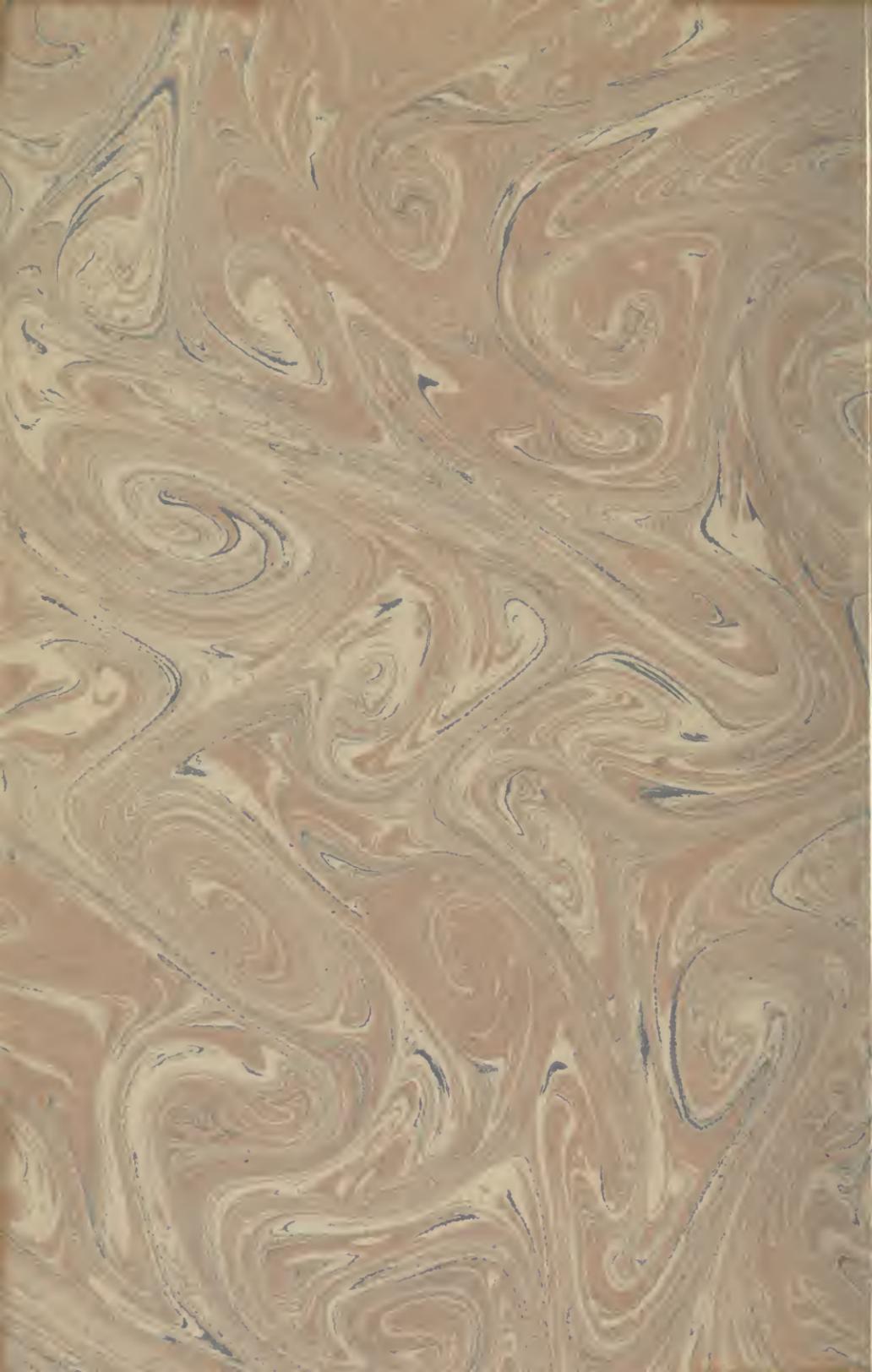


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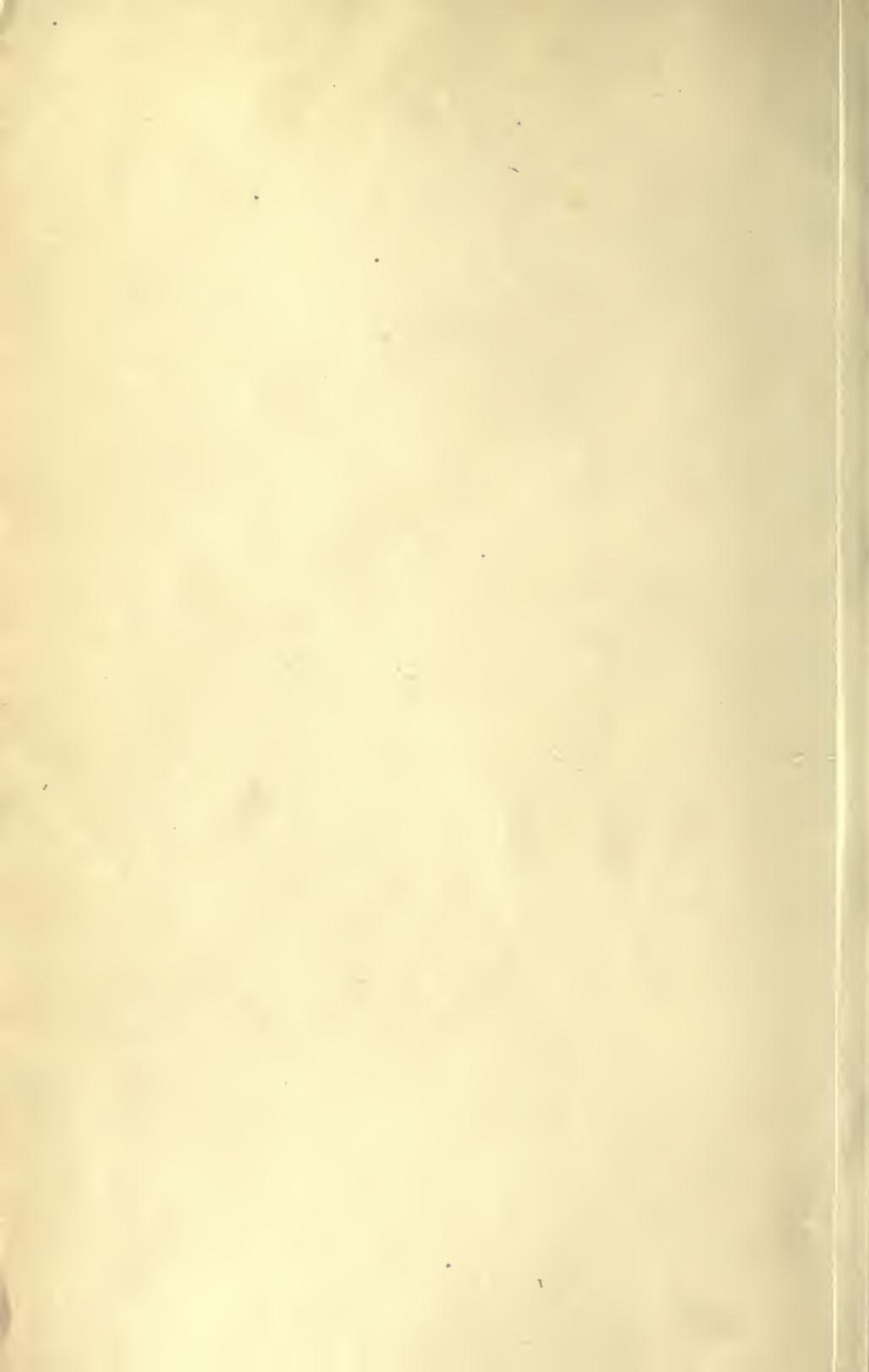


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TRAVELS

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 BUSSORAE,  
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.

*ames*  
*with*  
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.

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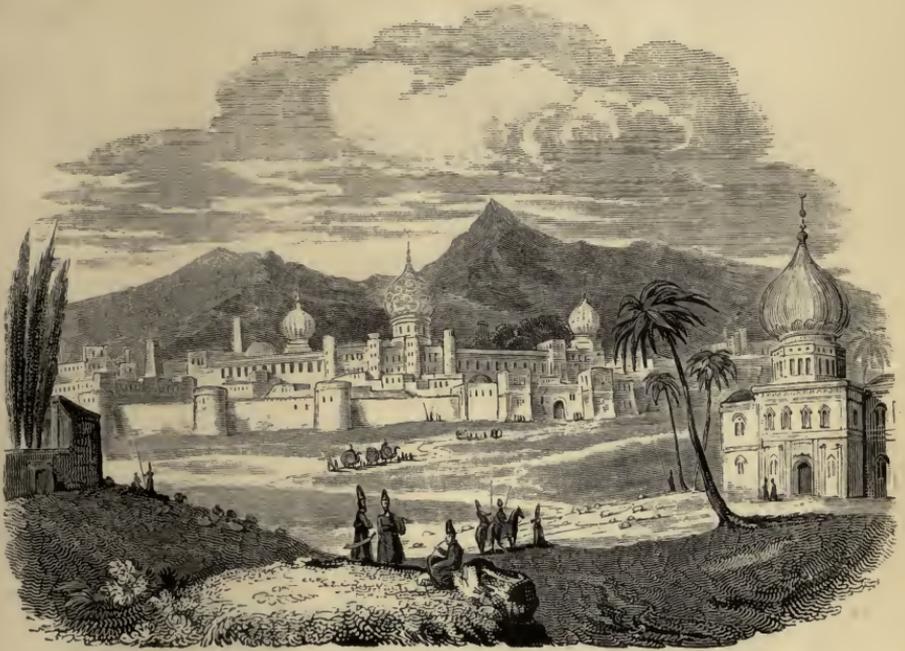
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CHAPTER I.



CITY OF SHIRAZ, AS SEEN FROM WITHOUT THE WALLS.



## CHAPTER I.

### STAY AT SHIRAZ, AND VISIT TO THE PRINCIPAL PLACES OF THAT CITY.

OCT. 25th.—At an early hour this morning, I received a visit at the caravansera from the Prince Jaffier Ali Khan, who invited us to take up our quarters at his house, in one of the best parts of Shiraz. This being accepted, I repaired with him to the Hamam-e-Vakeel, which was the finest bath I had yet seen in Persia. It resembled generally that at Kermanshah, but was much larger, and more ornamented. During our conversation here, I heard a Mohammedan describing to his friend, that Friday was set aside as a day of public prayer by Mohammed, because Christ, the Roah Ullah, or Soul of God, was crucified on that day; and this, it appears, is the tradi-

tion received by many. The same individual also said that the Persians stained their beards, as a peculiar mark of their being Sheeahs ; for though Imam Ali did not stain his, yet one of his immediate descendants did,—and this, he thought, was a sufficient precedent for the use of this as a distinguishing mark from the Soonnees, who do not generally follow this practice.

After the bath, we were conducted to the house of Jaffier Ali Khan, by a train of servants who had been sent to attend us ; and on our arrival there a separate portion of his residence was appropriated to our own use, with accommodation for our horses, and a small private garden for retirement and repose. We all breakfasted together after the manner of the country, and passed the whole of the day in agreeable conversation on subjects connected with Persia. In the evening we were visited by three of Jaffier's particular friends, who, he said, were among the few of the old and respectable members of the community that remained in Shiraz, where, as throughout all Persia, the general corruption of the government has led to the elevation of the lowest characters to the high-

est offices of the state, and the consequent oppression and persecution of the heads of all the older and more respectable families.

After supper, chess followed, at which the greater number of the party played skilfully; and during the game, the conversation turned on a late affair which had excited considerable attention at Shiraz. A captain in the English navy, and a Civilian of the East India Company's service, who had come up from Bushire on a visit to Shiraz, were lodged in one of the villas and gardens of the Governor during their stay here; when, one evening, some young persons of distinction belonging to the Persian court, having drunk deeply, went there at a late hour to ask for more wine. The request was refused, and very warm language passed on both sides. On the following morning, however, the Persians, sensible of their fault, went in a body to ask pardon of the English gentlemen. A reconciliation was soon brought about; and the principal offender advanced to embrace the young civilian, and kiss his forehead, after the Persian fashion. The Englishman being ignorant, however, of this custom of the country, took this familiarity for an intended vio-

lation of his person, and became more angry than before. It was therefore represented to the Prince, who was then the Governor of Shiraz, that these young Persian courtiers had a second time come in a body to insult the English guests. The Prince, without farther enquiry, and upon this mere representation, gave up the offenders, though all of them were young men high in his service, to be punished with death, or such other tortures as the English gentlemen might at their discretion command. They were even brought into the public place of execution, in pursuance of this sentence,—were there stripped, tied up, and rods prepared for flogging them; when, at the moment of the punishment being about to commence, they were released by order of the naval captain and his young friend, who expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with this measure of justice, without proceeding further. The Persians, however, knowing that the whole affair originated in a misconception, from ignorance of their manners, were very indignant at the punishment having proceeded so far.

OCT. 26th.—Being attended by a servant of Jaffier Ali as a guide, we went out to-day

to see some of the principal places in the town, and paid our first visit to the Musjid-No, an old mosque, now so much ruined, as to be scarcely more than a spacious square-court, with fountains, benches for praying on, &c. We next went to the Musjid Jumah, the most ancient perfect mosque in the city, being upwards of eight hundred years old.\* There was, however, a square building in the court before it, fast going to ruins: the columns had diamond-cut pedestals in the Indian fashion, fluted shafts, and Arabic capitals; the whole of these were of marble, and of better proportions than usual, approaching nearly to the Doric in the relation between the diameter and height. A pedestal of an inverted lotus flower, fully opened, was shown us here, standing by itself, and exactly like the pedestals of the columns at Persepolis, from which it was no doubt brought; as the ruins of that city or temple are said to have been employed in the structure of Shiraz, which was founded in the seventy-sixth year of the Hejira under

\* The memory of Atta Beg Saad is to this day held in great respect at Shiraz. He surrounded that city by a wall, and built the Musjid Jumah, or chief mosque, which still remains.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 388.

the Ommiades. In the mosque itself is a fine old niche for prayer, with a rich pointed arch over it, and the words 'Bismillah-el-Rakman-el-Rakheem,' &c. written around it in Cufic characters, in high relief. The decorations of this arch are exuberant, but they are all well-disposed: the ground-work is formed of clusters of grapes and vine leaves,—a very singular combination for a Mohammedan sanctuary; and over the concave part of the roof is a large stem disposed into three branches, with a full-blown lily at the end of the central one, and a half blown one at the end of the other two. A wooden flight of steps leads to a pulpit near, which is equally old; and over it, among the full-carved work of the back part, is the confession of faith, 'La Illah ul Ullah, oua Mohammed el Roo-sool Ullah.' The conquest of Persia by Tamerlane was celebrated in this mosque; and though at present in a very ruined and imperfect state, it was long the first in Shiraz. The whole wears an appearance of much greater antiquity than the Mohammedan era.

From hence we went to the Musjid Wa-keel, which is the most modern, and reckoned to be the best mosque in Shiraz. It was

begun by Kerim Khan, but was never completely finished, and it still remains in an incomplete state. Its entrance faces a broad way, which connects it with the great square, leading to the Ark, or Citadel, and the Prince's residence; so that its situation is imposing. Within the gate of entrance is a large square court, with piazzas around it, and a long reservoir of water in the centre. It was now filled with soldiers preparing to appear before the Prince, and with men in every stage of decrepitude, halt, blind, and lame, preparing to ask alms. The mosque within is one large hall, unusually low, and its roof formed of a succession of vaulted coves. The points of these are supported by marble columns, of which there are four rows of twelve each. These are without pedestals, and the shaft and capital of each is one piece of white marble. The shafts are spirally fluted, though beginning and ending in a straight line: the capital swells upward like an inverted bell; and between two astragals, at the top and bottom of the capital, are arranged perpendicular leaves, like those of a spreading palm, sculptured in relief. There is here a flight of steps going up to the

oratory of the priests; the whole flight being formed of one entire block of Tabreez marble, finely wrought and beautifully polished. Some parts of the roof or ceiling, and the wall about the niche of prayer, have been tiled, but the rest remains bare; and while the sculptured marble slabs of the sur-basement of the outer court appear as fresh as if finished yesterday, the coloured tiling of the arches above is already falling to decay, and no repairs are even spoken of as intended. Though this is considered to be the most beautiful mosque at Shiraz, it is not to be compared with either of the principal ones at Ispahan.

After quitting this, we went to the Shah Cheragh, the tomb of one of the sons of Imam Moosa,—Shah being a name given to Fakeers and Dervishes, or holy persons distinguished for their piety or their wisdom, as well as to kings. In the centre of this place is a large and lofty edifice covered by a dome, a fine tomb of wrought silver in open work, like the tomb in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, with folding-doors; the bars of silver used in this grating work being an inch in circumference. Around the

tomb are tablets covered with fine Arabic writing; and on the tomb itself are offerings of silver vessels, with a highly embellished copy of the Koran. We each kissed the corners of this with great devotion; the omission of which mark of respect would have been dangerous. The carpets around this tomb were painted; and rich gilding was used on the ceiling of the roofs and the walls. This place received a constant succession of visitors, each of whom generally left a small sum with the Moollah at the door, who was employed, when we passed him, in writing Arabic sentences on handkerchiefs of white cotton for sale. As I wore the Arab dress, I was saluted as a Hadjee, or Pilgrim, and paid much greater respect than I expected, considering the hatred which the Persians generally bear to the sect of the Soonnees and all its adherents.

The Bazaar-el-Wakeel was the part of Shiraz that we next visited. This is long, large, and lofty, in the style of the best bazaars at Ispahan, and is quite equal to any of them. It was now filled with shops, all excellently furnished. Some of the smaller bazaars have a raised causeway or pavement

of flag-stones on each side, and in the centre a deep space for camels or beasts of burthen. The dealers expose their wares on high benches, where also sit the Serafs, or money-changers, with their strong chests of silver and copper coins for changing on commission.

The Bazaar-No, or New Bazaar, is not yet completed. It is inferior only to the Bazaar-el-Wakeel, and is distinguished by the most fantastic paintings of battles, &c. All the monsters of the fabulous ages are here realized, and draw crowds of gazers. Nadir Shah, Shah Abbas, and Futteh Ali Shah, have their portraits among them—either engaged in war, or beholding barbarous executions. The loves of Shirine and Ferhad are depicted in other compartments, and the variety is without end. This is not yet complete.

The Kaisereah-Koneh-Khan, which was once one of the largest and oldest caravan-seras in Shiraz, is now entirely in ruins, exhibiting only a large octagonal frame-work to show what the edifice once was, the inner space being now built upon by smaller houses. When perfect, however, it must have been a very fine edifice.

In passing homeward, we went by the Ark, or Citadel,—a large square enclosure of high walls, with round towers at each end, and surrounded by a ditch. Near this is the great square, in which the public executions take place; and at the arched entrance, opposite to the great mosque of the Wakeel, we were shown the wooden pins at which men are suspended by the heels when they are beheaded, and then cut down in halves like a sheep by the knife of the butcher. Fresh blood was here shown us upon the wall; and we were taken into a prison, where several men lay in chains for execution on the following morning.

Oct. 27th.—We extended our excursion to places without the walls of the town to-day, and, still having one of the Khan's servants for a guide, we went out of the northern gate of the town by a wide road, and, after about a mile's ride, came to the garden and royal seat called Takht-e-Kudjur, or throne of the Kudjur. On an eminence of rock, at the foot of the mountain, is built a neat pleasure-house, which commands a fine view of the plain, and the town of Shiraz bearing directly south of it. The interior

decorations of the chief apartments are rich and varied, and consist of painting and gilding in the Persian style. There are smaller apartments adjoining; an open paved court with a fountain behind; and a fine large garden in front, thickly covered with trees, among which the cypress is predominant. In the centre of this was a place called Koola Frangi, or Frank's hat, from a resemblance to it in shape. It stood in the middle of a large piece of water, and served as the elevated stage of a fountain. This place was built by Aga Mohammed Khan, the eunuch King, and first of the Kudjurs who ascended the throne—from whence it derives its name.\*

From hence, about half a mile eastward, we came to a new garden and palace, now building by the Shah Zadé, and called Bagh-No. In the way, we saw on our left, high on the mountain brow, the tomb of Sheikh Baba Bund Baz, who was a Persian poet; and a little below it another, with gardens,

\* The Takht-e-Kudjur, at Shiraz, was built by the present family of Persia on the site of one called Takht Karrajah, built by the fifth Alla-Beg, the founder also of a college there.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 386.

