen, but is much more inflammable. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the King its force and the subtlety of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings, and standing at one end, they applied their torches to some of the first drops, for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously on fire.'—*Plutarch's Life of Alexander*.

numbers with Zagros, Orontes, and Corone, as parts of the country inhabited by the warlike nation of the Suziens, and which it appears he confounded as parts of the same chain which separates Susiana from Media.*

This corresponds also with the distance assigned by Diodorus Siculus to Ecbatana from Persepolis, when, in narrating the return of Antigonus with his whole army into Media, after the defeat and death of Eumenes, he describes him as spending the rest of the winter in a town not far from Ecbatana, where the Palace Royal of Media stood; and adds, that when Antigonus marched from Ecbatana, the capital of Media, into Persia, it took him twenty days march to reach Persepolis.† Again, in Arrian's History of Alexander's expedition, the distance from Ecbatana to Persepolis is estimated at fifteen days *forced* marches: as Alexander marched twelve days from Persepolis, and then encamped within three days of Ecbatana. Plutarch estimates this march of eleven days as three thousand three hundred stadia, or about thirty-eight miles per day; and adding the

* Amm. Mar. lib. 23, cap. 6. † Diod. Sic. lib. 19, cap. 2, 3.

three days yet remaining before reaching Ecbatana, the whole distance would be nearly four thousand stadia, or about five hundred miles.

One of the most interesting events that is recorded as happening at Ecbatana, is the death of Hephæstion, the favourite of Alexander; and the grief of the Macedonian conqueror at the loss of his friend. It is adverted to slightly by Diodorus; but detailed more fully by Arrian, whose account is worth transcribing at length: Plutarch says, that a supply of three thousand actors had been newly despatched from Greece, to divert the King, by shows and entertainments, when he had finished his most urgent affairs at Ecbatana, and that it was during their exhibition that Hephæstion was taken ill. Plutarch also confirms the account given of the immoderate grief of the King, who ordered the manes and tails of all his mules and horses to be cut, and thrown down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. And Ælian expressly says, that he cast down the walls of Ecbatana to the ground.

The description of Hephæstion's death and

Alexander's sorrow at Ecbatana, as given by Arrian, will be found below.*

* ' When Alexander arrived at Ecbatana, he offered sacrifice to the gods for good success, according to his custom ; he also exhibited gymnastic and musical sports, and made a royal entertainment for his friends. About this time Hephæstion was taken violently ill, and it was on the seventh day of his sickness when the boys exercised themselves at wrestling. But when the king received news of his declining state, he left off his sports, and hastened towards him with all speed ; but before he could reach the place, he was dead. Sundry authors have given an account of Alexander's grief upon this occasion, very different from each other ; but in this they all agree, that he was seized with immoderate sorrow ; but after what manner he testified it to the world, is a matter of great dispute among them, some giving their opinion one way, some another, according as they are inclined by passion or prejudice, either for Alexander or Hephæstion. They who have wrote the most extravagant accounts seem to have imagined, that whatever the king said or did, to show his excessive concern for the death of one whom he so dearly loved, ought to redound to his praise. Others are rather inclined to condemn such immoderate grief, as unbecoming any monarch, and much more Alexander. Some tell us, that he lay almost a whole day, lamenting over the dead body of his friend, and refused to depart from him, till he was forced away by his friends. Others lengthen out the time of his lamenting over him to a whole day and night. Others again affirm, that he ordered Glaucus, his physician, to be crucified because of the potion which he had indiscreetly administered to him ; while others tell us, that when Glaucus saw that Hephæstion would not refrain from drinking an unreasonable quantity of wine, he refused to take any further care of him. That Alexander should lie prostrate upon the dead body of so dear a friend, and tear his hair, and show other

Of more recent events, the entombment of Esther and Mordecai at Hamadan, may be

signs of grief, I neither deem improbable, nor indecent, they being done after the example of Achilles, whom he imitated from his youth. Some authors tell us, that he caused the body of Hephæstion to be put into a chariot, and that he would be charioteer himself; but this is not credible. Others say, he caused the temple of Æsculapius in Ecbatana to be demolished, which was a barbarous action, not at all suited to the character of Alexander, and, indeed, much rather resembling that of Xerxes, a known despiser and reviler of the gods, who is reported to have thrown fetters, out of revenge, into the Hellespont. However, what is related by some authors seems not improbable, namely, that when Alexander was upon his march towards Babylon, many ambassadors from the Grecian states met him, among whom were some from Epidaurus, whose request when he had granted, he sent an offering to be hung up in the temple of Æsculapius, notwithstanding, as he said, that god had not showed himself at all favourable, in not saving the life of a friend, whom he loved as his own spirit. Many assure us that he ordered sacrifices to be offered to him as to a hero; and some add, that he sent to Ammon's temple to consult the oracle there, whether he should not sacrifice to him as a god; but Jupiter denied that liberty. However, all authors agree, that the king neither tasted food, nor changed his apparel, for three whole days after Hephæstion's death, but lay all that while either lamenting, or silently endeavouring to conceal his grief, and that he commanded sumptuous obsequies to be performed at Babylon, at the expense of ten thousand talents (some say much more), and ordered a strict and public mourning to be observed throughout all the barbarian countries. Many of Alexander's friends, that they might divert that excess of grief into which he had then fallen, are said to have devoted themselves and their armour to Hephæstion; and that Eumenes

mentioned. The sepulchre of both is still shown there, and pilgrimages are made by the Jews of the surrounding country to this sacred building, the key of which is always in the keeping of the chief priest of the Israelites in the city. My illness prevented my visiting either this, or the tomb of Avicenna, the great Arabian physician, which is also shown here: but I learnt from the few inhabitants of the place, with whom I had any intercourse, that both these relics of antiquity are held in great honour by the respective classes of Jews and Mohammedans; and that the minutest traditions respecting

whom we mentioned to have had a grudge against him, a short while before, was the first proposer of it. This office, however, he performed to him when dead, lest the king should have entertained a suspicion that he had rejoiced at his death. Alexander gave strict orders that none should be appointed captain over the auxiliary horse in his place, lest his name should be forgotten in the cohort, but that it should always be named Hephæstion's cohort, and that the banner which he had chosen should be continued to be carried before them, as well in their several marches as in battle. He moreover exhibited gymnastic and musical sports, much more sumptuous and magnificent than any of his former, as well for the multitude of the combatants, as the greatness of the prizes contended for. Three thousand combatants are said to have been reserved for this solemnity, who, shortly after, performed their exercises at his tomb.'—*Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition.*

these are treasured up with care ; while no one knows, or desires to know any thing of Semiramis, Alexander, Hephæstion, or any other of the Pagan personages, whose names are associated with the history of Ecbatana. In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Hamadan, and described the tomb of Mordecai and Esther,* there were no less than fifty thousand Jews settled here, which

* Sir Robert Kerr Porter obtained the following translations of the Hebrew inscriptions still existing in the tomb of Mordecai and Esther.

Hebrew Inscription on a marble slab in the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai.

‘ Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a King, was great and good. His garments were as those of a sovereign. Ahasuerus covered him with this rich dress, and also placed a golden chain around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews.’

Inscription encompassing the Sarcophagus of Mordecai.

‘ It is said by David, preserve me, O God ! I am now in thy presence—I have cried at the gate of Heaven, that thou art my God ; and what goodness I have received came from thee, O Lord !

‘ Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great ; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world, came from thee, O God !

‘ Their grief and sufferings were many, at the first ; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their miseries. Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me in the early times of my life ; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and

is more than the whole of the present population: but this is easily credible, as the whole aspect of the city gives proof of former magnificence and subsequent decline. It is remarkable too, that at the same period, according to the same authority, there were not more than fifteen thousand Jews in Ispahan, though in that city resided the Chief, in a University, on which all the other Jews of Persia were dependent. This fact alone proves with what comparatively high importance the sacred depository at Hamadan was regarded, for it was this alone which could have drawn so many more Jews to reside in that city than at Ispahan.

covered me, as a tent, from their wicked purposes!—MORDECAI.'

Inscription around the Sarcophagus of Esther the Queen.

' I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me! I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.

' My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became, through thy goodness, at the last full of peace.

' O God! do not shut my soul out from thy divine presence! Those whom thou lovest, never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life; that I may be filled with the Heavenly fruits of paradise!—ESTHER'.—*Travels in Persia*, vol. ii. p. 109.

CHAPTER X.



KHERDAKHAUD AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

CHAPTER X.

FROM HAMADAN, BY ALFRAOON, KERDAK-
HOURD, AND GIAOUR-SE, TO GOOLPYEGAN.

SEPT. 24th.—Hearing of a party destined for Ispahan, who were to set out this afternoon, we prepared for our departure, determining not to lose the occasion of their company. My fever, which was sufficiently violent to confine me to my carpet in the khan during the whole of yesterday, had rather increased than diminished; and I had no sort of medicine with me to counteract it. This, however, was not a place from which to hope any other relief than rest could afford; and as even that had been hitherto constantly interrupted by idle enquirers, we determined to quit Hamadan with all possible speed.

It was immediately after the prayers of noon that we mounted our horses at the khan, and going southerly through the town, came into the high road. Our course along this lay east-north-east for the first hour, over unequal ground, having villages and gardens in sight of us on all sides, and the lofty range of Kooh Alwend on our right. This brought us to the large village of Tafreejan, some separate portions of which were walled in, resembling distinct castles. The valley in which it lay had several streams of water, many fruit-gardens, and abundance of poplar trees: but, retired as this spot seemed to be from the public eye, there were many courtezans who had fixed their abodes here.

From Tafreejan, our course lay about a point more southerly, and the road became more barren and more uneven; the basis of it, as in the first part of our way, being hills of blue slate, with veins of white quartz interspersed. A second hour by this route brought us to the village of Yalpan, where we found a part of our promised company, the remainder being still behind.

Since quitting Bisitoon we had seen no public khans on the road, nor are there any

it is said, between this and Ispahan. Passengers take shelter, therefore, where they can find it; sometimes beneath a shed; at others, in the stable with their horses; and, as was our case at Kengawar, they sometimes sleep in the open air. In the way from Taffreejan to Yalpan we had a heavy shower of rain, which lasted nearly the whole of the way, and wetted us so completely, that we needed more than ordinarily some place of shelter, to dry our garments and to repose. The cold of the air was extreme, and on the range of hills on our right, which is a distinct chain from the Alwend, there had recently fallen sufficient snow to sheet over their summits with unbroken white, though the spot where the snow lay was not more than two hours distant from hence. The place on which our companions had taken up their quarters was merely an open court, with some few little dark hovels around it, into which asses and horned cattle were driven at night. After wandering about the village, however, for some time, we at length found a subterraneous cave, apparently a place of shelter for cattle also, in which we took up our abode.

SEPT. 25th.—After a night of great suffer-

ing and increased fever, with total loss of appetite and insatiable thirst, I felt myself so weak, as scarcely to be able to support myself without aid. Some of the party whom we had joined, now came to say, that in consequence of a dispute between the principal owner of the merchandize, and the chief muleteer of the caravan, it was likely that those remaining behind at Hamadan, would be detained there for three or four days longer; and that their companions here could not proceed without them. My Dervish and the Fakeer, who were both much more alarmed at my illness than myself, urged me by all means to await here the result of their joining us, that I might in the mean time assist my recovery by repose. As they spoke, however, of a station only two hours distant, and as the weather was fine, after the rain of yesterday, I preferred proceeding, if possible, even alone, in order to be gaining something, however little, on our way; as well as to try what the change of air and water might effect.

Tafreejan and Yalpan are nearly equal in size, and the population of each is less than a thousand persons; though their ap-

pearance would induce a stranger to make a larger estimate. As building land is of no value, every house occupies a large space in its courts, its stables, its gardens, &c. The buildings are mostly of mud; but better wrought, and neater and cleaner, than Arab dwellings of people of the same class. The inhabitants are all ill-dressed, and are also an ill-looking people. The language spoken among themselves is a corrupt Turkish, which my Dervish understood, and Persian is only used by them to strangers. They are here, as in many other of the villages through which we passed, such expert thieves, that a large copper washing jug, called *Ibreeh*, with an iron hook and chain, and three or four smaller articles, were stolen from beneath our heads as we slept, in the cavern before described, without either of us being at all disturbed by the robbery.

We quitted *Yalpan* about ten o'clock, and went slowly on to the south-east, for I was now so weak, that the gentlest motion of the horse was painful to me. Our road was still over barren hills of blue slate, and generally uncultivated ground; when after a tedious

ride of three hours, in which we had scarcely gone more than six miles, we reached the village of Alfraoun.

We alighted here at the house of a man known to the Fakeer, and were treated with great civility. In the room where we were received, two of his daughters were employed in making a carpet for sale. The woof was formed by two layers of coarse twine, about a quarter of an inch between the cords of each; the upper layer having its cords falling into the intervals of the lower, so that the space was reduced to half. Large balls of coloured worsted were hung on a frame close by. The cords of the woof were stretched by two horizontal bars, one above, and the other below, and the carpet itself was worked from the bottom upward. The girls sat before it, and beginning each toward their respective side, approached, until they met each other in the centre. The whole process consisted in taking into the fingers two or three threads of worsted, of the colours suggested by the fancy of the workers, passing them underneath a cord of the woof, twisting them a little by the hand, to secure them in their places, and then cutting off the ends with a

knife, leaving a length of perhaps half an inch from the bottom of the woof to the surface of the carpet.

I continued still exceedingly ill ; my fever was somewhat abated at night, but I had yet no appetite, and was as weak as an infant.

SEPT. 26th. — We had been put to sleep by the Fakeer's friend, in the stall, with all his live stock, consisting of three or four cows, as many asses, and a large family of poultry. The air of such a place, when the door was closed, which the owner himself did, after we had retired, to keep his animals in safety, was not of the purest kind ; nor was there a window, or a vent-hole of any description to relieve us. As our own horses were obliged to stand out, we found in the morning that the friend of the Fakeer had appropriated almost all their corn to his own use, for he had taken their bags from them after we had retired ; and as we were up early, he had not yet returned them to their original place. A few other articles were stolen from us by this host, in the confidence of friendship, which we could not recover.

For the last three days I had tasted only toasted bread and water. I felt now some

little appetite, and as there was nothing simpler to be had here, I took a little warm milk and water, with a little bread in it, which increased my strength.

We quitted Alfraoun, which in size and population resembles the two former villages, about eight o'clock, and went about east-south-east over cultivated ground, and a generally descending level. In an hour we came to a very small place, with a few gardens, called Kalajek, where the people also spoke Turkish. We could now see that Alfraoun was seated at the entrance of a fine plain, having on the east and north-east three or four large villages in sight, whose names we could not learn.

From hence in two hours more, sometimes over bare, and sometimes over cultivated ground, we reached the village of Kerda-khourd, where I found it necessary to alight, as I was too weak to proceed further.

We had thus been three days performing one stage of seven hours, chiefly from my weak state, which incapacitated me from proceeding further, or faster, than we had done. My companions attributed this, with every other lesser evil, to the influence of some ma-

licious enemy, who followed our steps with ill-wishes. It was in the confidence of this being the cause, that the Fakeer deposited in two newly made graves, which we had passed on the high road between Kalajek and Kerdakhourd, a few rags from off his clothes, to allay the spirit of the enemy who was thought to persecute us. On enquiring whose ashes these graves contained, we were told that a pious and upright Moslem of Hamadan had lately seen the shade of a former friend in a dream, who had desired him, if he feared God, and wished to be esteemed of men, to go to the lonely spot which he named, and erect there two decent tombs, as the bodies of two devout men lay murdered there, and their souls could not have rest until the rites of sepulture were given them. This was an affair of a few weeks back only; and while the story gave strength to the belief of an evil influence being exercised against us, the Fakeer having placed some of his rags on the grave was thought sufficient to do away the charm, so that the rest of our way was promised us to be more auspicious.

Kerdakhourd offered nothing of novelty in its appearance, being a widely spread vil-

lage of mud-dwellings, with many gardens, poplar trees, bad water, and abundance of good grapes. Our accommodation there was as humble as before, partaking of the same stalls with our animals.

SEPT. 27th.—We set out from our station with the rising sun, as I had slept well, and felt much stronger than on the preceding day. The morning was cold, however, to a most painful degree, and though my legs were bound round with thick and coarse woollen in several folds, and I was warmly clad above, with two large cloaks over all, it was nevertheless not until the sun had risen three full hours, that the temperature of the air would admit of my throwing off one of these heavy garments. My companions, too, were muffled up in bags and carpets, and seemed to suffer still more from the cold than myself.

Soon after our departure, we could perceive that Kerdakhourd was seated at the commencement of an extensive plain, running to the south-east, between two high ranges of blue slate hills, watered by a small stream in its centre, and studded with numerous villages. The whole of this tract is

called Melyer, and is generally well-cultivated, and well peopled throughout its whole extent, which is about twenty miles long, and seven or eight broad.

In two hours after our leaving Kerda-khoûrd, we had opposite to us, on the left of our road, and distant two or three miles, a large castle, seated high on an artificial mound, and now containing within it a peopled village. It is called Khallet Môhammed Bek-Tahavildar, and is probably a modern work, though we could obtain no accurate information as to its age.

There were a number of villages distinguishable from afar, by their gardens and poplar trees, and some even near the road, but of these we learned only the name of one on the right, called Nazijan, which we passed about two hours after being opposite to the castle before named.

The stream, which ran through the centre of the plain, flowed to the north-west, so that we were again raising our level. Its waters were highly transparent, but its bed was choked by long grassy weeds, and the water itself exceedingly bitter and disagreeable to the taste.

About noon we entered the large village of Kherdoo, which is the usual halt of caravans; but as the next stage was said to be only four hours, and I had continued to gain strength, and to lose my fever as we went along, we made only an halt of an hour here to repose a little, and then pushed on to regain our lost time.

At Kherdoo the stream is larger than before, but its waters were still of a bad taste. We noted at this place a rude bridge formed of the trunks of poplars, supported by upright posts. Separate portions of the town are enclosed by walls, and the houses are large enough to contain all the conveniences which the people desire.

From Kherdoo we set out again before El Assr, and going still east by south along the plain, with the stream of water on our right, we passed, in about two hours, a large village seated amidst gardens, but as it lay a little off the main road, we did not learn its name. The district from here onward is called Charrah.

Two other hours on the same course brought us to Giaour Se, a name given to a cluster of villages with their fields and gar-

dens, in one of which we noted an old high mound that had probably been the site of some ancient castle, and originally given the place its present name. We found the people here more than usually inquisitive, and far more impertinent in their replies than we had yet experienced on the road. A small caravan of Zuwars, or Pilgrims, going to the tombs of Imam Ali, and Imam Hussein, had halted here on their way from Kashan, from which they had been six days on their journey, and they made to us the same complaint of the unusual incivility of the people of Giaour-Se.

In the course of the day, though travelling through a plain covered with excellent soil, abounding in villages, population, and cattle, we had met not less than fifty families, in different parties, emigrating from their homes, on account of want, and going towards Hamadan and Kermanshah to seek a subsistence. Some of these were in a state of great apparent wretchedness, and among them were little naked infants of three or four years old, walking along, barefoot with the rest, on a stony road. The cooking utensils and bedding, which comprised all their

moveables, were divided among the members of the family, while the husband and the wife carried each a young child or two at their backs. From general report it appeared, that for the last three years there had been a deficiency of rain in this part of Persia, called Irak-Ajam, extending from Ispahan to Kermanshah; and that in the central part of this space, about Goolpyegan, there had been absolutely none; so that all the productions of the earth had been retarded, and every necessary of life was at a price beyond the reach of the poor. The parched and dry state of the soil in the parts we had traversed had been constantly remarked by us, as well as the anxiety with which the peasants looked towards the approaching season of the rains. The flocks had not diminished, as they had found sufficient browsing on the mountains, nor were the fruits deficient, as the gardens were all watered by little rivulets; but still no supplies of water could be drawn for their agriculture. Grain was now more than tenfold the price it bore three years since; about a pound and a quarter English of wheat costing half a rupee, or fifteen-pence sterling! We ourselves

felt the daily expenditure for our horses and our own food to be increasingly heavy; as from Bagdad to Kermanshah, four rupees a day covered all our expenses; from thence to Hamadan, with an additional horse and man, seven rupees were barely sufficient; and now we found less than half a rupee to remain out of ten, which had been set apart for the service of the day. The larger portion of this money was required for corn and bread: for besides this, a little fruit through the day, and some boiled rice and butter, or rice and milk, at sunset, satisfied all our wants. We were thus expending nearly as much money as the same number of persons might travel comfortably for in England, and had not more than the barest necessaries to sustain life for such a sum.

SEPT. 28th.—We quitted Giaour-Se, muffled up in bags and blankets, to protect ourselves against the cold, and envied the peasants their warm sheep-skin coats and jackets, without being able to purchase one, as my purse seemed likely to be emptied, by the demand on it for food, long before we should reach our journey's end, even with the most rigid economy. Our course from hence lay

nearly south, through a continuation of the same plain as we had passed over yesterday, watered by the same stream coming from the southward, and equally abounding in good soil, many villages, and verdant gardens. The high blue slate mountains on each side of us began now to approach each other, so that the plain was growing progressively narrower; and after going about four hours south, we came to its termination, which was formed by the ends of the two lines of hills meeting each other in a semicircle.

From hence we went up east over a steep but low hill, which forms the pass into another plain, and terminates the district of Tcharrah. From the top of this hill, we went down about east-south-east, over a gentle slope; and following the winding of the road to south-east and south, we came, in about two hours more, to the village of Kuddumgah, where we alighted.

The plain, in which this is seated, is nearly of a circular form, and from seven to eight miles in diameter, surrounded generally by mountains of slate, from one thousand to fifteen hundred feet in elevation from their

base, and some of the highest summits perhaps two thousand. In the plain are eight or ten large villages, with gardens, the names of which we did not learn, but Kuddumgah is the only one that falls in the line of the public road. There is here a stream of less bitter water than we had drunk for many days past, and some few hovels near it for the shelter of passengers, but of the most humble kind.

SEPT. 29th.—It had frozen hard during the night, and we had found it necessary to keep up a blazing fire for ourselves and horses, who felt equally with us the unexpected severity of the weather. We therefore suffered the sun to be a full hour high before we departed, and even then we shrunk within our cloaks for warmth.

On leaving Kuddumgah, we went up east-south-east over the side of a sloping land, having high hills near us on our left, and many villages and gardens in the plain on our right. After travelling for three hours on this course, we reached the large village of Hufta, whose dwellings are secured within a castellated enclosure of a better kind than any we had yet seen, and whose gardens are

more extensive and more productive than most others which we had passed. It is here that the road from Kermanshah and Hamadan to Ispahan joins, and continues the same all the way beyond this. As we met here a caravan from the last place, making its halt, we stayed to exchange the news of the way, and in the mean time regaled ourselves from the gardens of Hufta with some of the finest-flavoured peaches that we had yet found in all Persia.

From hence we turned up to a broad pass between two hills, keeping south-easterly for three hours more, over a constant but slow ascent. On each side of us, at the distance of only two or three miles, were mountains of blue slate, some of them two hundred feet high, and, like all the rest we had yet seen, entirely destitute of wood. The soil was here of richer quality than before; and through our whole ride of three hours, we found the peasants employed in ploughing with oxen in pairs, hoeing weeds by a hoe similar to our own, and scattering the seed by hand, without afterwards harrowing it into the earth, by which means flocks of wild pigeons, as in Egypt and Syria, robbed the husbandman of half his labours.

After passing a small cluster of huts with little water and no gardens, called Allimabad, we came, in half an hour more, to the poor village of Koramabad, where we halted for the night.

From the hill which terminates the district of Tcharrah to this place, the whole of the territory is called Kezzaz, and here this district ends.

SEPT. 30th.—This small village of Koramabad, which consists of about thirty or forty huts, was so destitute of every thing but bread and water, that we were compelled to make this our only fare. A vigilant lookout was necessary also to prevent the pilfering of the inhabitants, as they made two or three silent attempts to steal in upon us unobserved during the night, but without succeeding.

We quitted this place soon after sunrise, and going up south-east by south, over a continuation of the ascent of yesterday, with hills close to us on each side, we soon opened the view of a wide plain, terminated by distant mountains, and entered into the district of Kemmera. We still met several troops of families removing to the westward, in consequence of scarcity, as well as parties both

of the living and the dead, on their way to the tomb of Imam Ali, at Kerbela.

From the top of the slope, which extended nearly an hour's journey beyond Koramabad, we began to descend, coming in half an hour to the small village of Saaky Sookhta, which consisted of a few huts, enclosed by a mud wall.

About an hour beyond this, we had opposite to us, on the right, a neat little village, called Chartack, seated at the foot of the hills, at the distance of a mile from the high road, and inhabited by Christians, of the Armenian sect; though, in all other respects, of dress, language, manners, &c. they were the same as their Moslem neighbours.

Our course now became south-east, over a good road, with cultivated land on each side of us; and here we were accosted by three men looking out from a pit, over which a ragged piece of tent-cloth was raised. They demanded of us a toll, saying they were stationed there by the Government to keep the road clear of robbers, showing us their muskets at the same time; but as we suspected that they were themselves bad characters, using this plea as a decoy, we an-

swered their demand in a tone of defiance, and continued steadily on our way.

It was nearly three hours from hence, and after we had passed several distant villages on our right, that we halted to drink at a small place called Elia-abad, peopled by Armenian Christians. Though the rains had failed here, as well as in all the other parts of the country, the industrious population had distributed the water of several little rivulets among their grounds; and we saw, for the first time, the young corn of the second crop above ground, the soil being laid out in oblong beds, with bordering ridges to confine the water on them, as in garden lands.

From hence, in about an hour and a half, we passed through a ruined village, in which was a saint's tomb. The place was called Mohammedabad, but not more than twenty of its dwellings were inhabited. In less than two hours more, on a winding course of from east to south-east, we entered Khomein, where we made our halt at a khan, as incommodious as most of the smaller ones stationed in the way. Through the latter part of our ride there had been a visible improvement in the

state of agriculture and general industry, resulting from the greater activity of the people alone, as the soil was the same, and the water not more abundant than before. In the neighbourhood of Khomein, which was a large village seated amidst gardens, we saw ploughed land sown with grain and smoothly harrowed, extensive fields of cotton, and portions of the soil appropriated to other productions.

The village of Khomein occupies a great extent of ground, though its population does not much exceed two thousand souls. The Sheik, or civil governor, for there are no military in any of these villages, has a large and good house, with gardens attached to it. There were in this man's service three Russians, who had been taken prisoners in the last war; and, with a number of others, were then distributed over different parts of the country, to prevent their being an expense to the state. Two of these young men, calling at the khan to know what strangers had arrived, soon became on an intimate footing with Ismael, to whom they told their story. They wore the Persian dress, spoke the Persian language, and ex-

pressed no dissatisfaction at their present state, or a wish to return home; though we, as Arabs, sympathized with them sufficiently to induce such a confession, if the feeling itself existed. These young men were both shaved, and wore mustachios:—so general is the wearing of the beard among all classes of Persians, that these were the only two persons we had noted without that appendage since our entering the country.

OCT. 1st.—On leaving Khomein, we went up south-east by south over a steep hill; and continued ascending for three full hours, before we gained the summit of the range over which we had to pass. We watered our horses near the top, and met at the spring there a numerous troop of Persian horse-soldiers, from the district of Bactiar, on the west of Goolpyegan, two days' journeys, and in the mountains of Lauristan. They were leaving the service of different chiefs there, and going to seek new employment under the Shah Zadé at Melyer, and his brother the prince, at Kermanshah.

At the top of the dividing range of hills, the district of Kemmera ends, and that of Goolpyegan begins, its fine plain, covered with

dwelling and gardens, being now full in view before us. About half-way down the hill, we passed a ruined enclosure of buildings, where there are stationed some agents of the Government, to collect the dues on merchandise passing this way, who suffered us to proceed in peace, as we were but lightly laden. On entering the plain, and still keeping the same course, we crossed the gravelly bed of a stream, now dry, by a lofty bridge of three arches. In the spring, a large body of water comes from a mountain called Badian, a few hours to the south-west of this, and fills this bed, going north-east through the plain, and bearing the name of the mountain in which it has its source.

Soon after noon we entered the town of Goolpyegan, having been travelling for about six hours on a course of south-east by south ; and from the nature of our road, which was almost all mountainous, we had gone perhaps a distance, in a straight line, of from twelve to fifteen miles. The chief peculiarities which struck us, on our approach to the town, were two tolerable domes, and a solitary minaret, in different parts of it ; but this last, poor as it was, was the more re-

markable, as it was the only one we had yet seen in Persia.

The history of Goolpyegan, as related to us by one of the Mollahs, who came to bid us the "Kosh Amadeed," or welcome, in our khan, was thus detailed. In the days of the Prophet, there was a large city here called Nussway, whose inhabitants were all worshippers of fire. Imam Ali, and his son Hassan, marching against it, took the place of the infidels by the edge of the sword. As the city, though already a celebrated one, was still rising in extent and consequence, a great part of its population was employed in making bricks and mortar, and erecting edifices; but such was the consternation occasioned by the approach of the victorious Imam and his son, that the labourers fled in all directions, without staying to wash away the dirt accumulated in their labours. It was to commemorate this instantaneous flight, we were told, that the old name of Nussway was changed to the present name of Goolpyegan, or Gelpyegan, which, in old Persian, is significant of the event described:—*Gel*, being the name of mortar; *pye*, the name of the feet; and *gan*, the completion of the compound; which,

taken altogether, means "fled away, with the mortar still unwashed from them."

In our passage through this town, I noticed several large blocks of blue stone, with Arabic and Persian inscriptions on them, in characters of a very old form, now broken and scattered about; and near the khan in which we lodged, were two rude statues, apparently intended for lions, as large as life, but of the worst possible execution. Goolpyegán, for such is the most general way in which the name of the place is pronounced, contains at present about two thousand dwellings, and from five to six thousand inhabitants. The people are all Sheeah Moslems, and there are neither Jews nor Christians resident among them. Here are three poor mosques, a small and dirty bath, five khans, and several long ranges of covered streets where the bazaars are held, and the chief trades carried on. A manufacture of coarse cotton cloth and thread also exists here; but no other articles are produced, except for the immediate supply of the town itself. The markets are tolerably well furnished with the necessaries of life at a cheap rate; but the people are in general

extremely poor, and their town is of a corresponding appearance.

OCT. 2nd.—We had been stared at by visitors, and questioned and cross-examined as much as if we had been a Chinese party, instead of persons believed to be Arabs. The chief cause of this appeared to be, our having the hardihood to travel alone, and not putting ourselves under the protection of a caravan. It was sufficiently adventurous, they thought, for people of the country to move from one village to another alone; but no Persian in his senses would go further. To see, therefore, three perfect strangers wandering on by themselves, over such a tract of country, and in such times as these, excited a suspicion, either that our minds were not perfectly right, or that our motives and intentions in travelling, were not strictly pure. We answered all their enquiries with great patience and civility, though the most common ones, of “Where are you from? whither are you going?” were asked us so frequently, and by such insignificant persons, that it became insufferably tedious. It was in a fit of despair produced by this annoyance, that, thinking

of Dr. Franklin's expedient in a nearly similar case, I commanded Ismael to stand up, in front of our recess in the khan, and proclaim with a loud voice what I should prompt to him. He accordingly began:—

“He that hath ears to hear, let him hear! Now, be it known unto you, O brethren and fellow men, that the Hadjee Abdallah-ibn-Suliman-el-Masri, the Dervish Ismael, his companion, and the Fakeer Zein-el-Abedeem, their servant, are, all three, true and upright Moslem worshippers of one indivisible God, admitting neither partner nor companion;—for God is great; there is no other God but God; and Mohammed is the Apostle of God! I say again unto you, O ye worshippers in the same faith, that we three, by name repeated, come from Bagdad, and are going to Ispahan, on business which the Lord best knoweth. Praised for ever be his name! We worship no false gods; we bear no enmity to the ruling powers; and we are at peace with all mankind. In the name of God, the Great and the Merciful, and truly for the sake of him, suffer us then to repose in peace! This is all which we can declare of ourselves. Go ye forth, therefore, and declare it to the

world; but, since we owe nothing to any man, and desire only peace, ask henceforth no more of us, for more cannot be revealed."

The effect which this harangue produced was that of shame in some, and wonder in others; and while more than one voice exclaimed, "The men are possessed of devils, and are mad;" others replied, in my hearing, "Then it is a very sensible madness; for, in truth, what have ye to do with them?" After this the crowd gradually dispersed.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM GOOLPYEGAN, BY RHAMATABAD, DEHUCK AND CHAL-SEEAH, TO ISPAHAN.

THE sun had risen before we quitted Goolpyegan, which we did with a large train of boys at our heels, paying us the honours shown to all curious strangers, by the villagers of every country. Our course was now nearly south-east; and on crossing the plain in which this town is seated, we noted three large villages, all within the space of two or three miles, on our left, to the north-east of it. They were called, severally, Khallah Meean, Khallah Baula, and Dey Koocheck; each having many gardens, and each being enclosed by mud walls, with bastions at the angles.

In about an hour and a half after our

CHAPTER XI.



MOUNTAINS, AND DISTANT VIEW OF ISPAHAN.



leaving Goolpyegan, we had opposite to us, on the left of our road, a small village called Sefeeabad, and in another hour we entered the town of Waneshoon. This was seated in a valley, with a lofty hill hanging over it on the west. It contained about eight hundred houses, many gardens, and a mosque, with an octagonal and conical dome rising from the centre. The exterior of this had been once ornamented with coloured tiles, chiefly blue; but the outer coating having fallen gradually to decay, there remained only the interior brick-work with a few patches of the tiles on it.

In two hours and a half from hence, on the same course, we passed a small village on the left, called Khompeach; and in three hours more, going always over a monotonous road of bare slate rock and barren soil, we made our halt at Rahmatabad, leaving the more commonly frequented station of Door, in a valley to the north-north-east of us, distant about four miles.

This village of Rahmatabad was said to have been originally a stronghold of demons, who fled hither when they were driven out of such human bodies as they had haunted.

The present inhabitants were happy, however, in the belief that those evil days were now passed, and that Imam Ali had effectually purged the place of all its former impurities. This saint is in such high repute among the people of this country, that instead of the common exclamation of the Turks and Arabs: 'Ya Ullah!' 'O God!' that of the Persians is uniformly 'Ya Ali!' 'O Ali!' an expression of continual occurrence.

The village of Rahmatabad is small, entirely without gardens, and has only a small portion of cultivated land near it, though its water was the best we had drunk for some time. The houses, which are not more than a hundred in number, rise above each other around a steep-pointed hill; and the whole aspect of the place is as dreary and miserable as possible.

My Dervish was here taken seriously ill, having a violent fever, with all its usual accompaniments; and free as he was from most of the superstitious notions of his countrymen, yet he firmly believed in the existence of an intermediate race of genii both good and bad. It was curious to ob-

serve this man, when praying, as he sometimes did, for the sake of preserving our reputation; for though it was clear that he had no firm belief in the religion in which he had been brought up, yet he always saluted his guardian angels, over his shoulder, (which is a part of the ceremony of Mohammedan devotion,) with the greatest respect, and firmly believed that they had a share in all the good or evil that befel him. It was thus that he roused me from a sound sleep before midnight, to tell me of a demon having distorted his limbs, and placed him in such a position that he could not himself distinguish his hands from his feet. It was in vain I assured him that these were among the common symptoms of fever, and that they arose from the disordered state of his blood. He disbelieved all I said, but gave full credit to what had been told him of Rahmatabad having been originally a seat of demons, and insisted that it was one of these who had twisted his limbs into such indescribable postures during the early part of the night.

After this, no sleep was obtained by any of our party. A large fire was kindled, and

we waited patiently for daylight, as we all dreaded the cold too much to venture out before sunrise.

OCT. 3rd.—When the day was broadly opened, we knocked out the ashes from our pipes, and put a stop to the long stories that we had each been telling in his turn, over the blazing fire around which we sat; and in half an hour after the sun was up, we were again on our way.

Our course lay about south-east by east, over a desert and rocky road, until in about two hours we came to the village of Dumboo, where we watered our horses at a large pond in the middle of the town, and alighted ourselves to drink. The place was small, poor, and without gardens; but about a mile or two to the westward of it, at the foot of the hills, there was a larger village, called Eshen, seated among cultivation and trees.

Two hours from hence, on a south-east course, brought us to a small square enclosure of dwellings, with a large walled garden near, called Kaloo; and an hour beyond that, on a more easterly course, brought us to a similar place, with a few poplar trees, called Ali-abad.

Half an hour after this, we passed to the south of a long valley, with many gardens; and in less than an hour more, on the same course, we arrived at Dehuck, where we alighted at the common caravansera.

Our journey throughout the day had been over a bare road of desert soil, with patches of brown slate-rock. The plain around us in every direction was entirely waste, and the horizon every where intercepted by broken and woodless hills. The scenery, on the whole, resembled many parts of the coast of Arabia, on the eastern shore of the Red Sea; and the resemblance was rendered the more striking, by our feeling the want of water here, and seeing many herds of gazelles: both of these peculiarities occurring now for the first time since our being in Persia.

Just before entering Dehuck, we were met by a green-turbaned Seid, on horseback, armed with a lance, who stopped us to enquire the news from Imam Hassan. This man was employed on the holy errand of going round to all the villages in this quarter, stating his intention to set out, on a fixed day, as chief of the Zuwars, or Pil-

grims, and inviting all who respect the memory of the Imam, to follow him to his tomb. A certain tribute is exacted, for the supposed protection, for it is not real, which this chief of the Zuwars affords; so that, by the journey, he gains from three hundred to four hundred rupees, and has his expenses paid; while to the pilgrims, whom he leads, it is all expenditure and loss.

These chiefs of the Zuwars are the only persons who commonly carry spears, or lances, in this part of Persia; and as mine was sufficiently long to attract the notice of most of the peasants as we passed, I had several times been taken for one of these chiefs, and was more particularly so in the present instance by the Seid himself, who asked me of how many my party originally consisted? and what was about the rough amount of my gains? to both of which I gave but unsatisfactory answers.

At many of the villages in our route from Kermanshah thus far, we had seen stone doors used in the garden walls—being large slabs of blue slate, of which all the hills between Hamadan and this are composed;—so placed, as to turn on a pivot, of a piece

with itself, and bolted on the inside by thrusting the hand in through a large hole. Here, however, at Dehuck, we saw these stone doors used in the dwellings of the people, some of them of a considerable size, and one of them with the words 'Ya Ali' deeply cut in good Arabic characters. The largest of these doors was one now lying disused, before the entrance to a mosque, to which it might once have belonged. This was nearly six feet square, and six inches thick, in one smooth, solid, and unfractured piece. The common size of those now hung here was larger than of these seen in the Hauran, and at the Tombs of Oom Kais, in Syria; but they were not in general so thick: none of them were well-finished, or ornamented like the former; but they were hung and closed in exactly the same way. The scarcity of wood had in both instances been, no doubt, the principal cause of their use; though here, security was certainly an additional motive, as there were now existing many new as well as old wooden doors, and a sufficient number of poplar trees to furnish the materials for many more.

Dehuck is seated in a dreary and narrow

valley, between bare rocky hills. The little cultivatable land about it is better managed than is usual in this country. We saw here, ploughing, harrowing, dressing with manure, turning up with the spade and hoe, and other operations of husbandry, performed as well as in Europe. The town contains a population of about three thousand inhabitants, all Mohammedans of the Sheeah sect. It has a mosque, and a small market-place; but all the necessaries of life were still dearer than we had found them at any other place before on our way.

OCT. 4th.—We met here a party of horsemen, conveying from Kezzaz to Ispahan a very fine lad of distinction, who was going to meet his father at that city; and, wishing to profit by their company, we set out with them soon after midnight.

Our course was about south-east by east, over a barren tract of land; and in little more than an hour, we passed by the large village of El Hhussny, where, as well as at Door, a station we had seen from Rahmatabad, there is a large khan, like those between Bagdad and Kermanshah, but now falling to ruins for want of repair.

We continued on our way until daylight, when we alighted for prayer,—a ceremony, the public performance of which is deemed indispensable when others are present, though few, even among the Mohammedans, are so punctual in observing it when quite alone.

Our road continued to lie over a barren waste, with blue slate hills on each side, and was mostly on the same course, until we reached a large public khan at the station of Chal Seeah, where we alighted. This was one of the best buildings of the kind that we had yet seen, and was still in excellent order, though the situation in which it stands is a very dreary one, and the small village attached to it consists only of a few huts. The distance from Dehuck to this place is accounted eight fursucks, and we had performed it in about eight hours. We had gone, however, at the rate of about five miles an hour, or considerably faster than the common walking-pace of a man; all our company being lightly mounted, and our horses walking briskly in company. In every other instance in which the number of fursucks from station to station was known, we had never gone at the full rate of a fursuck

per hour, though our pace was never less than four English miles. It is true that, among the people of the country themselves, the distances from place to place are very differently stated, according to the time which they may have themselves employed in performing it, as well as that there are no public marks or posts by which the real extent of the fursuck can be determined; but all confess that caravans even of mules and asses do not go a fursuck per hour, and that it requires a brisk walking-pace of a light horseman to accomplish it; so that the Persian fursuck is certainly greater than the English league, and equal, I should conceive, to four English miles at least.

We saw no cultivation during all our last day's route: nothing but barren plains, and rugged hills and mountains bounding them in every direction, without a tree or a bush of any description. We had no water throughout all the way, not even so much as a small pool or rill; and both the wells of the station we had last quitted, and of that to which we had just arrived, were brackish and disagreeable in the extreme. The scarcity and bad quality of the water, all the way from Ker-

manshah to this place, had been often felt by us ; the latter indeed was a serious evil, as it materially affected our health, since we had no other beverage, and neither coffee nor any other corrective, except now and then a little burnt bread to use in it. The water of the Kara Soo is so superior to all others of which we had yet tasted in Persia, that it was easy to conceive why the ancient monarchs of the country gave to the Choaspes the distinguished preference which they did, in carrying its water with them even on their distant expeditions.

OCT. 5th.—The young lad, with whose party we had come the last day's stage, had evidently been brought up with extraordinary tenderness, and was treated with corresponding respect by his servants, who gratified all his momentary whims without a murmur. He was now so fatigued by a journey of two or three days, though he rode upon a pillow-ed saddle, that he was unable to go further without a day's halt. As he professed himself to be extremely pleased with our company, and was charmed beyond description by the long stories with which I amused him on the road, respecting the Infidels in India, where

I professed to have been, he begged of us to retard our journey a day for his sake, and promised to take me to his father, who was a great man at Ispahan, and who, he was sure, would be delighted at the friendship his son had formed for me : on which ground he insisted upon my becoming his guest, and remaining with him for a month or two at least. I urged the importance of my getting to Bushire within a stated time, as the route from thence further on was by sea ; at which the youth expressed great alarm, and entreated me, for his sake, as well as that of my father and mother, never to trust myself upon so dangerous an element. He told me the name of his father, Assad Ullah Khan, with the place of his residence in Ispahan ; begging me not to omit calling to see him on the morrow, when he hoped to arrive after us, as the first thing he should have to tell his father would be of the kind-hearted Hadjee from Egypt, whom he had met on the road. I promised him to do this, though, at the time, without the intention of keeping my word, as it would lead perhaps to a train of circumstances which might much embarrass me ; and, whether there was any thing in my

looks or behaviour at the moment, which betrayed my disposition or not, the youth suspected that I was promising what I should not perform, and absolutely wept at our parting, saying, it was more than likely that I should never think of him again. I was not quite unmoved at this unaccountable degree of sensibility towards so perfect a stranger as myself, and knew not what construction I ought to place on such an incident, or how I ought to act on such an occasion. The Dervish Ismael, as well as the Fakeer Zein-el-Abedeen, my constant companions, were however still more affected than myself; and as to the former, his sympathies and recollections were so powerfully called forth, that he was moved even to tears, and exclaimed—‘Every word from his divine lips was like a dagger in my heart.’

This was a moonlight scene, soon after midnight,—the hour which we had fixed for setting out; and though I sang some fragments of Arab songs by the way, and was as light-hearted and disposed to talk as usual, yet I could scarcely get a word from either of my musing companions.

We went from the khan of Chal Seeah in

a south-east by east direction, along a barren road, having a wide plain on our left, bounded by a distant and even range of mountains, faintly seen by the light of the moon; and on our right, a succession of steep, ragged, and detached slate hills, following each other close to, and in the direction of the road. We neither saw a dwelling, nor heard the sound of any living being for nearly five hours, when we passed on our left the little village of Noushirwan, with an apparently new and exceedingly neat khan. From hence we came on cultivated ground, with water and trees, and the day promised to exhibit to us an improved scenery. The opening of the morning was one of the most beautiful I ever remember to have witnessed; while the pale blue light of the moon was yet visible in the west, after her sinking below the horizon, the eastern sky was already warmed with the young pink blush of the sun's approach, at the same time that the zenith showed a deep azure canopy, studded with the brilliant retinue of the Pleiades, Aldebaran, Orion's Belt, and Jupiter, in one lengthened train, beaming in full meridian splendour.

We had now on each side of our road corn-

fields of the third crop during the present year; some in all the fresh green of early spring, and others in the mellow maturity of autumn, with gardens and trees in great variety and abundance, all watered by numerous canals leading in every direction.

The ruined outskirts of Ispahan already began to appear, and presented a melancholy picture of desertion and devastation. Long streets, and large buildings, the interior of which preserved all their original freshness, some indeed seeming to have been scarcely ever inhabited, were now abandoned to utter desolation, and were the haunts only of the solitary raven.

We went for nearly two hours through a succession of this ruined scenery, which could not be witnessed without exciting the most powerful emotions of melancholy. The rising sun presented us, however, a fine and extensive landscape, as its rays gilded the enchanting picture of the plain of Ispahan, with its mountain boundaries, and the world of interesting objects which they enclosed, thus powerfully contrasting the permanent beauties of nature with the more unstable works of man.

Among the peculiar objects which attracted my notice were a number of large circular towers, sloping a little upwards from the base, and finished with ornamented tops, in a style very different from Saracen works, rising in the centre of gardens, and seeming like so many castles. These, I learnt, were edifices erected for the resort of pigeons, who were suffered to feed on the grain, the melons, and the fruits in the neighbourhood, and retire to these towers to roost. The interior of these buildings, as I myself saw, contained some hundreds of separate cells for the birds; and I was assured that they were cleaned out every ten or twelve days, and the dirt carefully preserved as manure for particular fruits, when the fattest of the birds were taken away for sale, the eggs and young carefully attended to, and the whole managed with great punctuality and skill. These establishments are all private property, and belong to the owners of the grounds near; and the occupation is found to be an exceedingly lucrative one, though there are a great number of these establishments in the neighbourhood of each other.

We found the road near the city covered

with asses, which were laden with the dirt of the highway, gathered up by scavengers for the use of the gardens near, so that manure is of more than usual value here; and indeed, where three crops of grain are grown yearly—a succession of spring, summer, autumn, and winter fruits kept up—and where the pasture of flocks is so well attended to, that they bring forth their young twice in the year, and produce milk, butter, and cheese, at all seasons—a constant supply of manure and water must be indispensable.

The gate by which we entered the present restricted city of Ispahan was of very mean appearance, exceedingly small, and its passage obstructed by trains of camels of nearly the same kind and size as the Arabian ones. There was also great poverty in the aspect of the few first streets through which we passed, though the space of wall between the shops was whitewashed, and painted with the most grotesque figures—in combat, in the chase, at athletic games, &c.—all very gaudily coloured and badly drawn. After a few winding passages, we came at length to some noble ranges of bazaars, wider, more lofty, and better lighted than any similar places

that I had seen, and where the shops were larger and better furnished than those either of Cairo or Damascus.

We met here a funeral procession, which was not of the ordinary Moslem appearance; and indeed I at first thought it to have been a Christian one, until assured of the contrary. In front of the train came eight or ten persons bearing particoloured flags over their shoulders, and chanting hymns; next followed an equal number carrying large wax tapers lighted; and to these succeeded the corpse, borne in a close palanquin, with double poles, or shafts, on the shoulders of men. The friends of the deceased followed this in pairs; and a crowd of spectators of both sexes closed the procession. These rites are peculiar to the Sheeahs, and are held in abomination by the Soonnees; though they are sometimes, as I was told, practised at Imam Moosa, and other Persian quarters of Bagdad, where the Sheeahs are in sufficient numbers to defend themselves from the insults of their Soonnee masters, if they should be attacked.

We found, after some enquiry, a halt of comparative privacy in the khan Mohur Dar

Koosh, where there were but few travellers, and these chiefly Bagdad merchants. In this we obtained an upper chamber, and soon made ourselves at ease.

Retired as we had hoped to have been, our room was soon crowded with visitors and enquirers, more particularly from those Arab merchants, who were waiting with impatience for news from Bagdad, before they set out on their return thither. This, though a sufficient evil at a moment of great fatigue, and on the first arrival as a stranger in a large city, led to the most agreeable results. In the course of those enquiries, which we were justly entitled to make in our turn, we learnt that there was an Englishman halting here on his way to Tabreez. As soon, therefore, as our host of Persian and Arab visitors had dispersed, I dispatched a note to this gentleman, whose name I did not yet know, stating my arrival here, and desiring to learn how far it would be congenial with his own wishes to promote an interview. An answer was speedily returned, saying that Mr. Armstrong would wait upon us in person, accompanied by his friend, Assad Ullah Khan; and in less than half an hour they came, attended by a suite

of servants, to visit us in our humble quarters. Mr. Armstrong was an elderly person, who had been long settled in India as a builder and general director of artificers' work, and had for the last seven years been employed by the Prince Abbas Mirza, at Tabreez, in the establishment of an arsenal there, the founding of cannon, equipping them, and setting on foot a variety of useful works of a military kind. His companion, Assad Ullah Khan, the Topjee Bashee, or chief of the artillery, attached to the King's establishment at Teheraun, was the father of the young lad Mohammed Ali, whom we had met on the road, and who was in hourly expectation of the arrival of his son. Our meeting was warm and cordial; and after the first enquiries were answered, it was insisted on, that I should come and partake of their quarters, at one of the old palaces of Shah Abbas, which had been assigned to them by the Government during their stay here.

The visit of a Frank, attended by a Khan and his servant, to a humble Arab in a public caravansera, raised, as was natural, a thousand conjectures; but on its being studiously circulated that this Frank was an English-

man, who might at some former period have received attention from the Hadjee, which he had the gratitude to feel and repay, all contradictory opinions were reconciled, and general admiration was bestowed on so unusual a character.

It was near evening before we left our quarters at the caravansera to follow our friends to those which they had prepared for us at the palace. We were there lodged in gorgeously magnificent halls, with whole suites of rooms, gardens, and delightful walks, open to us on all sides; and the pleasure of this change was still augmented by intelligent and kind society, and the comforts of domestic life, in a very high degree.

CHAPTER XII.

ISPAHAN—EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS
—PERSIAN DRAMATIC STORY-TELLERS AND
SINGERS.

DURING a stay of several days which we made at Ispahan, before any safe or convenient opportunity of prosecuting our journey offered itself, my whole time was passed in one unbroken succession of pleasures, during which I was so highly honoured, so constantly delighted, and, in short, so completely surrounded by gratifications of every kind, that I neither had, nor wished to have, a moment of leisure or seclusion, to note the impressions to which all this train of pleasures naturally gave rise. It was only on the day preceding our intended departure, that I was enabled to sit down for a moment

CHAPTER XII.



STREET, MOSQUE, AND BAZAAR, IN ISPAHAN.

to collect together the brief recollections of my stay.

OCT. 6th.—The ancient bath of the celebrated Shah Abbas the Great was prepared for us by express order from Assad Ullah Khan; and his young son, who had arrived on the preceding evening, overjoyed to find me already a guest of his father's, joined our party there. All strangers were excluded; the cisterns were filled with clean water, the bath had been well washed and highly heated, and great pains had been taken to render it as perfect as the fashion of Persia would admit. The style of this bath, which formed a part of the palace in which we lived, and was included within its walls, was similar to the one before described at Kermanshah, except that it was larger, and more richly ornamented. The same general cleanliness in the outer and inner divisions, the same arrangement of the cold fountains and hot cisterns, and the same process in the washing, &c. practised by the attendants, was seen here as at the place mentioned. The same deficiencies too were also observable: the servants of the bath knew nothing of the art of moulding the limbs and muscles; the visi-

tor was led directly from the hot room into the cold, with no other covering than two small coarse blue-checked towels, and his feet suddenly chilled by walking on a cold stone pavement, without slippers or pattens of any kind; no bed was made for his repose on coming out; no person came to dry his body by gentle pressure, and a change of clothes, or to warm his feet by friction on the sole; and though kaleoons were served, there was neither coffee nor sherbet to recruit the exhausted fluid. All this, however, was after the best fashion of the country, and it would have been rudeness to complain. With all its defects, it was productive of welcome refreshment and pleasure after a long journey, and we were therefore content. After dressing in haste, we returned to our own apartments, where a sumptuous breakfast was prepared for us, of which we all partook.

Information of the arrival of an English traveller having been conveyed to Hadjee Mohammed Hussein Khan, the Nizam-el-Dowla, or present Governor of the city, we received from him, at noon, a deputation, who waited on me with congratulations on

my safe arrival, an offer of all the services which it was in the power of the Government to grant, and an expression of regret that a messenger had not preceded me with news of my coming, that I might have been met beyond the city by an escort, and all the proper honours due to a subject of so distinguished a nation as England. Nothing could exceed the respect which was shown me, or the politeness of the manner in which it was expressed. I was assured that but for an indisposition of the Governor, which had confined him for several weeks to his house, he would have waited on me himself in person; and I was desired therefore to consider this party, which consisted of five of the most distinguished Khans of the city, and a large retinue of servants, as a visit of the Governor himself.

I was quite at a loss to account for so much distinction being shown to a humble individual like myself, desirous too, as I was, of passing through the country unknown, and having therefore avoided every step which might draw me into notice. Mr. Armstrong, however, explained it, by saying that letters had reached both this place, and Shiraz, an-

nouncing the intended visit of an English gentleman to both these cities, in the course of his journey to India, which letters, he said, came officially from the British mission at Tabreez, and requested that every attention might be paid to him. As I was personally unknown to any of the gentlemen who composed the embassy at Tabreez, and as they had described the person in question to be a traveller desirous only of amassing information, and observing the manners of the countries through which he had to pass, it appeared probable to me either that this letter of announcement had reference to some other person, or that I was indebted to Mr. Rich of Bagdad for this kind exertion to render my journey agreeable.