The Turkish tribe of Kudjur were brought from Syria to Persia by Timoor.—*Ibid.* v. ii. p. 125.

of Sheikh Ali Baba, also a poet: but being unbelievers, or philosophers, their works are disregarded and scarce. The Bagh-No, or new garden, promises to be very fine when completed. After passing an outer building in the centre of its south-west front, in which are upper and lower rooms for servants or visitors, it opens on an extensive and beautiful garden, now filled with fruit-trees and flowers in full bloom. In the centre of this, a double walk, with a canal between each, of not less than one thousand feet long, leads up to the principal edifice. As the ground rises here on a gentle ascent, there are about twenty high steps, with little cascades passing from one to the other, the marble being cut like the scales of fish, to improve the effect of the waterfall; and small pillars are placed through all the length of the canal, with holes in them for water-spouts to issue from. At the end of this walk is a fine piece of water, of an octagonal form, occupying nearly the whole space in front of the palace, and seated on an elevated pavement, in the centre of which it stands. As this was now full to the brim, it formed a beautiful sheet of water, and reflected the whole of the build-

ing, as in the clearest mirror. The palace is neat, without being so gorgeously magnificent as those at Ispahan; and its interior decorations are nearly in the same style, though of inferior execution. The portraits of Futteh Ali Shah and his several sons hold a distinguished place here. Many of the great men of the court have their portraits also preserved in this place. In one compartment of a large painting, the present King of Persia is represented in a battle with the Russians, over whom he is of course victorious. The Russian troops are dressed in red, in the European fashion, and marshalled in close ranks; while the Persians are in the utmost disorder, which is characteristic of the custom of each nation. In the chief compartment of the centre, the King is seated on a rich throne, surrounded by his great men, and is receiving a present from an European ambassador, followed by his suite. These are known chiefly by their blue eyes and yellow hair; but their dresses are so oddly portrayed, that it is not easy to determine for the people of what Frank nation they were intended. There are two columns supporting the open part of this principal

hall, of the same style as those in the palaces at Ispahan, and, like them, cased with mirrors in a fancy frame-work; but the columns are in much better proportions, being of greater diameter compared to their height, though still more slender than the Corinthian or the Composite. The apartments for the females in this palace are above, and are much the same as we had seen in other Persian edifices of state. The Bagh-No is close to the left of the road leading to Ispahan, and about half a mile to the north-east of the town.

Almost opposite to this, on the north of the road, and less than a furlong distant, is another large garden, formerly called the Bagh-e-Vakeel, from its having been built by Kur-reem Khan, but now called Bagh Jehan Newah. To this we next directed our steps, leaving on our left, at some distance, the Teng-e-Allah-Ackbar. This garden is smaller than the former, but also has a house over the front gate, with some neat and richly decorated apartments, and its chief building within. This last, however, is in the centre of the garden, with walks leading from it in several directions. It is of an octagonal form,

and its rooms are very small, as if intended for an harbour, or place of temporary retirement only. In its original state, it was richly adorned, and the surbasement of the interior is of Tabreez marble, finely polished; but it is suffered to fall into decay, being entirely neglected,—so much is it the fashion here to abandon old establishments to their ruin, and then to lavish great expense in rearing new ones. The cypresses of Shiraz are among the largest I remember to have seen any where, except at Smyrna, and in the valley between Mardin and Diarbekr, in both of which places they are taller and fuller. These are, however, very beautiful, and from their number and regularity give great nobleness of appearance to the place. It was this garden which was given to the naval captain and the young Indian civilian by the Shah Zadé, and it was here that the quarrel and misunderstanding already described arose.

The tomb of Hafiz is within a few yards of this, to the south, and nearer the town; but we left this for our route of return.

From the Bagh-e-Vakeel we went to the Chehel-ten, a garden in which forty Dervishes are buried; and their plain graves,

without a stone or an inscription, are shown there, arranged along the south-eastern wall, in a double row of twenty each. In another corner is a very old tomb of Khaloo Sheikh Saadi, or the brother of the poet Saadi's mother, who must have been buried nearly six hundred years; and it was for his sake, he being a Dervish, that this place is said to have been built. The small tomb erected over him is nearly in the form and size of an ordinary coffin, and is very old: the inscriptions are in Arabic; but from their age, and the confused manner in which they are written, the words being run into and interlaced with each other, they are very difficult to be read. There are apartments here for Dervishes, of whom we found several enjoying their shelter: they plucked us flowers from around the tomb of the saint, and furnished us with a nargeel, while a metaphysical conversation was supported with great warmth between them and my Dervish, Ismael, whose superior learning and eloquence they all acknowledged.

Close by this, a little to the north-east, is a similar establishment, called the Haft-ten, or eight bodies, to which we next went. The

garden of this is finer than the former, and has fountains of water and large cypresses. On the left, and facing a second garden, is a small but fine edifice, of ancient date, apart from the dwellings of the Dervishes, and once carefully adorned, but now falling to decay. In the open front of the central apartment, are two pillars, of the Arabic kind, i. e. with Arabic capitals; the shafts plain, and without pedestals, each being in one piece of white marble. Like the columns we had seen in the court of the old mosque of Jumah, these were in as fair proportions as the Doric, the order to which they approached nearest, in that respect. It is here that the Patriarchs are introduced,—Abraham offering up his son Isaac, and Moses feeding Jethro's flock. In one compartment, an old white-bearded man is represented, below a window, addressing a fair and gaily-dressed lady in a balcony above. This is said to be a certain Sheikh Semaan, of whom the story says, that he loved an Armenian lady, who forced him to change his religion, drink wine, eat pork, and drive swine; and then laughed at him for his pains. In opposite compartments, at each end of the room,

the poets Saadi and Hafiz are represented in full-length figures, said to be portraits. Both of them wear the Dervish's cap, surrounded by a green turban, and are white bearded. These portraits are better executed, on the whole, than any of the other pictures.

In front of this open apartment is a neat little garden, with cypresses and a large spreading fir-tree. In this, the eight bodies of the Dervishes, first buried here, have their graves in a line together: their tombs are formed of plain cases of smooth marble without inscription or date. Many other Dervishes are buried both here and at the Chehel-ten; but it is said to be only those who are distinguished from their fellows by superior piety, or superior understanding, who are granted that honour.

Above these abodes of Dervishes, in the mountains on the left of Teng-e-Allah-Ackbar, and north-east of this, are other smaller dwellings of the same people; and on the summit of the mountain is the tomb of Baba Kooe, an old Dervish and philosopher, whose verses and sayings in Persian were after his death collected, and are still extant under

his name. At the small building on the right of the rocky pass of Teng-e-Allah-Ackbar is kept a copy of the Koran, said to be the largest in being, and written by Imam Zain-el-Abadin, the son of Imam Ali; but as the person who had the custody of this large book lived in town, and we could not see it without much difficulty, we did not go to the place where it is kept.

From hence we went south-easterly, towards the tomb of Saadi, which is distant from this nearly a mile. In our road, when about half-way, we turned up on the left, towards the mountain, along whose foot our path lay, to see a deep gutter and a small arched passage, through which a child might barely walk, cut through a neck of rock, and called by the natives Gaowary-e-Deer, or cradle of the demons, from a belief that it was the work of genii, and their nightly place of repose.

From hence, going for a quarter of an hour on the same course, we came to a large garden, called Dil-i-gushah, or 'the heart-opener.'\* It might have once been worthy

\* When Nadir Shah encamped at Shiraz, Hadjee Hashem, the governor of the city at that period, gave him an entertainment in this garden, near the tomb of Saadi.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 176.

of admiration, but it was now in a state of great ruin. It had between two walks a central canal of water, with little falls, like the Prince's garden before described, and an open building in the centre, remarkable chiefly for a mixture in its construction of the pointed and the very flat arch, but containing nothing else worthy of notice.

From hence to the tomb of Saadi the road turned to the north-east, and went along by the side of the highway, leading to Yezd, Kerman, &c. the distance being less than half a mile. We found here a poor brick building, formed of three large recesses, or vaulted apartments, open on one side, and a small garden, in bad order, in front. The central recess had once been ornamented,—though the one on the right of it, when looking towards the garden, was quite plain—and the one on the left contained the tomb of the philosopher and poet whose name it bears. This was simply a case of marble, of the size and form of a common coffin, with little raised posts at the upper corners. The covering of it was entirely gone, leaving only the two sides and the two ends, and the outer one of the former had a large hole wantonly broken through it. The inscrip-

tions were in Arabic and Cufic, and the letters of each in relief, but in so old a style, and so much run into each other, as to be difficult to read. The date of his interment was however more easily made out, and was in the year of the Hejira 691, or 540 years since: this being the year of Islam 1231. The tomb was reared over his grave at the time of the poet's death, and he was buried on the spot where he had himself passed all the latter part of his life. He was said to be one hundred and twenty years old; the first thirty of which were consumed in study at Shiraz; the next sixty were employed in travelling over India, and the countries east of this, in the character of a Dervish, and always on foot; and the last thirty he passed in retirement in this valley, hemmed in by lofty and bare hills, either writing his odes, or giving lectures to his disciples in philosophy. The present building and enclosure was a work of later date than the tomb; but we could not learn by whom it was constructed. The pointed and flat arches are here also mixed in the same work, and the walls are covered with verses and inscriptions of native visitors. The place bears nearly

east-north-east from Shiraz, and is distant from it about a mile and a half.

From the tomb of Saadi we went back by the same road to that of Hafiz, which is distant nearly a mile. Here also is a square enclosure, surrounded by a brick wall, but of greater extent; and the space is filled by a burying-ground on one side, and a garden on the other, divided by a building running across the whole breadth, in the centre of the square. In the burying-ground, into which the door of our entrance led, were at least a hundred graves and tombs, and that of Hafiz was scarcely to be distinguished at a distance from the rest, though it stands nearly in the centre of them all. It is formed of an oblong case of marble, twelve spans in length, by four in breadth, and about the same in depth, standing on a basement of stone elevated about a foot from the ground, and projecting a foot each way beyond its lower dimensions. The sides and ends of this case are perfectly plain, and the marble is marked by slightly waving veins running horizontally along the slabs in close order, changing the general colour of white by its variation of shades to a cloudy yellowness. The upper

slab, which is laid flat on these sides and ends, is free from such veins, and may be called perfectly white. Around its edges is a small rope moulding, neatly cut; and the body of the interior contains the Ode of Hafiz, in the letter Sheen, beautifully executed in high relief; the letters large, and of the finest possible forms. This ode occupies the whole face of the stone, except just leaving room for a small border round it; and this border is formed by a succession of certain sentences and sayings of the poet, in separate compartments, going all around the edge of the tomb. The marble is said to be that of Tabreez, which is in general described to be formed of a combination of light green colours, with here and there veins of red, and sometimes of blue; but in this instance the upper stone is perfectly white, and the sides and end ones only streaked horizontally by a close succession of cloudy and waving lines, thus differing from any other of the Tabreez marbles that I had elsewhere seen.

Like the tomb of Saadi, that of Hafiz was said to have been placed on the spot which he frequented when alive; and his grave, it is believed, stands at the foot of a cypress

planted by his own hands. It is only six months since that this sacred tree had fallen down, after having stood so many years; and though it was sawed off, the trunk is still preserved above ground, to be shown to visitors. Had such an event happened in England, every fibre of it would have been preserved with as much care as the mulberry of Shakspeare, but here it was generally disregarded. The first constructor of the tomb of Hafiz was one of his contemporaries. Nadir Shah, however, on the occasion of his being at Shiraz, having visited it, and opened the copy of his works, always kept here for inspection, found a passage so applicable to his own case, that he embellished the whole place, and restored the tomb, which was fast falling to decay. The present structure is, however, a still more recent work, and is ascribed to the munificence of Kurreem Khan, not more than forty years since. The period at which Hafiz wrote is about four hundred and forty years ago.\* The original copy of his works, written

\* Shiraz was in its greatest prosperity when visited by Timour. Hafiz, the poet, was then there, and treated with distinction by the great conqueror.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 447.

Timour's battle and entry into Shiraz are described in the same work.—Vol. i. p. 463.

by his own hands, was kept here, chained to the tomb, until about a century since, when Asheraff, the King of the Affghans, took Ispahan, and afterwards Shiraz, in the reign of Shah Sultan Hussein; and the book of Hafiz was then taken by him to Candahar, where it is now said to be. A copy was brought to us, of a folio size, finely written and embellished, from the pen of Seid Mohammed Ali, a celebrated writer in the service of Kurreem Khan, who was personally known to my Dervish, Ismael, and who lately ended his days at the tomb of Imam Hoossein, at Kerbela.

In the open central portico of the building which divides the burying-ground from the garden, are some marble pillars with Arabic capitals, no pedestals, and plain shafts, each in one piece; their proportions being, like those already described, nearly Doric. The garden beyond it has many fine cypresses and flower-beds, but there are no tombs there.

We smoked a caleoon, and conversed with some of the Dervishes here; but we were not suffered to depart without opening the Book of Hafiz, for an ode suited to our respective conditions. Ismael found one, which told him that the sickness of his heart was occasioned by an absent lover for whom he pined. The

one on which I opened, inveighed against earthly fame and glory, compared with the enjoyments of the present hour ; and others of our party thought the passages found by them, on opening the book, equally well suited to their several cases. From the time of Nadir Shah, no one indeed comes here without making this trial of the prophetic power of the poet, by opening his book at random, and finding in the first page presented a passage suited to his condition, and all go away perfectly convinced of its unerring truth ; so powerful is the influence of a well-grounded faith and previous persuasion. The Soofees believe that souls arrived at such a state of wisdom and purity as those of Hafiz and Saadi, have a perfect knowledge of all that is going on in the present world ; and that they thus still take an active part in the direction of its affairs. My Dervish, Ismael, firmly believed the hand of Hafiz to have directed the opening of the leaves of the book to us all ; and insisted on it that the poet knew the hearts of all present. Travelling Dervishes from all parts of the East come here occasionally to occupy the few chambers that are set apart for them ; but the place itself, with the Book of Hafiz, and the tomb, are

all under the charge of a Moollah of Shiraz. The Persians, however, do not come here to drink wine, and pour libations on the tomb of their favourite poet, as has been asserted by some. Those who drink wine in Persia, at the present day, do it more secretly; and respect for learning and talents is not so general, as to draw many visitors here on that account alone.

From hence we went to the large tomb of Shah Mirza Hamza, a son of Imam Moosa. It is a spacious edifice, crowned by a lofty dome, and stands close to the road on the left when going towards Shiraz. The exterior is much injured, and falling fast to decay; the interior is in somewhat better preservation. The tomb of the saint is enclosed in a frame-work of wood, with a grating of brass bars; and on it are many pious offerings of silver vessels, with a copy of the Koran, and many gilded tablets written over in Arabic.\* The decorations of the roofs and

\* Shah Mirza Hamza, whose tomb is at Shiraz, was the eldest son of Sultan Mahomed, one of the early Suffavean kings, and fell under the blow of an assassin named Hoodee, a barber, who stabbed him in his private apartment, and effected his escape.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 521.

walls are later than the construction of the edifice itself; they are ascribed to Kurreem Khan, who died before they were completed, and they have never since been continued. After seeing the other Persian monuments of a similar kind, this has nothing worthy of particular notice; but on beholding so proud an edifice as this, so richly ornamented, and so abundantly furnished with offerings, reared over the ashes of one who had no other claim to distinction but that of being the son of an Imam, who multiplied his species by hundreds from his own loins, while the graves of Saadi and of Hafiz are scarcely distinguished from the common herd, we had a striking proof of the triumph of bigotry and superstition, among an ignorant and declining people, over learning, genius, and fame.

We returned to Shiraz before sunset, having occupied nearly the whole of the day in our excursions. Each of the places we had visited was indeed of itself sufficiently interesting to have detained us longer, had we possessed time to examine them separately; but this was not at my disposal. Our evening was passed in great happiness with my excellent and intelligent friend, Jaffier Ali

Khan, and a small party of learned men whom he had invited to sup with us.

It was remarked by Herodotus, that among the ancient Persians the dishes were separately introduced, which occasioned them to say that the Grecians quitted their tables unsatisfied, having nothing to induce them to continue there ; as, if they had, they would eat more.\* It is worthy of mention that, in social parties, the same custom still continues, and that rarely more than one or two dishes at most are laid on the table at a time, these being succeeded by others when removed.

OCT. 28th.—As both the air and water of Bushire was represented to be much inferior to that of Shiraz, and as I had not yet perfectly recovered the effects of my fever at Hamadan, it was recommended to me to dispatch a messenger to the English Resident at Bushire, to know at what time it would be necessary to be there for the first vessels that were to sail, in order that I might prolong my stay here, rather than in the hot and sandy plain of Bushire. I accordingly wrote such a letter, intending to go on as far as Shapoor,

\* Herod. Clio, 133.

about midway, and then meet the messenger, who would bring his answer to Kauzeroon.

When this duty was performed, we went out to see such other principal tombs in the town as we had not yet visited. The first of these was that of Seid Ala-ul-Din, son of Imam Moosa. This building is equally spacious and lofty with that of Shah Ameer Hamza, is in much finer preservation, and the decorations are infinitely superior. The tomb itself is nearly of the same kind, enclosed within a large frame, like a sanctuary, with cage-work of brass, finely wrought; it is covered with silver vessels as offerings, and on it lies a copy of the Koran. Above is suspended a gaudy canopy, and the pavement is covered by carpets of a blue ground, of the manufacture of Yezd, in which Arabic inscriptions are wrought around the border in characters of white, well formed and distinct. The surbasement of the walls is formed of slabs of a dark and clouded marble, sometimes of a reddish kind, speckled with white, like porphyry: the columns and pilasters at the angles, which are spirally fluted, with Arabic capitals, are in excellent proportions, and all the stone-work is well wrought. The

decorations of the roof of the dome, and the walls, in which Cufic inscriptions are ingeniously introduced, into flowers, &c. are quite equal in design and execution to any thing at Ispahan ; and the coloured glass windows, though much broken and injured, are surpassed in beauty by none that I remember, not even those of the room in which I slept at the palace of Shah Abbas. The building itself, and its decorations, are the finest in Shiraz. It is, however, much neglected ; though it is held to be of such sanctity, that poor pilgrims who cannot go to that of the Imam Hussein, at Kerbela, are thought to have sufficiently performed their duty, if they come here and go through the same ceremonies of their pilgrimage. We met many devotees on the spot. In the outer small porch of entrance we noticed an old tomb entirely of the stone like porphyry ; and in front of the door a rude lion of the same material, over the grave of one who had been a champion in the athletic exercises practised here, in houses set apart for that purpose.

We next went to the tomb of Hadjee Seid Ghareeb, and Seid Mohammed Ibn Zaid Ibn Imam Hassan. This was a low building,

vaulted in the usual way ; but its decorations on the walls and ceilings are more simple than we had seen before. The number of little silver cups, with tassels, brought as offerings, were here suspended at the points of the dropping ornaments in the concave semi-arches, and produced a singular effect. The bodies of the two saints named were contained within one frame-work of wood and brass, like the others described; and each was covered with offerings, and had a copy of the Koran. We saw here a large brass candlestick, of many branches, the pedestal of which was round and flat ; but where the trunk or stem began, it was made to rest on the back of an elephant, well wrought in brass.

From hence we went to an octangular building, standing isolated in the midst of a large cemetery, and called Beebee Dochteroon, the daughter of Imam Zein-cl-Abedeen ; but, the door being closed, we did not enter it. On the grave-stones here and elsewhere, we noticed the emblems of the profession or trade followed by the deceased, as was customary among the Greeks, who in the Iliad are represented as putting an oar to

designate the tomb of a pilot. Here were swords, shields, pistols, and spears for warriors; combs and circles for those who prayed much, as it is customary for devotees to lay a comb before them on the ground, and place the forehead on it when praying: there were also scissors and cloth for tailors, who are not ashamed of their profession in Persia. On our way back to the town, we met five horned rams, who were leading forth for a public fight, this being a favourite diversion at Shiraz. We noticed many birds, kept in cages, in the tradesmen's shops,—a practice unknown in Turkey or Arabia.

In the afternoon we went with Jaffier Ali Khan, to see a friend of his, who was a descendant of the great Jengiz Khan, the Tartar conqueror. This man was now at the head of at least twenty thousand horsemen, in Fars, who look up to him as their sovereign and leader. We found him superintending the laying out of a new garden, in which he appeared to take great pleasure. He was a fine, robust, and warlike-looking man, of very dark complexion, and of features very different from Persian. He wore talismans on

both his arms, spoke roughly, and was surrounded by a train of dependents. Our conversation turned chiefly on the affairs of Europe, of which he was by no means ignorant. We were waited on by many Tartars, who spoke a harsh dialect of Turkish. The people attached to this chief are wandering tribes, living in tents, and occupying the whole of the Gurrum Seer, or the hot district, and the borders of Fars, Khorassan, and Seistan. They speak Persian to others, but among themselves Turkish is mostly used. This leader is thought to be the richest man in the whole kingdom, excepting only the sovereign, whose wealth in gold and jewels, hoarded at Teheran, is said to be immense. The chief's treasure is also conceived to be in great part hidden in caves and mountains, known only to himself and his sons; so that the Persian Government dares not oppress him; indeed his faithful force is a sufficient protection against this. After our interview here, he accompanied us to Jaffier Ali Khan's house, and remained with us till evening prayers. Though plainly arrayed in his garden, he dressed himself for his visit in a rich

white shawl cloak, and a still richer red shawl of Cashmere around his waist, and was accompanied by an innumerable train of servants.