The remainder of the day was passed in receiving the visits of other persons of inferior importance, such as a deputation from the Armenians at Julfa, and individuals attached to the English nation by former services or benefits; after which we dined together at a late hour, and closed a day of much pleasure.

Oct. 7th.—At the early hour of sunrise, horses were saddled for all our party; and

Assad Ullah Khan, with his son and some of their friends, who were well acquainted with the principal objects of curiosity about the city, were deputed to be our companions and guides for the morning excursion. They were desirous of taking us at once to some of the splendid palaces of the ancient kings; but as all was submitted to my direction, I proposed another line of march.

Ispahan is thought by Major Rennell to be one of the places to which the Jews were carried in their first captivity, when the ten tribes were taken captive to Nineveh; for tradition says, that during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, many Jews settled in the quarter called, to the present time, 'Yahoudeeah.' Abulfeda says also, that Bochtanser, (or Nebuchadnezzar,) when he destroyed Jerusalem, sent the Jews here, who built a town which they called 'Yahoudia;' that Gajjong was the most ancient of the villages on which Ispahan was built, and that Yahoudia was built at the distance of two miles from it. Also, that though Gajjong decreased, Yahoudia flourished by the accession of Mohammeden tribes, and its name still remained.

As I was particularly desirous of making a

minute investigation into the relative state of these quarters, their distance from each other, &c. as their names had been already confirmed to me by report, it was proposed that we should first direct our route to them. A world of 'wonders' was expressed at the motive which could induce a visit to such insignificant spots; and a thousand assurances were made that they contained nothing to reward the trouble of the excursion. No one dared, however, directly to object, so that my original plan was pursued.

Gajjong is the name of the ruined quarter, by which we approached Ispahan, on the day of our first entering it; and this includes all the space now covered by deserted and demolished buildings, between the khan of Noushirwan and the present gate of the city through which we first entered. It thus lies on the north-west of the present enclosed town, and has been fully described, on our passing through it. The tradition still held by the people is, that this was the original spot on which Ispahan was founded; and that, even in the time of Shah Abbas, it was enclosed within the city walls. Of this latter fact, there is however no de-

cided proof; on the contrary, there is much more reason to believe that it was in a deserted state, even in Abulfeda's time, and rather formed a suburb, than a quarter of the city.

Yahoudia is, as the Arabian geographer states, distant from Gajjong about two miles, and is seated in the north-east quarter of the town. It is the present residence of such Jews as are here, though a large portion of it is also inhabited by Mohammedans. The present residence of the Governor is in this quarter, called also Jubarrah; and here is seen a portion of the ancient walls of the city, with high round towers, sloping upward from their base, thickly placed, and more completely Saracenic than any similar work that I had yet observed in Persia. This quarter, which is now also in a very ruined state, contains the minarets and domes of some fine old mosques, adorned with Cufic inscriptions, in coloured tiles; a large Maidan, or public square, now nearly built all over with small dwellings, and lines of bazaars, and many other marks of former magnificence. The style of the architecture, both in the private and public dwellings, is of an older date than

any thing to be seen in the other parts of Ispahan ; and the traditions current among the people are, that this was a place of the Jews' settlement under Bochetenessr, (or Nebuchadnezzar,) and that it is by far the oldest part of Ispahan which is now enclosed within the city walls.

All this was extremely satisfactory, as confirming the conjecture of the able illustrator of ancient geography ; but the living picture it presented us was, in another point of view, full of the most melancholy images. Nothing could exceed the misery and degradation in which the despised Jews seemed to live here. Their habitations were of the meanest kind ; and their labours, which seemed to be chiefly in spinning and weaving silk, were carried on in subterranean cells, like the Serdaubs at Moosul and Bagdad, and which are seen in no other part but this, throughout the whole of the city of Ispahan.

In Turkey, many of the Jews rise to distinguished confidence in the service of the Government, and others become reputable merchants. At Acre and Damascus there are two striking instances of the former ; and in

Egypt many of the latter, both living in affluence and consideration, and distinguished only from the most wealthy Moslems by a graver dress and darker turban. Here, however, and throughout all Persia, the children of Israel are looked upon as the most despicable of human beings, until they are become really debased by their debasement, and now perhaps merit, by their want of every virtue, that which was at first cast on them as an opprobrium on account of their religious distinction only.

In our return from hence, we traversed nearly the whole of the central parts of the town, coming through long lines of bazaars, wide, lofty, well-aired and lighted, and filled with excellent shops of every description. They were as much superior to those of Turkey in their construction, as the shops that composed them were larger and better filled; and all the mechanical arts, whether in metal, wood, or other materials, were more neatly, ingeniously, and durably executed.

At the close of our ride, we came out at the Maidan Shah, one of the largest public squares perhaps in the East; and more ex-

tensive than any which I remember to have seen, whether in Europe or elsewhere.* This Maidan is of an oblong form. On one side is a portion of the palace of Tamasp Shah, or, as some say, of Shah Abbas, in which we now lived, with a lofty gallery, supported by pillars, forming a sort of upper portico, on which the monarchs usually sat when they received any crowded processions of embassies, &c. in the Maidan below. Opposite to this is the small but elegant mosque of Lootf Ali Shah. At the southern end is the splendid mosque of the Shah Abbas; and at the northern extremity are the remains of an establishment, founded by this same king, for the Europeans settled in the city, of whom he was a distinguished patron during his reign.

On the walls of the porch beneath this last building, where a gate leads into some large bazaars, and before which is a fountain of fine clear water, are several paintings of that king's time. Among these, the one on the right represents a European feast, in which women, wine, and music, form the pro-

* It is at least four times as large as either Grosvenor Square, Russell Square, or Lincoln's Inn.

minent objects : it may be considered rather as a picture of what a Persian would conjecture an entertainment must be, where women and wine are not forbidden, than what such an entertainment ever really was among any class of Europeans, except in a brothel.

The country had now been two successive years without its accustomed supply of rain, so that the fountains and canals which usually refreshed and adorned this grand square were now mostly empty. The arched recesses going all around it, which had been formerly used as shops, and filled with the richest merchandise, were now entirely unoccupied ; and the chambers of the upper gallery, above these, which had once formed the quarters of the monarch's body-guard, were now falling fast into ruin. The splendid parade of horsemen, and the train of royalty which once filled this noble space, were now replaced by a few solitary Moollahs coming and going to and from the mosques near, and some poor and ragged tents of fruit-sellers which were scattered over its surface.

It was amidst these, that a party of nearly three hundred people had collected round a professed story-teller, who, when we first saw

him, was declaiming with all the dignity and warmth of the most eloquent and finished orator. We halted here without a murmur from any of our party, as they seemed to enjoy this species of exhibition as much as Englishmen would do the pleasures of the drama. It might itself, indeed, be called a dramatic representation; for although but one person appeared on the stage, there were as great a variety of characters personated by this one, as appears in any of our best plays. The subject of his tale was from the wars of Nadir Shah, more particularly at the period that his arms were directed against Bagdad; and in it he breathed forth the haughty fury of the conquering warrior; trembled in the supplicating tone of the captive; allured by the female voice of love and desire; and dictated in the firmer strain of remonstrance and reproach. I could understand this orator but imperfectly, and was unwilling at the moment to disturb the fixed attention of my companions, by soliciting their interpretation; but, as far as gestures and attitudes were explanatory of the passions and incidents on which they were exercised, I certainly had never yet seen any thing more

complete. Bursts of laughter, sensations of fear, and sighs of pity, rapidly succeeded each other in the audience, who were at some periods of the tale so silent, that the fall of a pin might have been heard. Money was thrown into the circle by those whose approbation the story-teller had strongly won. This was gathered up by one of the boys who served the caleons, without charge, to those engaged in listening, and no money was at any time demanded; though, as far as our short stay there would warrant a judgment, I should conceive the gains of the performer to have been considerable.

A few paces beyond this, we saw another crowd assembled round a little boy of ten or twelve years of age, who was singing, with the notes of the lark, in the clearest and most delightful strain. As we pressed nearer to observe this youth, all were seemingly moved to sympathize in his apparent sufferings. His voice was one of the clearest and most sweetly melodious that the most fastidious ear could desire; but the trill of it, which charmed us so much at a distance, was produced by quick and violent thrusts of the end of the forefinger against the windpipe; while,

from the length of time which some of these notes were held, the boy's face was swelled to redness; every vein of his throat seemed ready to burst; and his fine black eyes, which were swimming in lustre, appeared as if about to start from their blood-strained sockets. Yet, with all this, no one could wish to interrupt such charming sounds. The Arabic music had always seemed harsh to me, the Turkish but little less so, and the Persian, though still softer and more winning than either of these, yet wild and monotonous; but here there was a pathos, an amorous tenderness, and a strain of such fine and natural passion, in the plaints of love which this boy poured forth to an imprisoned mistress, of which I had till this hour thought the music of the East incapable. We all rewarded this infant singer liberally, and admonished him not to exert himself to the injury of his health and powers, for the ears of a crowd, to whom sounds of less angelic sweetness would be sufficiently gratifying.

It was past noon when we returned to the palace, by which time an elegant repast of sweetmeats, fruits, some light dishes, and tea,

were served up for us, in the apartments of Assad Ullah Khan, in a quarter of the same palace which we ourselves occupied ; and the rest of the day was passed in all the variety of pleasures which our entertainers could procure for us, in the fashion of the country.

OCT. 8th.—The young Mohammed Ali, who had been brought fresh from his mother's lap in the harem, to meet his father here at Ispahan, to-day commenced his military exercises, as it was intended to bring him up to fill the station of Topjee Bashee, which his father now occupied. Two Russian soldiers, who were here as captives on the parole, were employed for this purpose, and their first efforts were directed to teach the young recruit to march. The boy was dressed in a short blue jacket with red cuffs and collar, made after the European mode ; but he still retained his full Persian trowsers, with English boots over them, and his black sheepskin cap ; a naked sword was placed by his side, thrust through a waist shawl, so that altogether the lad made a fierce but sufficiently singular figure. The father consoled himself with a hope, however, that when I should send him from Bombay a helmet as

worn by our dragoons, and a pair of gold epaulets, the military decorations of his son would be complete ; and till then, said he, we must be content with an approximation to perfection. Of the Russians, who were employed to train this youth, one was a trumpeter, and sounded a march on the bugle horn as he walked before the young recruit ; the other marched by the boy's side, and directed his infant steps ; and in this way they paraded for more than an hour through the gardens and avenues of the palace we inhabited, to the gratification of numerous spectators, who bestowed their applause at every turn.

At the termination of this exercise, so fatiguing to a youth who had perhaps never walked for so long a time at any period of his life before, he was permitted to sit in the presence of his father and several other Khans, at a respectful distance, and we all bestowed our praises on the steadiness of his attitude and the firmness of his step. So successful a completion of this first effort in his military career ought not, said all present, to go unrewarded ; and reference was made to the father for the choice of the

remuneration to be bestowed, but this was of a nature not fit to be named.

Another excursion was proposed, after our morning's entertainment ; and the direction of this being left to my choice, we set out together, with the same party. After going through some of the gardens near our own residence, we directed our course towards Julfa, the quarter occupied by the Armenians, and situated in the south-west part of the city. In our way to this, we crossed the bed of the river Zeinderood, which was now entirely dry. The present want of water was felt throughout the country as one of the most serious evils that had afflicted Persia for many years ; and not only was the appearance of every thing changed thereby, but a scarcity and dearth of every species of provisions had followed, which was felt by almost every class of the citizens.

The bridge by which we crossed this river, as well as several others thrown over the stream, and seen by us in passing both on our right and left, was the work of Shah Abbas the Great, to whom almost all the improvements and embellishments of Ispahan are ascribed. None of these works are

raised in the centre, as bridges usually are; they form merely a sort of elevated road, continued in a straight line, and perfect level, across the stream. The foundations and supports to this road are, however, a series of pointed arches, with fine paved platforms between them; so that while the stream has free passage through the arches, there is great strength secured to the structure, by the raised way that divides them.

The road of the bridge is sufficiently wide to admit the passage of ten horsemen abreast; it is well paved, has a high wall, adorned with arched recesses on each side; and beyond these is a covered way for foot-passengers, with small chambers of repose, and fountains for the thirsty, placed at regular intervals. The platform of the basement is constructed of large hewn stones, and the upper part is formed of burnt bricks; the style of the architecture is Saracenic throughout, though the ornament of coloured tiles is purely Persian. As a whole, whether viewed from a distance, or in passing over it, it seemed to me equal to many of our best English bridges, and was deci-

dedly superior to any similar structure that I had yet seen in the East.

Immediately before us, as we entered on the garden land beyond the bridge, was a high and broken mountain hanging over the quarter of Julfa; half-way up the side of which, was pointed out a ruined fire-temple of the ancient Persians; and above this was seen a large excavation in the face of the rock, apparently intended for the site of some extensive work, abandoned before its completion. Still to the westward of this, on another hill, was seen a similar temple of the fire-worshippers of antiquity; and above it, on the summit of a pointed peak, a larger work, which was called a fort, but which none of our party could particularly describe.

The view on all sides was beautiful, from the richness of the plain, the profusion of gardens, and the domes and towers of mosques and palaces, rearing their heads from amidst verdant groves of poplars, sycamores, and graver cypresses, of the most noble size; while the mountain boundaries of this enchanting view gave a grandeur and

magnificence to the whole, not to be described.

In about an hour, as we loitered, turned, and halted on our way, to enjoy the scenery by which we were surrounded, we entered Julfa, which we found in a state of as great desertion and decay as all the other outskirts of this declining capital. There was nothing peculiar in the appearance of the place, as the streets were narrow, the houses enclosed within dead walls, and a general air of poverty and dejection prevailed, both over the dwellings themselves, and the countenances of those who inhabited them.

We alighted at the house of the Armenian Bishop, who had been apprised of our intended visit by a messenger preceding us, and we were received by himself and his inferior clergy with every mark of respect. We were first shown into the principal church. This was situated in a secluded court; in the centre of which, and in front of the church itself, was an open square edifice of three or four stories, the lower ones being used as kiosques, and the upper containing two large bells for summoning the congregation to worship,—a privilege which the

Armenians do not enjoy in Turkey. The church, though small, was richly adorned with all the pageantry of Christian state: the walls were covered with inferior paintings of subjects from Scripture; the pavement of the floor was spread with carpets; and the dome of the roof was ornamented in the Persian style, with enamelling of gold and colours; while the effect of the whole was improved by a blaze of light, surrounding the image of the Saviour, on the altar of their devotions.

This church, we were assured, was the work also of Shah Abbas, who seems, among his other traits of high and noble character, to have been the most tolerant monarch towards those of another religion that ever sat on the Persian throne. To this sovereign the Armenians ascribed their enjoyment of several important privileges, which had been taken from them at his death; and since that period, with the general decline of the empire, and more particularly of its capital, they had been declining in wealth and numbers, till there were now not more than three hundred families left, and these, from constant oppression, were all of the poorest class.*

* In Murray's 'Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia,' the writer says, that the most curious picture he

In our reception at the Bishop's house, to which we retired from the church, we were treated, after the Turkish manner, with preserved fruits and sweetmeats, sherbet, ca-leoons, and coffee, and perfumed with rose-water on our departure. The language of the party was also Turkish, as none of them spoke Arabic, and Persian was not yet so familiar to me as the former tongue.

A certain merchant, named Gulistan, who

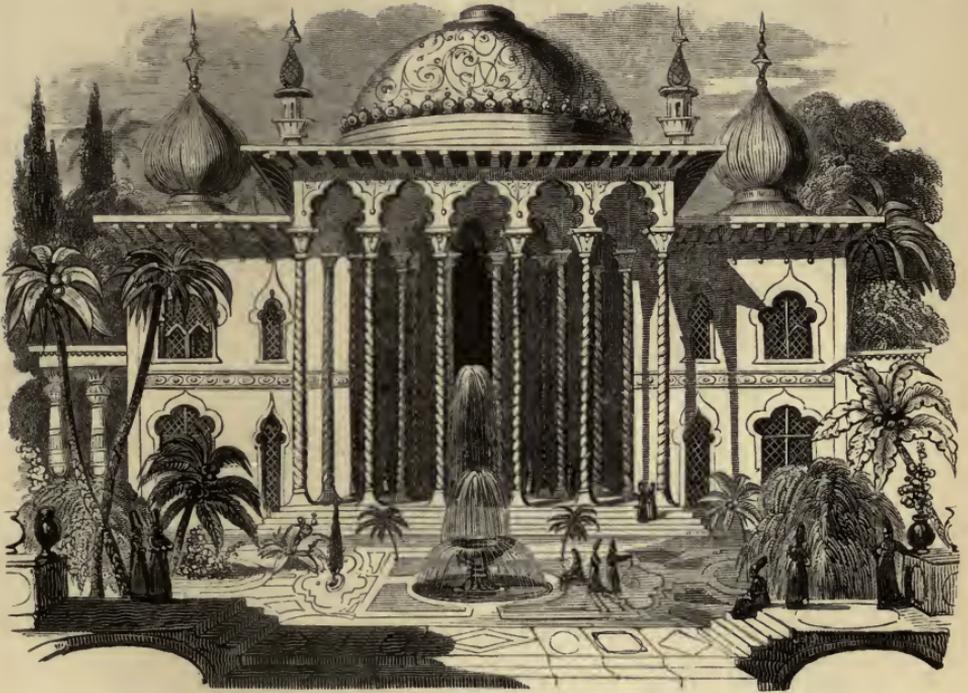
had seen of the character and policy of Shah Abbas was given by Don Garcia de Sylva, in the narrative of an embassy from Goa, then subject to Spain, under Philip III. This account had never been printed, but is still in manuscript in the British Museum. The author gives in this a very entertaining account of his interview with Shah Abbas, and his ineffectual attempt to negotiate with that monarch on the subject of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf; in which the Shah affected to be seized with religious fervour and devotion; and as he put on the semblance of Christianity whenever it would answer any purpose, so, on this occasion, he persuaded the whole of the Spanish retinue that he was one of the most pious and best of kings. A note appended to this account says, it appeared even that he was at one time formally baptized,—an event to which the Jesuits ascribed all the victories with which his arms were crowned against the Turks and Tartars.—See 'Nouvel Conversion du Roi de Perse, avec la Deffette de deux cens mil Turcs après sa conversion.' Paris, 1606. Also, 'Histoire Veritable de tout ce qui s'est fait et passé en Perse, depuis les cérémonies du Baptesme du Grand Sophy.' Paris, 1616.—*Hist. Acc. of Disc. in Asia*, vol. 3, p. 29—45.

acts as the agent of the English here, having prepared an entertainment for us at his house, we repaired thither, and were served with a repast nearly in the English manner, except that we partook of it on the ground, instead of having tables or chairs. Bowls of Shiraz wine were emptied and replenished in quick succession, as the Christians of Julfa make as extravagant an use of that privilege of their religion, as in all other parts of the East; and not an hour had elapsed after the sofra or cloth was removed, before many of the party were in highly elevated spirits. A native musician, who played on a kind of guitar, was called on to add to the pleasure of our entertainment; but though he sang to us the amours of Leila and Mejnoun, and some other of the most popular songs of Persia, his strains were harsh, and his accompaniment most inharmonious.

It was nearly sunset when we mounted our horses to return; and as the freshness of the evening air was delightful, we still loitered to prolong our ride; so that we were as tardy in our coming home, as we had been in our going out; the remainder of the evening was passed, in our apartment, in a long

theological discussion, of which the Persians seem exceedingly fond, when those of a different religion to their own happen to be present. It was conducted, however, with a good-humour and forbearance, which made it appear to be rather a mere exercise of argumentative talent, than a serious effort to convert any of the hearers from their supposed errors to any particular form of belief.

CHAPTER XIII.



ROYAL PALACE OF SHAH ABBAS, AT ISPAHAN.

CHAPTER XIII.

ISPAHAN—VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE
CITY—PERSIAN ENTERTAINMENT—PALACE
—GARDENS, &c.

OCT. 9th.—To-day was fixed on for our returning the visit of the Governor of Ispahan, which he had paid us by deputation, in consequence of his inability to quit his residence; and preparations for that purpose were made at an early hour.

The attention of the Topjee Bashee was taken up, as on the preceding day, in witnessing the military tuition of his son; and as the father was quite as well pleased as before with his tractability, the same reward was bestowed on his success, and the same indescribable scenes took place to-day, as were witnessed in the halls of departed grandeur

yesterday, and then mentioned as not fit to be particularly named.

It was about ten o'clock when we mounted at the gate of our palace, forming a party of about thirty persons, including the guards who preceded, the Khans who accompanied, and the servants who followed us. Mr. Armstrong, however, who was busily employed in constructing the model of a corn-mill for the government, and whose useful labours these public attentions shown to me had already interrupted, found means to excuse himself from accompanying us; and, in consideration of the motives which urged it, no one could complain. The route of our cavalcade lay partly through the quarter of Jubarra, or Yahoudia, in which we saw a number of very old and deserted mosques, which had before escaped our attention. The minarets of these were different from any others that I ever remember to have seen: they were extremely lofty, constructed of plain brickwork of the best kind, and rose like colossal pillars from the ground, gradually but slightly tapering from the base, until about two-thirds their height, where a termination was formed in a capital resembling the palm-

leaved capital of the Egyptian temples. Above this was placed a smaller pillar, of less height and diameter, completing the other third; so that the whole looked like a small column rising out of a larger one: the first capital probably forming a gallery for the mezzuin or crier; and the second, a higher one of the same kind; as, from the loop-holes or windows in the walls, there was no doubt a winding passage inside up to the top.

These minarets were all lofty, mostly single, and generally of plain brickwork; whereas, in the other quarters of Ispahan, the minarets are all low, and generally placed in pairs on each side of entrance gateways, being also coated over with coloured tiles; besides having a railed gallery, with a roofed covering at the top, in an altogether different manner. The style of architecture in the mosques to which these singular minarets were attached, though Saracenic in its order, was different in its general aspect and details from those of the other quarters of the city, and evidently of a much more ancient date, though, from a want of sufficient leisure and privacy to examine the inscriptions,

their precise date was unknown to me. All, however, concurred in the tradition, that this quarter was by far the most ancient of any now included within the limits of Ispahan; and every appearance indeed supported this belief.*

We reached the palace of the Governor at the hour of the morning divan, and the outermost courts were crowded with the horses and servants of those who attended it. After passing through some agreeable gardens, fountained squares, and dark passages, we at length reached the room of state. There were assembled here a considerable number of persons of distinction, all of whom

* Ispahan is mentioned as early as the age of Kai Kaoos; but of this there is no date, though it must have been much before the period assigned to it by Abulfeda, who speaks of it as being increased by the settlement of Mohammedans among the Jews of Yahoudia, near Gajjong, as noted in Rennell's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.†—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 35.

† The term "Turk" is applied, by the author of a Persian work, to a Tartar Prince, though it is in describing an event which must have taken place long before the tribe called *Turks* came into that part of Tartary; so that the name of Ispahan may be so used also.—Vol. i. p. 61.

The description of the taking of Ispahan by Timour the Tartar, and the dreadful massacre there, is very strikingly given in the same work.—Vol. i. p. 460.

rose at our entering; and the Governor himself, who placed me immediately beside him on his left hand, pointed to a stick with which he was obliged to support himself while walking, as an apology for his not showing me that mark of respect which he acknowledged as my due. There was in all this, an excess of honourable distinction which I could not understand, and which I still believed must have been destined for another, though all my enquiries led to no satisfactory explanation on that point.

The room in which we sat, opened on a square court, in which were garden-beds, flowers, rows of trees, and overflowing fountains filled with trout. From this apartment led a suite of others behind it, all decorated in the richest way, with mirrors, paintings, and gold and enamelled works, in the Persian style, and of the age of the splendid Shah Abbas. The furniture of these rooms, as of all others I had yet seen in Persia, consisted simply in carpets. These were indeed of the finest and softest kind, as well as exceedingly beautiful; but there were neither sofas nor cushions of any kind, as used in Turkey and Arabia. The Persians

of all classes and distinctions kneel, and sit back on their heels, preserving their bodies in an upright posture, and holding their hands across their girdles, or on their daggers, so that cushions are not necessary. This, however, is an attitude used by Turks and Arabs only before their superiors, and never resorted to by people of the higher classes, or those who feel at ease in society. The cross-legged mode of sitting, common to the Turks, is more easy of imitation by a stranger, and admits a greater change of position, so that lounging may be easily indulged in, and cushions are then agreeable; but among the Persians I had never observed this practised, either in the circles of the high or low; and it was so far fortunate, therefore, that my Arab dress admitted of my retaining Arab manners, since it would have been impossible for me to have sat in the Persian fashion longer than half an hour, without being incapacitated from rising again, from so cramped a position.

The dresses of most of the people of distinction in attendance, were those commonly worn by Persians of every description, and offered no other variety than the quality of

their materials. The sleeves and bodies of their garments are even tighter than those of Europeans; while the lower part, from the waist downward, is like an ample petticoat, open at the sides, and both undignified and ungraceful. Cashmeer shawls are wound round the waist, in which a plain and generally straight dagger is placed, and the black sheepskin cap is worn by all. An outer coat, with sleeves, and embroidered work around the edges, is used by the Khans and people in office, and this is mostly of bright scarlet broad-cloth, that being the established colour of the court-dress.

In our conversation with the Governor, his enquiries were first directed to European affairs, and afterwards to the state of the countries through which I had passed; and his observations seemed to me more intelligent than one generally hears from Turks in similar situations, though his knowledge of geography and statistics was equally deficient.

After an hour had passed, during which caleons were three or four times presented, and passed from one to another in the order in which we sat, refreshments were brought in. These were contained in a number of

large oblong trays, which were placed before the company ; so that, as they sat in three sides of a square, close to the walls of the room, the trays, when placed end to end, formed one continued table before the guests, and were conveniently accessible by every one. Their contents were chiefly fruits, in great variety and abundance, particularly pears and melons, which are nowhere in the world thought to be produced in higher perfection than at Ispahan ; bread of the whitest colour and best flavour ; cheese equal to English in taste, though different in appearance ; salads of lettuce and other herbs ; milk, cream, rice, sweetmeats, sherbet of pomegranate juice cooled by masses of ice ; and other similar delicacies, completed a feast of the most agreeable kind. Water was served to the guests for washing, both before and after the meal ; but coffee is not usually drunk by the Persians, either in public or in private.

Before we retired, an offer of every thing that the power of the Governor, or his city of Ispahan, could furnish us with, was publicly made, and a hope expressed that my stay would be in every respect agreeable both

to my health and wishes. A guard of honour was appointed also to escort us back to our own residence at the palace; and I felt almost oppressed by the overwhelming honours thus shown to me.

We passed the evening in a walk through the gardens of our dwelling, and closed it by a supper with the Topjee Bashee and a party of his public friends.

OCT. 10th.—Horses and attendants were prepared to-day for an excursion round the royal palaces and grounds, and notice had been sent to the keepers in attendance to be ready for our reception. Assad Ullah Khan was again appointed to be our guide, though several other Khans, with their servants, accompanied us.