OCT. 29th.—As the drum beat for the assembling of the Gymnasts, or Athletes, at the Zoor Khoneh, or house of strength, at an early hour this morning, we attended its call, and went there to witness the exercises. The place was small and dark. The arena was a deep circle, like that in the ancient amphitheatre, for fights of beasts; and the seats for spectators were arranged around, as in theatres generally. The soil of the arena was a fine firm clay. About twenty men were soon assembled on this, each of them naked, excepting only a strong girdle to conceal their waist, and thick pads at the knees. There were also two little boys and a black slave lad. At the sound of a drum and guitar, the men began to exercise themselves with large clubs held across their shoulders, moving in a measured dance: they next began to jump, and then stoop to the ground, as if about to sit, springing up again suddenly on their legs: they next swung one foot for a considerable length of time, and then the other; after which there was violent jump-

ing and dancing, and afterwards a motion like swimming on the earth, by placing their breasts nearly to touch the soil, then drawing their bodies forward, and rising again, some even in this position bearing a man clinging fast to their loins. They next began to walk on their hands, with their feet in the air, falling from this position hard on the ground, turning head over heels in the air, and, last of all, wrestling with each other. All these feats were performed to measured tones of music; and each encounter of the last description was preceded by the recital of a poem, in order to encourage the combatants, which was done by the master of the place. One young man, about twenty-five years old, from six feet four to six feet six inches high, with the most muscular, and at the same time the most beautiful form that I ever beheld, threw all his antagonists; and was indeed as superior to all the rest in skill and strength, as he was more nobly elegant in his form and more graceful in all his motions. Jaffier Ali had known this champion from a youth of five years old. When a lad, he was so handsome that all the women of Shiraz who saw him were in love with him. He had

constantly frequented the Zoor Khoneh, and his strength and beauty of form had improved together. For myself, I never beheld so complete a model of manly beauty, and had never before thought that so much grace and elegance could be given to violent movements as I witnessed here: it realized all the ideal strength and beauty of the sculptures of the Greeks. There were many strong and active men among the others, but none to be compared with this.

These houses of strength were once patronized by the Persian Government, but they are now no longer so supported; the people of the country are however much attached to the exercises, and attend them fully and frequently. The money given by visitors who take no part in the exercises goes to a fund for the institution; and the rich and middling classes, of whom there are many who enter the lists, make up the deficiency. On Fridays the place is crowded with visitors, who give presents at their discretion. There are four or five of these houses at Shiraz, many more at Ispahan, several at Kermanshah and Teheran, and indeed in all the great towns of Khorassan and Turkomania, as far as Bok-

hara and Samarcand, according to the testimony of my Dervish, who says he has seen them and frequented them often. At Bagdad and Moosul there are the same institutions, and by the same name of Zoor Khoneh ; which proves their having been borrowed from this country, as the name is purely Persian. At Bagdad, about two years since, there came a Pehlawan, or champion, named Melek Mohammed, from Casvin, and addressed himself to the Pasha. It is the custom for these champions to go from place to place, to try their strength with the victors or champions of each ; and if there be none at the place last visited, the governor is obliged to give a hundred tomaums ; but if there be one, and the stranger vanquishes him, he must be content with the honour of victory and succeeding to the place of the vanquished. The Pasha of Bagdad replying to Melek Mohammed that he had a champion already attached to his court, a day was appointed for the man of Casvin to try his strength with him of Bagdad. Moosa Baba, the Pasha's Kabobshee, or sausage-maker, appeared, and both the combatants were stripped, and girded with the girdle of the Zoor Khoneh alone, before the

Pasha's house. The Casvin champion seized the Bagdad cook by the stomach, and so wrenched him with the grasp of one hand only, that the man fainted on the spot, and died within five days afterwards. The Pasha rewarded the victor with ten pieces of gold, a handsome dress, and made him his chief Cawass. Three or four months afterwards, came a man from a place called Dejeil, near the Tigris, and at a distance of ten hours' journey from Bagdad, on the road to Samara. He offered to combat the Casvin Melek Mohammed. A second combat took place, and though this new opponent was thought to be a man of uncommon strength, the victor caught him by a single grasp, whirled him in the air, and threw him so violently on the ground that he expired on the spot. After this, the champion was advanced in the Pasha's favour, and now receives about fifty piastres, or nearly five pounds sterling, per day; twenty-five for his pay as Cawass, ten as champion of the Zoor Khoneh, and fifteen for his expenses in women, wine, and forbidden pleasures!—From this exhibition we went to the Medressé Khan, or chief college of Shiraz. It was originally constructed in the style of

those at Ispahan, having two minarets without, coated with coloured tiles; and in the centre of a square court, a fine garden, with two stories of chambers, facing it all round. It is now much decayed, and the lower chambers only are occupied by a few children under the tuition of Moollahs, their parents paying the charge of their education. There are several other Medresses or colleges,—some inhabited and others deserted, but all of them are smaller and inferior to this.

The streets of Shiraz are like those of all Eastern cities, narrow, dark, and generally unpaved: the new bazaars are however sufficiently wide for business and comfort. One of the great peculiarities of the place is the appearance of high square towers, with apertures at the top for catching the wind and conducting it to the lower apartments of the houses. They are called Baudgheers, or wind-catchers, and look at a distance like ordinary towers. The domes of the mosques at Shiraz embrace at least two-thirds of a globe in their shape, being small at the bottom, expanding in the centre; and lastly closing in at the top. Some of them are ribbed perpendicularly, and painted green; others are coated

with coloured tiles ; but, generally speaking, their effect is much inferior to those of Ispahan. All kinds of provisions, bread, and fruit, are varied, excellent, and cheap here ; yet there appeared to be more beggars in Shiraz than we had seen elsewhere in any part of Persia. The men are a fine, handsome race, the children are fair, and the women beautiful : these last dress in blue check cloths and white veils, with a little square grating of net-work before their eyes. The situation of Shiraz is very agreeable, being in the midst of an extensive and fertile plain, bounded by mountains on all sides. It lies on nearly the same level as Ispahan, and is only a little lower than Hamadan ; but the climate is considered better than either of these, and diseases of any kind are very rare. The seasons are so regular, that they change almost to a given day : the spring and autumn are delightful ; the summer moderate with respect to heat ; and the winter of three months cold, with not more than one month in the year of either snow or rain.

The inhabitants of Shiraz are nearly all Moslems, of the Sheeah sect.\* There are a

\* Arrian gives a very striking description of the manner in

few Jews, and some Armenians; the last two classes being chiefly merchants, trading brokers, and makers of the wine of Shiraz, which is said to be degenerating in quality every year. The Shah Zadé has a good force of horse and foot, besides the wandering tribes, whom he can command in great numbers. The leading characteristics of the Prince are indifference and imbecility: he makes no pretensions to the crown of Persia, and is therefore not an object of jealousy. The Nizam-ud-Dowla of Ispahan had been lately appointed to the government of Shiraz, to act under the Prince. This man is said to

which the marriages of the ancient Persians were performed, in his account of the nuptials of Alexander and some of his generals. He says: 'Alexander now turned his mind to the celebration of his own and his friends' nuptials at Susa. He himself married Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius; and in all eighty daughters of the most illustrious nobility, Persians as well as Medes, were united to as many of Alexander's friends. The nuptials were celebrated in the Persian manner. Seats were placed for those who were about to be married, according to their rank. After a banquet, the ladies were introduced, and each sat down by the side of her husband, who each, beginning with Alexander himself, took the right hand of his bride and kissed her. All observed this ceremony, and then each man retired with his wife.' The simplicity of this mode is a striking contrast to the pompous ceremonies of the modern Parsees, their descendants.

be the greatest extortioner that even Persia has ever seen, and is therefore a favourite with the King, who is cruel and avaricious, and is cordially hated by all his subjects. The people of Shiraz are free, open-hearted, polite, and given to pleasure. Wine is often drunk in private parties: and public women are in greater numbers here than even at Ispahan. Literature and the arts had been for years declining, and every thing has been growing worse for the last twenty years.

There are but few Guebres, as the ancient disciples of Zoroaster, the fire-worshippers of Persia, are called, at Shiraz. They come occasionally from Yezd and Herat, but seldom remain to settle. When they do, however, they live in a separate class, like the Jews, and observe their own peculiar customs of marriage, funeral, and other ceremonies, which resemble those practised by the Parsees at Guzerat and Bombay.\*

\* Herodotus, at a very early period, makes the following observations on the manner in which the ancient Persian funerals were observed. He says: 'As to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true that these are never interred till some bird or dog has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is unquestionably certain of the Magi, who publicly observe this custom.'—*Clio*, 140. Beloe, in his note on

this, says: 'The Magi for a long time retained the exclusive privilege of having their bodies left as a prey to carnivorous animals. In succeeding times, the Persians abandoned all corpses indiscriminately to birds and beasts of prey. This custom still in part continues: the place of burial of the Guebres, at the distance of half a league from Ispahan, is a round tower made of freestone; it is thirty-five feet in height, and ninety in diameter, without gate or any kind of entrance: they ascend it by a ladder. In the midst of the tower is a kind of trench, into which the bones are thrown. The bodies are ranged along the wall, in their proper clothes, upon a small couch, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens, which fill the cemetery, devour them. This is also the case with the Guebres at Surat, as well as at Bombay.'

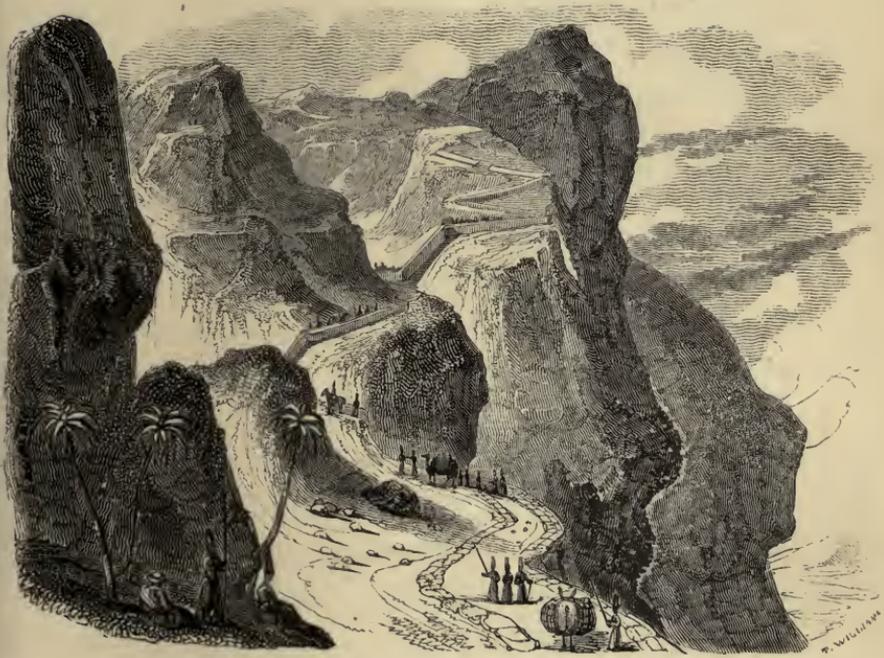
## CHAPTER II.

FROM SHIRAZ, BY KOTEL DOKHTER, TO  
KAUZEROON.

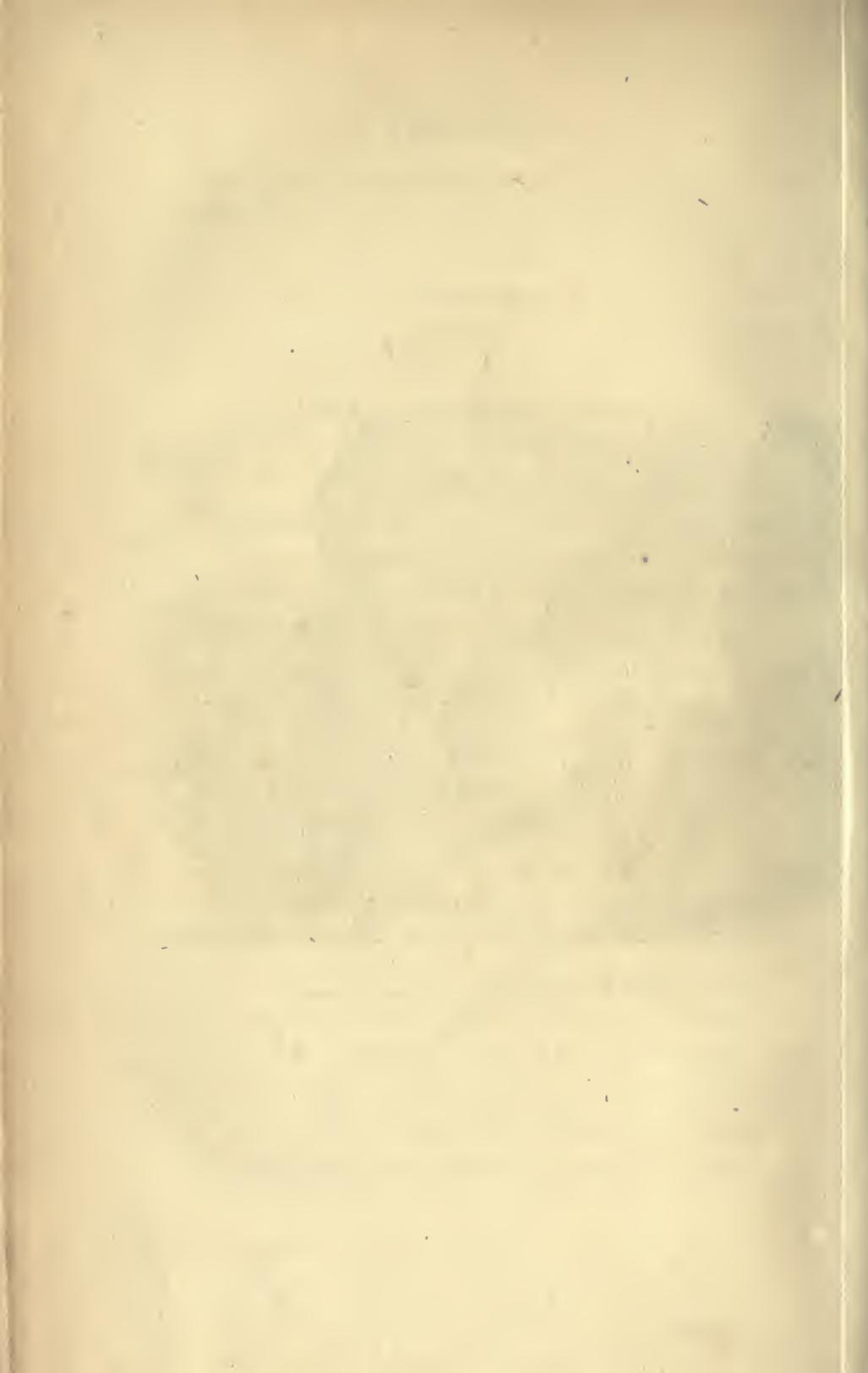
Nov. 1st.—ALL our arrangements for quitting Shiraz having been completed, we were stirring soon after midnight, though, from kind attention to our comfort on the part of our hospitable friend, Jaffier Ali Khan, we were detained for some time afterwards, —and it was not until the moon had set, that we mounted for our journey. Passing through the extensive village of Mesjed Berdy, which, in old Persian, signifies the stone mosque, we had gardens on either hand, to the number of at least a thousand, and all of them were said to be productive of a variety and abundance of the best fruits.

Our course from hence lay westerly across

CHAPTER II.



STEEP MOUNTAIN PASS OF KOTEL DOKHTER.



the plain, the hills narrowing on each side, and their points of union, which form the western pass out of the valley of Shiraz, immediately before us. As the paths were numerous, and equally beaten, we took one of the northernmost, which led us astray; and at daylight we found ourselves entangled in mountains, without a guide, or any clue to extricate ourselves. The mountains here were lofty and rugged, and composed of limestone of different qualities,—some forming a streaked marble of cloudy white, like the slabs on the sides and ends of Hafiz's tomb, which was probably hewn from hence, and not brought from Tabriz,—and others of a reddish cast. Every part, even to the summits, was covered with vegetation and brushwood, and the narrow valleys afforded pasture to numerous flocks.

We at length met with some shepherds, who directed us how to cross the mountains on our left by a path known to themselves only, and one of them took the pains, unasked, to accompany us part of the way. The language spoken among these mountaineers, though thus close to Shiraz, is said to be the old dialect of Fars, from which the

present language of Persia has been formed. They are all acquainted, however, with this last, and use it in their communication with strangers ; but what surprised me more, was to find that Turkish, of a corrupt kind, was so familiar to all, that it was the language of conversation between the Dervish and themselves.\*

When our shepherd guide left us, we went down over the southern side of the hills, toward the high road ; and as the sun had now risen, we halted on the banks of a clear stream, flowing from the westward through the valley, to wash and refresh. There was just above us, to the south-west, the wreck of a ruined village, called Kooshk Bostack, which gave its name to the stream also ; and the Dervish Ismael, who on some occasions dreaded the mischievous practices of demons, and at others was too much a philosopher to admit the belief of any thing as

\* In the various migrations of the tribes of Tartary, several of them have at different periods come from the plains of Syria into Persia. The Shamloo, or sons of Syria, are perhaps at this moment one of the most numerous of all the Turkish tribes of Persia. The Karagoozaloo, the Baharloo, and several other tribes, are branches of the Shamloo, who were brought into Persia from Syria by Timour.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 391.

certain, excepting only the existence of God, insisted on it that it was through the malice of the devils residing in these ruins, that we were this morning entangled among the hills, and led astray from the king's highway. I should have suffered him to have entertained this opinion, without attempting to combat it, but that he drew from thence the most inauspicious omens, and became quite disheartened from proceeding. A few days' detention, he said, would probably procure us the protection of a caravan; why then, he asked, in these times of turbulence and trouble, when famine rendered men desperate,—when all the evil spirits were abroad, and the world evidently approaching its dissolution,—should we venture ourselves alone against such a host of foes? He thought this was a warning for us to return, to which we should not be insensible; and, for the first time since his being with me, he seemed almost angry at my apparent obstinacy. He told me that, on leaving Ispahan, he had promised, by a secret vow, to give a rupee to the fund of the poor at some tomb here, if we arrived safe; and he had actually performed his vow at Shiraz; but he now thought

that even this preparatory good deed would be insufficient to preserve us from the many dangers that threatened on every side.\*

We remounted at the stream, ascended the hill, passed safely by this supposed haunt of devils, and got at length into the high road, along which we continued our way westerly, inclining often a point or two to the north. The ground over which we went was in general uneven, but the road good, and the country, though uncultivated, of a more agreeable aspect than the bare lands of Irak, as verdure and bushes were now every where seen.

\* As a striking instance how readily one class of popular traditions may be received, and another of nearly the same description rejected, by the same individual, the following may be mentioned: In his History of Persia, Sir John Malcolm says, that during a famine in Khorassan, when ravaged also by the Usbeg Tartars, in the reign of Shah Tamasp, and a plague raged at the same time, men ate their own species; but it was relieved by showers from Heaven:—there fell, according to Persian authors, a substance resembling a diminutive grain of wheat; and this substance, when mixed with a small portion of flour, became a most nourishing food. This is, at least, a very similar event to the supply of manna in the wilderness, which has been accounted for on natural grounds; yet General Malcolm, while he says nothing of his incredulity as to the one, evidently thinks the other to be a mere fable, to judge by his notes of admiration affixed to the passage in question.—Vol. i. p. 511.

Soon after noon we arrived at a flat valley, with abundance of wood, and a transparent stream winding through it, over a white pebbly bed, from the north-westward. There was here an abundance of cattle feeding on rich grass near the banks, and flocks of water-fowl along the river's edge. The herds were carefully watched by shepherds during the day, and were all driven into shelter before sunset, as lions were known to have their dens in the neighbourhood, and to prowl here at night, to the terror both of caravans and single passengers.

It was in this valley that we found the first caravansera, with a few huts attached to it, called Khoneh Zemoon, and esteemed to be seven fursucks from Shiraz. As our horses were fresh, we did not halt here, but pursued our way to the westward, over a country similar to that already described. In about two hours we came again to a winding stream, with trees of exactly the same description as those found at the place we had just passed; and here we were cautioned to be particularly on our guard, more especially as night was advancing.

From hence we ascended a steep hill, call-

ed Kotel Oosoon-e-Siffeed, or the white-bosomed hill, well wooded throughout, of lime rock in its composition, and presenting us with some interesting views in our ascent. On gaining the summit, we had before us, on the western side, the fine plain of Dushturgeon, so called from a particular tree of the latter name being common near it.

The large village of the same name appeared seated immediately beneath the cliff of the north-western hills; and just before sunset we entered it. Although this was the second halt of the caravans from Shiraz to Bushire, there was now no shelter for passengers; the old caravansera being destroyed, and materials only preparing for the building of a new one. The Dervish, however, who had the talent of speedily ingratiating himself in the favour of strangers in a higher degree than any one I ever knew, prevailed on a young wife, in an advanced state of pregnancy with her first child, to give us a part of her chamber, without consulting her husband, who had not yet returned from his labours. This was not all; for our horses were sheltered in the stable below, and the man's own cattle turned out to make room for them;

and by the time that the husband appeared, we had a supper of such humble food as the family themselves fared on, of which he sat down and partook with us, exclaiming, 'In the name of God, the Holy and the Merciful!' without asking a single question as to the cause of our being of the party, and with as much cordiality as if we had been friends for many months. We smoked and talked freely together, throughout the evening, with the same good understanding, undisturbed by the most distant enquiry; which was altogether so new to me in Persia, though not uncommon in Turkey, and almost universal in Arabia, that I was at a loss how to account for the change of manners; and when the hour of repose came, we lay down, each taking a separate corner of the room, with a blazing wood fire in the middle of it, as the night was severely cold.

Nov. 2nd.—The plain of Dusht-urjeon is nearly of a circular form, and is about two fursucks, or eight miles, in its general diameter. It is hemmed in by mountains on each side,—those on the north-west and south-east being steep cliffs, while the passes of inlet and outlet are to the north-east and south-west,

with a more decisive separation or opening of the hills in the western quarter. Through the centre of the plain wind several streams, on whose banks are the trees which give name to it, and which, from the description of my companion, I conceived to be a sort of willow, though we did not see any sufficiently near for me to determine. A small portion of the plain only is applied to culture, but it was now entirely covered by flocks in every direction, and horned cattle were here more abundant than we had seen them before in any part of the country.

The town of Dusht-urgeon is seated immediately at the foot of the northern and north-western cliffs, and lies on a gently ascending ground. There are from five to six hundred houses in it, all built of stone, and thatched over a flat roof; containing courts and stalls attached, suited to the wants of the inhabitants, who may be reckoned at about two thousand. Agriculture, and the feeding of their herds and flocks, furnish their chief occupation; besides which, they cultivate the vine with great success, and produce raisins and sweetmeats in sufficient abundance to admit of a large surplus for sale. The whole

surface of the mountain to the northward of the town, and almost hanging over it, presents a singular picture of industry and care, in being spread over with vineyards from the base to the very summit.

Dusht-urgeon is the reputed birth-place of Selman Pak, the barber and friend of Mohammed, who was thought by some to be a native of Modain, and who has his tomb on the ruins of Ctesiphon, where it is annually visited by the barbers from Bagdad. It is said that during his lifetime here, while he sat by one of the streams in the plain, a large lion appeared to mark him for his prey; but as he called on the name of the Almighty for help, exclaiming, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God!' a visible hand arose from the stream, seized his enemy in his grasp, and destroyed it in an instant. In commemoration of this event, a small domed edifice is erected, about a furlong to the south-west of the town, seated amid trees and water; and from the centre of its dome rises the figure of a human hand, which is said to allude to the event described.

As we had lost our way on the morning of yesterday, we delayed our departure until

it was perfect daylight, when we thanked our kind entertainers, and set out on our way. Our course across the plain lay to the south-west; and in about two hours, having gone through its diameter in that direction, we came to the foot of an ascent, which appeared at first gentle, but afterwards proved sufficiently difficult. This was wooded with larger trees than we had yet seen, of an evergreen kind; and we enjoyed some charming views of the country, in our way up it. Here too, as on all the hills we had recently passed, were hundreds of the beautiful mountain partridges, which abound in these parts; and, from their never being molested, they suffer passengers to approach them closely, without evincing the least fear.

We were about two hours before we gained the summit of this range, as our ascent was by stages divided by small portions of level road; and when we came on the opposite brow of the mountain, we opened the view of a narrow valley covered with wood, and having the dry bed of a stream winding through it from the south-east. Immediately beneath us, and beyond the low ridge of hills which

formed its farther boundary, was the plain of Kauzeron, which was exceedingly deep, and at least four thousand feet below our present level,—the view closing in that direction by a steep and lofty bed of mountains, forming a barrier in the west.

We descended over the rugged brow of this mountain of Peerazunn, or the old woman, by a winding path, leading our horses, and moving at every step with great caution. The fatigue was of itself sufficiently painful to all; but, in addition to this, the rocky masses in some places, and the pits in others, with sharp-edged stones that slipped from our tread, so pained our feet, that we halted several times, on our way down, to breathe and repose.

In about two hours we came to a caravansera, which forms a station for the passengers on this road; and our fatigue would have induced us to halt here, but that there was at present neither water nor food for us or our horses, and it was therefore necessary to proceed. This station is called simply Caravansera Kotel, and is estimated to be only four fursucks from Dusht-urgeon; but if this

be correct, the distance must be measured in a straight line, as in actual surface we thought it at least six.

From hence we descended a short distance further, and came into the wooded valley described : its direction is from south-east to north-west, and its descent towards the latter quarter is very perceptible. Its south-western boundary was a ridge of pointed hills, composed of many separate masses, all uniform in shape ; and at their feet wound through the valley the pebbly bed of a river now entirely dry. This valley was covered with a rich soil, many portions of which were cultivated, though the trees were left standing, and the whole resembled the scenery of a thickly-wooded park. The trees here were mostly of the kind called Belloot. It produces a small fruit, in shape like a date ; the use of which is common in dysenteries, and is found by the inhabitants of the country to be a very effectual remedy.

On the side of the mountains to the right, was a small village called Khoneh Khalidj, to which the cultivated lands of this valley belonged, and whose population was from four to five hundred persons.

We left this valley by passing over a gentle hill on the north-west, and came to a small square tower, used as a station for guards of the road, and called Rah-dan. We found here two or three musketeers, the rest being scattered over the mountains looking out. These men detained us by long and close examinations; as they took us to be robbers, from our wearing Arab dresses, being well armed, and daring to travel alone. They would fain have obstructed our passage further, and held us in custody until their comrades appeared: but as we were well mounted and nearly equal to them in number, we defied their threats and proceeded on our way, —not wondering at the roads being unsafe, when such inefficacious measures as these were thought sufficient on the part of the Government to render them secure.

We came soon afterwards on the brow of another mountain, called Kotel Dokhter, or the 'Hill of the Daughter,' as secondary to that of the 'Old Woman,' which we had passed before. This presented us with a perpendicular cliff of about twelve hundred feet in height, at the foot of which commenced the plain of Kauzeroon. The de-

scent down over this steep was by a zigzag road, once well paved, and walled on the outer side ; and from the steepness of the cliff, down which it wound its way, the several portions of the zigzag line were sometimes not more than ten paces in length, in any one direction, so that they were like a flight of steps placed at acute angles with each other. We were nearly an hour descending this, before we gained the plain; and were several times hailed in the course of our passage down by musketeers from the mountains, many of whom we could not, with all our endeavours, distinguish from the dark masses of rock, in the recesses of which they stood, though we conversed with them, replied to all their questions, and could point distinctly to the spot from whence the sound of their voices issued. These men, like their companions at the Rah-dan, insisted on our being wanderers in search of plunder ; and two of them fired at us, with a view to terrify us into submission. The Dervish, however, put a worse construction on this exercise of their privilege, by insisting that they were as often robbers themselves, as they were the guardians of the road ; for though,

when caravans and great men with a retinue passed them, they always made a show of activity at their posts, yet they were quite as ready to murder solitary travellers, if they resisted their insolent demands of tribute and presents, as they were to offer their protection when the numbers of the party were sufficient for self-defence. These musketeers are poor villagers, appointed by arbitrary conscription to this duty; and as their nominal pay is not enough to furnish them with bread and water, and even this is often withheld from them by the governor of the district, who has the charge of defraying it from his treasury, they may be often urged by necessity to do that which by inclination they would not commit.\*

\* The mountaineers who lived between the high and low lands of Persia were always marauders. The following is the account given of them as they existed in the time of Nadir Shah; but though the historian says they were then extinguished, they have since revived, and are as vigorous and troublesome as ever.—‘The peace of the country had been much disturbed by the depredations of a numerous and barbarous tribe, called Bukhteeârees, who inhabit the mountains that stretch from near the capital of Persia to the vicinity of Shuster. The subjugation of these plunderers had ever been deemed impossible. Their lofty and rugged mountains abound with rocks and caverns, which in times of danger serve them as

After entering on the plain, we went about west-north-west across it, having trees of the kind already described on each side of our path, and no appearances of cultivation. We were now about three fursucks from our destined halt, the sun was nearly set, and a heavy storm was fast gathering in the west. It was no sooner dark than it began to pour down torrents of rain, which came sometimes in such whirlwinds, as to render it difficult to keep one's seat on the horse. The animals themselves were frightened beyond measure at the vivid lightning which blazed at intervals from the thick clouds, and if possible still more terrified at the deafening echoes of the thunder, which rolled through the surrounding cliffs and mountains. Sometimes they started off in a gallop, and at others were immovably fixed; and it was not until after three full hours of this tempest that we came near Kauzeroon, the barking of its dogs

fastnesses and dens. But Nadir showed that this fancied security, which had protected them for ages, was a mere delusion. He led his veteran soldiers to the tops of their highest mountains; parties of light troops hunted them from the cliffs and glens in which they were concealed; and in the space of one month the tribe was completely subdued. Their chief was taken prisoner, and put to death.—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 67.

giving us warning of approach before we saw the dwellings. A transient gleam of light from the moon, which was now for the first time visible through opening clouds, enabled us to perceive the town, and we soon after entered its ruined walls. Our way wound through deserted streets, with dilapidated dwellings, and isolated arches of doors and windows on each side of us, until we reached a poor caravansera, where we gladly took shelter. Our horses were so knocked up, that they lay down, saddled as they were, and without waiting for their food. We were ourselves equally fatigued, and wet to the skin, without a dry garment at hand. As firewood, however, was here abundant and cheap, we kindled a blazing heap, and warmed and dried ourselves in the smoke, while a cheering pipe and a cup of coffee made us soon forget the troubles of our way.

A day or two after my arrival at Shiraz, I had dispatched a messenger to the British Resident at Bushire, desiring information as to what vessels might be at that port destined for Bombay, and the probable time of their sailing. The messenger had engaged to meet us with an answer at Kauzeron; so that I

should have been here able to regulate the remainder of my journey accordingly, and either hasten on to be in time for an immediate opportunity, or, by returning to Shiraz, go through Fasa, Darab, and Firouzabad to Bushire, and arrive in time for any later one. I was so confidently assured, before I quitted Shiraz, of there being no vessel either then at Bushire, or soon expected there, that I had resolved on accomplishing this latter journey, in which I felt much interested, and had therefore left my own horses and baggage with my friend Jaffier Ali Khan, at Shiraz, and accepted the offer of his animals for this journey as far as Shapoor, from which he was so certain that I should return.

Late as the hour of our arrival was, we sent immediately for a certain Nour Mohammed, to whom an Armenian of Shiraz had given us a letter; and as this man was also in the service of the English Resident at Bushire, we made no scruple of explaining to him who we were. On enquiry, we learnt from him that though no vessel from Bombay was actually at the port, one was daily expected from Bussorah to touch there on her way down. To profit by this, it would

be necessary to use all possible dispatch ; and nothing remained, therefore, but to procure a messenger for Shiraz, and send him off, as soon as our horses had reposed, to return those of Jaffier Ali Khan, and bring down mine, with the things left at Shiraz. The messenger was speedily procured for us by Nour Mohammed ; and, wet, tired, and sleepy as I was, I wrote a long letter to my friend, and gave it in charge to the horseman, who was to commence his journey at day-break in the morning, armed with our own weapons for his defence.

Nov. 3rd.—We were waited on by Nour Mohammed at an early hour, as we had slept in the caravansera ; and as soon as the messenger had been dispatched to Shiraz, we repaired to one of the baths of Kauzeroon. It was small and dark, but of exactly the same plan as all those we had seen in Persia, and more highly heated than any. The attendants, too, were more skilful in their duty than even those of the best baths at Shiraz and Ispahan ; and in their method of moulding the limbs and muscles, approached nearly to the Turks. This was a very striking difference, for which I could learn no satisfac-

tory reason, but it was one of great gratification to myself.

From the bath we went to a house which was said to be one appropriated to the use of such English travellers as might pass that way, and, as I understood, was set apart for that purpose by the same Nour Mohammed, who called himself the slave of our nation, and swore a hundred vows of devotion and fidelity to all our race. As he had not before seen one exactly of my description dressed as an Arab, and with a humble Dervish for his companion, he thought it best, however, to name me to all others as Hadjee Abdallah, the only appellation he had yet heard, and to follow it up by the assertion of my being an Egyptian Arab recommended to him by a friend. We found here an excellent breakfast in the manner of the country, and several of Nour Mohammed's acquaintances partook of it with us. This, and the lengthened enquiries and replies which naturally followed, detained us until past noon, before the company separated. An offer was then made to us of the use of this house during the time we halted here for the arrival of our horses from Shiraz, or, if we preferred a situ-

ation more airy and detached from the town, the house and garden of the Governor, which he only occupied, or visited occasionally, during the heats of summer. We accepted this last with great readiness, and were repairing thither when we met the messenger dispatched from Shiraz to Bushire, just six days since. I asked him, with anxiety, for the answer to my letter, as the time for his return here had fully expired ; but was mortified to learn that he had not yet gone beyond this on his way. It appeared that the Armenians, after engaging this man at my expense, had detained him three days at Shiraz, to collect the letters of others at a stipulated price, of which the messenger himself showed me a large packet : he gave us to understand, at the same time, that he was not engaged by them to convey my letter only, but considered himself as their servant, and thought the answer to be brought here to Kauzeroon was on their account also. This deceitful conduct of the Armenians was so like what I had seen of Eastern Christians generally, that my wonder was less than my disappointment. There was however only one remedy, namely, to omit paying them the sum stipulated, or insist on its being refund-

ed if paid. It was now too late, however, to expect an answer from Bushire before we should be ready to set out from hence; and I accordingly took from the first messenger the original letter, and sent a second to Shiraz, expressing my hope of being there in a few days at farthest.

We proceeded to the garden, which is seated about a quarter of a mile to the west of the town, and found there a most agreeable retreat. The accommodation consisted of a small upper room facing the garden, and an open balcony looking towards the town, with galleries, and a terrace above. The garden itself was spacious and agreeable, and contained combinations not usually seen on the same soil; for we had long alleys of large orange trees, whose spreading branches completely over-canopied the walks; and the date and the cypress, both in full perfection, flourishing close by each other.

The state of the air, too, was at this season as agreeable as it was possible to desire. There was a softness in it equal to that of an Italian autumn or the summer evenings of Greece, and a freshness not inferior to that of our own early spring. The storm that had burst

on us but the preceding evening, had purified the atmosphere; and every tree, and bush, and blade of verdure, breathed forth a perfume, which at once delighted the senses and invigorated and expanded the mind. The heats of summer would seem, however, to be most oppressive here, judging from the inscriptions of some Indian invalids, who had come by this road into Persia for the recovery of their health; for, on the walls of the upper chamber, the state of the thermometer was marked in different months; one of which made it  $101^{\circ}$  at 5 P.M. in July 1815, and another at  $104^{\circ}$  and  $106^{\circ}$  in August 1816.

The house and garden in which we were thus happily lodged, belonged to the reigning Governor of the town, called Kazim Khan; and, like his permanent residence, it was of course transferable to his successors, as long as it might exist. A few servants were left in charge of it, merely to keep it in order; and these were permitted to admit strangers, either as visitors or sojourners, for a few days, since the presents they received from such, formed their only pay.

This garden was first made by a certain Imam Kooli Khan, who was Governor of Kau-

zeroon about fifteen years since; and from the then more flourishing state of the place, he lived in greater state and splendour than his successors have been able to do. His post was filled, after his death, by his son Mohammed Kooli Khan, who, said our informer, was then young and in the very blossom of life, when the passions are opening, and warmly susceptible of the seductive influence of pleasure. As this young man had come suddenly into the possession of both wealth and power, he gave loose to his desires, and was surrounded by horses, servants, and slaves in public, and by numbers of the most beautiful women in the privacy of his harem.

A Dervish, whose name is not remembered here, happening to come this way from Bokhara and Samarcand, paid his morning visit to the Khan, as these men are privileged to do, without ceremony. In the conversation which arose between them, the Dervish, who it is said was a native of Upper India, from the district between Delhi and Caubul, explained to him, in the language of our narrator, some of the beauties of philosophy and the consolations of self-denial, and very powerfully contrasted them with the useless

and unmeaning splendour of state, which never failed to bring with it a train of vexations and disappointments. The effect of his discourse was said to be so instantaneously convincing, that the young chief arose from his seat of state, resigned his government to another, and made a solemn vow of poverty and piety before God and the whole assembly, and became from thence the humble disciple of this hitherto unknown philosopher. After following him to Bagdad on foot, they remained together some time in that city, when the master died. The disciple still continued, however, to divide his time between the tombs of Imam Ali and Imam Hossein, at both of which places my Dervish, Ismael, remembered to have seen and conversed with him, though he did not then know his history.

He at length returned into Persia, and was now at Shiraz, where he still led a life of seclusion and contemplation, and had never once been known to express a regret for the abandonment of his former honours, or a wish to return again to the pleasures of the world.

This history, which was related to us by

a Persian of Kauzeroon, gave rise to a long and warm conversation between myself and my Dervish, on the merit of the young Imam ; and I must do my companion the justice to say, that though he set out with the warmest admiration of this man's abandonment of wealth and power for poverty and insignificance, yet he at length confessed his conversion to my opinion, that, as a rich man, he might have done better by retaining his place, and, under his new convictions, exercising his power in doing good.

The discourse which followed this, on the various doctrines and practices of the many sects of Soofees which exist in Persia and the countries east of it, detained us until we were summoned to the prayer of sunset by one of the clearest and most melodious voices that I had for a long time heard, issuing from the terrace of one of the mosques in Kauzeroon. The evening air was calm, every other sound was still, and Nature herself seemed sunk into an early repose, which heightened the effect of the holy summons. It reminded me very powerfully of a similar combination on the banks of the Nile, when, in an evening of equal serenity, I was so much charmed

with the beautiful and impressive sounds of a Muezzin's voice echoing from the majestic ruins of the deserted Thebes, and calling men to the worship of the true God from amid the wreck of the fallen temples of idolatry.

Nov. 4th.—We passed a morning of great pleasure in the garden, and partook of a breakfast, brought us from the town, in a comfortable apartment of an unfurnished building at the bottom of it.

During the remainder of the day, we profited by our detention here, to see somewhat more of the town than we could have done by a mere passage through it. This task, however, occupied more of our time than was agreeable to me; and at last we returned from our ramble, without being much gratified with the pictures of ruin, desolation, poverty, and seeming discontent that met us at every step.

The town of Kauzeroon is thought by its present inhabitants to have been once so large as to have extended for several fursucks in length; but of this they offer no satisfactory proofs. It may however have been once nearly double its present size,

as vestiges of ruined buildings are seen on each side, beyond its present limits.

Its situation is in a valley of considerable length from north to south, but not more than five miles in general breadth from east to west. The town lies almost at the foot of the eastern boundary, which is a range of lime-stone mountains, broken into cliffs above, and smaller heaps below; and thus differing from its opposite one, the western range, which is more lofty, of an exceedingly steep slope, and mostly unbroken. The greatest length of the town, from north to south, is about a mile, and its breadth from east to west, somewhat less. Even this space, however, contains more ruined and deserted dwellings than inhabited ones; and these last are generally much inferior to what the destroyed ones once were. There are some vestiges of a wall with round towers in some places, but it is not easy to determine whether they are portions of an enclosure to the whole, or parts only of some fort within the town.

The residence of the governor, Kazim Khan, is the best and only conspicuous edi-

fice among the whole ; and this has little remarkable except the two square towers, called baudgheers, like those at Shiraz, which serve as wind-sails to convey air to the lower part of the house.

There are, besides, five mosques, five caravanseras, seven tombs of different holy men, mostly with small domes over them, and two small baths. The houses are built of unhewn stone, rudely placed in mortar, and the exterior plastered over with lime, which is abundant here. Some of the older buildings were, however, of unburnt bricks ; and there are among the ruins a number of sheds, simply matted over, and used as halts for passengers to smoke their nargeels, and refresh themselves on the way.

The cultivated land about the town appears insufficient to support even the few inhabitants here : horses, camels, sheep, and goats, find, however, a scanty pasture on the plain ; and a few date-trees are the only productions of food for man. Water is said to be, in general, scarce here, though there are three or four separate springs which supply the town. That of which we drank

was pure and wholesome, and more agreeable to the taste than the water of Shiraz.

The population of Kauzeroon is estimated at about six hundred Moslem families, all Sheeahs, and forty Jewish ones, who are still more poor and wretched than the rest. It is difficult indeed to describe how this race is despised, oppressed, and insulted, throughout all Persia; their touch being thought so unclean, as to render complete purification necessary on the part of the defiled. The few Jews here live as pedlars, and go in little parties on foot, carrying their loads of Indian spices on their backs, between Bushire and Shiraz. The principal occupation of the more wealthy Moslems is the purchase and sale of horses for the Indian market, and raising a cross-breed between the Turcoman and Arab race, which are called, from the name of the place, Kauzerooni, and are celebrated for their excellence as journeying, or road horses, but are inferior to the Arab in beauty, and to the Turcoman in strength. The lower orders of the people live by their humble labours; but among them there is no manufacture, except a par-

ticular kind of shoes made of plaited cotton, almost in the same way as ladies' straw-bonnets are made in Europe, and admirably adapted for strength and comfort to the wearer. These are made also in other parts of Persia, but are nowhere so good as here.