Soon after leaving our own abode, we found ourselves at the Palace of the Chehel Sitoon, or Forty Pillars. The gardens around this mansion, and leading towards it, are all beautiful; the sycamores, which line the avenues, are large and ancient; the cypresses and firs, interspersed throughout the grounds, have an equally fine though different aspect; and the slender poplars, bending to the breeze, give a lightness and airiness to the

thickest woods. The fountains, canals, and walks, are laid out with all the taste and regularity of the best grounds of Europe; and, in short, every thing seems to have been, in its original design, as perfect as one could have desired it. The palace itself, though inferior to the gardens amid which it stands, is still a monument of the luxury and splendour of the age in which it was erected. In front is an open portico, in which three or four rows of pillars, about six in each, support a flat roof, or canopy; the four central pillars, which are placed at the angles of a square fountain, have a device of four lions, each carved in a hard stone, for the pedestals; the pillars are all lofty, perhaps fifty feet in height, but disproportionately slender; the shaft is one solid trunk of sycamore wood, shaped octagonally round the sides, and lessening from the base upwards, till it seems to be scarcely a foot thick at the placing on of the capital. The capital rises in a square, increasing its dimensions from below like an inverted pyramid, and is filled on every side by the concave niches so peculiar to the Saracenic architecture. As these pillars have to support a roof of enor-

mous weight, their strength is altogether insufficient; and not only do their disproportionate height and slender proportions offend the eye; but the bending of the parts of the roof between them, threatens a speedy fall. The shafts and capitals of these pillars are entirely covered with silvered glass as mirrors, — sometimes wound round in spiral flutings; at others, laid in perpendicular plates; and in others again, enamelled over by flowers and other devices, after the manner of embossed work on polished steel. The ceiling of the roof of the portico is divided into square compartments, moulded and richly covered with azure blue and gold, in admirable devices. The back part of this portico is one entire sheet of gold and mirrors, splendid as a whole, and containing many beauties in its minute details. Every possible variety of form is given to the devices, in which the plates and smaller pieces of glass are disposed, and their partitions are frames of gold. Paintings of beautiful females, some sculptured works on marble, inscriptions of highly finished writing, both of ink on paper, and of gold on blue enamel, with a hundred other details, impossible to

be remembered amid the overwhelming magnificence of so much labour and wealth, distract the attention of the observer.

The hall into which this leads, and for which this noble portico is an admirable preparation, is, if possible, still more magnificent, though its decorations are of a different character. The vast size of the room itself, the dimensions of which I should hesitate from mere memory to state, is alone sufficient to give it a noble air. The domed roof is indescribably beautiful, and the large compartments of historic paintings that decorate its walls, defective as their execution would appear to an European eye, are yet full of interest, from the portraits they contain, and the events to which they relate. Shah Abbas the Great, the distinguished founder of these kingly works, the restorer of his country, and the father of his people, is himself represented as receiving the audience of an Indian monarch, and the portraits of the most distinguished characters of his reign are pointed out by the attendants. As a banqueting room, scenes of war and state do not alone decorate its walls; but the enjoyments of the social board—women,

wine, and music—have their full share in the pictured stories of the day.

We went from hence to the Royal Hârem, called, from their number, the Haft Dest, or Eight Divisions. The view from hence was on all sides charming; but on that where the building hung over the stream of the Zeinderood, and commanded a view of gardens, bridges, palaces, and mosques, bounded only by the distant mountains, the prospect bordered on enchantment. It would be as vain as it would be endless, to enter into a detail of all that we saw here: gardens, fountains, secluded walks, and ranges of apartments, decorated in the richest, most varied, and pleasing manner, were the prominent features of this establishment. There were no large halls of state, as in the Royal Palaces; but the rooms were suited to the comfort of smaller parties than those which swelled the pomp of the monarch in his more public banquets with men. The style of decoration in the rooms was less gorgeous; but the delicacy and harmony of colours in the painted devices, and the lighter gilding of the domes, though more effeminate in character, was scarcely less beautiful. Every

one of these apartments had good fireplaces, on which the stain of the smoke still remained; many of them had hollow work on their walls, executed in the most tasteful designs, and intended, as we were told, to give an echo to the voice of the singers, and the sounds of music, and improve as well as prolong the tones of love and pleasure which once reverberated here. Verses, names, and sentences, were written on these walls in the Armenian character, and were most probably the work of such Georgian or Armenian females as had been immured here among the slaves of the royal bed: these, with many other traces of recent habitation, awakened feelings of a mixed though painful nature. *

We were delighted with all that we had seen here, and went from hence to another palace, similar in design and interior de-

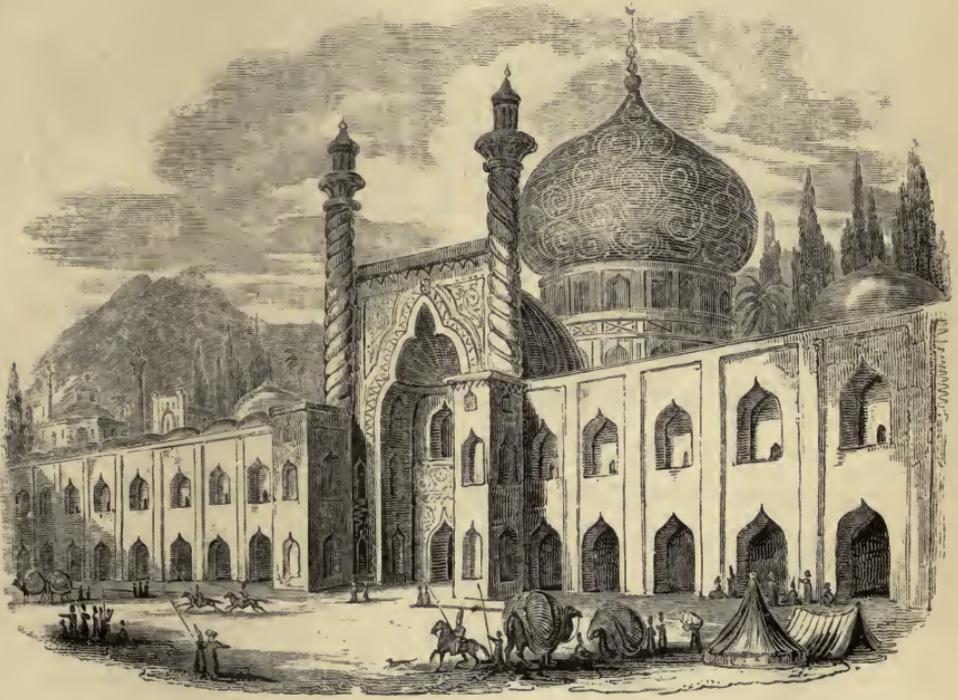
* On the capture of Ispahan by the Affghans, Mahmood, their chief, resided in the palace of Ferrahabad, where fifty of the best-born and most beautiful virgins of Julfa were sent to him in their richest clothes.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 630. It is not improbable that the Armenian writing seen by me on the walls of this palace was from some of these imprisoned females.

coration to the Chehel Sitoon, and, like it, seated among the most beautiful grounds. The Hasht Behest, or Eight Paradises,—a name most appropriately given to that number of gardens, in which all that Mohammed, or the Christian author of the Apocalypse, had painted of a sensual heaven, seems to have been anticipated,—detained us for some time amid its walks and bowers. The Char-Bagh, or Four Gardens, a work of the present Governor, Hadjee Mohammed Hussan Khan, the entrance to which is imposing from the long avenues of trees which it presents to the view, also shared our admiration. We had seen, however, so much to charm and delight us, and quitted one spot with so much regret, though to visit another perhaps still more beautiful, that we were literally fatigued with pleasure, and tired of constantly beholding so much splendour and magnificence in art, mixed with every thing that is agreeable in nature.

Our excursion closed by a visit to one of the Khan's friends, with whom we supped and passed the evening, having taken the refreshments of the day at almost every

palace and garden at which we had halted. When we returned home at night, my sleep was really interrupted by the confused recollections of all the overpowering magnificence which had pressed upon me, at every step that we had taken during the day.

CHAPTER XIV.



GREAT SQUARE AND FRONT OF THE ROYAL MOSQUE, AT ISPAHAN.

CHAPTER XIV.

ISPAHAN—VISIT TO THE PRINCIPAL MOSQUES AND COLLEGES OF THE CITY.

Oct. 11th.—IT had been my practice in all large Mohammedan cities, where it was at all likely that I should become known as a Frank from my residing or mixing with Christians there, to visit the mosques as early after my arrival as possible, while I was yet a stranger; but here I was prevented from so doing, as I had scarcely set my foot in the city, before I had become in some respects a public character. As I could not, on this account, now go safely as a Mohammedan into these hallowed sanctuaries, I ventured to express to the Khan, who had been my guide to all the other places, my desire of visiting them as a mere observer. Some

scruples were raised, not on his own account, but on those of the Moollahs, who are considered a highly bigoted race, and more particularly as to-day was the sabbath on which the mosques were crowded both by them and the most devout of the laity. It was at length determined on, that we should go as privately as possible; and changing my dress for one of extreme poverty, with a pointed Dervish cap on my head, a staff, and a long chaplet of green beads, which I had brought with me from Jerusalem, made at the mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's Temple there, I set out with Ismael on this holy excursion.

We went first to the small mosque of Looft Ali Khan, which is in the centre of the east side of the Maidan Shah. This is simply a square building, over which is raised a flattened dome, without pillars, arched vaults, or aisles. The workmanship is throughout of the best kind, both in the masonry and embellishments. Large blocks of Tabreez marble, highly polished, are used at the entrance, and along the surbasement of the interior. The gilding, enamel, and painting of the walls, and the ceiling of the dome within,

is equal to any of the halls of the palaces that we had seen ; and, small as it is, there is a great neatness and beauty in the whole. The exterior front, the portals, and arch of the door, and the outer surface of the dome, are all coated with painted and enamelled tiles, in which azure blue is the prevailing colour ; and the inscriptions, with which the building is crowded within and without, are chiefly in Cufic and in Arabic.

From the mosque of Lootf Ali Shah, as this personage is sometimes called, from his having assumed the title of sovereignty during his lifetime, we went to the great mosque, at the southern end of the Maidan, which is dignified with the peculiar name of the Mesjid Shah, or Royal Mosque. The lofty gate which forms the outer entrance to this, and faces the centre of the public square, has on each side of it a minaret, with open galleries at the top ; but though in any other situation these would be considered large, they look diminutive here, from the noble size and elevation of the gateway, which they guard. This gateway leads to an inner court, in which are fountains for ablutions, and large circular vases of close-grained stone, filled

with water, for drinking. These last ring like metal at the stroke of the nail, and are finely sculptured over with devices and inscriptions in bold relief. The outer pair of folding doors, which are scarcely less than sixty or seventy feet in height, and of a proportionate breadth, are cased with silver, and covered also with inscriptions, holy sentences, and characteristic ornaments in relief; and at the cistern, which meets the passenger on entering it, are silver cups fastened by silver chains to the marble, all of the most finished workmanship.

Around the court of the mosque are close vaults, for the devotions of the infirm or delicate, during the winter, as the temple itself is almost an open building. The ground plan of the whole, as seen from an elevated station without, is far from being regular; yet the want of uniformity is not apparent to the eye, either on entering or being within the building; and this has been as ably effected by the architect here, as at the Egyptian temple of Philœ on the Cataracts of the Nile, at the principal entrance to Geraza in the Decapolis, and at Palmyra, where one of the finest gateways has been so constructed

as to harmonize diverging lines ; and in the whole of these, irregularity has been made to appear regular, by the skill of the builder.

Nothing can surpass the rich yet solemn state of the interior of this royal mosque. Pavements and surbasements, of the fine diaphonous marble of Tabreez, cabled mouldings of arches, finely carved pilasters, and other portions of the same material, give an appearance of simple and solid beauty to the foundations of the edifice ; while the lofty domes and spacious aisles have a grandeur not to be surpassed ; and the rich decorations of the walls and roofs of every part, present one blaze of laboured magnificence, which would be too splendid, but for the architectural majesty of the edifice it adorns.

Around the mosque, on three of its sides, and communicating with it by separate passages, are colleges for the studies of the learned, and the education of youth. In these are courts, with fountains, shaded by the finest trees, as well as flower-gardens, fruits, and all that could render retirement at once cheerful, yet undisturbed, and favourable to literary pursuits. We remained in this mosque for a considerable time, pray-

ing and counting our beads. As we ran through the ninety and nine appellations of the deity, some of the Moollahs expounded, in Persian, certain Arabic verses of the Koran. They spoke from an elevated oratory, ascended to by flights of marble steps, each entire flight of one solid block; and with several of these we exchanged the salute of peace, while Ismael strove to draw them into a conversation on some of the higher points of doctrine; but as they saw that our practices were those of the Soonnee sect, whom they very cordially hate, they all proudly shunned us, which left us as undisturbed as we could have wished.

The mosque was crowded at noon with worshippers, perhaps to the number of two thousand; some of whom offered up their prayers alone and almost in silence, while others ranged themselves behind Imams, or leaders, and gave their devotions all the public solemnity of union. The beautiful parable of the Publican could not receive a more striking illustration than from the scene before us; and the gorgeous splendour of the dome, beneath which it was witnessed, added powerfully to its effect.

Some of the mosques at Cairo are exceedingly fine, and preserve perhaps some of the best specimens of the Saracenic architecture that exist. The mosque of Omar, which stands on the site of the old Jewish temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, has a noble aspect from without. That at Damascus, which was formerly a Christian cathedral, is beautiful, from its long avenues of Corinthian columns of marble. The court of the great mosque at Aleppo is perhaps nowhere surpassed; and some of these at Diarbekr and Bagdad have parts worthy of admiration. But, taken altogether, I have never yet seen, nor ever expect again to see, any Mohammedan temple so truly magnificent in all its parts, as this Royal Mosque of Ispahan. When quitting it, indeed, with this impression, and without the prospect of my ever entering it again, there was a feeling of melancholy present to my mind, which it required all the aid of new scenes and new ideas to dissipate.

The other mosques, which we visited in the course of the day, were too inferior to this, to merit a description immediately after it. Some derived their chief beauty from

their size; others were small, but exceedingly neat; and on all, a degree of labour and expense had been bestowed, which proved both the former wealth of the place, and the attachment of the people of Persia to splendid temples of worship.

We returned in time, after a long and fatiguing round, to say our evening prayers in the Mesjid Shah. The crowd was not now so numerous as at noon; and the proud Moolahs, with their aspiring pupils, bearded elders, and a few Fakeers, made up the assembly. The grave and hollow tones which reverberated through the lengthened aisles, and were re-echoed by the lofty domes,—the dim twilight, as the shades of darkness fast approached,—and the silent passing by of bare-footed devotees, who were but faintly seen, and not heard, though their loose robes brushed us as they glided along,—were all striking features of a scene that inspired mixed sensations of awe and admiration, and almost fixed one to the spot, in that meditative mood, which the mourning children of affliction mistake for philosophy, but which the lover of more cheerful joys would shun as the bane of happiness.

OCT. 12th.—We had not yet seen the fine colleges of the learned, which were among the most splendid establishments of Shah Abbas the Great, nor visited any of the learned men of the day; and as we were still detained at Ispahan for an opportunity to depart with a caravan, this duty was fixed on for our morning excursion.

We first went to one of the smallest of these Medresses, as they are called, and now almost the only one in Ispahan in which there are any students, except those of the regular priesthood. It was an exceedingly neat establishment, consisting of ranges of chambers around the interior of an open square court, like the arrangement of a caravansera, but of a better kind. The court itself was laid out in fountains and canals, bordered by avenues of trees, and divided by beds of flowers. In this court, stood the tomb of Tékéa Mir Abul-Cassim Fendereski, an Arab of great learning and celebrity, and the translator of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers, into his own tongue. The tomb itself was of plain marble, simply inscribed in Arabic characters on a small tablet at the head; a spreading tree

overshadowed it by its branches ; and leaning against its trunk, which overhung the tomb, was a small framed and glazed tablet, on which was beautifully written, on paper, an Arabic ode, in praise of the deceased, in a style of great eloquence ; but the author of which had also followed the fate of the learned subject of his eulogy.

We reposed beside this tomb for half an hour, and listened to the moralizing strains of the Dervish Ismael, who urged every thing he either heard, or felt, or saw, or even imagined, in support of his favourite maxim, that Pleasure was the only Good ; and that we should therefore eat and drink, since to-morrow we die ; and if he was eloquent on ordinary occasions, he was additionally so on the one that now presented him with so fine an illustration of that which he called the folly of human wisdom. A young student of about eighteen, who saluted us as he passed, and who, from our manner of returning it, joined us where we sat, aided the sententious declamations of the Dervish by some fine quotations from the very writer whose ashes we had come to venerate ; and we found, from a prolonged conversation with

this lad, that, young as he was, he was deeply versed in the doctrines of Soofeeism, and was fast verging into that scepticism, which is almost the constant result, in these countries, of premature and self-directed studies of a metaphysical cast.

From hence we went to the more splendid Medressé of Ahmed Shah: a noble work in its original state, but now almost abandoned, as there were only some inferior Moollahs who occupy a few of the numerous chambers around its stately courts. The outer gateway of this spacious edifice, which fronts a long range of gardens, is closed by large folding-doors, which, like those of the royal mosque, are coated over with sheets of silver, on which, devices and inscriptions are executed in relief. The interior court is laid out in fountains, canals, and gardens, in which large spreading trees yield an agreeable shade, and beds of flowers give the appearance of a constant spring. The ranges of chambers below, as well as those in the galleries above, are conveniently adapted for the retirement of study, and have each of them the proper offices attached behind, for the comfort of those who may inhabit them.

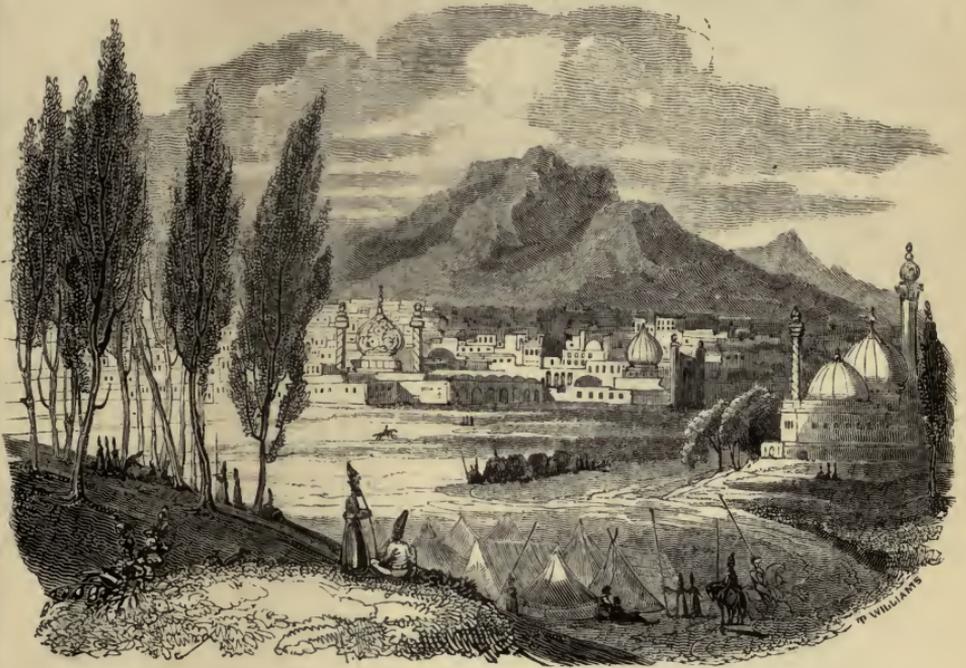
As Assad Ullah Khan was still our guide, and we rode with a large retinue of servants, our appearance commanded respect; and indeed we every where met with it. Even here we were invited into the neat apartment of a Moollah, and served with sweetmeats and caleons by his own hands. This man, as we were assured after our visit, was one of the most learned in Ispahan; though in a conversation which was introduced on the subject of the demonstrative sciences of astronomy and mathematics, as well as the less certain ones of chemistry and medicine, he hardly seemed to be aware that these branches of learning were better understood in Europe than in Persia. His geographical knowledge did not even extend to the relative positions of the countries forming the boundaries of his own. In astronomy, the motions of the heavenly bodies were not at all familiar to him, though he knew the effect popularly ascribed to the conjunctions of the stars and planets. Chemistry and medicine were in no way connected with his studies; and his notions of both, were those of a man who had neither heard nor thought on the subject in his lifetime. But in po-

lemical divinity, the distinctive features of Soonneeism and Sheeahism, and in the doctrines of the Soofees, he was more proficient. He could recite some of the verses of Saadi, whom he called his favourite poet, though he confessed at the same time his disrelish for the other distinguished ones of his country. Of Arabic literature he was entirely ignorant; and the best historians of his own country were unknown to him, since I mentioned the names of several, with the titles of their works, as popularly known among Oriental scholars of the west, of which he had not even heard. The claim of this man to be considered as one of the most learned of the day, and the ornament of the colleges of Ispahan, might have been sufficiently well-founded; but if this were admitted, as it was here without a scruple, the condition of useful learning in Persia must be deplorably low and degraded. The Moolah Hadjee Mir Mohammed Hossein was however kind, subserviently humble, and easily polite in his manners; and there was neither pride nor affectation apparent in his behaviour.

We spent a considerable time with this

man, examining some specimens of fine Persian writing, of which he had an extensive and beautiful collection, chiefly made up of detached sentences and chapters of the Koran. We were served here with a noon repast of fruits and sweetmeats, before we were conducted over the college; and this, with a ride in the garden, into which its outer front opened, consumed nearly the whole of the day; so that we did not return home until sunset, where a scene of more animating joys was prepared for us,—and a night of turbulent delight, with all the accessories of wine and appropriate music, which are nowhere enjoyed with more zest than in this country, where they are strictly forbidden, succeeded to a day of calm and tranquil pleasure.

CHAPTER XV.



VIEW OF ISPAHAN FROM AN EMINENCE OVERLOOKING THE CITY.

CHAPTER XV.

ISPAHAN — PALACE OF OUR RESIDENCE —
PAINTINGS—GARDENS—DISTANT VIEW OF
THE CITY.

OCT. 13th.—WE had been hitherto so occupied in our excursions round the city, and the sight of all that has been so hastily and imperfectly described, that the splendid palace of our own residence had not yet been half gone over, and the more modern establishment for the present royal family attached to it had altogether escaped our attention. The first of these was one of the earliest residences of Shah Abbas the Great, and that to which he is said to have been most attached through life. It is called Talar Tuweelah, from its extensive stables for one thousand horses near it. Its large

hall of audience, which fronts a fine garden, has been already described. Its noble dimensions, and the splendour of its decorations, were in no way inferior to those of the Chehel Sitoon, and other buildings in the Hasht Behest; and though of equal, or even older date, it was in a much higher state of preservation than either of these. A large closed room led off from one end of this, which, as it was entered by small latticed doors, and afterwards solid double ones, was most probably a banqueting room of the King, when retired with his females. The domed roof of this was particularly beautiful;—the pictured subjects were appropriate to retired pleasures, the stained glass windows gave a rich and mellowed light, and there were balconies, or galleries, ascended to by steps, as if for musicians, or singers. My own room communicated with the principal hall by three sets of double-doors, and opened on the other side into a high walled court, perfectly secluded even from the highest point of view without. This was also said to have been one of the female apartments, which appeared extremely probable, from its comparatively small size, the style of its de-

corations, and the manner of its communication, by double doors, with the hall on one side, and by an, equal number of the same kind with the garden and court on the other. The walls of this, from the floor to the roof, were of raised gold-work, on a blue ground, and the lower recesses were executed in the same way, with devices of flowers, trees, birds, &c. In the upper recesses, which were separated from the lower by a rich broad frieze of gold ground, with flowers, were a succession of historical paintings. In these, females were always the heroines of the story: sometimes they appeared in the chase—at others, in the act of being sold as slaves—love and intrigue were depicted in some—and in one, the sight of a female bathing in a stream had checked the speed of an amorous prince, who gazed on her with intense desire. The story of Baharam Gour, or Baharam the Fifth, and his fair favourite, fills the last compartment near the door, and is perfectly understood by even the children of the country. This monarch, whose reign has ended nearly fourteen hundred years, has been pronounced to be one of the best sovereigns that ever ruled Persia; the happi-

ness of his subjects being his sole object, during the whole of his reign. His favourite amusement, in hours of relaxation from public duties, was the chase; and in the indulgence of this passion, indeed, he lost his life.

Sir John Malcolm, in his visit to one of this monarch's hunting seats, heard almost exactly the same story of his skill as an archer, as was related to me by a domestic who explained the painting of the subject on the walls here.* The king is represented sitting in a chair, while his horse is held by an attendant; and his banished favourite is seen bearing on her shoulders a large black cow, and with it ascending a flight of ten steps leading to an apartment above. The doors of this pictured room were securely made, neatly panelled, and the grain of the sycamore wood of the country imitated on a varnished ground by waves of gold. The windows over the doors leading to the garden were among the most beautiful of any that I had seen in Ispahan; they were of a pointed arched form, richly covered in small hollow work of the most

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 119.

ingenious patterns, and the harmony of colours in the extremely minute pieces of glass which filled these intervals was perfection itself. As the doors below were double, so were these windows; the hollow between the inner and the outer ones occupying all the thickness of the wall from three to four feet. The outer windows were now spread over with paper, yet, even in this state, the rich effect of the light was inconceivably fine.

Behind the suite of apartments connected with the great hall, were other courts and gardens, filled with canals and fountains, and surrounded by buildings fit in every sense to form the abodes of luxurious and powerful sovereigns; in all of which, labour and wealth had been lavished, as if neither seemed of any value or account. Large squares, with open troughs for horses around them, and closed stalls within, extensive kitchens, and other domestic offices, were attached to these; and, within all, was a spacious court, of nearly a thousand feet square, with empty fountains, broken pedestals, portions of a fine stone pavement that covered the whole, a

range of noble buildings round the sides, and a square pile of more costly ones in the centre, all now deserted and in ruins. This, we were told, was once a royal harem, in which were immured upwards of three hundred of the most beautiful Georgian girls, besides wives and slaves of other countries; and the magnificence of the establishment, the richness of its gilded arches, domes, and walls, induced us to credit all that could be said of it in its original perfection.*

* One of the oldest and best accounts of Ispahan, soon after the period of Shah Abbas's government, is given by Sir Thomas Herbert, an English traveller, who visited it in 1627, and parts of whose description are so curious as to be worth transcribing, especially as his book is not now easy of access to the general reader. He says:—

‘The imperial city Spawhawn is in thirty-two degrees thirty-nine minutes north; is seated in the kingdom of Parthia, in a fair plain and pleasant horizon. It is by some called Spaan, and by others Spahan and Hispahan, as their several dialects concurred.

‘It is a city of as great extent as fame, and as ancient as famous, and no less proud than ancient. At this time triumphing over those once more royal cities, Babylon, Ninive, Shushan, Ecbatan, Persæpolis, Arsatia, and Nabarca.

‘This city was in her infancy called Dura; but whether in that Dura, where the great Assyrian monarch, Nebuchadnezzar, erected his golden colosse, I know it not: but this is known, that it was called by the ancient Greeks Hecatompÿlos, from

The palace erected for the present monarch, Futteh Ali Shah, was the work of a builder named Aga Bozoorg, who was himself our guide over it. It has not been completed more than four years, and was altogether done at the expense of the present Governor of the city, Hadjee Mohammed Hoosein Khan, as a tribute to his sovereign. It is said to be by far the best palace of his own in all the country, and far superior to any of the royal residences at Teheraun, Tabreez, Kermanshah, or Shiraz; for, its hundred *gates*; for Hecatompolis was meant by the Crætan isle, which had so many *cities*.