### CHAPTER III.

#### VISIT TO THE RUINS OF SHAPOOR, AND JOURNEY FROM THENCE TO BUSHIRE.

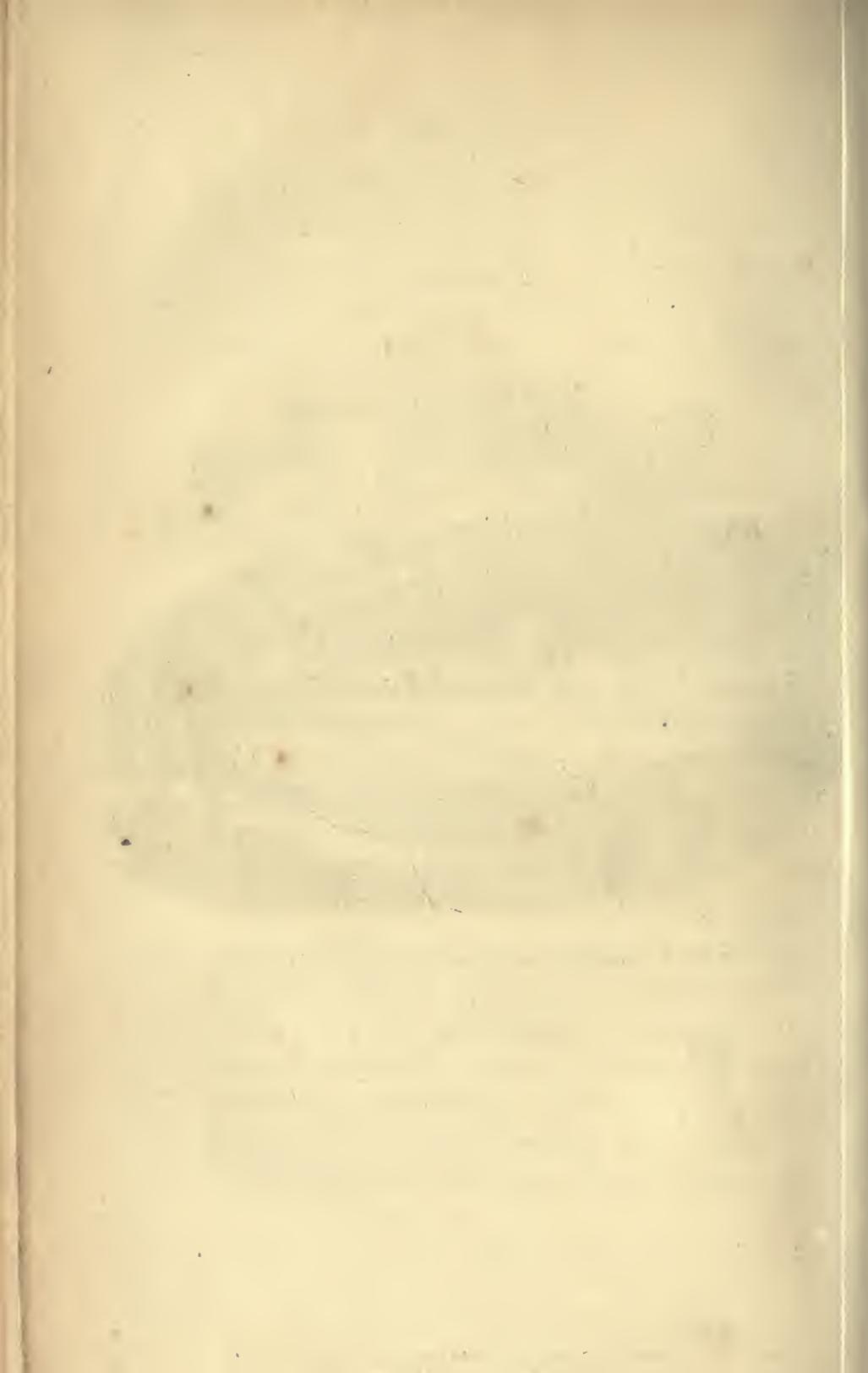
Nov. 6th.—WE quitted Kauzeroon about an hour before daylight, and going nearly north-west across a plain, with thorny bushes on it, came soon after sun-rise to the village of Dereez; which, like the town we had quitted, presented more ruined dwellings than inhabited ones.

After a short stay here to procure a guide, we set out for Shapoor, going in a northern direction into a lower plain, covered with fertile soil, and abundantly watered, but being now mostly spread over with thorny trees and wild verdure. We saw here some groups of shepherd families living in the bushes, for their dwellings scarcely deserved

CHAPTER III.



TOWN OF KAUZEROON AT THE FOOT OF A RANGE OF HILLS.



the names of tents, and they were altogether among the poorest and most destitute of all the pastoral tribes that I had ever seen.

In about an hour we came close under the foot of the eastern hills which bound the plain, and passed on our left two branches of the river Sasoon, which were called respectively Reza-abad, and Khoda-abad, lying close to each other, and afterwards winding in different directions through the plain. Above us, on the eastern hill, were the ruins of a castle, called Khallah Dokhter, very poorly built, of unhewn stone and mortar, and from its form apparently a recent Mohammedan work; but such portions of arches as remained in the lower part, though built, like the rest of the edifice, of these rude stones, were rather of the semicircular than pointed kind, though not strictly either. Below this castle was an extensive space, stretching westward from the foot of the hills, spread over with heaps of ruins, among which no one perfect edifice remained. These were all built of unhewn stones, and were humble private dwellings, to which no fixed date could be assigned.

After going over these heaps, we came to a

bend of the river Sasoon, which flowed full and rapidly from the eastward in a deep bed, so thickly bordered with wild shrubs, trees, and tall rushes, of twenty feet high, that though we heard the loud noise of the current, we could not through these obstacles distinguish its stream.

A few paces afterwards, we made a short turn round to the eastward, and came into a pass of about a furlong wide, called Tenge-Chikoon. The highest part of the perpendicular cliffs on each side was nearly three hundred feet, and the southern one was directly at the back of the castle we had seen, which was no doubt constructed expressly to guard this pass. This led into a small round valley to the eastward of it, through which the river Sasoon flowed down, between banks covered with rushes.

On going through this pass, on the southern side of the stream, we came first to a large tablet in the cliff, the sculpture of which was much injured by the decomposition of the rock. As far as we could trace it, it represented two chiefs on horseback, meeting each other, the right-hand one having his horse's feet placed on a dead body extended

horizontally beneath, and before him a figure on foot, apparently in an attitude of supplication. These figures were about the size of life, in tolerably full relief, and appeared to have been finely executed, but were considerably injured.

A few paces beyond this, still on the same side of the stream, and in the southern cliff, but much higher up from the common level of the pass, we came to a larger tablet, filled with a greater number of figures, and divided into separate compartments.

In the central compartment a chief was seen on horseback, having bushy hair and flying ribands from behind, and an egg-like globe, standing with its smaller end on a Norman crown, as seen on the Sassanian medals. His own dress was flowing in multiplied folds; but the caparison of his horse was simple, the bridle of the kind used in the present day, and a breast-piece formed of plates of metal. By his right side was a quiver for arrows, though no other weapon was visible. Beneath the feet of his horse, a figure was seen extended horizontally, as if dead: another was in the act of supplication by kneeling, and extending his clasped hands before him; and a

third he held in his right hand, as if to present him to the supplicator. These were all three in the dresses of Roman soldiers,—a short tunic or shirt, extending only to the knees, a mantle clasped over the right shoulder, and a straight sword hanging in a belt on the left side. Neither beards nor mustachios were worn by either, and only a small portion of short curly hair was seen beneath a smooth cap, that fitted close to the skull, and was filleted round by a thick ring, as the Bedouin Arabs fasten their keffeahs in the Desert. This was a deviation from Roman costume, as well as the plain rings or anklets which were seen on their feet. Behind the supplicating figure, were two soldiers standing; the first presenting the supplicator, and the second extending his clasped hands to implore for him also. The dresses of these were somewhat different; for, though they had each the short tunic, the straight sword, and a mantle clasped before, instead of on, the shoulder, they had high helmets bending forward at the top, of the oldest Grecian form; the style of countenance was also different from the three others described, and they had mustachios, but no beards. Above the head of the

chief's horse, and hovering at the same time over the supplicator, was seen a winged genius, presenting something, with two broad flying ribands extending from each end; and, between the head of the horse and the supplicator, was an inscription, written sideways, in Sassanian characters.

In the upper left compartment are six men on horseback, having close, straight, and high caps, not unlike that of the Delhi horsemen of Turkey, but somewhat lower, and rounded instead of flat at the top. These have short straight hair, short close beards, neatly trimmed, smooth at their edge on the cheek, in the manner of the Turks, and all hold up their right arms, and extend their fore-finger upwards.

In the compartment below this, are six other horsemen, in exactly the same dress and the same attitude; but these have the bushy hair of their chief, and were, perhaps, more distinguished guards, as there is only this difference between them and the others.

In the first upper compartment on the right are three men on foot, each holding a standard. Their dresses are simply a short shirt, girded round the waist, and they have

no arms whatever. The first has bushy hair, a long sharp beard, and a high pointed bonnet; the second has short curly hair, with a very small bush behind, and no beard, nor any covering on his head; the third, who holds his standard with both hands, and is standing at ease, has long curly hair, and a high bonnet, which falls behind at the point, like the cap of liberty. These two have anklets also.

In the next compartment to this, are three men on foot, with short dresses, and long straight swords: these have mustachios only; their heads are high and narrow at the top, and their hair is cut, trimmed, and plaited in the form of a Welsh wig. What they hold in their right hands is not distinctly seen; and two of them seem to have scrolls of paper in their left. These wear loose trowsers beneath their shirts, and no neckcloths. They follow each other closely, standing in a firm attitude, and the style of their heads and countenances is quite peculiar. The next compartment appears never to have been sculptured at all.

The first lower compartment on the right contains three men on foot, with short shirts, trowsers, and sandals, without beards or mus-

tachios, and helmets fitting close to the brow and skull, and falling broad over the neck and shoulders. The first of these holds something in his right hand, in the act of presenting it, but it is not distinct: the other two have short spears in theirs, and each has a long straight sword, with a most disproportionately long handle.

The next compartment, following still to the right, contains three men on foot, with short shirts, girded around the waist by cords, neatly knotted before, in a peculiar way, and loose flowing trowsers. These have mustachios only, short hair, with a small bush of curls behind, and are without any covering for the head. The first holds in his right hand a ring, with his arm extended in a right angle with his body; the second rests his left hand on his waist; and the third seems to hold a scroll in his extended right hand.

The last compartment contains a repetition of the last three figures, whose short shirts are girded with cords in the same way as the former, but are curved upward at the bottom, while the others are straight, and hemmed or bordered. Their trowsers are the same; and, like the former figures, these are

unarmed. The first holds up, between both his hands, something in the shape of a brick or hewn stone; the second bears what is more like a hand-saw, of the shape still used in Persia, than any thing with which I could compare it; and the last has a circular vessel, like a very large globular bottle, with a straight neck. These two last compartments may possibly be meant to represent unarmed artificers, and relate to the founding and building of the city, as there are here stones or bricks, water, and tools.

The figures in these sculptures are all as large as life, and in little less than half-relief. The horses are very fine; all the figures are well drawn, in good proportions, and the difference of feature, style of countenance and costume, is very striking.

From hence we went across the stream, which was narrow, rapid, and deep enough to take us up beyond the middle, with no path for our horses; the water was sweet, and beautifully transparent. After long exertion we made a path through the thick rushes, and came up to a large tablet, in which were sculptured two colossal figures on horseback, facing each other: the one on the left had

simply a high bush of curled hair, coming up through the centre of a plain crown, and held in his right hand a ring, which he seemed to offer to the other. The one on the right, which appeared in other respects to be the principal figure, was distinguished by the elevated globe rising from the centre of a radiated diadem, and in his right hand he held a flying riband, with something in the middle like the emblem of the winged genius, on the other side; and this he appeared also to present to the other horseman. The dresses and general style of the whole were like that of the chief on the other side; but the figures here are nearly double the size of life, and in proportionately full relief. Behind the principal hero is an inscription rudely cut.

Beneath this rock ran a channel for water, probably of more recent date; as the stream has there worn away the bottom of the sculpture. Some Mohammedan visitor had taken the pains to inscribe his name on the hard rock between the heads of the horses, in a way that must have cost him nearly a day to perform; but there was no date to it. The tradition of the people here is that both the town and castle were destroyed in the first

ages of Mohammedism, when the zeal against infidels was at its highest.

A few yards east of this, and higher up in the cliff, is a large tablet, divided into five compartments. In the central one above, and fronting the spectator, sits the principal personage, whose most remarkable distinction is the enormous bushes of hair on each side of his head, and on the top. The style of it is exactly in the fashion used to this day by the Samauli negroes, on the coast of Adel, near the entrance of the Red Sea. With his right hand he leans on a thick staff or spear, and his left is placed on the hilt of a straight sword, on which he also rests, holding it perpendicularly before him. The seat of this chief is not visible; but he uses the European posture, like the old sitting figures at Thebes and Persepolis.

In the left upper compartment are ten or twelve figures in different costumes, mostly like those on the other side, and, as far as I could distinguish, some of them seemed to be presenting other persons to the chief.

In the upper right compartment were about the same number of figures, in the same variety of dresses; but the design was

more distinct, as here guards are evidently bringing in prisoners, some of whom are bound, others have their arms folded in an attitude of defiance, and others again are preparing to resist the force used to push them on, though they are unarmed.

In the left-hand lower compartment are an equal number of persons, mostly in the same dresses, with bushy hair and long swords, on which they are leaning with folded arms. At the head of them, a groom with a close head-dress of a different kind from any of the others, leads a small horse, which has a mattara, or leathern water-bottle, hanging by its side, as now used in Persia, and ready for the journey.

In the right-hand lower compartment is, first, an executioner presenting in each hand a dissevered head to the chief above. Behind him stands a little boy holding fast by his short garment. Next follow prisoners bound, executioners with large axes of a peculiar shape, others bringing vases, and a little boy riding on an elephant, of excellent shape, but disproportionately small size.

About a hundred yards north-west of this, in the same cliff, and to be got at by going

along the channel for water at the foot of the rock, is a large tablet, excavated in a concave form, and divided into seven compartments.

In the first division, beginning on the upper corner on the left, are about fifteen horsemen, with dresses and helmets as in the first compartment on the other side, each extending their right arms, and holding out their fore-fingers.

Opposite to this, on the right, comes, first, one who holds a ring, and is followed by chiefs and men of distinction, with short loose shirts and trowsers, short hair, mustachios, and bare heads. The first of this train holds a sceptre or mace, and has a wide scarf flowing from behind him; the second holds a cup; the next, a sword; the two next are indistinct; the one following has the egg-like emblem of the king, without his crown, held horizontally or lengthwise on his hand; the last has also a cup;—and all these are on foot. In the second compartment, on the left, the same design is almost exactly repeated,—the parties, however, are here all on horseback.

Opposite to this, on the right, are figures

with the same dresses as those above, except that they have close caps on their heads, while the curly heads of the others are bare. The first of these figures is indistinct; the three next, by crossing their spears on each other's shoulders, carry on them a bale packed with two broad bands; the next carries on his back a bag full of something; the next holds a basket in his hand; and the last bears a long package on his head, while a lion walks beside him. This must evidently relate to the bringing in of spoils from some conquest.

In the centre of a long compartment below these, spreading the whole breadth of the tablet, is the chief, in the same dress as before, his horse treading on an extended body, a suppliant kneeling before him, and he holding another with the same dress, in his right-hand. It is, in short, a perfect miniature of the large design described on the other side, except that here, instead of the attitudes of the two soldiers standing before, one of them, in a Sassanian dress, is presenting the chief with a ring in the usual way. Above is the winged genius, but I could perceive no inscription. Behind them are men

leading a mule, to judge by the form of its tail ; one bearing a large burthen on his head, and followed by another riding on an elephant ; while above them, in the same compartment, are six bareheaded figures, shrouded in loose drapery, like veils or mantles hung before them. Behind the sovereign, in the left of the same compartment, are fifteen or sixteen horsemen, the first five of which only have the bushy hair of the chief ; and as these were probably officers, it confirms the idea of this being a mark of distinction.

In the left-hand compartment below, the same design of horsemen is repeated,—the dresses being also the same, and the hair of all the figures short and uncurled.

In the right-hand lower compartment, the first figure seems, by his bare head and long robes, to be a priest : with one hand he leans on a staff, with the other he holds the egg-like emblem horizontally, as if to present it to his sovereign. Next follows one in the same dress and the same attitude, bearing a large vase. After this, one in a Roman dress, with the short shirt, and mantle clasped on the right shoulder, bears a standard in his right-hand, and with his left holds the reins of

two horses, or, judging by their long ears, perhaps very handsome mules, who draw a chariot of three stages, with small but broad round wheels. Over the heads of the mules, another figure, also bareheaded, and in the same Roman dress, holds the egg horizontally in both hands, extended aloft to their full stretch. The two succeeding figures are much broken, but seem to be men bearing small heavy sacks, as if of treasure, on their backs.

The figures in the compartments to the right of, or fronting the sovereign, who looks that way, are all on foot, except the driver of the elephant; and on the other side, or behind him, they are all on horseback.\*

A Mohammedan visitor had here also sculptured some Arabic inscriptions. The figures of this tablet are small, but in full relief, and of more finished execution than any of the other side.

About a quarter of a mile west-south-west of this, and among heaps of ruined dwellings,

\* Sapor, or Shahpoor, the Sassanian monarch from whom this city was named, was conducted to Antioch by a Pageant Emperor of his election, who wore the purple of the Cæsars.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 98.

are the remains of a small square edifice, which was probably a temple of worship, as it consisted of only one apartment. It is not more than fifty feet square, and faced north-north-west and south-south-east. It is deep in the inside beyond the common level, and is filled with green bushes. The north-north-west wall is standing, and would seem to be the front; but there is a great peculiarity in it, as there is no door of entrance in this, nor the mark of one in any other of the sides. It has an arched window cut in a single stone, and this not placed in the centre of the building. On the top are the mutilated bodies of four sphynxes, which face inward to the edifice; so that it would seem from this, not to have been roofed originally. The stones are large, well hewn, extremely regular in shape, which is an oblong square, and joined with much greater skill than those in the platform of Persepolis, though, from being a soft lime-stone, the edges are more worn and rounded. The walls are about fifteen feet thick: the space between the inner and outer facing being filled up with unhewn stones, imbedded in lime; and this, as a piece of masonry, is quite equal to Ro-

man works in general. This place is called Ser-a-goh, or the cow's head, from the supposed resemblance of the sphynxes to cows.

About a quarter of a mile to the south-west of this, going through heaps of ruined dwellings, all of a common kind, we found a large square enclosure, called the Mesjid, or Mosque. The interior of the open space presented two portions of wall belonging to some small edifice of ancient date, the plan of which could not be traced. It had since been built on by more modern and inferior works. Close to this were the fragments of two pillars; the shafts of which were plain, formed of many small divisions, and about three feet in diameter, but no capitals were near. The exterior wall of this enclosure was of very inferior masonry; and from loop-holes in the top, and the appearance of a parapet there, it seemed to have been once used as a fort. Its dimensions were about a hundred feet square. There was near this the domed sepulchre of an Imam Zadé, whose name we did not learn; and among the tombs of those around it were some of five, and others of three hundred years old, the inscriptions of which were in Arabic. The dead were called by our com-

panions 'Shapoori,' or natives of Shapoor. This, however, throws no light on the latest date to which the city itself existed, as the people inhabiting the plain are still called Shapoori, and are still interred near the tomb of this revered saint.\*

We went from hence to gain the main road by striking across the cultivated land in a south-easterly direction, and our way was full of difficulties from the canals and bushes which impeded it. We were in some degree rewarded by being thrown on two small fire altars, which lay detached from every other portion of ruin, and bore exactly south-east, distant about a quarter of a mile from the supposed fort that we had left.

These were of the same semi-pyramidal shape as the ones hewn in the rock near Per-

\* In the reign of Baharam, the son of Hoormuz, and grandson of Shahpoor, the city of this name appears to have been the capital of the empire. It was then that the celebrated Mani, the founder of the sect of the Manicheans, flourished; and in a book called Ertang, he endeavoured to reconcile the doctrines of the Metempsychosis, as taught by the Hindoos, and the two principles of Good and Evil of Zoroaster, with the tenets of the Christian religion. He returned 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

sepolis, and about the same size, of three feet in height, and eighteen inches square. They were however fed with fire by a square passage, which went right through them, about midway up the height, and had a large square opening going from the centre of this to the top, for the ascent of the flame and smoke. They were both perfect, extremely portable; and as both together would form only a load for a strong mule, they might be brought away from the spot, and taken to Bushire with ease.\*

Our remaining way to Derees was over the same fertile and well-watered soil, now choked with thorns and wild grass, on which cattle were feeding; and it was past sun-set when we reached the place, where we had

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 up at the gate of the city of Shapoor.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 101.

\* Near Baka, in Mazanduan, are some ancient places of fire worship of a singular kind. They are arched vaults built of stone, over a part of the soil from whence flame issues, as at Karkook; and a cane or pipe being fixed into the ground near the altar, a light burns up through it like the blue flame of spirits, but more pure; and to one of these temples even Hindoo pilgrims are said to resort from the distant banks of the Ganges.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 261.

the satisfaction of finding the messenger returned with our horses and baggage from Shiraz, and a comfortable shelter and meal provided for us.