‘The boasting Persians named her, for her bigness, Half the World; and this greatness of hers was long ago, for these Scythopersæ know her no longer, then called Spawhawn, which has no signification. To say truth, she is beautiful and ancient; her circuit may be nine miles, and in that the better half is gardens.

‘The city is round, like Paris; its circuit, I have said, about nine English miles; her inhabitants, 300,000 souls, at most. The chief ornaments of the city are the Mydan, or great market; the Hummums, or hot-houses; the Mosques, the King’s palaces, and the gardens.

‘The Mydan is in the heart of the city, and, to say truth, all the bravery, concourse, wealth, and trade, are comprised in her. It is built quadrangular, though of unequal angles: from north to south, is seven hundred and seventy-five of my paces; from east to west, two hundred, but, accounting the aisle to the north issuing, is at least a thousand.

‘It is

though all the remains of departed grandeur here are the property of the King, it is the fashion of this country for the reigning sovereign not to inhabit any palace of his an-

‘ It is built in form of our Royal Exchange, with four aisles and a court within, called the Hippodrome, so called from their running with horses there. It is stored with all merchandises, chiefly drugs; and to this place daily resort most nations, as English, Dutch, Portuguals, Arabians, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Muscovans, and Indians.

‘ The Hummums here are round, spacious, and costly; one of which, built by this king, cost fifteen thousand pounds sterling, ere it was finished. They are much given to bathing, and it is most of their physic. The men go in the afternoon, the women at morn, and guided by the eunuchs.

‘ The Mosques, or churches, are large and handsome: that at the west side of the Mydan is most beautiful. It is round, built with good white marble five yards high from the sole; the rest is dried bricks, covered over with posies of Arabic, and like work.

‘ The King’s prime house is within the Mydan, yet no way entrenching further than the other houses; it is two stories high, gilded and wrought in antique works and posies, to the outward view; within, the rooms are covered with rich carpets, the roof embossed and wrought with gold and blue, terraced above.

‘ Before his door lie unmounted forty-three demicannons, one-and-thirty are brass, the rest of iron, and are culverins. These were brought from Ormus or Babylon.

‘ At the north end of the Mydan are eight or nine rooms, like chapels, hung with lamps, which, being many and clear,

cestors ; so that excellent edifices are thus neglected and destroyed, to erect inferior ones on their site.

This palace, which is in the general style

give a dainty splendour. Hither, sometimes, the King repairs, and when he is away, the people are admitted.

‘ The Gardens fall in the next place to be spoken of ; and in this, the city enjoys many, both large and delightful. I will content myself to speak of one, by which you may conjecture of the rest.

‘ It is at the south-west end of the city, to which you pass through a street of two miles length, and better, both sides planted with Cheñor trees.

‘ The garden is called Nazar-iareeb ; it is a thousand paces from north to south, and seven hundred broad. It hath varieties of fruits and pleasant trees, and is watered with a stream cut through the Coronian mountain, and is forcibly brought hither. The first walk is set with pipes of lead and brass, through which the water is urged, and gives variety of pleasure.

‘ From the entrance to the farther end, is one continued open alley, divided into nine ascents, each mounting higher by a foot than the other : the space betwixt each ascent is smooth and pleasant. In the midst is a fair tank, or pond of water, of twelve equal angles, and rows set with pipes to spout the water.

‘ At the entrance is a little, but well-built house of pleasure, the lower rooms adorned with crystal water, immured with tanks of rich white marble.

‘ The chambers above are enriched with pictures, representing sports, hawking, fishing, archery, wrestling, &c. : other places in use very richly overlaid with gold and azure.

‘ But that which is of most commendation, is the prospect it enjoys

of the plainest of the old ones here, is furnished with spacious courts, fountains, canals, gardens, and trees. With such fine models immediately before their eyes, the builders have succeeded in completing a tolerable imi-

enjoys; for, by being seated so high, it overtops and gives the excellent view of a great part of the city, which cannot be obtained elsewhere.

‘ Returning to the city, you pass over a bridge, arched and supported with five-and-thirty pillars, under which is a stream of water, sometimes so broad as the Thames at London, but other sometimes near dried up; and he that looketh to it is called Prince of the River, a name and employment of great honour and benefit.

‘ Abbas, the late victorious King, with whom few things were impossible, for many years past hath endeavoured to cut through many mountains, (the Coronian, being next the town,) to bring the river to Spawhawn, by the daily labour of forty thousand slaves, which of itself runs quietly fifty miles distant thence, and has performed it almost successfully; which, when it has perfection, may well compare with that old wonder, intended by vain-glorious Nero, betwixt Ostia and Avernus, now called Lycola.

‘ Out of the city, behind that late described garden, is a mount rising in midst a spacious plain, which by the Persians is called Darow, and supposed that place where Darius, in imitation of his predecessor Xerxes, wept upon view of his innumerable army, so suddenly to become nothing.

‘ In this city is a column, compact of several heads, of men, antelopes, bucks, goats, buffaloes, elephants, and camels: it is at the base about twenty foot in compass, and, I suppose, the height threescore. It was erected upon this occasion: when Abbas was proclaimed King, the Spawhawnians would not let

tation of the more ancient works. It is only less costly, less gorgeous, and less overpowering in splendour. The apartments are laid out on nearly the same plan, and are adorned in a very similar way. Some few paintings

him enter, but charged him with the death of Mahomet, his father, and the murder of Emyrhamze, the Prince, his elder brother.

‘ This nettled Abbas, and made him swear stoutly by his crown, by his father’s soul, the eight refulgent orbs, the eleven hundred names of God, and the honour of his prophet Mahomet, for this rebellion he would chastise them bravely, cut off forty thousand of their heads, to raise a pillar of terror and admiration, as a ready sacrifice unto Mahomet.

‘ After much ado, he conquers them, ransacks the city, kills a thousand of them, and, mindful of his oath, gives order to behead forty thousand. A lamentable cry was raised, and much entreaty used, but to small purpose. The vow of the Persians never alters, nor could he be dissuaded, till the Mufti, or sacred messenger, assures him, Mahomet by revelation told him, his oath might be dispensed with, so forty thousand were beheaded, no matter what; to which, at length, he is content to, whereupon a general massacre of all sorts of beast executed, the harmless often suffering for the nocent; and this monument of merciless mercy was reared higher than any mosque in that city, though now grown ruinous.

‘ A like trophy was built by cruel Mustapha Bassaw, general for the Great Turk, Amurath the Third, who with a hundred thousand men entered Persia, and was repulsed by Sultan Tomcomack, the Persian general, where, in the Caldaran plains, thirty-thousand Turks lost their lives, and only eight thousand Persians, of whose heads Mustapha made a monument for his dear-bought victory, and horror to the Persians.’ Pages 82—91.

A singular

of Georgian youths, of both sexes, are seen, with portraits of Jemsheed,* and other distinguished ancients, and of Jengiz Khan, and some other moderns. The portrait of the King himself occupies the chief place in every apartment: sometimes represented as seated on the chair or throne of state; at others, reclining in the divan, surrounded by his sons and officers of court. The portraits are all alike, and are said to be very faithful: they are executed as well as any of the older paintings of Ispahan. All these rooms being newly carpeted, the work fresh, and every thing in perfect order, there is greater pleasure in witnessing this effort of recent labour than in traversing the decayed halls of more splendid days; though almost every part of the modern works, both in the architecture

A singular representation is given, in an engraving, of this obelisk, or monument, composed of human skulls, some parts of which remained to a period within the memory of persons still living in Ispahan; but every trace of it is now fortunately obliterated.

* Jemsheed, the Alfred of the Persians, to whom all great works are attributed, is said to have divided his subjects into four classes: the second of which, or the warriors, were called Nessereans. — *History of Persia*, p. 206. Can the Nessereah of Kerrund, and of the mountains in Syria, have any relation to these?

and the details, bespeaks a decline of art in the country.

The present monarch has resided at Ispahan at three different periods, for a short time only ; but though he admires the situation, the climate, the productions, and the former greatness of Ispahan, the latter of which he might have it in his power to restore by his residence here, a regard to his personal safety is said to make him prefer the bad air, bad water, and otherwise disagreeable station of Teheraun, where he has secured his treasures by strong walls,—is nearer his own tribe of the Kujurs for support, in case of rebellion,—and has behind him impenetrable forests for escape, in the event of these betraying him.* Whether

* The Kujurs are a Turkish tribe. The first son of the present King of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, called Mahommed Wali Mirza, was once Governor of Mushed, but has been driven out and now lives about his father's court at Teheran, without a post. The second son, Mahomed Ali Mirza, now Governor of Kermanshah, is a high-spirited and aspiring character, and a great favourite of the nation. The third son, Abbas Mirza, Governor of Tabreez, is less enterprising and less popular ; but he is the avowed favourite of the monarch, and is declared heir to his throne. The fourth son, Hassan Ali Mirza, Governor of Shiraz, is seemingly contented with his present power, and puts forth no pretensions to an extension of it. The two first of

these be his motives or not, such is the general opinion of his subjects here, who do not scruple to pronounce it openly, and inveigh both against his boundless avarice, his oppressive government, the corruption of his inferior agents, and his own personal cowardice.

After long waiting in vain for an occasion of departing with a caravan from hence for Shiraz, we had determined to set out on the morrow alone, and trust, as we had done before on similar occasions, to our own vigilance and union for safety.

The city of Ispahan being seated on a perfect plain, with no one eminence throughout its vast extent, we had as yet enjoyed no commanding view of it as a whole, from any one part of the numerous rides that we had taken around it. The most elevated building in the city, excepting only the domes and minarets of the mosques, was fortunately a part of the very palace we inhabited, and stood at the end of a walled passage, of about

these are the offspring of the King by Georgian women : the third is by a high-born female of the Kujur tribe, and is therefore chosen to succeed the King ; but the second son refuses to do him homage during the life of his father, and publicly avows his determination to dispute the empire with him, at the point of the sword, on this monarch's death.

a thousand feet in length, leading directly from the court of my own apartment eastward towards the Maidan, or Great Square.

This building is called Ali Kaupee, or Ali's Gate, from the Turkish; the lower part of it having been brought from the tomb of Imam Ali, at Nujuff. The edifice is a lofty square pile, of five stories in height, with a flat terrace on the top. As the chief builder, Aga Bozoorg, was always near, from his assisting Mr. Armstrong in his labours, and this with all the other public edifices was in his custody, we expressed a desire to ascend to the top of it, and take our evening coffee and caleons,—a favour which was readily granted.

The eastern front of this building occupies the immediate centre of the west side of the Maidan Shah, looking directly over that extensive square, and opening into it; and its western, or back front, led, by the walled passage described, directly to our own residence. We ascended it on the inside by a narrow staircase, the steps of which had been cased with coloured tiles, and the walls and ceilings were richly painted. After passing a number of small apartments and irregular

passages, we came on the third story to the noble balcony, or portico, which overlooks the Maidan, and in which the sovereigns of Persia used to sit, to receive processions, embassies, or other large assemblies, as they appeared before them in the square below.*

* The manner in which these embassies were received and entertained, as well as the character of the reigning monarch and his court, in the time of Abbas, is so graphically described by Herbert, that a perusal of his account will give the modern reader a more accurate notion of the state of the country then, than any thing that could be presented to him. He will not fail to have observed, in a preceding extract from the same old writer, the freedom with which travellers spoke, two centuries ago, of the peculiarities in foreign manners that attracted their attention. More recent voyagers are obliged to speak less plainly: but it is questionable whether the public taste has not driven them into the opposite extreme, and whether what is gained in decorum of expression is not lost in fidelity of description. The following is Herbert's account of his entertainment in 1627.

‘ At our alighting at the court-gate, an officer led us into a little place, having a pretty marble pond or tank in centre, the rest spread with silk carpets, where our ambassador and the rest stayed two hours, and then were feasted with a dish of *pelo*, which is rice boiled with hens, mutton, butter, almonds and turmerack: but how mean soever the diet was, the furniture was excellent, pure beaten gold, both dishes, covers, flagons, cups, and the rest.

‘ Thence we were led by many Sultans, through a large, delicate, and odoriferous garden, to a house of pleasure, whose chambers both viewed the tops of Taurus and the Caspian Sea.

This portico resembles in its general aspect that of the Chehel Sitoon, and the pillars are of the same number and description. We

‘Into this lodge we entered; the low room was round and spacious, the ground spread with silk carpets, in the midst a marble tank full of crystalline water (an element of no small account in those torrid habitations), and round about the tank, vessels of pure gold, some filled with wine, others with sweet-smelling flowers.

‘Thence into a chamber, furnished in manner as the former, but with three times more vessels of gold, set there for pomp and observation.

‘At the end sat the Potshaugh, or great King, cross-legged and mounted a little higher than the rest, his seat having two or three white silk shags upon the carpets.

‘His attire was very ordinary; his tulipant could not out-value forty shillings, his coat red calico quilted with cotton, worth very little, his sword hung in a leather belt, its handle or hilt was gold; and in regard the King was so plain attired, most of the court had like apparel on for that day.

‘Yet the plate and jewels in that house argued against poverty, a merchant then there imagined it worth twenty millions of pounds.

‘So soon as our lord ambassador came to him, he by his interpreter delivered briefly the cause of his journey, which was to congratulate his victorious success against the Turk, to renew the traffic of silk, and other things to benefit the merchants, and to see Sir Robert Sherley purge himself from those imputations laid on him by Nogdibeg the King of Persia his late ambassador.

‘The King gave him a very gracious reply, and whereas he thinks it honour enough to let the great Turk’s ambassador kiss the hem of his coat, and sometimes his foot, he very nobly gave our ambassador his hand, and with it pulled him down and seated him next to him cross-legged, and calling for a cup of

passed our evening here, enjoying the splendid view of the city, till night invited us to repose.

wine, drank to his Majesty our famous King, at which he put off his hat, and the King seeing it, put off his turban, and drank the cup off, which our ambassador pledged thankfully. And the people thought it a strange thing to see their King so complimentary, for it is a shame with them to be bare-headed.

‘The chamber wherein he was entertained, had the sides painted and gilded very beautifully, though indeed the verse may be inverted, *Materia superabat opus*, and not *materiam*.

‘Round about, with their backs to the wall, were seated fifty or sixty Beglerbeks, Sultans, and Chawns, who sit like so many statues, rather than living men. The Ganymede boys go up and down with flagons of wine, and fill to those that covet it.

‘The day before this ceremony, the King rode to hunt the tiger, accompanied only with two hundred women, his wives and concubines; most of them were attired like courageous Amazons, with scymitar, bow, and arrows, the eunuchs riding abroad to prohibit any to come in view of them: the penalty is no less than loss of life, a dear price for novelties.

‘And though for the most part, when the King is in a progress, he has sometimes ten thousand, other times twenty thousand Cozelbashaws, or soldiers of best reckoning, yet at our being then at court, two thousand was the most then attending him.’ Pages 96—98.

There are passages in this, and indeed in the works of all old travellers, which could not now be printed; but the curious must be content to refer to these in the originals.

CHAPTER XVI.



FIRE TEMPLES OF THE ANCIENT DISCIPLES OF ZOROASTER.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEPARTURE FROM ISPAHAN—AND JOURNEY
BY AMMEENABAD AND YEZDIKHAUST TO
PERSEPOLIS.

OCT. 14th.—HAVING completed all our arrangements for prosecuting our journey further south, we rose early, and taking a moonlight breakfast, with the friends who had so hospitably entertained us at Ispahan, we mounted our horses for departure at daylight. The Fakeer, Zein el Abedeen, had now left us, to remain at this city; assigning as his reason, that a revival of the passion, which he had in vain performed a pilgrimage to conquer, would not suffer him to quit again the favoured abode of his mistress, who, he assured us, had taken pity on him since his return, and made him vows

of eternal fidelity, though her husband still held her in bondage. The Dervish, Ismael, however, still continued attached to me; and though he was evidently averse to our setting out on the journey alone, yet he affected to bid a loud defiance to all dangers, as he buckled on his sword.

Mr. Armstrong insisted on accompanying us out of the city, and the Topjee Bashee, Assad Ullah Khan, who was prevented from doing us this intended honour, by his having an early engagement with the Governor, sent his own led horse, with his young son, Mohammed Hassan, and a number of his servants to swell our train. All this, as I had now resumed my former character of an Arab Pilgrim, I would rather have dispensed with, but there was no resisting these kind attentions.

As we quitted Ispahan, we went out through the Shiraz-gate, passing through the long avenues of the Char Bagh in our way, and having gardens on each side of us, well watered by fountains, canals, subterranean aqueducts,* and artificial cascades, the trees in

* The aqueducts of Persia are all subterranean, and contribute nothing to the architectural beauty or ornament of the country, like those of Europe.

most luxuriant foliage, and full-blown roses adding their perfume to this general breath of Spring, prolonged to so late a season. Crossing the bed of the Zeinderood by the fine bridge before described, we continued our course southerly, having Julfa and the mountain of the fire temple on our right; and passed through a mean but extensive burying-ground, where a party of females were uttering their lamentations over a new-made grave.*

In about an hour we had gained a line of small hills, in one of the passes through which we filled our water-skins at an enclosed spring, as we learned that there was no water on the road before us. From this spot we enjoyed a last view of Ispahan, which from this elevated point, and during the freshness of the morning, looked indescribably beautiful.

It was here that our friends quitted us to return to the city. The grasp of my countryman was warm and cordial; and the expressions of the young Mohammed Hassan

* This is a very ancient custom. We read of the hired mourners for the dead in the Scriptures. Herodotus describes the practice as prevalent in ancient Egypt. And Herbert has the following mention of it in his day in Persia:—

‘ Their marriages have not much ceremony, polygamy is tolerable. Their burials are exactly performed by hired women,

were as kind as when we parted before at the Khan of Chal Seeah; though he said he had thanked God a thousand times already, and should continue to do so all his life, for our having so unexpectedly passed ten days together, after what both had thought a final separation.

On clearing the ridge of hills, we came out on an extensive plain, on the left of which villages, gardens, and the large circular buildings for pigeons, before described, occupied a line of several miles. In the way through this, we passed some ruined buildings; and at its extremity we came to a steep road, cut up over a bed of rock, with some deserted huts at the top.

As it was now near noon, we alighted to refresh. The character of the stone com-

who for five hours space, scratch their ugly faces, howl bitterly, tear their false hair, swoon and counterfeit sorrow abominably: these their ejaculations continue till his placing in the grave, which is after they have washed him, (for they think purification in life and death is very necessary,) they perfume him, wrap him in fine linen, bid him commend them to all their friends, lay him with his head to Medina Talnabi, place him where never any was formerly buried, (because they think it an extreme injury to molest the bones of such as sleep,) place two stones writ with Arabic letters, to signify his lodging, its length and breadth, then bid farewell.' Page 168.

posing the hills here, was different from that we had seen before, being hard, close-grained, of a chocolate-brown colour, placed in horizontal layers, of nearly equal thickness, and disposed to divide in oblong squares. The last slate we had seen was on the first low ridge of hills, where we filled our supply of water for the journey: this, too, was of a brownish colour, and disposed to divide perpendicularly, in square pillars; thus differing from the blue slate between Ispahan and Hamadan, which separated in horizontal plates.

At this pass there was a small custom-house for taking account of the entry and departure of goods from Ispahan, but not for receiving the duties. On the right, in a plain, were seen some villages, but the general character of the prospect was dull and barren, with dry plains, and ridges of mountains perfectly bare, and of very broken and pointed summits.

When we mounted and continued our way, our course lay first south-west, and then south-south-east, but was on the whole nearly south; and after passing some walls of gardens and small villages, now deserted from

want of water, we arrived about an hour and a half before sunset at the village of Mayar, which is esteemed nine fursucks from Ispahan, from whence we had been travelling ten good hours, at a quick walking pace.

This village, which is seated in a narrow defile of the plain, between bare hills, is small, and almost totally ruined, there being now only a few gardens with their occupiers there. An excellent caravansera, of a more highly-finished kind than we had yet seen in the country, on the public road, is also abandoned, and going fast to decay ; but as it offered us the temporary shelter we required, we halted here for the night.

OCT. 15th.—While we were preparing to move at an early hour in the morning, the attention of the Dervish was attracted by the sight of a Persian stanza inscribed on the brick-wall of the recess in front of our chamber. Some sorrowing lover had probably written it, under the warm recollections of his mistress ; and Ismael, whom it powerfully reminded of his young lover at Bagdad, was moved to a degree of feeling which I was still unable to comprehend. The Persian verse, as far as he was able to interpret it in

Arabic, expressed the following lamentation : — ‘ When the remembrance of thee steals into my heart, like a spy in the night, tears of water first flow from my eyes ; but these soon give place to tears of blood.’ After repeating the verse in Persian aloud for several times, and evidently with a high degree of admiration, and looking alternately at the writing and at me, he exclaimed, ‘ Ah ! how hard it is to have one’s heart divided between Philosophy and Love ! The first would make me your disciple and your follower throughout the world ; but the last—yes ! it cannot be otherwise,—that will make me abandon all my dreams of wisdom and perfection, and hasten my return to the young Elias, the moment that you embark upon the ocean for India.’ — ‘ Al Ullah,’ ‘ It is with God,’ I replied ; and the Dervish repaired with sorrow to his labours.

We departed from Mayar soon after sunrise, and went south-easterly across a desert and gravelly plain. Our course gradually turned more to the southward, and was nearly south-south-east throughout the whole. The character of the country was exactly similar to that over which we had passed on

the preceding day: flat and barren plains, bounded by ridges of bare rocky mountains, with a few deserted villages and caravanseras seen in different directions, and no water. Our whole distance was six fursucks, according to report, which we rode in about seven hours, as it was full an hour past noon when we entered Komeshae.

At the distance of a mile before we reached this place, we came on the ruins of a deserted village, where there were now only a few gardens artificially watered, several large pigeon towers like those at Ispahan, and an extensive burying-ground. The principal object visible in this last, was a large tomb, crowned by a cupola rising from amidst trees, and standing at the foot of a rocky mountain, its sacred precincts being marked by an enclosing wall. As this was close to the high road, we alighted here, under pretence of reposing for a moment in the shade; the sun being powerfully hot in the parched plain near, and a dead calm prevailing. We found at the place a troop of Persian soldiers, who had made it their quarters as they halted on their march from Shiraz to Ispahan with public money, under escort.

These were dressed in the usual costume of the country, but they had each an English musket, with the East India Company's mark, and wore a double cross-belt, with a large black cartouch-box on the right, and a bayonet on the left side, as by English soldiers. These men at first insolently objected to our entry; but as we assured them that the only object of our journey through Persia was to visit the tombs of the venerated champions of the Faith, adding all we knew of the tomb of Imaum Hussein at Kerbela, Imaum Moosa at Bagdad, and Imaum Reza at Mushed, we were ourselves almost venerated as holy personages, and suffered without a murmur to pass on.

This sepulchre is that of Shah Reza,—a name given to one of the sons of the Imaum Moosa, whose father is said to have had three hundred wives, at different times and places, and upwards of a thousand children! No particulars were stated to us of the life or death of this branch of so holy and prolific a root; those around us being quite as ignorant as ourselves on these points. The garden in which his tomb was seated was exceedingly pretty, and contained several

other buildings, for the accommodation of visitors as well as attendants. In the centre of the upper court was a large square cistern of solid masonry, filled with clear water from running streams; and on the surface of this swam a proud and favoured drake, followed by his harem of seven milk-white ducks, the only birds of the kind I had seen since leaving India, and kept here as if in token of the kind of fame which the father of the deceased enjoyed in the number of his wives and children. In another part of this court was a cistern of crystal water, in which were kept some hundreds of fish, as at Orfah, Tripoly, and other places near particularly sacred spots; and as at these, they were here suffered to procreate their species, *ad infinitum*, without any preventing cause, being never disturbed, always abundantly watered, and constantly well fed. The earliest of the divine precepts, "Increase and multiply," had been not only well observed by the family of the honoured saint, but seemed also to be encouraged, as much as possible, in others, by the examples which struck the eye of every visitor to his tomb.

The sepulchre had very little of grandeur:

a large square room, ascended to by a flight of steps, and covered by a dome, contained in its centre an oblong sanctuary, arched over at the top, within which the ashes of Reza were enclosed in a smaller case. The tomb within was covered with offerings of silver candlesticks, dishes, gauze handkerchiefs, tassels, and trinkets, heaped in confusion one upon another. The brass bar-work of the outer cage was finely executed, in the close hollow fabric of a diagonal netting, the brass rods nearly an inch in diameter, and the squares between them about the same size, the whole being equal to any thing of the kind that I had ever seen in Europe or elsewhere. On the side of this work which faced the entrance, were hung two or three paltry looking-glasses, and some written tablets in Arabic; small carpets were spread over the whole, and printed cotton cloths and shawls were hung around the interior of the dome, like the trophies of our naval victories beneath the dome of St. Paul's in London. A profusion of smaller offerings, left by visitors to propitiate some vow, was suspended in all directions; but as we were unprepared for this act of piety, we departed from the

shrine without leaving even a tribute behind us.

On quitting the tomb of Shah Reza, we passed through the remainder of the burying-ground in which it stands. The tombs were all Mohammedan, though some were of a very early age; and their general character was that of oblong blocks of stone, about the common size of a coffin, laid on the grave, with the inscription, chiefly in Arabic, on the upper surface. They were invariably flat, which forms a characteristic difference from the tombs of the Soonnees, whom the Sheeahs accuse of heresy in making the tops of their sepulchres pointed and round.

It was amidst these tombs that we saw the rude statue of an animal, as like a lion as any thing else, but almost equally resembling any other four-footed beast. There are several similar ones at Hamadan, Goolpyegan, and Ispahan, standing in different parts of these towns. The statue at this place was now thrown down, and lying on its side in the high road; though, from its being the only one we could hear of near the spot, it is likely to have been the same as that noted by Mr. Morier, on one of the tombs

near ; and thought by him to be of very great antiquity. This lion, for such it was most probably intended to represent, had a naked sword sculptured along the side that lay uppermost, and on its blade were two lengthened circles, in the form of a Roman O. Mr. Niebuhr, in his description of the gymnastic exercises at Shiraz, in the public-houses called Surshore, says, that the champion in these feats of strength is allowed to put a lion on his tomb ; and tells a story of his mistake in this respect, on seeing lions on tombs, near that place, (p. 143). This statue was therefore probably one that decorated the grave of some such champion who had died here, and might have been of comparatively recent date, as its form was of the rudest kind, and its whole appearance that of a work from a modern Mohammedan artist.

After leaving this place, we entered the town of Komeshae by a mean gate ; the place being encompassed by a wall of brick, coated with mud, of moderate height, strengthened by circular bastions, and having a dry ditch on the north side. The interior showed a series of new dwellings, raised on the ruins of

older ones; and after passing through a line of roofed bazaars, we alighted at a small caravansera there.

The town of Komeshae is about the size of Goolpyegan; but more than half the buildings included within its walls, are abandoned and in ruins. Among them are seen several large edifices, probably the dwellings of governors at different times; and two mosques, a public bath, and closed bazaars, are left to testify that the former population of the town was greater than at present, there being now scarcely five hundred resident inhabitants.