Nov. 7th.—We left Derees two hours before daylight, on our way to Bushire. In an hour from hence we reached the Rah Dan, where an alarm was given at our approach. Soon after, we came to a long and narrow ascending pass, called Terz-e-Turkoon, and, crossing this, came out into a fine plain. In an hour afterwards we reached its boundary, having on the right a long village called Kanaredj, and by the road-side a small caravansera. This led us to the brow of a lofty hill, which we descended by the Kotel Kanaredj. A Rah Dan was placed here also in a narrow passage, through mountains of limestone, slate, and veins of quartz. Some of the cliffs were very rugged, with almost perpendicular strata; and the roads were extremely bad. This Kotel, or Pass, took us an hour to clear. In half an hour from its foot we reached a small village of huts, called Khish, with some ruined houses: and in half an hour afterwards we alighted at the caravansera of Koneh Takhta, where we refresh-

ed. This village contains only a few houses and huts, seated in the centre of a fine and extensive plain, to the north of which were large groves of trees and gardens.

From hence in two hours we came to another Rah Dan, which stood on the brow of the last range of hills we had to descend, by the steep pass called Kotel Dahlikee. When we reached the valley below this descent, we found a fine clear stream of water, running rapidly through a deep bed to the westward, but nearly as salt as the sea, so that our horses, thirsty as they were, would not touch it. This Kotel was extremely long, consisting of two or three stages, and was most fatiguing to our animals and ourselves. We came at length to a point, from which we could see nothing before us but one continued plain, and the blue line of the sea in the western horizon,—an object I had not witnessed for many months, and one which gave me as much delight to behold again, as was experienced by the Greeks under Xenophon, when they first saw the Euxine in their retreat from Asia to Greece. It was sun-set before we reached the bottom of this pass, when we turned around to the south to

enter the large village of Dahlikee, where we found shelter in a new and good caravansera.

Nov. 8th.—We remained here only just to feed and repose our horses, and set out again before midnight. We went southerly along the foot of the hills, as on our right was swampy ground; and in our way we passed some foetid pools, and were plagued with flies and musquitoes: the night was calm and warm.

The road gradually turning off to the south-west, we came in about five hours to the large scattered village of Barazgoon, seated among palm-trees, and four fursucks from Dahlikee. From hence we were two hours going across the plain to a smaller village, called Seeroond; and in two hours more we reached the station of Ahmedee, which is accounted by the people to be ten fursucks from Dahlikee, but which we thought to be only eight.

The water here was exceedingly good; but the people were poor, and nothing was to be had except some small dried fish like smelts, with a few dates, and bad bread. The inhabitants all now began to look more like Arabs than Persians. Having reposed here

under a tree, we fed our horses, and soon after sun-set mounted again. We followed the great road across the plain, in a south-south-west direction, and after about two fursucks, passed a cluster of date-trees on our left, where a caravan was halting. This place had no houses, but was called Chartak.

In four hours from thence we reached the walls of Bushire; but as it was night, we could gain no admission within the gates, so that we had to wait outside until sun-rise. The sound and the smell of the sea were most gratifying to me: but we slept but little, from the going out of the women and asses in the morning, long before daylight, to fetch water for the day from the wells in the plain.

Nov. 9th.—We entered the gate of Bushire at sun-rise, rode to the British factory, and, leaving our horses, went straight to the bath; after which, we walked through the dirty and sandy town, to the Resident's house. There we found a cordial reception from a large party of my countrymen, who were staying with the Resident, and were furnished with a room, in which I passed a day of complete repose.

## CHAPTER IV.

### STAY AT BUSHIRE — ITS TOWN, PORT, COMMERCE, AND INHABITANTS.

MY stay at Bushire was in many respects agreeable, as, among the English gentlemen there, were some few whose society was such as would lessen the tedium of any place of exile, which this might really be considered. My Dervish, Ismael, insisted on remaining with me till I embarked for India, and repeated his assurance that if the remainder of my way to that country were not by sea, an element of which he had an indescribable horror, he would accompany me to the last stage of my journey: and when we parted, which we did with mutual regret, he spurned the idea of receiving a single piastre for his journey. He had accompanied me,

CHAPTER IV.



TOWN OF BUSHIRE, FROM THE APPROACH BY LAND.



he said, from pure esteem and affection, though the journey was so long and perilous; and he should return as he came, without asking of me any thing beyond some token or memento: though even that he should never require to remind him of the frank and open-hearted Hadjee of Egypt. I indulged him in his wishes; parted from him on the day of our sailing, with no other gift or exchange than mutual pledges of friendship and esteem; and subsequently heard, by an Arabic letter from himself, received by me while in India, of his safe return and happy meeting with his friends at Bagdad, about the period of my reaching Calcutta.

The information I collected, from personal observations made during my stay at Bushire, will be found embodied in the following description:—

The town of Bushire, or, as the inhabitants call it, Abu Shahr,\* is seated in a low peninsula of sand, extending out from the general line of the coast, so as to form a bay on each side. Its geographical position has been pretty accurately determined to be in lat. 29° 0' north, and in long. 50° 48' east,

\* From the Arabic *ابوشهر* literally, the Father of Cities.

as the result of many repeated observations. The appearance of the town, on approaching it either from the land or the sea, is rather agreeable than otherwise, and promises more than it is afterwards found to contain. From the edge of the coast, on which it stands, a level plain extends behind it for a distance of more than forty miles in a straight line, where it terminates at the foot of the first range of hills between Bushire and Shiraz, and where the mountainous part of Persia may be said to commence. These hills, being abrupt and lofty, form a fine background to the view in clear weather, and their distance giving them the blue haze which often leaves only their outlines distinct, they afford a picturesque relief to the monotony of the scenery near the coast. The town itself is seated so nearly on a level with the water's edge, that the tops of the houses are first perceived as if rising out of the sea. The general aspect presents a number of tall square towers, called baudgeers, or wind-catchers, and constructed with passages for air, during the excessive heat of summer, to ventilate the houses over which they are erected. The dwellings are all flat-roofed

and terraced, and mostly built of a light-coloured and friable madrapore, or coralline; and as there are no domes or minarets seen among them, and a total absence of trees, gardens, or verdure, the whole picture is of a dull, grey, sandy hue, particularly uninviting, and even fatiguing to the view under a sultry sky: indeed, except when the weather is sufficiently clear to unveil the mountains of the background, it possesses no relief; but the only contrast it offers is a change from the blue surface of a level sea to the yellow plains of a parched and sandy desert as level as itself.

On landing, the scene is not at all improved: the town is now found to stand partly on a slight eminence, which is greatest in its centre, and is not more than one hundred feet at its highest elevation from the sea. From thence it shelves gently down to the beach on either side, where the houses are literally built upon the sands. The whole number of dwellings does not amount to more than fifteen hundred, of which one-third, at least, are reed enclosures, scarcely deserving even the name of huts, as most of them are unroofed, and are inhabited by none but

slaves and the very lowest order of the people. The houses are built chiefly of a friable stone composed of sand and shells imbedded in clay; and the best of them are constructed of burnt bricks brought from Bussorah. The style of architecture is that which prevails in Arabia generally, with slight additions of the Persian kind. The buildings are large, square, flat-roofed, laid out in central courts and small apartments, badly lighted, and often as badly aired. Excepting the East India Company's factory, the residence of the Governor, and a few good dwellings of the merchants, particularly the Armenians, there is scarcely one comfortable, and certainly not one handsome edifice in the place. The streets are so many narrow alleys, without sufficient height of wall on either side to shelter the passenger from the sun, the only advantage that narrow streets possess; and they are totally without order or regularity in their windings and direction. The mosques are all open buildings, without domes or minarets, and are inferior both in general appearance without, and in their neatness within, to those seen in the smallest villages of Arabia. Coffee-houses there are none that

I remember to have seen, as this beverage is not much in use among the inhabitants. The only bath that exists here, is small, mean, filthy, and badly attended; and the bazaars are simply benches covered by a roof of matted rafters, of the most wretched appearance. There are one or two good caravanseras near the landing-place for boats, occupied by and belonging to Armenian merchants; but those belonging to the Mohammedans hardly deserve the name.

The town is open to the north-east, which fronts the inner harbour; to the south-west, which fronts the outer roads; and is enclosed only across the peninsula by a poor wall extending from sea to sea, and in which is the gate of exit and entrance to and from Persia. There is nothing in all this that can deserve the name of a fortification: and the only defence which it presents towards an enemy is a few dismounted guns, without this gate, on the land side; a battery of six or eight nearly abreast of the factory, in the south-west quarter of the town; and half a dozen others, placed before the Custom-house, in the north-east quarter, and facing the inner harbour,—all of them of different calibre, and

mounted on carriages of such a crazy kind, as would certainly fall to pieces on a second or third discharge. On the south-west side, which faces the outer roads, it is all a level sandy beach, which, from its being shoal water near it, is beat on by an almost constant surf, though not of such violence as to prevent the landing of boats in moderate weather. The north-east, which faces the inner harbour, has a wharf or two for landing goods on, and is altogether better sheltered; though, from the number of the sand banks, and the diversity of channels between this place and the shipping, it is not easily accessible even in boats, except to those in some degree acquainted with the shoals; but it is always preferred as the safest and best landing-place.

The population of Bushire has been variously estimated, and has no doubt been at a very different standard at different periods. At present, the most favourable accounts do not make it more than ten thousand, and the true number is perhaps still less. The Ahl-el-Bushire, or the *race* of Bushire, as they are emphatically called, present a disagreeable mixture of the Arab and the Persian; in which, whatever is amiable in either character seems

totally rejected, and whatever is vicious in both is retained and even cherished. These form the great body of the people; and their dress, their language, their manners, and their general appearance,—all bespeak their mongrel breed. The chief occupations of these are trade and commerce on a confined scale, fishing, pilotage, and the navigation of their own vessels of the port. In person, they are neither so meagre nor so swarthy as the real Arabs of the opposite coast; but they are equally ill-featured and dirty, and destitute of the high spirit, the feeling of honour, and the warm hospitality which distinguish these: they retain, however, all their meanness in bargains, and their disposition for robbery and plunder of property not attainable by better means. Their dress is equally a combination of the Arab and Persian garments, without being purely the costume of either. The shirt, trowsers, and zuboona, or outer garment, are Persian; but the turban and the abba, or cloak, are Arabic,—the one is formed of the blue checked cloth of Muscat, or the brown cloth of Shooster; and the other of the manufacture of Lahsa, Kateef, and Coete, on the opposite shore. The black sheepskin cap, the

most peculiar feature of the Persian dress, is worn only by such as come down from the higher country and remain as sojourners here, and is in no instance used by a native of Bushire. The common language is Persian, but of so harsh and corrupt a kind, that the natives of Shiraz, who pride themselves on the purity of their tongue, affect to treat it as almost unintelligible ; and short as is the distance, and constant as is the communication between these places, I scarcely ever remarked a greater difference than there is between their different pronunciations of the same words : the one is a model of the most harmonious utterance ; the other is nearly as harsh as the most ill-spoken Arabic. This last language is understood by most of the natives of Bushire ; but they have as little elegance in their way of pronouncing this, as they have in speaking their own tongue ; and one must hear the Arabic of Bushire, to comprehend how harsh and disagreeable its sounds are capable of being made. This double corruption is the more striking, as they live close to, and in constant communication with Shiraz, where Persian is spoken in its greatest purity ; and they both trade

with and receive frequent visitors from Coete, or Graen, on the opposite coast, where the Arabic is spoken with all the softness and harmony of which it is susceptible, and in a way superior to that of any other part of Arabia in which I had heard it.

The merchants of Bushire are composed about equally of Persians and Armenians. The latter, however, are men of more extensive connexions with India; and as they possess more activity, intelligence, and integrity of dealing, so they are more wealthy; and this, with the countenance which they receive from the Company's Resident here, is sufficient to give them considerable influence in the place. There are no Jews of any note, as at Bussorah; nor Banians, as at Muscat;—the Armenians supplying the place of both, as brokers and agents for others, as well as traders on their own account; and as these both write and speak English and Hindostanee, they are more generally useful to maritime men, and mercantile visitors from India.

The Governor of the town, Sheik Abd-el-Russool, is of a family long resident here, and he exercises all the responsible functions of the government, though he has an uncle, Sheik

Mohammed, in whose presence he himself stands, and to whom he always yields the greatest honours. Both of these, when they walk out, are attended by a guard of about twenty armed men, as well as servants; yet these add nothing even to the apparent dignity of the persons whom they attend. It is the daily practice of both these chiefs to come down before noon, and after El-Assr, to the sea-side, fronting the harbour, where they sit on the bench of a miserable matted hut, erected for that purpose; and derive great satisfaction from the salutes of passengers, and from observing what may be doing among the shipping. When Sheik Mohammed, who is the eldest, but not the actual Governor, happens to be there, his nephew first stands at a respectful distance, with his hands folded beneath his cloak. He is then desired to seat himself, which he does frequently on the ground, and in the humblest and most obscure place that he can find behind his uncle. After some time he is desired to advance forward, and he ventures to change his first seat for a better one; and this farce continues, until, after repeated invitations, he becomes seated in front of his superior, while

all the rest stand ; but he never shares the same bench with his relative.

The forces of this government vary in number and description at every different period of the year, as they are mostly composed of persons whose services are demanded at the exigency of the moment ; so that there are sometimes not an hundred, and at others more than a thousand in pay at once. These, like the soldiers of all the Turkish, Persian, and Arabian countries, are mostly horsemen, paid by the chiefs whom they serve, without discipline or uniformity of dress, and furnishing even their own arms and accoutrements at their own caprice. The Governor is nominally subject to the Prince of Shiraz, and through him to the King of Persia, to whom he pays a yearly tribute ; but this is often withheld on slight pretexts, and nothing but the power to be able to maintain an independence is wanted, since the disposition manifests itself on almost every occasion.

Notwithstanding the meanness of Bushire as a town, it is the best, excepting Bussorah only, that now exists in the whole of the Persian Gulf. It possesses considerable importance, when considered as the only port

of such an extensive empire as Persia; for it is through this channel alone that all her supplies from India by sea are received. The former splendour of Ormuz and Gombroon, or Bunder Abassi, at the entrance of the Gulf, is known to have been derived from their commerce only, when they stood in the same relation to Persia generally, as depôts for maritime commerce, that Bushire does at present. The history and the fate of these settlements are known to every one. They were once splendid cities: they are now no more. Whether this be a fate that awaits Bushire, or not, would be difficult to prophesy; but as it has never attained for its merchants the wealth which the liberality and munificence of Abbas the Great allowed his subjects to acquire; and as its trade, though sufficiently extensive, is crippled by the overwhelming pressure of a long train of exactions continued from the sea to the inland capital; it is likely that it will never arrive at the pitch of opulence to which Ormuz and Gombroon attained, nor, for a long period at least, sink to the utter desolation of these proud marts, since no change can be so much for the worse as to effect such a total abandonment.

The trade at present existing between Persia and India admits of the average arrival of twelve or fifteen merchant-ships yearly from Bengal and Bombay. Not more than half their cargo is however landed here; and often not more than a third, as a portion of it is usually taken out at Muscat, and a still larger portion goes on to Bussorah. From Bengal are brought rice, sugar, indigo, pepper, and spices, with a small assortment of muslin and piece-goods. From Bombay are imported the annual supplies of iron, steel, tin, lead, and woollen cloths, sent by the East India Company, and continued to be sold yearly at a loss, in consequence of their being obliged by their charter to export a certain quantity of these articles annually from Great Britain, and to force a market for them where they can. The productions of China, in sugar, sugar-candy, preserved ginger, camphor, and porcelain, are also brought from Bombay, as well as cassia, cloves, nutmegs, and other productions of the Eastern Isles. These are all taken up into Persia by caravans of mules, which pass regularly between this place and Shiraz. The rice and sugar of Bengal often find their way to Bahrein,

and other islands of the Persian Gulf, as well as the coffee of Mokha, which is shipped at Muscat, in order to fill up the vacant room left by goods being discharged there. The rice of Persia is preferable to that of India, and coffee is not a very general beverage in this country, though it is all over Arabia, which sufficiently accounts for the diversion of these two articles into other channels.

The returns for these imports are made in Persian horses, supplied by contract for the East India Company's cavalry; in old copper, collected in the interior, in domestic utensils, &c. and sent to Bengal; in assafoetida, an article much used in the cookery of India; in dried fruits, particularly almonds, small raisins, quinces, and apricots; in carpets for Mohammedan prayers for mosques, and for private apartments, the manufacture of the country; in otto of roses and rose-water, in small quantities; and in Shiraz wine. All these articles do not amount, however, to one-third the value of the imports; so that the residue is made up in money. This consists of Spanish and German dollars, a few Venetian sequins, and other gold coins, but mostly of Persian ru-

pees. The freight of all articles from India to Bushire is nearly the same as from India to Bussorah, and the bulky articles of return are also taken back at the same rate. In treasure, however, there is this difference, that while from Bussorah it pays three per cent. to Bombay, and four per cent. to Bengal, the last risk being nearly double that of the first; from Bushire they are both paid alike, at only three per cent. equally for Bombay and Calcutta; and the only explanation that one can get for this inconsistency of making no advance of freight, when the distance, the time, and the risk, are all doubled, is, that it is an old custom, and cannot be broken through.

The duties on merchandize exported and imported are regulated by the package and quality of the goods, and not fixed by a percentage on their value. Rice and sugar pay each half a rupee per bag; sugar-candy, a rupee per tub; indigo, fifteen rupees per chest; pepper, cassia, cloves, cardamoms, and other spices, six rupees per bag; camphor, two rupees per box; China ware, four rupees per chest; Mokha coffee, two rupees per bale; and sweetmeats, three rupees per

package. The duties on Indian piece-goods vary considerably, according to their quality, but average at about ten per cent.; and those on the European articles, of cloth, iron, steel, lead, and tin, at not more than five per cent. on their invoice price. The duties on the exports or returns are still less: horses and money, which form the greatest portion of these returns, are both exempt from duties of any kind, as well as old copper, and Persian carpets; dried fruits pay only one rupee per package; assafoetida, a rupee per jar; rose-water, two rupees per case of several bottles; and Shiraz wine is free.

It is a common practice for the Governor to appropriate to himself such of the merchandize passing through his port as may be convenient to himself, either for his own immediate use, or to speculate in as an article of commerce; but, instead of paying for such goods when thus taken, he suffers the amount to stand over as a balance in favour of the owners of them, to be liquidated by remitting them the duties on further imports, till the amount is made up. This is naturally an obnoxious mode of

dealing, in the estimation of the merchants ; but they have no remedy. During our stay here, the Governor was engaged in a war with some villages on the plain behind the town, and was much in want of lead for musket-balls. This want, instead of increasing the demand for, and consequently the price of the article, as it would naturally have done under any well-regulated government, had actually the effect of stopping the supplies of this metal, which were laid in expressly for the place. A vessel lying in the roads had on board several hundred slabs of lead, shipped at Bombay for Bushire ; but the owner of them, fearing that if they were landed, the Governor's agents would seize them for their master's use, on the usual condition of the long payments described, requested the captain not to land them here, and paid additional freight for carrying them on to Bussorah, where even an uncertain market was better than the ruinous one to which they would come here, by falling into the Governor's hands. Under such a system, light as the duties on merchandize may be, commerce can hardly be expected to flourish ; and the fact is, that there is a disinclination

to speculate beyond the actual consumption, and a fear and restraint in all commercial undertakings, which is destructive of the activity that commerce requires to make it advance, or even to keep it alive.

As a sea-port, Bushire has no one good quality to recommend it. The anchorage of the outer roads in four fathoms water, is at least six miles from the shore, and is so exposed to the full fury of the north-west and south-east gales, which prevail here, that whenever it blows a single-reef breeze, no boats can communicate between the town and the vessel, and no supplies or information be received ; while the ship herself rides as heavily as in the open ocean, without the least shelter ; and as the holding-ground is good, it is not an uncommon event for vessels to part their cables and be driven to sea. The inner harbour is only accessible to ships drawing less than eighteen feet water ; and as the entrance is over a bar across a channel of less than half a mile wide, such vessels can only go in with a favourable wind, and at the top of high water in spring tides. The depth within increases to three and a quarter and three and a half fathoms, and the holding-

ground is good : but here, though the sea is broken off by the projection of the Rohilla Sands, a ship is exposed to all the force of a north-west wind, and the distance is still three or four miles from the shore, which renders communication by boats difficult, and often impossible, when it blows strong. It appears by some of the older descriptions of Bushire, that the Company's cruisers, and other small vessels, were formerly able to anchor close up to the north-east side of the town, within the inner harbour ; but the channel leading up to this will now scarcely admit of small dows, except they are lightened. There are anchorage-births for native boats behind some small islands, to the north-east extremity of the inner harbour, or in the deepest part of the bight which it forms. This was at present occupied by the fleet of a certain Arab, named Rahmah-ben-Jaber, who has been for more than twenty years the terror of the Gulf, and who is the most successful and the most generally tolerated pirate, perhaps, that ever infested any sea. This man is by birth a native of Graine, on the opposite coast, and nephew of the present governor, or Sheikh, of that place. His fel-

low-citizens have all the honesty, however, to declare him an outlaw, from abhorrence of his profession; and he has found that shelter and protection at Bushire, which his own townsmen very properly denied to him. With five or six vessels, most of which are very large, and manned by crews of from two to three hundred each, he sallies forth, and captures whatever he may think himself strong enough to carry off as his prize;—the vessels of Graine, of Bussorah, of Bahrein, of Muscat, and even of Bushire, where he resides, falling equally a prey to him. His followers, to the number perhaps of two thousand, are maintained by the plunder of his prizes; and as these are most of them his own bought African slaves, and the remainder equally subject to his authority, he is sometimes as prodigal of their lives in a fit of anger, as he is of those of his enemies, whom he is not content to slay in battle only, but basely murders in cold blood, after they have submitted. An instance is related of his having recently put a great number of his own crew, who used mutinous expressions, into a tank on board, in which they usually kept their water, and this being shut close

at the top, the poor wretches were all suffocated, and afterwards thrown overboard. This butcher chief, like the celebrated Djezar of Acre, affects great simplicity of dress, manners, and living; and whenever he goes out, he is not to be distinguished by a stranger from the crowd of his attendants. He carries this simplicity to a degree of filthiness which is disgusting, as his usual dress is a shirt, which is never taken off to be washed from the time it is first put on till it is worn out, no drawers or coverings for the legs of any kind, and a large black goat's-hair cloak, wrapped over all, with a greasy and dirty handkerchief, called the keffeea, thrown loosely over his head.