We found here more general misery from want, than we had seen elsewhere; there being, first, an absolute scarcity of all the necessaries of life; and next, an incapacity among the people to purchase what little there was, from their extreme poverty, and the high price of every thing. Though mendicants are far from numerous in those parts of Persia through which we had passed, there were not less than fifty persons, old and young, who crowded round us in the khan, soliciting for God's sake a morsel of bread to save them from starving. It was

so dear, that our funds seemed hardly likely to last long enough to purchase sufficient food for ourselves and our horses as far as Shiraz; but it was impossible to shut one's heart against the claims of real want, and we therefore purchased and distributed bread among these miserable and desponding supplicants, who loaded us with blessings in return.

In the evening a caravan arrived from Pars, laden with grain, on its way to Ispahan; and though there were at least two hundred persons accompanying it, most of whom were armed, and about three hundred mules and horses, they had not been able to protect themselves from attacks on the way. The want of rain had been so universally felt over the country, that men were tempted to acts of desperation to supply the cravings of hunger. This caravan had been attacked by a party of nearly a hundred horsemen, who in a skirmish had killed two of the mule-drivers, and succeeded in carrying off about thirty laden animals, the rest escaping by closer union, when the danger of their scattered mode of travelling had been thus made apparent. This horde of robbers was

said to have been Bactiari, a name given to a race of people, springing from Persians, Arabs, and Koords, who live in tents, and range the valleys in the tract between this and Shooster,—speaking a mixed dialect of all these three languages, in which the Koordish is predominant, and acknowledging only the leaders of their respective tribes. Elated by their success, they had also carried off the flocks of some of the villages in their way; as in their own parched domains their grain had failed them, and their own herds declined for want of water and pasture to subsist on. A hundred stories were told us of small robberies committed by the distressed peasants of the villages near the road, on unwary passengers, from mere want; and every voice was raised against our proceeding alone, as we professed we intended to do: but, conceiving that there might be as much safety in our own party as in a larger one, since we had seen that numbers were not always a sure protection, and above all, since it would be impossible for us to support a long delay, and no one knew when a caravan would overtake us, I determined to go on, against the inclination of the Dervish, and

the remonstrances of all who attempted to advise us.

Oct. 16th.—The scene of yesterday was again repeated, almost before it was daylight: on one hand, a crowd of supplicants for bread; on another, men accusing us of want of common prudence, and prognosticating our certain pillage or death.

When the sun rose, however, we burst through both these obstacles, and set out from Komeshae alone. Going out of the eastern gate, and continuing for about half an hour in that direction, our road turned to the southward, and led along the foot of a high and bare range of mountains to the east. On our right we had a deep plain, bounded on the west by a similar range of hills, and about ten or twelve miles wide. It appeared to be of unusual fertility, though it was now sparingly watered by some small streams, all the other channels being perfectly dry. Along the centre of this plain was seen a line of villages and gardens, continuing for several miles to the southward, as well as some others at its western extremity; but most of these were said to have been lately abandoned, from want of water; and indeed most

of those near which we passed were deserted and in ruins.

Our road over this plain lay about south-east by south, and at noon we reached the small station of Muksood Beggy. A large caravan from Shiraz, going to Ispahan, escorted by a troop of soldiers, had made their halt here, and every place of shelter was fully occupied by them. We were treated, indeed, with the greatest insolence by the soldiery, for daring even to make an enquiry about a place either for ourselves or horses, while they occupied the station. We were therefore contented to halt for half an hour beneath the shade of a tree, near a small stream of almost stagnant water, at which, however, our horses drank, while we reposed; after which, we again set out on our way.

Our course continued in nearly the same direction as before; but the plain had now changed from a light fertile soil to a gravelly and barren one, scantily spread with tufts of a thick wild grass, on which a few flocks of sheep were seen feeding. Not a village now appeared throughout our way, until after about four hours travelling we arrived at a small place called Ammeenabad. It was just

before our entering this that we met three men on foot, coming towards us; and our suspicions were at first excited by seeing so small a number travelling alone. When they approached us nearer, however, Ismael leaped from his horse, and embraced one of them with all the fondness of a brother. They kissed each other on both sides of the cheek, drew aside, embraced, and kissed again for several times, before a word was spoken; and then the first words were, 'Ya Ismael! Ya Hassan! Ya Ullah!' and a thousand impatient enquiries followed. This Hassan was a young man from a town in Mazanderaun, who had been known to the Dervish for many years, and had often been the companion of his pleasures in many places, but particularly at Bagdad, Moosul, and among the mountains of Koordistan. He possessed an extraordinary talent as a fine writer, and his occupation was that of executing sentences and tablets for particular purposes, and transcribing copies of the Koran. His leading passion was like that of Ismael, to roam from place to place, and enjoy every species of forbidden pleasure; and like him, too, he could earn by his skill a sufficient sum in four

months to support him in idleness and dissipation for the remaining eight of the year. Some of his best copies of the Koran were sold, as I was assured, for more than two hundred tomauns, (about 200*l.* sterling;) but he executed none, even in his plainest way, under fifty; so that his gains might well be considerable. He had recently been at Shiraz for three months, and intended passing the winter at Ispahan. Like the Dervish, his friend, he was poorly dressed, and travelled always on foot; for the sake, as he said, of having less cares, and being more at ease to follow any capricious inclination which might seize him on the way. His ready money he generally disposed of for an order, or letter of credit, on some one in the town to which he was going, that he might be more at peace and free from apprehension of robbery on the road. He illustrated the benefit of such a practice by an anecdote of Saadi, the great Persian poet and moralist, the sense of which was as follows:—

“Saadi, journeying on the road, in possession of a small sum of money, had for his companions some wealthy merchants, who carried with them a considerable treasure.

They were in continual alarm for fear of robbers, while the philosopher was perfectly at ease. The merchants, observing the tranquillity of their poor comrade, were a good deal surprised, and still more so when he offered to propose to them a certain remedy for their fears. They impatiently demanded to know it: 'Throw away,' said the moralist, 'that for which it is excited, and you will be as much at ease as I am.' They could not be prevailed on to do this; but proceeding a little further, they overtook a man asleep, in the middle of the road.— 'What!' said they, rousing him from his slumber, 'do you dare to repose here, in a road beset with dangers on every side?' 'Why,' replied the stranger, 'I am perfectly at ease, for I have nothing to lose;' and turning on his side, sunk to sleep again. This was so forcible an illustration of the advice they had received, that they acknowledged the justice of the poet's maxim: 'But,' said Hassan, 'as the greater part of mankind are content to admire good advice without following it, the story does not add whether the merchants acted upon that which they both heard and saw, or not.'"

We were detained, but most agreeably, for nearly an hour on our road by this incident; and the parting of these two friends, who had so unexpectedly met, was quite as full of feeling as their first interview.

The village of Ammeenabad, where we made our halt, is very small, and has only a few gardens, and these but recently enclosed. There is a small but neat caravansera, of an octangular shape, with all the usual accommodations for strangers, and well built; but having now no keeper of any kind, it is going fast to decay. It appears to have been at one period converted into a castle, as stone walls and circular towers were added to the original brick work. The ruins of a larger and older khan are seen near it; and before the present one is a square reservoir, lined with stone, for water. A flight of descending steps is seen just beyond it, over the entrance to which are painted two standing lions, guarding a sun between them; having, probably, some reference to the ancient arms of Persia, a lion with the sun rising behind it, as still seen in some of the gardens and public places at Ispahan.

OCT. 17th.—Leaving Ammeenabad at sun-

rise, we went south-south-east, over a barren plain, having ranges of mountains in view on all sides, but generally lower, of a whiter hue, and of less broken forms than before. This character of the country continued all the way through our morning's route, in which we saw only a few ruined and deserted khans and private dwellings, until we reached the station of Yezdikhaust, in about four hours after our setting out.

The approach to this place is marked by a domed building of yellow brick, the tomb of an Imaum Zadé, and the place on which it stands is called Ali-abad. Among the humbler graves which surround it, we noticed the rude figure of a lion, still standing in its original position over one of them, and resembling exactly the fallen one near the sepulchre of Shah Rezah, and the others noted in the large towns on our way.

From our first seeing Yezdikhaust, it appeared to us to be seated on the plain; but on drawing near, we found it to be built on a sort of high and steep-cliffed island, in the middle of a deep ravine, which had every appearance of having been once the bed of a large river. The walls of the houses were

carried up in a perpendicular line with the cliff of the mass on which they stood, and many of their tops were at least one hundred feet above the level of the dry bed below. This mass seemed to be about five hundred yards in length, and not more than a third of that in breadth, the whole of its surface being covered with buildings. To complete the isolated nature of the situation, the only passage into the town was at the south-west end, and this was over a plank, leading from a high piece of ground to the gate, which could be removed at pleasure, and thus leave a deep ditch of defence. This had been once, no doubt, a castle, judging from the appearance of the work at this point of entrance ; and it then had a small town seated around its foot, the ruined and abandoned dwellings of which are still to be seen in the valley below. In the cliffs of the supposed river's bed, on each side, and opposite to the town, are a number of caverns, probably used for sheltering flocks, though sometimes also, no doubt, for human habitations. The soil of this insulated mass, as seen in its perpendicular side, is a light coloured earth, with a mixture of broken stones, and the bottom

a hard rock. The soil continues nearly half-way down to the base, and I thought I could perceive the mark of a water-line along its surface, though it must have been long since any water flowed so high, at least anterior to the existence of the ruined buildings now seen in the valley below.

The number of dwellings in Yezdikhaust does not exceed a hundred and fifty, and the inhabitants are reckoned at about six hundred. As they are within the territory of Fars, this being the first town after leaving the province of Irak, they are tributary to the government of Shiraz. The strength of their situation makes them, however, insolent, and difficult to be kept in order; and, like all lovers of freedom, they have the character of a ferocious and lawless band. Their houses present a very singular appearance, with their numerous apertures of doors and windows, and wooden balconies hanging over the perpendicular cliffs. When we passed beneath them, they were filled with women, all unveiled,—a sight which we had not before witnessed in any part of Persia. They were, moreover, very familiar and communicative; some enquiring from whence we came;

others abusing us in a loud voice as spies of the Bactiari ; and most of them assuring us that we should be discovered by the soldiers in the khan.

After passing through the valley, and noting some garden lands near, with trees and cultivation in the vale to the north-east of us, all watered by a stream flowing through its centre, but now nearly dry, we arrived at a good caravansera on the opposite side, at the foot of the south-eastern cliff. It had a long Arabic inscription, painted in white on a blue tiled ground, over the door ; and the khan itself appeared to be old and well-built, with a round tower, like the bastion of a castle, at one of its angles.

We found this place full of soldiers ; a troop of whom, under the command of a Khan, had come thus far from Shiraz to scour the road, of the robbers by which it was infested. They had been halting in this neighbourhood for several days, and were to set out on their return to-morrow. The arrival of two strangers alone, dressed as Arabs, and both well-armed, excited such surprise among them, that even before we alighted, we were surrounded by a host of enquirers. All we

could say, as to the motive of our not waiting for a caravan, seemed to them improbable; and the general conclusion was, that we were either spies of the Bactiari, from among the Arabs about Shooster, or that we were robbers on our own account, thinking to escape suspicion by the boldness of our entry here. We first remonstrated, then supplicated, for God's sake, to be left in peace, and at last were driven to defiance, which proved the only effectual mode of keeping these soldiers at a distance.

From Yezdikhaust there are two roads to Shiraz; the western one being the nearest and most direct, and the eastern, which is the longest and least frequented, going through Murgaub and by Persepolis, which I was of course desirous of visiting. As the troop were to set out to-morrow for Shiraz, and we had already confessed ourselves destined for that place, it was concluded that we should go with them. I suffered this impression to remain undisturbed; but in our enquiries about the eastern road by Choulgistan, as we did not know it ourselves, the person who had secretly engaged to lead us into it during the night betrayed our con-

fidence, and the impression of our being highwaymen was therefore complete. A party of the soldiers, who occupied chambers near us, were set as guards over us, to see that we did not escape; and orders were issued from their commander, to whom the matter was reported, that we should be taken into safe custody, and conveyed with them to Shiraz, to answer for ourselves. This had now become a serious affair, without any apparent remedy; for, though I believed the disclosure of my being an Englishman, and the sight of the letters and passports which Assad Ullah Khan had procured me, in case of need, from the Governor of Ispahan, would have immediately liberated us; yet I was not willing to betray too hastily, as an Englishman, my assumption of a character so venerated among them as a pilgrim from the tomb of their Prophet.

After remaining some time under arrest, I had an invitation from the Khan, or chief of the troops; and on my visit I found him at prayers. Our first exchange of salutes was friendly and cordial: and on my reproaching his people with want of hospitality, I was invited by him to sit down,—was given

the place of honour,—and served with ca-
leons and tea. The motive of our journey-
ing thus alone was then asked, and answered
satisfactorily. I then entertained the chief
with a long account of Massr, or Egypt, my
supposed country, and particularly of the
great assemblage of pilgrims who met there
annually to proceed to Mecca, and who
journeyed together without understanding
any more of each other's language than their
common profession of faith, 'La Illah ul
Ullah, oua Mohammed el Russool Ullah.'—
'There is but one God, and Mohammed is
his Messenger.' At these words, the chief
bowed and kissed the earth, in which mark
of respect I followed his example, and was
consequently taken to be both learned and
pious in an extraordinary degree. According
to a very common custom among Moham-
medans, a maxim was then demanded of me
by the Khan for his guidance through life,
when I replied, 'Open not thine heart too
readily to strangers; neither let any thing
remain secret between thee and thy friend.'
This saying was much approved; and led to
my being pressed to partake of an excellent
supper, at which I was treated with the

greatest consideration. On my assigning to the chief as my motive for wishing to see Persepolis, or the throne of Jemsheed, the admiration which I entertained for his memory as an illustrious character, he offered to be my escort there with all his troop, of nearly one hundred horsemen; saying, that though this route lay wide from his prescribed track, he would do it as a mark of the high respect he bore to my wisdom and my virtues. It was accordingly determined that we should set out on the morrow, by a middle path, towards Persepolis: so entirely had a well-timed display of courteous and bold behaviour changed our relative position.

OCT. 18th.—At sun-rise we quitted Yezdikhaust, in company with the whole Persian troop. No one had descended from the town into the valley that surrounds it, from fear of the soldiery; so that I could learn nothing of the deep well described there by Le Brun. We had, however, some of the excellent bread of the place brought out on the plank, or drawbridge of entrance; and found it better than any we had tasted in Persia, and fully deserving its high reputation.

About a league from Yezdikhaust, going

southerly, we quitted the plain, and entered among hills, neither very rugged nor steep, but having a tolerable road over them. In about four hours we reached a narrow pass, in which was a small round tower, with loop-holes in its walls, seated on an eminence, and said to be often occupied by robbers. There were now stationed here, by Shuker Ullah Khan, the Persian chief, who rode with us as my new friend and guide, several musketeers to guard this pass; though they were sometimes suspected of acting the part of those they were sent here to check. On the right of the road was an old castle; and between these two buildings in the valley, a spring of water and grass. When we alighted here, I was again seated on the same carpet beside the Khan, and served with his caleoons. During our conversation, I learned from him the following account of a small domed tomb opposite to us, once covered with painted tiles, like those at Ispahan, but now in ruins. 'Shah Abbas,' he said, 'being at Shiraz, wished to go from thence to Ispahan in one night, in order to effect some great purpose, and surpass even the wind in speed. The best horse of his kingdom was prepared for him,

when one of his slaves expressed a wish to accompany him. The monarch looked on the slave with contempt, thinking no man among all his subjects was equal to the task he had undertaken. The slave, however, insisted on trying, determining either to succeed, or die in the attempt; and the monarch, at last, pleased with such persevering ambition, promised him one of his daughters in marriage, on the night after their arrival. They set out, and flew over hill and dale, reaching this spot about midnight, without exchanging a single word. The monarch dropping his whip, called to his follower to alight and take it up from the ground. The faithful slave did so; but in the act fell on the earth, and expired on the spot, from excessive exertion. He was accordingly buried here, and this tomb was erected to his memory: from which moment the place has been called Gombez Lala, or the Tomb of the Slave.

We soon re-mounted, and proceeding from hence pursued a similar course. I continued to ride by the Khan's side, and to be engaged in constant conversation with him; his soldiers riding in a body behind us. The cha-

racter of the country now appeared to be much altered: instead of long plains and high ranges of broken hills, we had stony, barren, and rugged ground, with mountains of more even outline than before.

In four hours more we came to a small station called Degerdoo, containing only a few huts, enclosed by square mud walls with bastions, and a small caravansera without. The distance of these stations was said to be eight fursucks, which we had come, for the first time, in an equal number of hours, having ridden a brisk pace in a large company. There also I shared the same apartment with the chief, and was treated with the greatest respect.

Oct. 19th.—The night was at first cloudy, and threatened rain, but it afterwards cleared up: the wind, however, was high from the north-west, and after midnight it became calm. There was so hard a frost that the water in our leathern bottle was frozen in our room, and icicles were thickly clustered on it from without. We were therefore obliged to keep in large fires, for the horses, who were also all warmly clothed; yet many of them suffered greatly from the extreme

cold. By the care of the chief, however, the Dervish and myself, who shared his apartment, enjoyed every comfort.

Our next stage being a long one, we set out three hours before sun-rise, going south-south-east, over uneven ground, and at day-break we came to a ruined station called Caravansera Shah Sultan Hussan. The cold was as intense as I had ever felt it, even in a North-American winter: when we alighted, we therefore kindled large fires, which blazed around the horses and ourselves, and both the animals and men almost thrust themselves into it to procure heat. The climate of Persia is certainly in great extremes: and the story of the death of many individuals from extreme cold at Persepolis, after a feast given by Alexander, may be readily believed.

We set out again from this place when the sun rose, and went south-south-east, over more even ground, coming at last, in about two hours, on a fine plain, extending in a south-east direction for many days' journeys, though nowhere more than ten miles wide. Beyond the south-west range of hills which bounded it, rose a high ridge of mountains, all said to be of limestone; their

summits were now covered with snow. This mountainous range is called Kooh Poostamār, and is inhabited by a tribe of Koords, called Loor, whose tract of country is called Chal Mahar, and divides the territory of the Bactiari from that of Fars. The language of these people is different from that of the northern Koords, and is called, like themselves, Loor. They live in tents, though the snow on their hills is said to be perpetual, even in the warmest years.

The plain in which we now rode was called Chemmen Asipass ; it is one of the most fertile that is known, being watered by many streams from the foot of the hills on each side of it ; and in spring and summer it is thickly covered by wandering tribes of Persians, properly called Farsee, or people of Fars. A few encampments were seen here even now ; but the greater number of the people had gone with their flocks two or three days to the eastward, to a tract or country called Gurrumseer, or the warm district, to avoid the excessive cold of this region.

Our road now became extremely tortuous, as it wound along the foot of the south-

western hills, which we were obliged to follow, in order to avoid the channels and streams in the centre, these being difficult to pass over even now that they were dry. The general average of our course was about south-south-east.

At noon we reached a ruined caravansera called Koosk Zer, said to have been built by Shah Abbas, and certainly wrought with more labour and expense than any preceding one that we had seen. The brick-work was faced with large blocks of stone; the dome at the entrance was tiled; and there was fine sculptured frame-work at the gate, with inner chambers, and other conveniences. It was of an octagonal form within, and was altogether a fine building, though it was now entirely abandoned.

We halted here for half an hour, and refreshed ourselves with lebban and milk, brought from the Parsee tents. The manners of these people are like those of the Arabs; their dress, however, is perfectly Persian, with tight robes and black caps, and their language is a pure Persian also.

We went hence southerly, still on the plain, and continuing to wind along the foot

of the south-western hills. On our left, to the eastward, and at the foot of the opposite range of hills, or from eight to nine miles off, we saw a circular castle, with bastions, having a small town within it, called Nizamabad. In this plain the horses of the Persian army of this part of the country are put to grass, in spring, and it is then covered with tents and flocks.

In about four hours from Koosk Zer we reached the station of Abarik, having come, as yesterday, eleven fursucks in as many hours, the fursuck being certainly about four English miles. This is a miserable place; a few poor families only living here, in a walled village, and a few empty huts are seen without. Tyranny, however, was, as usual, exercised to procure all the comforts it contained for the military chief and his train. The soldiers of Persia never pay for any thing on a journey, and are, in short, licensed robbers. I had a long conversation with the Khan, on the evil of this system, in which he frankly admitted that it was unjust. We had a shower of rain here, the wind being westerly; but in the night we were visited again with a severe frost. We were, however, well

fed, well clothed, and provided with every comfort. Some of the troop were sent out to shoot pigeons for our supper; and they thought it hard service, as the practice was to select for this duty those who were not favourites, by which it was considered as a sort of punishment. I advised the chief to try the effect of a contrary system, making the duty a sort of honorary distinction, which he adopted with complete success; for on sending an order that six of the best shots of his train should go out on this service, there was a contention between the whole troop for the honour of deserving this title. I had tried the experiment often at sea, by inviting the smartest seamen in the ship to lead the way in some duty which others had imposed as a punishment; and I never knew any such appeal to the pride and better feelings, even of the commonest men, to fail.

OCT. 20th.—At daylight this morning, were brought in, as prisoners, by our outscouts, twenty-eight robbers, all taken from a village called Hadjeeabad, in the hills which bounded the plain of Chemmen Asipass, on the south-west, or between it and the mountains of the Chal Mahar. These people were

pure Persians, and their tribe are said to be great plunderers. Among them were three with snow-white beards, and four or five not more than ten years old. They were taken in the act of depredation by an outscout party of Shuker Ullah Khan's soldiers, and brought down here on their way to Shiraz to be executed. They were all mounted on asses, and had one leg placed in a large log of wood, like a handle in the head of a wooden mallet. They were, however, very merry, and seemed quite indifferent to their fate.

We departed from hence at sunrise, and though the robbers had travelled all the previous night, they were not allowed to rest, but were taken away with us. Our course went still to the eastward of south, and the range of hills on our right now took a more easterly turn. In an hour and a half after our setting out, we ascended a pass called Kotel Mader e Doghter, or the Hill of the Mother and Daughter. Its ascent was not exceedingly difficult, though it was necessary to alight in consequence of the stony and broken state of the road. Men were here sent out on each side to reconnoitre; and this service was again given to those in dis-

grace, who murmured at it as a hardship. I again proposed to the chief to try the opposite course, by selecting the bravest and best behaved of the troops for the duty. The men were flattered and pleased by the proposal, and the Khan was delighted at the success of the experiment. Our descent over this pass on the other side was exceedingly difficult: at the foot of it we entered a second plain, lying east and west, and equally fertile with the former, but of less extent.

We halted at a stream here, and refreshed with the Khan, after which we remounted, and went south-east for three full hours, when we came to the foot of another range of hills, forming the southern boundary of the plain, and going east and west. The hills were here formed of limestone and chalk, with flint imbedded. The ascent on the one side was easy, but the descent on the other was particularly difficult. The mountains here are not so bare as those in Irak Ajami, having stunted trees and brushwood on their sides. Fifty musketeers were stationed here in different parts, to protect the pass. The echo in this part of the mountains was very perfect and loud; the scenery was

wild and interesting, especially the view in the valley below. This pass is called Kotel Imaum Zadé, as it leads down to the village of that name, where we did not arrive till sunset, though the distance was said to be only nine fursucks; but all our horses were completely knocked up from the fatigue of ascending and descending these two hills; and the people were also extremely fatigued, from having been obliged to cross over them on foot. The air of this place was warmer than we had found it since leaving Ispahan, arising from the closeness of the valley, and from its being on a lower level than the surrounding country. The Dervish Ismael was charmed with the change; and finding his spirits raised, attributed it to a certain virtue in the earth and water of the place, which he extolled very highly.

At midnight, a courier arrived here from Shiraz, being one of three sent on three different roads to meet the chief, Shuker Ullah Khan. He brought us an account of the Shah Zadé having heard of a large band of Bactiari, from two to three hundred, who were assembled for the purpose of attacking and plundering caravans passing through

Fars; and the courier delivered an order of the Prince for Shuker Ullah Khan to bring the whole of this band of robbers to him with all speed. An answer was immediately returned to the Prince, stating the fact of all his horses and men being so worn down by fatigue, that they would not be equal to the journey among the mountains, until they had enjoyed a day or two's repose, after which, he would fly to execute the wishes of his master. We had a long and interesting conversation on our being thus suddenly parted, and each expressed a hope of meeting again at Shiraz. Notwithstanding the new demand on his force, by the recent order of his Prince, the chief made me an offer of an escort from his party, if I wished it, for the remainder of my way, but I declined it, and determined to proceed alone.

OCT. 21st.—We were not suffered to depart from this station without first breakfasting with the Khan. He expressed his intention of going to Mecca, when he became rich enough to defray the expenses of a journey suited to his rank; and asked of me all the instructions I could give him thereon. I found this somewhat difficult, but

I succeeded in satisfying him on all points, and we parted excellent friends.

The village of Inaum Zadé, so called from its containing the domed sepulchre of a certain Ismael, one of the many sons of the many Imaums of Persia, is neat and comfortable, though very small. Its situation, in a deep and narrow valley, shelters it from the keen air of Irak, and it has water and wood in constant supply. The people are more industrious than Persians usually are, and parts of the seemingly inaccessible summits of the limestone mountains on each side of the valley are cultivated and planted with gardens and vineyards. There are the remains of a fine old caravansera in ruins there, so that passengers now take shelter in the villagers' dwellings when they are few in number, and sleep without, if forming a numerous caravan. The dress of the men of Fars is similar to that worn in Irak:—but while the women of the latter envelope themselves in a large blue chequered cloth and white veil, these throw a white handkerchief over their heads, which, falling down the neck, leaves the face quite open.

It was two hours past sun-rise when we

set out from Imaum Zadé, our course lying nearly south, through a narrow valley, with steep clifly mountains on each side, on the summits of which small gardens were still seen. On each side of our path below, we saw flocks grazing; an abundance of wood, though chiefly small, and of a kind only fit for fuel, but affording a great charm after the bare country we had come through; while a beautifully clear stream meandered along the centre of the valley in the direction of our way, and numerous singing-birds, the voice of which we had not lately heard, saluted us with their early notes. The scenery was exceedingly like some parts of Lebanon, and the air was just that of a Syrian spring.

In about two hours we alighted near a mill, turned by the stream we had just passed; and refreshed ourselves by a halt, reposing both ourselves and horses on the grass turf, beneath the shade of trees. Along the banks of this stream were osiers, willows, date-trees, and briars, bearing the common blackberry of Europe; romantic rocks were seen in several points of view, and the voice of the thrush still charmed us with its rich melody.

From hence we went south-westerly, and

in two hours more we reached the station of Moayn, distant from Inaum Zadé three fursucks. This village, which was large, and surrounded with gardens, was also seated in a close valley, and had an agreeable appearance. We found here a large caravan of mules from Shiraz, halting in the open air; but we took shelter ourselves in a half-ruined caravansera, not entirely abandoned.

We had already received instructions about our road to Persepolis, or Takht e Jemsheed, as we had always heard it yet called, from our friend Shuker Ullah Khan; but we enquired here for confirmation, and received the same directions.

Throughout all Persia, but more particularly here in Fars, a custom prevails of giving the salute 'Salam Alaikom,' whenever the first lighted lamp or candle is brought into the room in the evening; and this is done between servants and masters as well as between equals. As this is not practised in any other Mohammedan country, it is probably a relic of the ancient reverence to Fire, once so prevalent here, though the form of the salute is naturally that of the present religion.