Infamous as was this man's life and character, he was not only cherished and courted by the people of Bushire, who dread him, but was courteously received and respectfully entertained whenever he visited the British factory! On one occasion, at which I was present, he was sent for to give some medical gentlemen of the navy and the Company's cruisers an opportunity of inspecting his arm, which had been severely wounded. The wound was at first made by grape-shot and

splinters, and the arm was one mass of blood about the part for several days, while the man himself was with difficulty known to be alive. He gradually recovered, however, without surgical aid, and the bone of the arm between the elbow and the shoulder being completely shivered to pieces, the fragments progressively worked out, and the singular appearance was left of the fore arm and elbow connected to the shoulder by flesh, skin, and tendons, without the least vestige of bone. This man, when invited to the factory for the purpose of making this exhibition of his arm, was himself admitted to sit at the table and take some tea, as it was breakfast-time, and some of his followers took chairs around him. They were all as disgustingly filthy in appearance as could well be imagined; and some of them did not scruple to hunt for vermin on their skin, of which there was an abundance, and throw them beside them on the floor. Rahmah-ben-Jaber's figure presented a meagre trunk, with four lank members, all of them cut and hacked, and pierced with wounds of sabres, spears, and bullets, in every part, to the number perhaps of more than twenty different wounds. He had, be-

sides, a face naturally ferocious and ugly, and now rendered still more so by several scars there, and by the loss of one eye. When asked by one of the English gentlemen present, with a tone of encouragement and familiarity, whether he could not still dispatch an enemy with his boneless arm, he drew a crooked dagger, or yambeah, from the girdle round his shirt, and placing his left hand, which was sound, to support the elbow of the right, which was the one that was wounded, he grasped the dagger firmly with his clenched fist, and drew it backward and forward, twirling it at the same time, and saying, that he desired nothing better than to have the cutting of as many throats as he could effectually open with this lame hand ! Instead of being shocked at the utterance of such a brutal wish, and such a savage triumph at still possessing the power to murder unoffending victims, I know not how to describe my feeling of shame and sorrow, when a loud burst of laughter, instead of execration, escaped from nearly the whole assembly, when I ventured to express my dissent from the general feeling of admiration for such a man.

## CHAPTER V.

### BUSSORAH—THE CHIEF PORT OF THE PERSIAN GULF.—ITS POPULATION, COMMERCE, AND RESOURCES.

BEING desirous of rendering this volume as complete as possible, from materials collected by my own personal observation, I am induced to follow up this account of Bushire, by a still more enlarged and comprehensive description of Bussorah, the chief port in the Persian Gulf, drawn up, as stated below, after a considerable stay at the place itself, and that too, within a very few months after the termination of the journey and voyage described in this work. Shortly after my arrival at Bombay, I was appointed to the command of a large Indian ship, the Humayoon Shah; in which I returned to the

CHAPTER V.



BOAT-ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOUR OF BOMBAY.



Persian Gulf, and made a long stay at each of the great marts of trade included within its boundaries. The opportunities which this afforded of acquiring much new information, as well as of correcting such as had been previously obtained, were not neglected: and I think I may safely say, that no existing account of the Gulf of Persia generally, and of its chief ports more especially, will be found to contain more copious or more accurate information than that which it is my good fortune to be able to lay before the reader of these pages. The hydrographical observations made in the second voyage, though important to the correct navigation of the Gulf, have been embodied in another work,\* as being less interesting to the general reader, and such parts of the journal only retained in this, as possess the great literary interest of elucidating the early voyage of Nearchus, in the time of Alexander the Great, when this sea was for the first time visited by the navigators of antiquity. With this explanation, I proceed to the account of Bus-

\* See Voyage from Muscat to Bushire, and from Bushire to Bussorah, in the Persian Gulf, published in 'THE ORIENTAL HERALD' for October and November 1828.

sorah, with its introductory paragraph, as explanatory of the circumstances under which it was composed.

After a residence at Bussorah of more than three months, during which time I made repeated excursions through the town, and had very frequent intercourse with all classes of the native inhabitants of the place, the following particulars were collected, and with the impressions to which these gave rise, were faithfully committed to writing on the spot.

The town of Bussorah \* is seated near the western bank of the combined streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, about fifty miles below the point of their union at Kourna, † and seventy above the point of their discharge into the sea. These two rivers preserve their respective names of the Fraat and the Dijela, from their sources to their point of union; and the stream there formed, is called the Shat-el-Arab, or river of the Arabs, from this point to the sea. The position of the British factory, which is nearly in the centre of the

\* بصرة Bussra is the true orthography.

† Kourna, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, is one of the three Apameas built by Seleucus, in honour of his first wife, Apamea.

town, has been fixed by astronomical observations, to be in latitude  $30^{\circ}.29'.30''$  north, and in longitude  $47^{\circ}.34'.15''$ . east.

The form of the town, as enclosed by its walls, is an irregular oblong square, its greatest length being in a direction of east-north-east and west-south-west, and its greatest breadth being from west-north-west to east-south-east, lying thus nearly at right angles with the stream of the Shat-el-Arab, which runs by the town from north-north-west to south-south-east. The portion of the wall which faces to the east-north-east, passes along the western bank of the river, within a few hundred yards of its edge, and may extend about a mile in length from south-south-east to north-north-west. The portion of the wall facing the south-south-east goes nearly in a straight line from the river into the Desert, or from east-north-east to west-south-west for nearly three miles. The wall facing the north-north-west, and that facing the west-south-west, are almost confounded in one, by the irregularities in the line of the first, and by the last being joined to it by a rounding or circuit on the north-west, which leaves the angle of their union

ill-defined. The compass of the whole, however, may be estimated at from eight to nine miles.

The walls themselves are built of sun-dried bricks, and are of considerable thickness at the foundations, with loop-holes for musketry in a parapet wall at the top, continued all round, and occasional ports for cannon; but of these there are very few mounted. Some portions of the wall are bastioned by circular towers, and most of it is crowned with battlements; but the work, though forming an effectual defence against the Arabs of the Desert, is, to the eye of an European, destitute of the symmetry and strength required in a fortified barrier; and the wretched state of the whole at present, from the neglect of timely repair, makes it look rather like the ruined walls of some deserted city, than the enclosure of one still inhabited.

The walls of Bussorah have five gates, three of which face the south-south-east, and, beginning from that nearest to the river, are called Bab-el-Meejmooah, Bab-el-Seradjey, and Bab-el-Zobeir; the other two face the north-north-west, and are called Bab-el-Robat, which is near the Mekam, and Bab-el-

Bagdad, which leads directly into the central and most peopled part of the city. These gates mostly take their names from that of places to and from which they lead, and are all of them of mean appearance in their original structure, and in a state of great ruin from neglect of repairs.\*

For the irrigation of the grounds, for the supply of the city with water, and for the facility of transporting goods, there are three large canals that lead from the river by and through the town. The northern and southernmost ones enter just at these respective angles of the city walls, and go along in the direction of them, on the outside, and within a few yards of their foundations, extending all the way to the opposite angles of the town, and there uniting without or beyond the western wall, so as to form a complete ditch to the fortifications. From these canals, smaller channels carry off the water in different directions, to irrigate the soil through which they pass.

The central canal enters from the river

\* There is a neat one now building, facing the south-west, between the Bagdad and Zobeir gates, and to be called Bab Bakna, from the name of the present Mutesellim.

about midway between these two, but rather nearer to the northernmost one. This goes up westerly, through the whole length of the town, and serves at once to supply the inhabitants with water for domestic purposes, to irrigate the whole of the fields and gardens within the walls, by channels leading off from it in various directions, and to admit of the transportation of goods in the large boats which pass from the river to the centre of the town, laden with all the various commodities that enter into the consumption of the people, or into the foreign trade of the merchants here. All these canals are filled by the flood, and left dry by the ebb tide twice in every twenty-four hours; the only exceptions being when strong north-west winds prevail about the neaps, so as to check the flow of the water, and make a continued ebb in the river for two tides following. As, however, even on ordinary occasions, there is seldom more than one flood that can fall at a convenient hour of the day, from the ebb lasting mostly eight hours, and the flood only four, there is often a considerable bustle and noise on the canal among the boats passing up and down, so much so as to give an im-

pression to a stranger of a much more active commerce than really exists. The canal itself is much too narrow for the convenient passage of the vessels employed on it; and as none but the very smallest of these can move, except at the top of high water, they are often all in motion at once. Boats grounding in their passage lie until the next flood floats them, and laden vessels losing the springs, sometimes lie in the very centre of the channel until the ensuing spring, blocking up the passage entirely for smaller vessels, which might otherwise have water enough, but for which room is not left to pass.

For the conveyance of passengers on this canal, small canoes, called here *bellem*, are employed; and these having a clean mat in the bottom for the seat, and a light awning over head to shade it, are pushed along by the two boatmen who stand in the head and stern, and with long poles fitted for the purpose, give the canoe sufficient velocity to keep up with a well-manned four-oared boat. These are the smallest vessels seen, and these, from having only a draught of a few inches, can be used at any time of the tide, except at dead low water. From these, there are boats

of all sizes, up to vessels of fifty tons, which are the largest that I remember to have seen on the canal. The canoes are often very long and narrow, and from the peculiar finish of their prows have a light and elegant form. The most usual way of impelling them along the stream is by the use of the bamboo poles; but they are sometimes rowed by short paddles, which are used by the rowers alternately from side to side, and then present the appearance so graphically described in Arrian's report of the Voyage of Nearchus, when the fishermen whom they saw at Kophos, in boats similar to these described, were said to have their oars not fastened to their rowlocks, as in Greek vessels, but to hold them in the hand, so that they seemed to *dig* the water, rather than to row, and to toss it up as a labourer throws up earth with his spade.\*

There are also circular boats made of basket-work, and covered with bitumen, which are from six to eight feet in diameter, of shallow draught, and capable of carrying six or eight persons. These are used both on the canal and on the river, and are paddled

\* Voyage of Nearchus, (§. 28.) Dr. Vincent's translation, vol. i. pp. 41, 42. 4to.

or spun along, for they make chiefly a circular motion, with sufficient ease. They are called here kufa, and seem to be of the same kind as those circular boats made of reeds, and in the form of a shield, which are noticed by Herodotus as in use on the river of Babylon upwards of 2000 years ago.\*

There is still another species of boat used principally for heavy burthens; this is called a donak, but, from the singularity of its form, it is not easy to be described. It rises at each end with so much sheer as to be nearly like a crescent, but falls out above, where the sheer is deepest, or near the centre of the boat's length, as if the timbers had been all twisted from their original place. The bottom is quite flat, and the stem and stern rise to a considerable height from the water, falling at the same time inward, like the horns of the moon; and the whole is covered with a thick coat of bitumen.

The rest of the vessels employed on the canal are of the common form used throughout the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and, notwithstanding their inelegant forms above

\* Herodotus, Clio, cxciv.

water, have often beautiful bottoms, and are strongly built.

The whole of these canals, with all their dependent channels, are merely dug out of the soil, without being lined with artificial embankments or masonry in any part throughout their entire length; and the few brick-built bridges that are thrown across them in different parts of the town, are of the meanest kind.

On coming from the river, and going up to Bussorah by the central canal, the entrance is made through a narrow mouth, with a circular fort on the left, and a mosque with a small minaret on the right. Several houses follow on each side, those on the left being chiefly timber-yards, and storehouses of articles most in demand for the use of boats and shipping; and that on the right, called *El Mekam*, having a coasting custom-house, with a coffee-house, mosque, and the dwellings of those whose occupations have drawn them to reside around this spot.

The portion of buildings on the right of the canal at its entrance is called '*El Mekam*,' literally the place of residence for the go-

vernor's lieutenant,\* and was formerly the station of such an officer from the Pasha of Bussorah, who had his own palace further up in the city. The portion of buildings on the left side of the canal, and opposite to El Mekam at the entrance, is called 'Minawi.'

In the time of Hossein Pasha, the son of Ali Pasha, both of them mentioned in the Travels of Pietro della Valle and Tavernier, the city of Bussorah was distant nearly two miles from the banks of the river, and Minawi was then a distinct village, serving as the port or landing-place. It was this Hossein who extended the walls of the former town down to the river, and enclosed the village of Minawi within it, by which means all the intermediate fields and gardens which had never before, nor have even since been built upon, became incorporated with the rest. The newly enclosed village was then fortified by

\* **مقام** 1st. A place of residence, a dwelling, a mansion. 2d. State, dignity, condition. Thus, **قائم مقام** from **قائم** standing in, fixed in, &c. and **مقام** a place, forms the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian title of Kaim. Mekam, meaning a lieutenant, vicegerent; and as such is applied to the deputy governor of Constantinople, or to any other *locum tenens*.—Richardson's *Arabic Dictionary*, p. 1809.

a strong wall continued all around it, and formed nearly an eighth of the whole space enclosed within the walls of Bussorah, even when thus extended.

Dr. Vincent, in endeavouring to prove the etymology of Talmena, one of the stations of Nearchus, as given by Arrian, to be from a ruined fort, takes the *Tal* from the Hebrew for a ruined heap, and *Mina* from the Arabic for a fort, which he supports by saying that *Mina*, *Minau*, at the Anamis, and *Minavi* at Basra, are all expressive of a fort.\* But this is not true, as *Mina* in Arabic signifies a port, or anchoring-place for ships,† as well as a landing-place for boats, and answers exactly to the Italian term *Scala*, which is used throughout the Mediterranean for similar places. On the coast of Syria, the town of Tripoli is about a mile or two from the sea, and the landing and anchoring place before it is called *El Mina*. This is the case also at *Latikea*, just above it; and even in Egypt, where towns are at a little distance from the

\* Commerce of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, vol. i. p. 263. 4to.

† ميناء a port, haven, harbour, an anchoring-ground for ships.  
—Richardson, p. 1922.

river, as Cairo, Manfalout, and Assiout, the places at which the boats land are called El Mina, or the port of the town, to which it serves as such. In no one instance do I remember the application of this, or even a term like it in sound, to a fort, in any of the numerous dialects of Arabia which I have heard spoken.

After passing the Mekam on the right, and Minawi on the left, the rest of the way up to the city by the canal is bordered by a public road on the southern side, and date-trees and gardens on the northern, for about half a mile or more; and though the canal, from being narrow and low, is exceedingly hot in the daytime, the sun beating on it with full power, and the high banks keeping off all wind, yet, at the cool time of morning or evening, when the water is high flood, the passage up and down is agreeable.

At the distance of about a mile from the entrance of the canal, the houses of Bussorah are first met with, and these are most thickly placed on the southern side. Somewhat less than a mile further up is the British Factory, which, presenting a circular brick wall toward the river with arched windows or

ports, and having a large gate towards the creek, with sentries, flag-staff, &c. has all the appearance of a fortress, and is indeed by far the best building to be seen in the whole city.

Within the next quarter of a mile above this is the Seraia, or palace of the Mutesellim, and the Custom-house, both of them buildings of the meanest kind, and in the worst state of repair ; and just above this last, the bridge that crosses the canal in a line from the Bagdad gate, renders it unnavigable further up, though the stream itself continues till it reaches the other extremity of the town.

The rise of water in this canal is about eight feet perpendicular with the flood of spring tides, and six feet with the flood of the neaps, and at low water it is nearly dry. The time of high water at the full and change is five P. M., or about an hour earlier than it is in the middle of the river opposite to the point of this canal's discharge.

The space actually occupied by buildings does not comprise more than one-fourth of that which is enclosed within the walls of Bussorah, the rest being laid out in corn-fields, rice-grounds, date-groves, and gardens ;

in this respect it has been very aptly compared to ancient Babylon, a great portion of which seems, by the account of all the historians who have described it, to have been laid out in the same way. The buildings themselves are badly planned and constructed, and are mostly as deficient even in what are held by their occupiers to be conveniences and comforts, as they are to the eyes of a stranger destitute of beauty.

From the want of stones, which are here scarcely to be found or met with in a journey of many miles, the walls of the city, as well as by far the greater number of dwellings within it, are built of sun-dried bricks. The few houses that have kiln-dried bricks in their walls, are too inconsiderable in number to form an exception, and are confined to the British factory, the Seraia of the Mutesellim, one or two of the principal mosques, and perhaps half a dozen mansions of rich men in different parts of the town. The scarcity and consequent high price of wood, occasions the trunk of the date-tree to be almost the only sort employed in building; and this, from its fibrous nature, cannot be wrought into a regular shape by all the art

of carpentry. Stone and wood are therefore rarely seen, and the buildings, from the necessary confinement to such materials as are used in them, are all of the meanest appearance.

In assigning an etymology to Bussorah, Dr. Vincent says, 'Basra, Bozra, and Bosara, is a name applicable to any town in the Desert, as it signifies rough or stony ground; and thus we have a Bosara in Ptolemy near Muskat, and a Bozra, familiar in Scripture, denoting an Arabian town in the neighbourhood of Judea, taken by the Maccabees.\* The Hebrew signification, as applied to the Bozra of the Scriptures, is consistent and appropriate, since that town is really seated on rough and stony ground, and so probably was the Bosara of Ptolemy near Muskat, judging from the general character of the country there. The Arabic Bussra, (for that is the nearest pronunciation of the name بصره) though allied perhaps to the Hebrew Bozra or Botzra, has yet some distinguishing fea-

\* Golius ad Alfrag. p. 120. *Terra crassa et lapidosa.* But see בוצר under בוצרה. *Botsrath desertum à Batzar clausit, quia clauduntur aquæ.* From hence, adds the Dean, *Bazar* for an emporium, and *urbs munita, quia circumclauditur*, to which the *Bursa* of Carthage is allied.—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients*, &c. vol. i. p. 436, note.

tures of difference. بصرة is interpreted, 1st. *Whitish* stones. 2d. A kind of earth, out of which they dig such stones. 3d. The city of Basra or Bassora, as seated on such ground. The *whitish* stones cannot be the meaning of the name either of Bozra in Syria, or of Bussorah on the Euphrates, as the former is on a bed of black basaltic rock ; and in the latter there are no stones of any description at all. Although this name is applied equally to the earth, out of which such stones are dug, I could not learn, during my stay here, that the earth of Bussorah at all produced any such stones ; and the only difference between the soil of the present town, and that of the old city, which is supposed to have been near Zo-beir, is that the one is more sandy than the other ; but both are equally destitute of stones. There is another meaning given to بصر as signifying ‘the side, border, or margin,’ a sense that would apply to the Hebrew Bozra, as it was the easternmost town of note in all the Hauran, and ‘bordered’ upon the country of the Nabateans, but still more suitably to Bussorah, which was upon the ‘side and margin’ of Arabia itself, and near the banks of the Euphrates, which in all ages has been considered

as its eastern boundary by land. The Hebrew and the Arabic names, though differently spelt by us, who know and preserve the distinction between them, are written and pronounced exactly alike by the respective inhabitants of each, who, it is true, are all Arabs. The word Bazar بازار is of a different origin in its root, and of different orthography, and means equally a place where goods are publicly sold, or the act of bargaining for purchase and sale in private, and does not seem allied to either of the others.

The population of Bussorah has varied at different periods of its history from 500,000 to about 50,000 inhabitants. The former is supposed to have been the *maximum* of its most flourishing state; the latter the *minimum*, after the dreadful ravages of the plague in 1773—when upwards of 300,000 souls are said to have fallen victims to this destructive scourge. It is true that at the time of Mr. Niebuhr's passage through this place, which was in 1764, he supposed the population scarcely to have exceeded 40,000; and by a calculation of one hundred houses to each of the seventy mehalles or parishes of the city, and seven dwellers to each house, which

he thought was the utmost that could be allowed, the number made only 49,000. But in an interval of nine years, which passed until the plague of 1773, great changes might have been effected in the state of the surrounding country, and a surplus population of a still greater number have been drawn to the city, by causes which offered brighter prospects to the inhabitants of it. Such sudden changes are not uncommon in the great cities of the Eastern world, and more particularly in those which, like Bussorah, are frequently exposed to become subject to different masters, and be contended for as a frontier post between two warring powers, and whose prosperity, even in times of political tranquillity, depends on so precarious a foundation as foreign trade.