OCT. 22d.—The night was so warm that we preferred sleeping in the open air to remaining in our chambers : and here we had both musquitoes and fleas, neither of which had before annoyed us since our first entrance into Persia. We therefore slept but little ; and through impatience of suffering began to prepare for setting out soon after midnight. By the time that the keeper of the khan was roused, our animals fed and saddled, and our morning cup of coffee and pipe enjoyed, the night was far advanced ; and when we mounted, it was little more than an hour before daybreak. We continued our course south-westerly, along the main road to Shiraz, between lofty hills on each side ; and, as we had been directed, turned off to the south-east, at the distance of about a fursuck from our first station. Our road now went south-south-east at the foot of a range of hills ; and we had in view, in different directions, square masses of mountains broken into perpendicular cliffs on all sides, and looking at a distance like so many citadels. The general features of these mountains, but particularly the manner in which they were shaped into square masses above a steep-sloping

base, resembled the range on which Mardin is seated in the heart of Mesopotamia.

When we had gone two fursucks from our first turning off the high road, we arrived at an old bridge, of eight or ten arches, the centre one about twenty feet in span, and thirty in height. This was a Mohammedan work, and had been often repaired both with brick and stone, but it was now falling fast to decay, though it was still passable. A rapid stream ran here in a deep bed, and bent its course south-easterly, through the great plain of Merdusht, now open before us.

We descended to repose upon its banks, where our horses found fine fresh grass, and enjoyed all the charms of rapidly running water, verdure, and shade. We were joined here by an old man of a neighbouring village, from whom we learned that this stream was the river Bund Ameer, which had its rise in the mountains of Komfirouze, at a distance of ten short days' journeys to the north-west, being the limits of Fars on the borders of the Bactiari. About five years since, he said, it had swelled so high in winter, that it rose over the bridge, which was full fifty feet above its present

level, inundated this narrow entrance into the plain, extending from mountain to mountain on each side, and rendered the road impassable for several weeks. For the two last years, however, he added, it had been almost dry, from the general failure of the rains; and indeed it was now easily fordable in the deepest part, though the stream was still running with great force and rapidity.

On our departure from hence, we kept along its north-eastern bank, going about south-east through the plain of Merdusht, which we had now fairly entered, through its narrow opening on the north-west. We had several villages in sight, and among others Nisack and Palicon on our right, as well as some Farsee tents on our left; and when we had gone two fursucks from the bridge, we had the whole of the plain open to view before us, with the trees of Futhabad, just appearing at the distance of about two fursucks more. The *mirage* was now so strong in the line of the south-eastern horizon, or in nearly the direction of the sun from us, that the remote parts of the plain looked like a lake, with wooded islands on it. This ap-

pearance is called in Persian *Serab*, or the head or surface of water, and not *Sahrab*, or the water of the desert, as some English writers have supposed ; this last word being a compound of Arabic and Persian, but the former being a purely Persian term. The Persians, indeed, having a proper name for the desert in their own language, *Choul*, do not recognize the Arabic term *Saher*, or *Zahara*, at all.

It was about noon when we reached Futhabad, where we found excellent accommodation in an upper room, immediately over the gate of entrance to the village, looking down on the place of general assembly among the villagers, yet perfectly secure from intrusion. As I had found no opportunity since leaving Yezdikhaust, of noting our progress, from being always with the Khan Shuker Ullah, and as I was yesterday too fatigued to spare that time from rest, I profited by this occasion to preserve my recollections in writing, before they were removed by more interesting ones.

OCT. 23d.—We left Futhabad an hour before daylight, and, going through its eastern

gate, went nearly north-north-east over a by-path. In half an hour we passed on our right a small village called Shemsabad, and in another half-hour we passed a second, called Zenghiabad. In less than half an hour more, having several villages in sight as the sun rose, with cultivated land, flocks, trees, and water, we arrived at the foot of the mountain, which forms the northern boundary of the plain of Merdusht. The first object we saw on the west was a small rock, on which stood two fire-altars of a peculiar form : their dimensions were five feet square at the base and three at the top, and they were five feet high. There were pillars or pilasters at the corners, and arches in the sides. In the centre of each of these, on the top, was a square basin, about eighteen inches in diameter, and six in depth, for the reception of the fire, formerly used by the disciples of Zoroaster in their worship.

About three hundred paces to the east of this was a large tablet, on which were two men on horseback, their heads meeting, and the men each holding a ring. They each tread on captives ; the breast-cloths of the horses have lions on them, well executed ;

and inscriptions both in Greek and Sassanian are seen near.*

The tablet on which these sculptures are represented is about twelve feet high from the ground, and is extremely difficult to get at. The figures are larger than life; they are sculptured in full relief, and are well executed.

Beyond this, a few paces east, is a chief, with a globe on his head, standing, and leaning on a staff. On the right of him are several persons, apparently in Roman dresses; and, on the left, some with helmets, curled beards and hair. The lower parts of the bodies of all these, except the chief, are covered by a blank, left high in the stones; and below the whole is a concave tablet, apparently prepared for an inscription, which was never finished. The design is well executed, but its meaning is not easily discovered.

Beyond this, a few yards further on, are

* I copied what little remains of the Greek inscription on the breast of the first horse at this place, as well as the two Sassanian ones, above and below, and others again from the second horse; but as they are too mutilated and imperfect to lead to any useful result, and could only be represented by a separate engraving, they are omitted.

the tombs of the ancient Persian kings. There are three of these facing the south, and one facing the west. The entrance to them is twenty feet high from the ground, and they are nearly all alike in their design: there is, first, a square space, next an oblong one, and then a square above, forming a sort of Greek cross. The lower portion is blank. In the central portion is the door of entrance, with a closed portico of four pillars in front: the capitals have double rams' heads facing outward, and the frieze is decidedly Greek, while the door is perfectly Egyptian in every respect. The upper space has also an Egyptian design—a sort of throne, supported by pillars, with a horned head on each side, and two rows of slaves, who, with extended arms, support the middle. Above is a priest with a bow, standing before an altar of fire; and over all is the sun, or the full moon, with what I should take to be the winged globe of Egypt, but in a stiffer form. Beneath the first tomb is a bas-relief, representing a combat between two horsemen; and opposite to this is a square isolated building, also an

ancient tomb. Its entrance on the north, and facing the caves, is midway up its height, or from twelve to fifteen feet from the ground : the masonry of this is excellent, and the stones large ; but the whole has a very singular appearance, from the deep niches cut on the outer surface, and from its having blank windows, of square and oblong forms, let in on three sides, of a black stone, while the edifice is of white. The roof is flat ; it is still perfect, and apparently formed of large beams of stone, as in the temples of Egypt. The door was evidently a folding stone door, as used in the tombs of the Jewish kings at Jerusalem, and in the mountains of the Decapolis, judging from the large sills for the pivots, which are still seen in the upper architrave. The entrances to the cave tombs in the rocks were closed.

Between the second and third cave is a figure of a Sassanian monarch on horseback, with a Roman prisoner, supplicating him, in the act of kneeling ; and the whole attitude of this supplicant is full of expression : the figures are all larger than life, are executed in high relief, and are extremely well done.

Behind this is an inscription of at least one hundred lines in the Sassanian character, which might be easily copied.

Beneath the third tomb is a bas-relief, representing a combat, originally well executed, but now partly defaced. This tomb is also closed; but all the space of the portico behind the pilasters, and the whole of the space not occupied by the figures above, is covered with inscriptions of many hundred lines, in tablets, like those which I saw at the cliff of Bisitoon. Between the third and fourth cave is a bas-relief, in high preservation:—a Sassanian monarch is holding, with his queen, a ring, from which ribbons float: behind them is a soldier, with a Roman helmet, holding up one hand, while the other is placed on his sword. The drapery and dresses of this group are exceedingly well delineated.

The fourth tomb has no additional ornaments; but its front is in higher preservation than any other. They were all inaccessible to us, and could not be got at without ladders or ropes. There are many inscriptions, and some tablets smoothed away for others never cut.

This last tomb, as it stands in a separate

mass of rock from the others, and faces to the west, may perhaps be the tomb of Darius, seated as it is in a double mountain, and more inaccessible than either of the others, though its style is still the same.

We went from hence down to Persepolis, in a southerly direction, and crossed cultivated grounds and canals. In half an hour we passed over the stream of Polwar, which was now very low. It comes from seven or eight fursucks off to the north-east, and goes into the Bund Ameer, close by a small square foundation of a building, called Takht-e-Taous, where Jumsheed is said to have stopped half-way between his palace and Naksh-e-Rustan, to smoke his nargeel and drink coffee. In half an hour more, turning round a rocky point, we came to Chehel Minar, or the Forty Pillars, the only name by which Persepolis is at present known by the Persians,—and so called, because of the pillars being very numerous and resembling the minarets of mosques.

CHAPTER XVII.

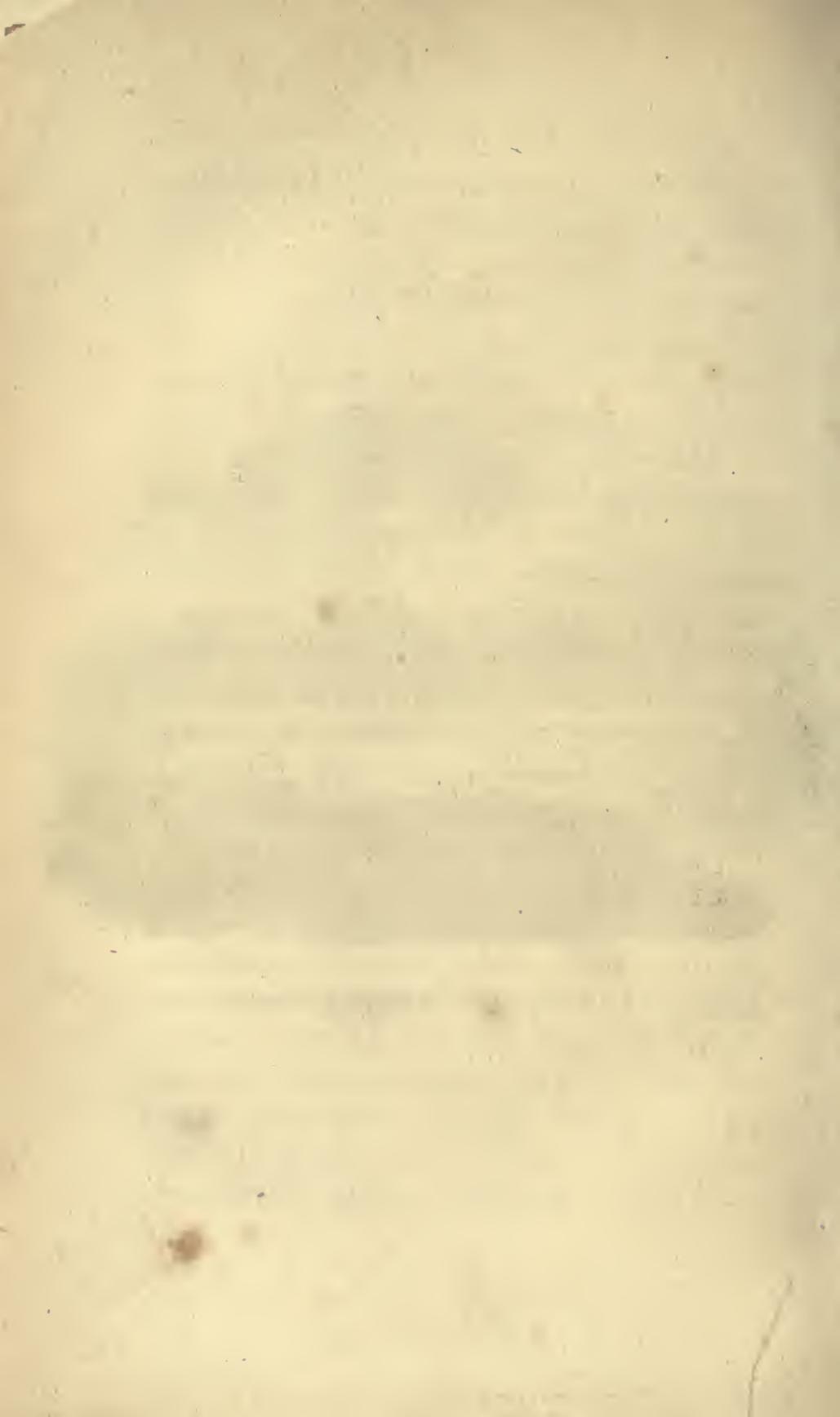
VISIT TO THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO SHIRAZ.

IT is very difficult, without being tedious, to give any detailed account of the ruins of this celebrated place. There is no great temple, as at Thebes, at Palmyra, or at Baalbeck, sufficiently predominant over all surrounding objects to attract the chief attention, and furnish of itself sufficient matter for description and admiration. Here, all is in broken and detached fragments, extremely numerous, and each worthy attention, but so scattered and disjointed as to give no perfect idea of the whole. Its principal feature is, that it presents an assemblage of tall, slender, and isolated pillars, and separate doorways

CHAPTER XVII.



RUINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE AT PERSEPOLIS.



and sanctuaries, spread over a large platform, elevated, like a fortification, from the level of the surrounding plain, the effect of which is increased by the mountains in the distance. Difficult, however, as is the task of describing such remains in any connected or striking manner, and brief and hurried as was my view of the whole, I shall lay before the reader the notes penned on the spot, from which he will be able probably to form some tolerably accurate idea of the place described ; and then follow it by a consideration of some of the ancient descriptions left us of this place, when in its glory, which were also examined on the spot, and there compared with the existing remains.

The natural rock was hewn down to form the platform on which the temple of Persepolis stood, and this platform was then faced round with masonry. There are small quarries of the same stone near it ; but the smoothing away of the original rock most probably furnished the greater part of the stone. The facing of the platform is of extremely solid work, the stones being everywhere large and well-hewn ; but there is great irregularity in the general form of the

whole, and large and small pieces are often let into each other by a sort of dovetailing in the work. The flight of steps for ascending the platform is regular, easy, and of noble appearance. The two entrance-gates were guarded by sphynxes, forming the portals of a sanctuary: these animals are very finely executed, and both their attitudes and the details of their sculpture are excellent. The masonry is also as fine as could be executed at the present day: the blocks are large, closely united, and regular in size and shape; they are of a bluish marble. The two columns now standing erect between these gates of entrance have for their base a plinth, which resembles an inverted lotus flower. The shaft is marked by very shallow flutings, and each pillar is formed of three pieces. This is covered by another inverted lotus flower; and above this rises a capital, like the palm-leaved capital of ancient Egyptian temples. Above this, again, are four scrolls; then a square fluted plinth, with Ionic volutes; and lastly, above all, a broken mass of some animal resembling a ram.* The general

* Whether this had any astronomical allusion, it is difficult to say. Monsieur Bailly, in his ingenious *Letters on Ancient*

effect of these columns is slender and mean, and very inferior to the Greek or Egyptian. From the fragment of one that lies fallen, it is seen that the several pieces of which they were composed were joined together by a part of the upper piece being let down into a

Astronomy, says—‘ I think I have demonstrated that the Persian Empire and the foundation of Persepolis ascend to 3,209 years before Jesus Christ. (Hist. de l’Astr. Anc. p. 354.) Dreinschid, who built that city, entered it and there established his empire the very day when the sun passes into the constellation of the *Ram*. This day was made to begin the year, and it became the epoch of a period, which includes the knowledge of the solar year of 365 days 6 hours. Here then we again find astronomy coeval with the origin of this empire. The astronomical incident which accompanies the foundation of Persepolis supplied me with the proof of its antiquity. (Vol. i. p. 70.) The letters of the alphabet found at Persepolis do not exceed five; and it is observed that they differ equally by the manner in which they are combined, and in that in which they are placed. So also the Irish characters, called Ogham, consist merely in a unit, repeated five times, and whose value changes according to the way in which it is placed relative to a fictitious line. They have much analogy with those of Persepolis.’—See *Gebelin’s Origin de Langues*, p. 506, and *Bailly’s Letters*, vol. ii. p. 331.

‘ The Sabians and early Arabians worshipped the heavenly bodies; and among them the tribe of Beni Koreish were those that kept the temple of Mecca. Koreish is the name given to Cyrus in Scripture, and this signifies the sun in Hebrew, as Cyrus did in Persian, and Khow in Pehlivi.’—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 288.

corresponding aperture of the other. There is a square cistern near the columns, built of very large stones, having outside it a good moulding, and high over it a hanging cornice of the Egyptian form.

The great mass of the ruins is on a higher platform above the first. At the sides of the steps ascending to this are sculptured processions, sacrifices, &c. of which Niebuhr has given tolerably faithful drawings. They are all admirably executed, and bear a striking resemblance to similar processions at Thebes and Edfou, in Egypt. Among other resemblances are those of trees, placed to divide men who are near ascending steps, beasts of sacrifice, offerings of meat, cars and horses, armed men, &c. All these sculptures are particularly fine, though parts of them are now buried, and other parts broken; and even the portions least injured are discoloured by a thin moss grown over the surface. Horizontal lines of open flowers, like the rose or lotus, are in some places seen dividing the compartments, which is also an Egyptian device.

This portion of the ruins seems to have been a grand open portico, consisting of many

rows of columns, supporting only architraves ; and below them are oblong blocks, as if for pedestals of sphynxes. The several columns erect are all fluted : some of them being of the same design as those already described ; and others, the capitals of which appear to be gone, being much higher in proportion to their diameter.

Above this, on a still higher platform, to the southward, is seen an assemblage of different sanctuaries, which are quite Egyptian in their style. The first of these that we entered was a square of about thirty feet, having two doors on the north, one on the south, two on the west, and one on the east. These are perfectly Egyptian in every respect, as may be seen from the drawings of those that exist : they are composed of three pieces —two portals and an architrave, and above this the cornice. Their inner surfaces are sculptured with designs representing the sacrifices of beasts. The priests have umbrellas held over them as in India, and the guards are armed with spears. Between the doors are monoliths, like those used in Egypt, for keeping the sacred animals, and about the same size. Around these were inscriptions of

the arrow-headed character. The gates were closed, not by doors, but by bars only, of which the sills still remain; but both the open and closed monoliths, the first being like mere window-frames, had each folding doors of metal, as the holes for the pivots, both above and below, were too small to afford sufficient strength to stone. Some of these monoliths are quite perfect, and might be easily brought to the British Museum, by way of Bushire. Each of them were highly polished, and one especially appeared to us to give out as clear a reflection as the finest mirror of glass.* It is on these monoliths that the Arabic, Coptic, and Persian inscrip-

* It will be seen that the description given by the earliest travellers of this place was not exaggerated. In Murray's *Historical Account of Discoveries in Asia* is the following passage:—"Beyond Schiraz, the Ambassador (Garcia de Sylva from Goa, in 1621) came to the spot called Cilminar, celebrated for the mighty ruins which cover its site—the remains of the ancient Persepolis. They were diligently surveyed by our author, who describes them with an enthusiasm which perhaps betrays him into some degree of exaggeration. He dwells on the superb range of columns, particularly those called the Forty Minarets; the magnificent stairs by which it is ascended; the vast interior square, 430 feet by 310, and the huge pieces of marble, without any apparent juncture. The sculptures were innumerable, and are conceived by him to represent the actions of a race of men, prior to any now known, even to the ancient

tions are deeply cut, and that with so much care as to have required days or weeks in the execution. The proportions of the doors are extremely massive; and their passages are so narrow, as not to admit of two persons passing each other commodiously. They are all of black stone, slightly veined with quartz, and very close-grained. There are also many arrow-headed inscriptions on the portals of these doors, all beautifully cut; and three of this description on each side the great entrance, guarded by the sphynxes below.

Beyond this, a few paces to the south-east, is another similar sanctuary of doors and monoliths. This, however, is larger than the former, and had circular pedestals for

Babylonians and Persians. Yet, though ascending to this vast antiquity, they are so entire, that, with the exception of a few fragments broken off, they might seem to have been recently finished. In comparing these with the monuments of other nations, he observes, that the pyramids are mere artificial mountains, while the temples of Greece are in ruins: here, only art and grandeur are united in pristine perfection. The high polish of the marble was amusingly shown by a mastiff, who, seeing his own figure reflected on the walls, was worked up to fury, which was always increased by the view of the corresponding gestures in the reflected image; till the same scene being repeated wherever they came, they were at length obliged to chain and send him off.—*Murray's Historical Account of Travels in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 36, 37.

six rows of columns of six pillars each, which probably support an open roof, with a central passage for water. This extends to the end of the platform on the south-east, which, with the natural rock, is here at an elevation of at least thirty feet from the ground.

Beyond this to the eastward, on a lower platform, is the square of another similar sanctuary, formed of doors and open and closed windows or recesses: these, however, are not monoliths like the others, the sides and architraves being separate pieces, and now half buried in earth.

To the north-east of this, and on a higher level, is a part of the frame of a larger but similar sanctuary, in the middle of which were columns. Three of the gates of this are all that now remain, but these are finer than any before described. Their inner portals are sculptured with representations of priests, some standing with umbrellas held over them, and others sitting on chairs, their feet on footstools, with rows of slaves beneath, supporting the throne on which they sit, as found in the tombs of the Persian kings. Behind the chair is sometimes seen an attendant holding a full-blown lotus

flower. Above the head of the priest is the winged globe, perfectly well delineated, over a curtain of fringe between two lines of open flowers ; and above all is a circle, with two wings descending, one on each side, and a feathered tail, as of a bird, with a man standing in the centre of the circle, extending the palm of the right hand, and holding in the left a ring.

To the north-east of this, a few paces, is the largest sanctuary of all, but exactly similar to the others in design. The inner portals of the great gate to the west are particularly fine. There are seen five or six rows of warriors, with spears, shields, arrows, quivers, and helmets or dresses of different forms.* A priest sits in a chair above, and holds a lotus flower in one hand, and a long staff in the other, while his foot is placed on a footstool. Before him are two altars of fire, with extinguishers fastened by chains ; a man with a round helmet and a short sword addresses the priest ; and behind him a female is seen bringing in some offering in a small basket. Above this is the

* Herodotus mentions (§ 102) that the ancient Persians were armed like the Egyptians.

same curtain of network described before, and two friezes of the winged globe in the centre, with three lions on each side guarding it; the two divisions are separated by lines of open flowers. All the male figures were bearded; but they have been wantonly disfigured in this part, probably by bigoted Moslems, who consider every representation of living beings as a breach of the commandment.

The designs of the other gates of this sanctuary represent a priest stabbing a unicorn, and a chief sitting on a chair supported on a throne. Both the winged globe and the lotus are frequently seen, and the whole work is Egyptian in its style. Neither the doors nor the recesses of this sanctuary ever seem to have been closed, as there are no marks of hinges anywhere; nor does it appear to have been ever roofed, though there are fragments of fluted columns lying in the middle.

Above this, at the back of the great temple, and hewn in the rocks, are two large cave-tombs, resembling those at Naksh-e-Rustan in the sculptures of their front; but both of

them are at present inaccessible, from the quantity of rubbish accumulated before them.

Remembering that Chardin had mentioned the discovery of mummies in Khorassan, and the ancient Bactriana, and every thing about us reminding me of Egypt, I was curious in enquiring whether any preserved bodies had ever been found near these tombs, but could learn nothing satisfactory on this point. *

* As a proof that great pains were bestowed on the preservation of the bodies of the illustrious dead, among the early Persians, the following cases may be cited :—

Arrian says, that Alexander caused the body of Darius to be transported into Persia, to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors, without naming the place, (lib. 3). The same author says, that Alexander learned with mortification that at *Pasargarda* they had opened and pillaged the tomb of Cyrus, which was placed in the park of the castle of that city, surrounded by a wood, and accompanied by fountains and meadows.

Zezdijerd, whose forces were defeated in a memorable battle, became a fugitive, through Seistan, Khorassan, and Meronear, where he was obscurely murdered ; but his corpse being discovered, it was afterwards embalmed, and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchres of his ancestors ; and with him ended the dynasty of the Sassanian kings.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 178.

Pliny, in his Natural History, says, that while the stone called Sarcophagus was said to destroy speedily all bodies interred in it, there was another stone called Chernites, and said to re-

On the north of the whole we saw an isolated gate, like the rest in form, but small, plain, and standing alone, after the manner of those found at Daboot, in Nubia, leading to the temple there.

No marks of fire were any where to be seen about the ruins, nor was there any appearance of either a city or a citadel in any direction about Persepolis.*

semble ivory, that had the reputation of keeping and preserving dead bodies from corruption; and it was in a sepulchre or coffin of this stone that the body of Darius the King of Persia was reported to have been laid.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 36. c. 17.

Issundear, the son of Gashtash, was the first convert made by Zoroaster. The King was also persuaded to follow his example, and ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, that the precepts of his new faith might be written upon them. These parchments were deposited in a vault hewn out of the rock at Persepolis. Can these be among the supposed tombs here? or at Naksh-e-Rustam?—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 58.

* The following Bearings, accurately taken by compass from Persepolis, standing on the Platform of the Great Temple, may be interesting:—

		Fursucks.
Naksh-e-Rustam	N.	$\frac{3}{4}$
Bagh Nuzzur Ali Khan	N.N.W.	$\frac{1}{2}$
Zenghi Abad	N.N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	1
Istakel-Khallah	N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	2
Beebee Banoo Imaum Zadé	N.W.	2
Polinoh	N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	1
Jebel Aioobe	N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	10
Asfardoo	N.W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	2

According to Oriental tradition, Persepolis was so large as to have included all the ruins in the plain of Moorgaub, as well as Istakhr, Merdusht, and the bridge of the Bund Ameer within it.*

Istakhr, or Istakel, was represented to us as a large castle on the mountain, exceedingly difficult of access, built of large stones, having one gate of entrance, but neither columns nor sculpture, and now entirely in ruins.†

				Fursucks.
Ameer Khoskoon	.	.	W.N.W.	$\frac{1}{4}$
Bagh Ameer Khoskoon	.	.	W. by N.	$\frac{1}{2}$
Kooshk	.	.	W.	1
Kenarey	.	.	S.W.	1
Rushmegoon	.	.	S.W. by W.	2
Shemsabad Bolyobaf	.	.	S. by W.	3
Gheashek	.	.	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Imaum Zadé	.	.	S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	1

The Temple of Persepolis fronted due W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.

* The river which goes through the Plain of Merdusht is called the Kur by Khondemir and some other authors; and the name of Bund Ameer, now applied even by the people of the country to the river itself, was originally given to a dyke over it made by Azad-u-Dowlah, the ruler of Fars and Irak, and Vizier to the Caliph of Bagdad. A. H. 367. A. D. 977.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 309.

† The hill fort of Istakhr was used as a place of confinement to so late a period as A. H. 898. A. D. 1492, when Sultan Ali and his brothers, in the disputes to succession among the early Saffavean devotees, were imprisoned there upwards of four years.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 499.

Quintus Curtius, after describing the debauch of Alexander, and his destruction of the temple at Persepolis, says that this city, whose forces were sufficient to make Greece tremble, was reduced to a state so deplorable that it was soon abandoned, and but for the Araxes leading to a discovery of its position, the place where it stood would hardly then have been known.* The same Quintus Curtius, however, also says, that Alexander spared the citadel, and left there a governor with a garrison of 3000 Macedonians.

Diodorus Siculus describes a grand sacrifice

* On approaching this city, Alexander is said to have assembled his chiefs, and to have observed to them, that there had never been any city more hostile to the Greeks than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the kings of Persia, and the capital of their empire; that it was from thence came those immense armies which had overrun Greece, and from thence that Darius and Xerxes had brought them to desolate Europe with their wars; and that therefore it was necessary to revenge all those evils upon this city as the source of them. The Persians having already abandoned it, the army of Alexander entered it without opposition, and found there immense treasures surpassing all their former spoils. It was at a feast succeeding the pillage of the city that Thais, a courtesan of Greece, in the midst of the entertainment, exclaimed to the King, 'There never can be an occasion more favourable than the present to acquire and deserve the gratitude of the Greeks, by giving to the flames the Royal Palace of the Persian kings. The nations

which Pencestes, Satrap of Persepolis, offered to the Gods, among the number of which he counted Alexander and Philip, and mentions afterwards the magnificent entertainment which he gave to the whole army of Eumenes.* The existence of a Satrap here, would therefore lead to the inference of its continuing to be, even after Alexander's wanton destruction of the temple, the seat of a native governor.

The second book of the Maccabees gives a proof of its being a considerable place as far down as one hundred and sixty years after Alexander's time, as it is there said, (chap.

whose cities the barbarians have abolished will expect from Alexander such an act of justice!' This, says the historian, was the advice of a courtesan, and of one who was intoxicated; nevertheless, it was no sooner given than the King arose, and was followed by his guests, who, still heated with wine, exclaimed, 'Revenge for Greece!—Destruction to Persepolis!' The King was the first to throw his torch, his officers followed, and the concubines. The palace was built chiefly of cedar, and the destruction was so complete, that but for the Araxes, which ran near it, pointing out its site, not a vestige of it could be found, and that to this time it had never been restored.—*Quint. Curt.* lib. v. c. 6, 7.

* The historian describes the governor as sending almost over all Persia for beasts to be sacrificed, and abundance of all other provisions necessary for a festival and public solemnity on the grandest scale.—*Diod. Sic.* lib. xix. c. 2.

ix.) that Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, formed the design of pillaging the temple and the city of Persepolis, which must have been supposed, at least, to have contained sufficient wealth to reward the enterprise of a monarch already sufficiently rich.*

The existence of the Arabic inscriptions, so long and so carefully executed, is assumed also as a proof of the city being peopled even down to that period; as no voyager, it is said, could have either the conveniences or the leisure to execute such works in an uninhabited place.

It is thought that the ruined edifice at Persepolis is a temple of the ancient Persians, and that its sculptured subjects, as well as

* “ Antiochus, attempting to rob the Temple of Jupiter, in Elymais, there received a just overthrow, with the loss of his life, and ruin of his whole army.’—*Fragments of Diod.* lib. xxvi. s. 23; 1 *Maccabees*, c. vi. v. 1—3.

‘ King Antiochus being in want of money, and hearing there were vast treasures of gold and silver, and other precious jewels, of offerings made in the Temple of Jupiter Belus, in Elymais, resolved to rifle it. Coming, therefore, into the province of Elymais, and pretending that the inhabitants of that place had raised a war against him, he robbed the temple, and got together a great sum of money; but in a short time after, the gods executed vengeance upon him for his sacrilege.’—*Frag.* lib. xxvi. s. 34.

style of architecture, resemble, in many particulars, that of Egypt. Among these may be numbered the figures divided by trees,* the sphynxes, vases, and chairs, the doors and architraves, subterranean passages in the tombs, sarcophagi and urns, and a square well twenty-five feet deep and fifteen square. The sculpture at Persepolis was also painted, mostly in blue, a favourite colour of Egypt, but sometimes in black and in yellow. Le Brun counted thirteen hundred figures of men and animals, the half of which were large as life, without including those on the tombs; and he counted the fragments of no less than two hundred and five columns.

The opinion of these ruins being the remains of the palace burnt by Alexander, is founded only on the assertion of Quintus Curtius. Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xvii.) says

* It would appear from a passage of Justin, that there was formerly much wood about this place, as in the mention he makes of the stratagem of a letter being conveyed from Harpagus to Cyrus in a hare's belly, and of the messengers arriving safe with it to the city of Persepolis, he says:—'The people being there called together, he commanded all of them to be ready with their hatchets to cut down the wood that did shut up the way; which when they had cheerfully performed, he invited them on the next day to a dinner.'—*Justin*, lib. i.

that Alexander, assembling his Macedonian followers, observed to them that Persepolis, the capital of Persia, and the seat of its kings, had been always the most distinguished city in Asia for its enmity to the Greeks, and that he therefore abandoned it to their pillage, excepting only from violation the palace of the King.*

According to Arrian, it was the castle of Persepolis which Alexander burnt; but the ruins here in no way correspond with the de-

* The following is the description given by Diodorus Siculus of the destruction of this city:—‘When Alexander marched from Babylon against Persepolis, on approaching it he met a large company of Grecians, who had been made prisoners by the Persians, and most inhumanly mangled and disfigured, by the cutting off their hands, their feet, their ears, their noses, and which excited the indignation of the monarch, and drew from him both tears of commiseration and more substantial proofs of his bounty. When Alexander had,’ says the historian, ‘according to his natural goodness and innate generosity, comforted these poor miserable people, he then called the Macedonians together, and told them that Persepolis, the metropolis of the kingdom of Persia, of all the cities of Asia, had done most mischief to the Grecians; and therefore he gave it up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except the King’s palace. This was the richest city of any under the sun; and for many ages all the private houses were full of all sorts of wealth, and whatever was desirable.

‘The Macedonians therefore, forcing into the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried away every man’s

scription of the castle, as given by Diodorus. This castle was encompassed by three walls, the outer one constructed with immense expense, sixteen cubits high, and accompanied by all that could contribute to strengthen it as a defence. The second was like the first, but double its height. The third, or inner one, was of a square form, sixty cubits high, and constructed of so hard a stone, and in such a way, as to fit it to endure for centuries. Each side of this square had

goods and estate, amongst which was abundance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments of all sorts. In this place were hurried away, here and there, vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of purple, and others embroidered with gold; all which became a plentiful prey to the ravenous soldiers. For though every place was full of rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the Macedonians was insatiable, still thirsting after more. And they were so eager in plundering, that they fought one with another with drawn swords, and many who were conceived to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they divided with their swords, and each took a share. Others, in rage, cut off the hands of such as laid hold of a thing that was in dispute.

‘They first ravished the women as they were in their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them for slaves. So that, by how much Persepolis excelled all the other cities in glory and worldly felicity, by so much more was the measure of their misery and calamity.’—Lib. xvii. c. 8.

gates of brass and palisades of the same metal, of twenty cubits high, for their defence; the sight of which was alone sufficient to inspire terror in those who advanced to attack it.*

The ruins now seen, correspond neither with those of a palace nor a castle; and are not those, therefore, of the edifice burnt by Alexander. On all these remains, no mark of fire is to be traced, which could not have been the case if this had been the principal agent used in its destruction. Plutarch, in

* ‘ This stately fabric, or citadel, was surrounded by a treble wall. The first was sixteen cubits high, adorned by many sumptuous buildings and aspiring turrets: the second was like to the first, but as high again as the other: the third was drawn like a quadrant, four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented as to continue for ever. On the four sides are brazen gates; near to which are gallowses of brass, twenty cubits high: these raised to terrify the beholders, and the other for the better strengthening and fortifying of the place. On the east side of the citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount, called the Royal Mount, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings; many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the rock, into which cells there is made no direct passage; but the coffins with the dead bodies are by instruments hoisted up, and so let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings, both for the King and his soldiers, of excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers most conveniently contrived for the laying up of money.’—*Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. c. 8.*

his *Life of Alexander*, remarks that after the burning of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, it was necessary to scrape the parts that had resisted the fire, which took away so much from them as visibly to alter their proportions; so that the marks of fire would be as difficult to remove here, if they had ever existed.

There are appearances at Persepolis of five different buildings united in one, and each apparently of a different age, after the manner of the Egyptians.

The books of the Maccabees, already cited, say, in the first, that there was a rich temple at Persepolis; and in the second, that Antiochus Epiphanes determined to pillage it. Alexander therefore could not have destroyed it; for it is highly improbable, from the history of those times, that so laboured and magnificent a work should have been rebuilt and restored in the short period between Alexander and the Syrian king. The Macedonian conqueror, it is true, might have pillaged it, and the celebrity of the divinity there adored might have drawn to it again a new fund of treasures. The historian of the Maccabees seems indeed more occupied

about the temple than the city, as an object of much higher importance.

Diodorus and Justin agree in saying that Antiochus Epiphanes having learnt that a temple of Belus, in the province of Elymaïs, (which was the Jewish name for this place, from their name of the country of Persia, Elam,) contained a great treasure, he entered it during the night and carried off all its riches.*

Others assert that this temple was consecrated to Diana. Tacitus (Ann. 3. c. 62.) says that there was a temple of that goddess in Persia; and Strabo adds, that one of the Parthian kings carried off from it two thousand talents, and that the temple was called *Zara*.† All these authorities prove, that

* The Elamiôtæ of Arrian and Nearchus are the Elamites of the Scriptures. It is the Temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymaïs which Antiochus the Great is said to have plundered, and where he lost his life. A temple of Bel, or Baal, it might be; but Jupiter is the addition of the Greeks.—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients*, (note,) vol. i. p. 416.

† Lé Clerc, in his criticism on Quintus Curtius, says, 'It is to me a very great wonder that the true and ancient name of the capital city of the Persian Empire should be every where suppressed, and the Greek appellation of Persepolis substituted in its place; not only by Quintus Curtius, but by all other ancient authors; by which means it is absolutely lost. Christo-

there was at Persepolis, long after Alexander's time, a famous temple; and the ruins seen here at the present day may be well those of that edifice, composed perhaps of several temples dedicated to different divinities on the same spot.*

pher Cellarius was of opinion that the name thereof was *Elam*, which is עֵילַם, in his notes to that chapter of Curtius: for the country adjacent to it was named Elamais, and so was the city too by the author of the Maccabees. But I dare not subscribe to his judgment; and if I might be allowed to declare my mind freely, I should own my satisfaction in the conjecture of Sir John Chardin, who, in his *Itinerarium Persicum*, thinks it was called Fars-abad, or Pars-abad, which is the habitation of the Persians; for it is unquestionable that the Persians called themselves פָּרַס *Pharas*, and אָבָד *Atad* signifies a habitation,—which now is often substituted in the composition of such names of towns in the Persian language.'—*Rooke's Arrian*, c. 6, s. 10. vol. i. p. 39.

* The following is the description given by Diodorus Siculus of the destruction of the particular temple burnt down by Alexander. 'Here (at Persepolis) Alexander made a sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods. At this feast were entertained women who prostituted their bodies for hire, where the cups went so high, and the reins so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, that many were both drunk and mad. Among the rest there was at that time a courtesan named Thais, an Athenian, who said Alexander would perform the most glorious act that ever he did, if, while he was feasting with them, he would burn the palace, and so the glory and renown of Persia might be said to be brought to no-

Chardin thinks that two centuries were requisite to complete the works seen at Persepolis ; and M. Le Comte de Caylus is of the same opinion. He gives them an antiquity of four thousand years, but merely from conjecture, without any historical foundation. The Count, however, thinks they cannot be attributed to the Persians before Cyrus, as Herodotus describes the Persians of

thing in a moment by the hands of women. This spreading abroad and coming to the ears of the young men, (who commonly make little use of reason when drink is in their heads,) presently one cries out, ' Come on, bring us firebrands !' and so incites the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety the Persians had committed in destroying the temples of the Grecians. At this, others with joy set up a shout, but said so brave an exploit belonged only to Alexander to perform. The King stirred up at these words, embraced the motion ; upon which, as many as were present left their cups, and leaped from the table, and said, that they would now celebrate a victorious festival to Bacchus. Hereupon, multitudes of firebrands were presently got together, and all the women that played on musical instruments which were at the feast were called for ; and then the King, with songs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this courtesan Thais, who next after the King threw the first firebrand into the palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest ; so that in a very short time the whole fabric, by the violence of the fire, was consumed to ashes. It is very observable (adds the historian) and not without just admiration, that the sacrilege and impiety of Xerxes, King of Persia, (exercised in his destroying the citadel of Athens,) should so many years

that age as a people of great simplicity, having neither temples nor altars, but worshipping Jupiter on the summits of the highest mountains. Cyrus himself was occupied with his foreign conquests, and his religious impressions were simple and austere, conformable to his own education and the manners of his country; besides which, when he was in a condition to make such vast expenditure

after he revenged in the same kind by one courtesan only of that city that was so injured.'—*Diod. Sic.* lib. 17. c. 8.

Arrian says that Alexander burned the royal palace of the Persian monarch much against the will of Parmeneo, who entreated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was improper to spoil and destroy what he had gained by his valour, but that he would thereby disoblige the Asiatics, and render them less benevolent to him; for they would then suppose he would not keep Asia in his possession, but abandon it as soon as it was conquered and laid waste. To which Alexander made answer, that he was resolved to revenge the ancient injuries his country had received by the Persians, who, when they arrived with the army in Greece, subverted Athens, burned their temples, and committed many other barbarous devastations there.'—*Rooke's Arrian*, lib. 3. c. 18.

In a note on this the translator says, 'The burning of Persepolis, Curtius has given us at large, (l. 5. c. 7.) and affirms that Thais, a noted harlot, was the first proposer of setting it on fire. Plutarch gives us an account of Thais, but he tells it as a story which in all likelihood he gave little credit to. That the royal palace there was set on fire, none doubt; and that it was done by design, all authors agree; but the story of Thais is delivered as a truth by none but himself and Diodorus (c. 17.)' Curtius

as these works required, Persepolis was no longer the royal city, but Suza, Ecbatana, and Babylon, became the residence of him and his successors.

Diodorus (lib. 11.) informs us, that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, conquered Egypt in the third year of the seventy-third Olympiad, when he pillaged the country and burnt the temples, the treasures of which the Persians carried off into Asia, where they led away with them the workmen and architects of Egypt, whom they caused to build the famous palace of Persepolis, of Susa, and of several other cities. If, then, there be any vestiges of striking resemblance to Egyptian architecture in the ruins of Persepolis now, we may safely fix on this period for its construction by these captive workmen so brought away.

The difficulties against this supposition are adds, that no less than one hundred and twenty thousand talents in money were found there (l. 5. c. 6. 9); though Plutarch seems not to allow this booty in money to be richer than the former at Susa; but adds, that of other movables and treasures there were seized as much as a thousand pair of mules and five hundred camels could well carry away (Vide Plut. Steph. p. 24). That the name of Persepolis was given this place by the Greeks, is unquestionable. Curtius is guilty of a gross error (lib. 5. c. 7. 9.) in saying, that 'the city of Persepolis was so far from

not insurmountable. It is true that Cambyses himself, who is said to have died at Ecbatana, on Mount Carmel, in Syria, (Herod. l. 3.) could neither have begun nor finished these works in person, as he did not return home after his conquests; but his representatives in Persia might have done so in his absence after the arrival of the Egyptian workmen. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who succeeded him, might have completed them.

Cicero says, that Xerxes, his son, at the instigation of the Magi, set fire to the temples of Greece, on the principle that the universe was the Temple of the Gods, who required not to be confined within walls (De Leg. l. 2. and 10.) But though this might have been done in the career of his expedition against a distant country, the labours of his predecessors might in the mean time have been untouched at home.

being rebuilt, that unless the river Araxes ran near it, there are not left the least signs to guess where it stood,' &c. Yet, neither Arrian nor Strabo, nor even Diodorus, whom Curtius commonly copies, acquaints us with the burning of any thing but the royal palace.'

Strabo accords with Arrian in his account of the destruction of Persepolis (except that he mentions nothing of Thais). The story of this courtesan persuading Alexander to burn the palace, is from Clitarchus.—*Athenæus*, lib. 13: c. 5.

The period between Xerxes and Alexander, being 130 years, has been thought too short for such a work as the edifices, subterranean passages, tombs, &c. of Persepolis; but if these were the work of the captive Egyptians sent over by Cambyses, the difficulty vanishes, and there is then ample time for the whole to have been completed at the time of the Macedonian conquest of Persia.*

The *final ruin* and desertion of Persepolis is said not to have happened till so late as the year 982 of the Christian era—or 372 of the Hejira, in the time of Sumeareh ud Dowla, the unworthy son of a virtuous and victorious father. Its desolation is now complete.

At noon I quitted the ruins of Persepolis, with mingled feelings of satisfaction and regret. We now went south-west over the plain, on our way to Zenghoor, which was said to be five fursucks off, intending to reach there to-night, and make a short stage to Shiraz to-morrow. The constant impediment of canals, and their dry beds, occasioned us

* See the Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres; Mémoire sur Persepolis, par le Comte Caylus; De la Croix's Critical Examination of the Life of Alexander; and the Dabistan, translated from the Persian.

to wander about for a long time, and El Assr was passed before we gained the village of Kenarry. Here we found that the usual road had been closed up by culture extending across it, and the ground was now covered with verdure. We turned therefore for Kooshk, and were so impeded here that we did not reach it till near sunset, our horses and ourselves being quite knocked up. As neither shelter nor corn was to be had at this place, we went north-west about a fursuck, and found both, in a walled village called Dehbid, where we halted.

Oct. 24th.—We left Dehbid two hours before daylight, as we had a long stage to perform; but from the intersection of the roads by dry beds of canals, we wandered considerably from a straight course, and our progress was proportionably retarded. When the day broke, we crossed the Bund Ameer by a lofty but now nearly ruined bridge. The river's bed was deep, the stream rapid, and flowing to the south-east through the plain. This was called, by the natives, Pola Khan. The Bund Ameer was the Araxes of the ancients, though not that which led into the Caspian Sea, as this goes into the Persian

Gulph. It was formerly within the city of Persepolis.

In little more than an hour, passing over a fine small plain covered with flocks and tents, we came to the large village of Zerraghoon, seated at the foot of a steep mass of rock, with thatched houses and sloping roofs. We halted at a caravansera here, for two hours, to repose, and set out again about noon; after which we got into a rugged country of bare hills and uninteresting aspect.

About four o'clock we came to a small place called Rader Khoneh, where a fine new caravansera was building at the foot of a steep hill. In an hour more, passing over rugged roads, we drank at the small stream of Ruknabad, so celebrated by Hafiz and Sir William Jones, which furnishes the best water to Shiraz; and in another hour we came in sight of the city itself.

The first approach to Shiraz is interesting, as the view is sudden; and the town appears to burst on the traveller from a fine plain below, partly seen through a romantic opening of the hills.

We descended here through a formerly fortified pass, called 'Tenga Allah Ackbar.'

After this, we passed through a fine old gate, which has been drawn by Le Brun, and from which is a very beautiful view of the great road to Shiraz: this gate is now in ruins. Going along a broad road, we had on our right the new gardens and palace of the Shah Zadé, and the Takht-e-Kudjer, another royal seat; and on our left the Bagh-e-Vakeel, Hafizeea, Dervishes' gardens, &c.—forming altogether a beautiful prospect. Further on, we passed the fine tomb of Shah Ameer Hamza, son of the Imaum Moosa; and crossing a bridge over the dry bed of a river, we entered Shiraz before dark. We were detained inside the gateway, and strict enquiries were made whether I was a Moslem or not. It was at length concluded that I was a Chaoush, or Reis el Zuwar, a chief of pilgrims, which was sufficient to ensure safety and respect.

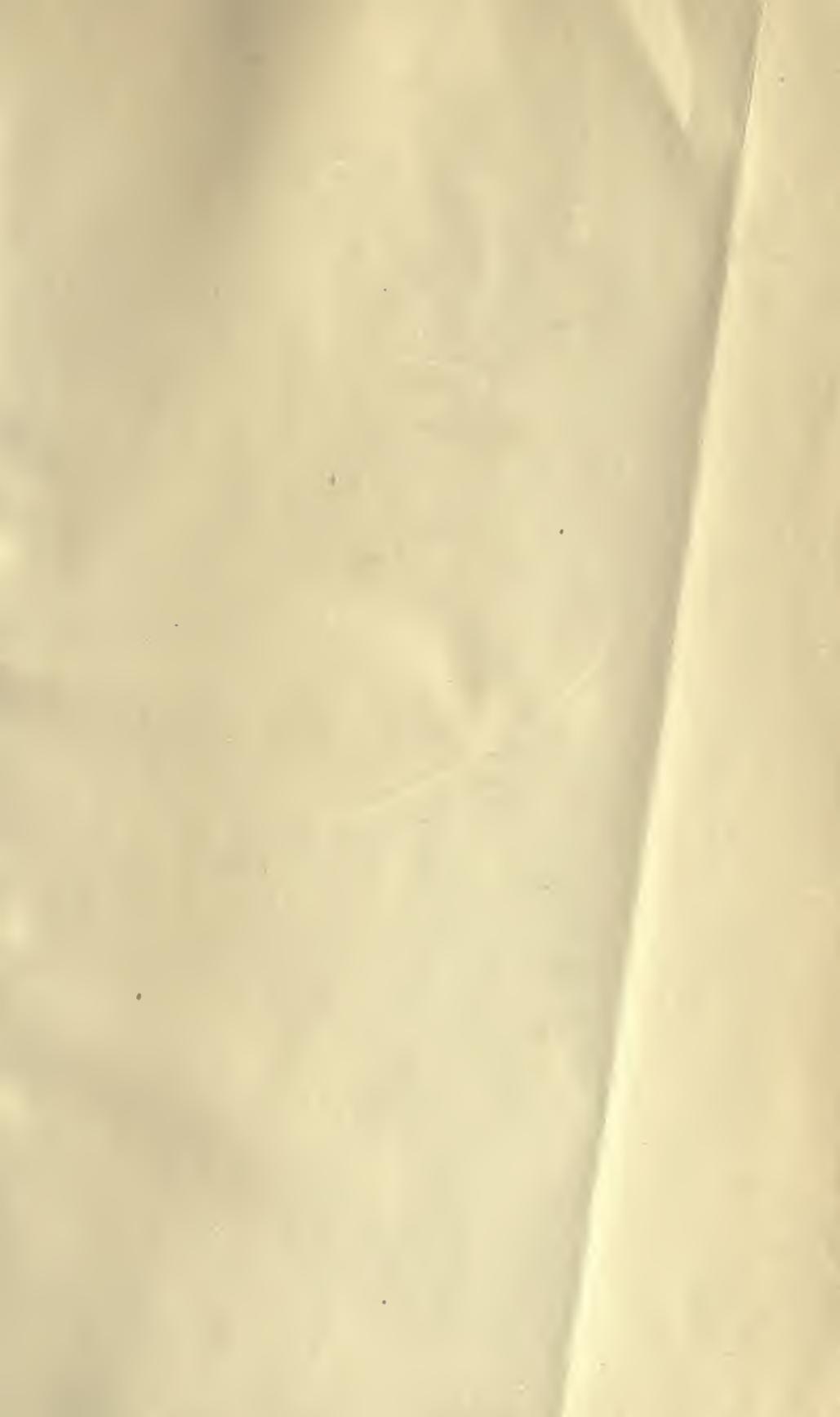
I went straight from hence, to the house of Jaffier Ali Khan, an Indian nobleman, to whom I had letters; but the servants representing me to their master, who was inside, as an Arab Sheikh, he did not know my real condition; and as it was now late, we were

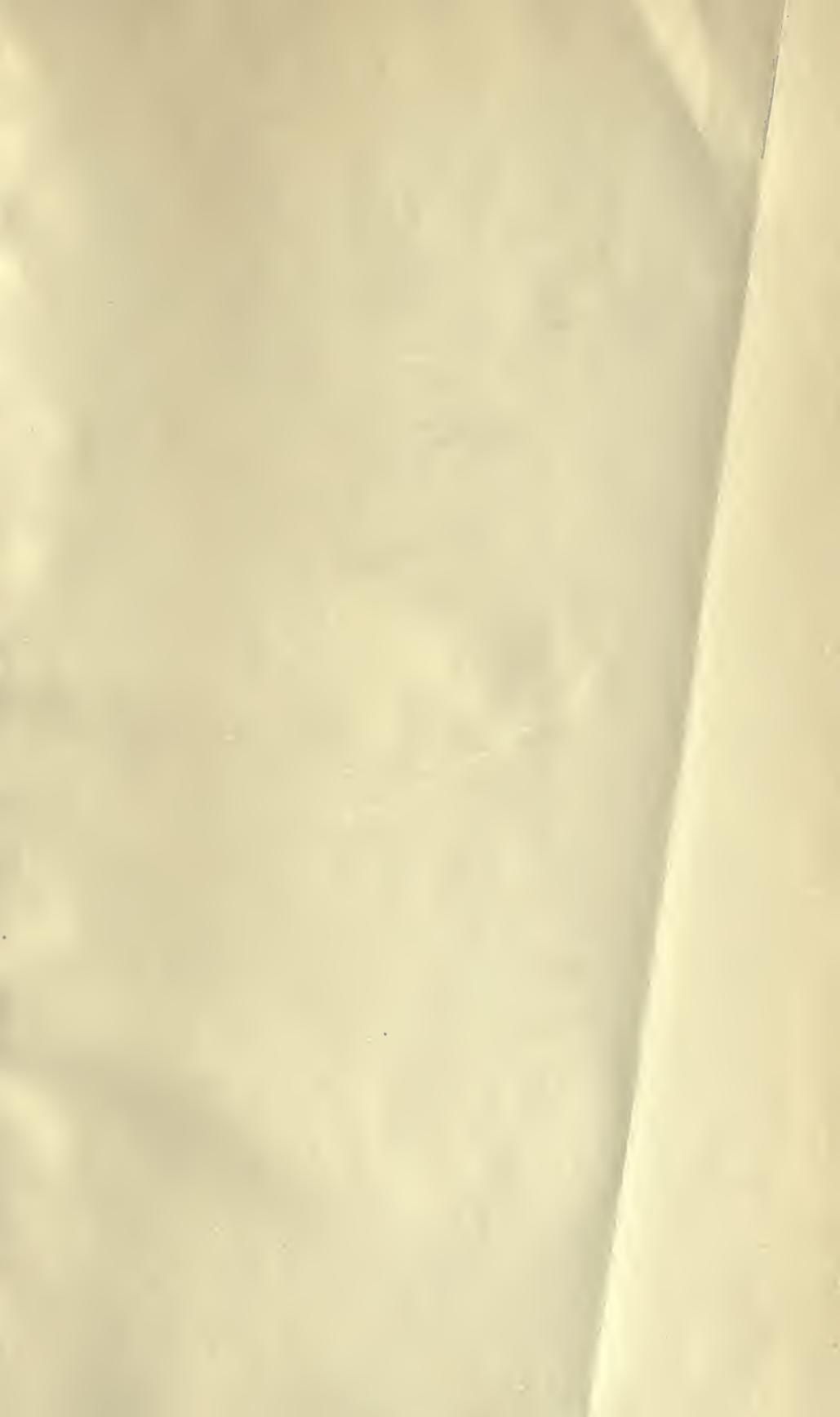
desired to call to-morrow. We accordingly went, and found a good room in the Caravansera Hindoo, where all the Indians who are not Moslems generally put up at Shiraz.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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