At the present moment, while it enjoys sufficient security from all dangers without, and is subject to its old masters the Turks, who preserve good order within, the population is on the increase, and may amount altogether to nearly 100,000 souls. About one-half of these are Arabs, one-fourth Persians, and the remaining fourth a mixture of Turks, Armenians, Indians, Jews, and Catholic Chris-

tians, with a few Koords from the mountains of Koordistan, and a small portion of the Arab Christians, called Subbees, or disciples and followers of John the Baptist.

The Arabs are mostly persons born in the town, or in its immediate neighbourhood, with occasional settlers from Bagdad, Kourna, and the villages along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, as well as some few Desert Arabs from the country of Nedjed, and trading people from Coete, or Graine, the great sea-port of that part of Arabia. The occupations of the Arab population are chiefly commercial among the higher order, and labour and cultivation among the lower. The religion of both is of the Soonnee sect of Mohammedism, and they are in general sufficiently tolerant to those of a different faith. The dress of the merchants, who are originally of Bussorah, as well as those who come from Moosul and Bagdad, differs but little from that of the same class of people in Syria, except that it is here gayer and more costly in the same rank of life. Indian muslins and Angora shalloons are worn in the summer; but fine broad cloths, of the brightest colours, Indian stuffs, and Cash-

meer shawls, form the winter apparel ; and these are displayed in such variety, as to make the wardrobe of a well-dressed man exceedingly expensive. The Arabs from Nedjed, and those from Coete or Graine, wear invariably the Bedouin handkerchief, called Maharama and Keffeea ; the poorer people bind them round their heads, with bands of camel's hair thread, made into a sort of rope ; but the wealthier class, although they are clad in the most costly robes, still retain this mark of their Desert origin, and sometimes even wear a rich Indian shawl as a turban over it, while the long ends of the coarse Bedouin keffeea hang over their shoulders, forming a singular mixture of the costumes of the Desert and the town. The light Bagdad cloak, in alternate stripes of reddish brown and white, are worn by all in the summer ; and thicker abbas, of a similar form and pattern, by the poor in the winter ; but the rich at this season wear fine thick cloaks of a black colour, with a broad and deep three-forked stripe of gold, woven into the cloth, and descending from the top of the right shoulder down the back.

The Persian part of the population of Bus-

sorah are all of the Sheeah sect of Moslems ; but as their party is the weakest, they conceal the hatred with which this religious distinction inspires them towards the Turks and Arabs as Soonnees ; and even their peculiar fasts and festivals are, for the same reason, observed with some degree of privacy. The rich among them are mostly merchants, who have commercial relations with their countrymen settled at the chief ports in India, and with others in Shooster and the higher parts of Persia, but seldom further north than Bagdad, as the Aleppo and Damascus trades are in the hands of Arabs. The lower classes of the Persian population are occupied mostly as writers, servants, shopkeepers, and mechanics ; in all which professions or stations, their superior activity, industry, insinuating manners, ingenuity, and address, are conspicuous ; and while among the Arabs a man is either a merchant in easy circumstances, or a mere labourer, Persians are found filling most of the intermediate stations, and rising by their own exertions from the lowest to the highest ranks. The dress of the Persians differs but little from that which is common to all the parts of Persia

which I have seen, excepting only that the black sheep's-skin cap is exchanged for the shawl or muslin turban, and the scarlet embroidered coat for the Arab cloak. These, however, are sufficient to alter the appearance of the dress so much, that a stranger would not easily distinguish a Persian from an Arab inhabitant of Bussorah. Some, indeed, both among the rich and the poor, adopt the Arab costume entirely; and then it is only by the characteristic features of their race, and by their peculiar manner of pronouncing the Arabic language, that they can be known.

The Turks are very few in number, and are almost all in offices of trust under the Government, or otherwise personally attached to the Governor himself. This man, who is called here the Mutesellim, or literally the Lieutenant of the Pasha of the province, is himself a native of Bussorah, but of Turkish descent; and having been many years at Constantinople, and served several campaigns against the Russians, he is much more a Turk than an Arab. The officers attached to him are principally Turks by family, but born in towns remote from the metropolis, as Moosul,

Bagdad, and Bussorah. All these, however, preserve the Turkish kaook of Constantinople as a distinguishing mark of dress ; their other garments differing in nothing from those of the well-dressed merchants of the place. Few as are these Turks in number, and never at any time perhaps exceeding five hundred, they maintain firm possession of the city, with the aid of a small number of Georgians, Koords, Arabs, and Persians, who are paid by the Government as soldiers, but who furnish their own arms and clothing, and are the most undisciplined rabble that can be imagined. The horse are estimated at 1500, but that number is seldom complete, and the foot are composed of five companies or Beiraks, of nominally one hundred muskets each. There are about fifty of the best of these who are selected as a body guard for the Muteselim, and who accompany him to the mosques on Fridays, and attend him on state occasions. These are foot soldiers and musketeers, and they are distinguished by a uniform dress of red jackets, seamed with black cord, the full blue Turkish trowsers, white turbans, and English muskets, with black cartouch-box and belts. This is the only instance of

uniform that I remember among the soldiers of either the Arabs, the Turks, or the Persians, and has, I think, been occasioned by the constant station of the British Resident's guard here, and the frequent arrival of East India Company's cruisers and merchant vessels, with disciplined sepoy on board. The Tefenkchee Bashee, or chief of these musketeers, wears the large fur cap of the Bagdad soldiers; but all his inferiors, with the exception of the body guard already mentioned, dress in their own way, and just as their means allow, except that each Beirak or company has some trifling mark by which it is distinguished from others.

In personal appearance, the Turks of Bus-sorah are far below those of Asia Minor and the large towns of Syria, and still more inferior to those of Smyrna and Constantinople, both in strength of frame, fairness of complexion, and general beauty of person. The degeneration has been effected probably by several united causes; such as a mixture with Arab blood, the use of negro slaves, and long residence in a hot and unhealthy climate. In character they have a good deal of the gravity, resignation, and attachment to old customs,

which distinguish the Turks of the north ; but they do not appear to inherit their love of ostentatious display, their haughty carriage towards those of a different faith, their polite and courtly manners towards their friends, nor their proud and unbending courage against their enemies. They possess a power equally despotic with that of other Turks ruling over Arab towns ; but they use it, certainly, with almost unexampled moderation : the consequence of this is, that their government is popular with all classes, and there is scarcely an Arab inhabitant of the city, who would not prefer the reign of the Osmanli or Turkish authority to that of any Arab Sheikh, and who would not take up arms to defend it.

The Armenians of Bussorah do not at present exceed fifty families, though formerly they were much more numerous. They are here, as throughout all the rest of the Turkish Empire, a sober, industrious, and intelligent race of people, engaged in occupations of trust as brokers, and doing business also for themselves as merchants. Their dress differs in nothing from that of the rich natives of the place, except that they confine them-

selves to dark-coloured cloths for their garments, and wear blue, black, and brown Cashmeer shawls for turbans, never assuming the gay tints reserved for the adorning of the faithful; though at this place there seems more laxity in the execution of the law enforcing distinctions of dress and colours to be worn by people of different faiths, than in most other Turkish towns that I have seen. The Armenians communicate with each other in their own language; but in general they speak Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, equally well; and some few add to these, English, Portuguese, and Hindostanee, which gives them great advantages in their mercantile transactions. They have a small church, and two or three priests attached to it, and their community is respectable and happy. An instance was related to me of their strict attention to the reputation of their body, which deserves to be recorded:—A young widow, who had been left without a protector, and was sufficiently handsome to have snares laid for her virtue, yielded to temptation, and lived for a short time as the mistress of a rich person, but without further prostitution. The circumstance becoming known, it was

decided by the Armenians that their nation was scandalized by such an occurrence; and their influence was sufficient to get this fair sinner banished from the town, and sent to Bagdad, where they furnished her with a maintenance from their body, to prevent a recurrence of the necessity which she pleaded as an excuse for her past transgressions.

The Jews of Bussorah are also less numerous than they formerly were, though at present they are thought to amount to more than one hundred families. The heads of these are all merchants and traders; and as they add to the sobriety, industry, and perseverance of the Armenians, a meanness, a cunning, and a disregard of principle, which are peculiar to them, they insinuate themselves into all affairs of business that are transacted even between strangers, and are not only in general the greatest gainers in every affair, but often derive a profit as brokers and agents, when the principals for whom they treat may lose. They form here as separate a body as in all other parts of the globe, living only among themselves, and preserving, by intermarriages among their own immediate offspring, that peculiarity of

feature as well as of character, which distinguishes them from the one end of the world to the other. Their dress differs very little from that of the wealthy natives of the place, except in their confining themselves, like the Armenians, to dark-coloured garments. Their turban is, however, peculiar; and instead of the overhanging tarboosh and full shawl of the Armenians, it is formed of a flower-striped silk and cotton cloth, bound tightly round a red cap in flat folds, with sometimes a border of fringe at the edge. The rich, of whom there are many, are always well-dressed; the poor go from mediocrity down to filth and rags; and all classes wear their beards and the hanging side-locks which distinguish their sect from all others. Their common language is Arabic; though among themselves, and in correspondence with other Jews, they write this in the Hebrew character; but of Turkish, Persian, or any other tongue, there are few who know enough to transact the most common business, which forms a great feature of difference between them and the Armenians.

The Catholic Christians are much fewer in number than either of the last mentioned,

and do not at present exceed twenty families. Some of these are natives of Bussorah, and others are recent settlers from Bagdad and Aleppo. They are all merchants and traders, and are distinguished from the mass only by their wearing dark turbans; since in manners and language they resemble the other inhabitants of the place. These have a church attached to the hospital of the Carmelite Friars, which has long existed here. There were formerly several friars of that order attached to the Convent as missionaries; and until within these few years, always two of them. At present, however, there is but one, who is an old Neapolitan of about sixty, and has been here altogether nearly thirty years, having visited Europe once only in that interval. He is one of the most uninformed members of his order that I remember to have met with, and after so long a residence in the country can scarcely speak the language of it intelligibly. His solitude was so insupportable when he lost his last companion, that he became a most abandoned drunkard in endeavouring to cheer it by the bottle. So scandalous was his behaviour during the period of constant

inebriation, that his flock bound him by the most solemn oaths made at the altar, never to taste the alluring poison again. To this he rigidly conforms ; but it costs him, according to his own confession, the sacrifice of the only consolation which he enjoyed on this side the grave !

The Subbees are a sect of Christians, who call themselves disciples and followers of John the Baptist, and their community consists of about thirty families. They dress so exactly like the Arabs of the place, that there is no means of discovering them by their exterior, and their language and general manners are also the same with those of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the town. The chief seat of these Subbees is Kourna, at the conflux of the Tigris and Euphrates ; and at that place their Bishop, and upwards of a hundred families, reside. There are also some few at Shookashoaah, a large Arab town higher up, and they are scattered over the plain country of Khusistan, at Shooster, Dezhpool, and other places there ; but their limits are very narrow, and their whole body collectively is thought to be less than a thousand families. They possess a Gospel of their own, which is

written in a dialect of the Chaldaic, but with characters peculiar to themselves, of which Mr. Niebuhr has given an alphabet, though he seems to have collected no other information regarding them. This gospel enters at large into the genealogy, birth, and education of John the Baptist, with his separate history until the time of his baptizing Jesus, when the histories and acts of both are treated of in continuation; but in what particulars their version accords with, or differs from any of those received among us, I could not learn; as, in the first place, the book itself is not easily to be procured from their priests, and in the next it would require either a knowledge of their language, or a translation of it by them into Arabic, to understand it, neither of which was it in my power to obtain. This gospel is attributed by them to John the Baptist himself, and it is their sole authority in all matters of faith and doctrine. They have besides, however, a book of prayers and precepts, with directions for ceremonials, which they ascribe to the learned men of their sect, who immediately succeeded their great leader. They admit the divinity of Jesus, as Christ, the

Son of God, and conceive that John the Baptist is to be honoured as his fore-runner, and as the person selected by God to perform the most holy sacrament of baptism on his child ; but what are their notions regarding the Trinity I could not learn. They are distinguished from all other Christians by their frequent repetition of this sacrament on the same person, who, in other churches, would receive it but once. It is said, even, that every individual of their body is baptized annually on some particular occasion ; but whether this is a fixed day for all, or peculiar festivals chosen by the individuals themselves, does not appear. This, however, is certain, that on all important changes, or undertakings, or events of their life, baptism is re-administered. The child at its birth is baptized ; when named it is baptized again ; on completing the age of puberty it is also baptized ; and whether contracting marriage, becoming the parent of children, undertaking a journey, recovering from sickness, or any other important event, as well as after death, and before interment, baptism is re-administered with all the solemnity of the first occasion. The

prayers used at their marriages and funerals are said to be long : the first is a ceremony performed among themselves in some degree of privacy ; but the latter is conducted openly, without their being interrupted in it by any one. They have no standing church, since their places of worship must be newly erected for every new occasion. It is therefore usual with them, when these occasions occur, to make an enclosure of reeds, when, after a most tedious process of purification, the ground becomes consecrated, and they perform their worship therein, secluded from the eyes of strangers, after which the building is pulled down and destroyed. Their attention to the purity of their food is carried to an extraordinary degree, and equals that of the highest caste of Bramins in India. No water that is not drawn from the river by themselves in their own vessels, and even after that suffered to subside, and be otherwise purified by their own hands, can be drunk by them. If honey, or similar articles, are purchased by them in the bazaar, it must have purified water poured on it, and remain a certain time covered to be cleansed before it can be eaten ; and even

fruit, though fresh from the tree, must be similarly washed, to be purged of its defilement. It is, however, singular enough, that while they carry this attention to religious purity of food to a degree unknown to all other sects of Christians, abstinence and fasts should be held in abomination by them; and that, contrary to the general Christian notion of this being always acceptable to God, and tending to purge the soul, as well as the body, of impure passions and desires, the Subbees regard it as a heinous sin, and as a profanation of the gifts which the Creator has so bountifully provided for his creatures. In their moral character, they are neither esteemed more upright nor more corrupt than their neighbours. One of their most distinguished virtues is mutual confidence in each other; and a breach of trust in any way is said to be regarded by them as a more damning offence than murder, fornication, and adultery, combined. It is, no doubt, this peculiar tenet, added to their notions of defilement from strangers, and the constant intermarriage of their sons and daughters with each other, which keeps them together, like the Jews, and all other unso-

cial castes of religion, who seek not to augment their numbers by converts, yet, by the selfishness of their institutions, preserve them from being lessened by mingling with others. —The heads of the few families of Subbees here are mostly mechanics and handicrafts, more particularly as smiths and workers in metals; and even in the towns enumerated, where their community is more extensive, they generally confine themselves to the exercise of these and similar trades, without attaching themselves to agriculture or the profession of arms; in which particular they resemble the Jews of Europe, where the profession of the stock-broker, or loan-raiser, the art of the goldsmith or jeweller, and the occupation of a pedlar, are those mostly followed, rather than the Jews of Asia, who confine themselves to dealing in general merchandize, and are seldom seen as mechanics or handicrafts in any way.

The Indians resident in Bussorah are chiefly Banians, and are all employed as merchants on their own account, and as brokers and agents for others. They enjoy, as well as the Armenians, the countenance and protection of the British Resident; the heads of

both, indeed, are actually attached to the service of the East India Company at their factory. Some of them have direct communication with merchants of their own caste at Bombay; but more of them trade through the medium of the Banians settled at Muscat, and few or none have any immediate transactions of trade directly with Bengal. To conform in some degree to the manners of the place, the turban peculiar to the Banians of India is laid aside, and generally a red one, half in the Arab and half in the Indian form, is substituted in its place. The rest of the dress is a mixture of the Persian and the Arab, without being exactly either; though no part of the Indian costume seems to be retained, and by most of them even the sectarial mark on the forehead is omitted to be worn. There is, besides all these approximations to foreign usages, a sufficient laxity to show that the scruples even of Hindoos, are not unconquerable; and that, as among all other sects and people, these take a colouring from the usages around them: so that they unbend from their primitive rigour before the slow but certain influence of long continued example and intercourse

with those of another faith. The Sepoys of the Factory guard are also mostly Hindoos ; besides which, there are some mechanics attached to the establishment ; and these, as they live more among themselves, preserve their Indian habits more unchanged. Some few have their women with them ; but by far the greater number, both of the Banians and the soldiers, live without wives. Their collective number may amount to about two hundred ; and, as they enjoy as free exercise of their religion as could be had without actually possessing a place of public worship, and are not in any way molested, either by the Government or by individuals, they live in ease and content.

The few Koords who are found in Bussorah are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct body ; but they are mostly engaged in inferior offices of trust under the Turks, and in the profession of arms, for which the habits and character of these mountaineers are admirably adapted.

Of the European factories here, the only ones remaining are the French and the English. The former of these has merely a nominal existence, since the Baron Vigoroux,

who holds the appointment, resides at Bagdad; and, except the hoisting of the white flag, which is done by the Catholic Carmelite friar on Sundays, there is no other duty which a Resident would have to execute. Some hopes of a renewal of the French trade were excited here about a month since, by the arrival of two vessels from the Mauritius to Muscat, under that flag; but the end of their voyage was a disastrous one. They were represented to be a ship and a schooner; the former armed for self-defence, the latter sailing under her convoy, but having mostly treasure on board, intended for the purchase of cargoes for both. On passing Ras-el-Had, and conceiving all danger to be over, the ship sent on the schooner, which was the fastest sailer, towards Muscat, when, it falling calm, they became separated widely apart. At this moment, some Joassamee pirate-boats pulled down on the schooner, and, finding no resistance, plundered her of every dollar, and stripped even the vessel and her crew of every thing that was portable. The commander, complaining of this treatment towards the subjects of a nation who were not at war with them, was told, that he might congratulate

himself on being known to them as a Frenchman, since, if they had been even suspected to have been English, their throats would have been cut without distinction. It appears that there was a supercargo on board, who had been formerly in the service of the Imaum of Muscat, and who understood Arabic sufficiently well to communicate with the pirates, which was the means of their lives being spared. The Joassamees were not content, however, with plundering the vessel, but endeavoured to scuttle her; and men were employed both on the outside under water, and on the inside below, to effect this, which they were unable to do from the firm way in which the vessel was built, and their want of proper implements. The French ship, in the mean time, remained becalmed at a distance, unable to render any assistance to her consort, and both the vessels afterwards reached Muscat in safety; yet the object of the voyage was entirely frustrated, and the hopes of a revival of the French trade at Bussorah consequently declined.

The English factory dates its origin from the first visit of British vessels to Bussorah, which was in the year 1640; and it has con-

tinued to exist almost without interruption ever since. The building itself, or the residence of the chief of the factory, has been frequently changed : since it was, at one time, in the very centre of the town ; at another, remote from the city altogether, on the banks of the river, at a place called Margill ; and it is now seated on the southern side of the central creek, leading from the river up through the town, and at a convenient distance from the dwelling of the Governor, and from the public custom-house. The present factory, which is by far the best building in all the town, was constructed chiefly by a former Resident, Mr. Manesty, on the foundation of an old building, bought chiefly for the situation it held, and improved and added to in such a way as to make it a convenient abode for the Resident and all his dependants, and accessible to the boats of all British vessels arriving in the river. The establishment maintained here by the East India Company is most respectable, and the expense of supporting it equal to about 5000*l.* sterling per year ; to compensate which, the only advantages derived, are the safe and speedy transmission of dispatches in time of war, and protection and

accommodation to private traders coming here from India; since the Company are thought to lose rather than gain by the articles which they send here for sale. These are but few in number, and in no large quantities, being mostly confined to metals and woollen cloths, which they are obliged to export from England, and which they send wherever they can get a market for them, even at a certain loss.

There was formerly a Resident at Bussorah who was a member of the Civil Service of India, with an army-surgeon attached to him; but the present Agent of the Company, who acted in the capacity of surgeon to Mr. Manesty, being himself a medical man, is constituted what is called a Resident in charge, and receives the emoluments of both. There are, besides, a proper number of brokers, interpreters, chaoushes, and inferior servants, and a Jemindar, or native officer's guard of Sepoys, from the Marine Battalion of Bombay, lodged in barracks attached to the house. The influence enjoyed by the Resident is considerable, as might be expected from the respectability of his establishment; the frequent arrival of the Company's armed-vessels; the extensive trade with India in British ship-

ping; and the presence of a superior at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdad, to whom immediate application can be made for redress of grievances; and all these advantages are still further strengthened by the personal character of the present Resident, Dr. Colquhoun, who has sufficient urbanity to extend his protection to both Jews and Christians, without fear or favour; and yet sufficient firmness to resist all encroachments on his privileges, and to enforce the rigid observance of all existing conditions between the Government and the nation, or the Company, whom he represents.

- The situation of Bussorah is so highly favourable for trade, that, under every obstacle which a bad government, and unsafe passages to and from it by sea and land occasions, it continues to enjoy a commerce sufficient to enrich many by its profits, and to furnish the means of subsistence to a large population. The history of this trade is not easy to be gathered from even the oldest residents here, since few people care about preserving memorials of 'the past; and the governors, as well as their dependants in office, change so frequently, that no records of a very old date

remain for the examination of their successors. A period is spoken of, about fifty years ago, when the trade of Bussorah was most flourishing, and the amount of the imports in India produce, and of the exports in treasure, is stated at a sum so enormous, as to prove its origin to have been in the warm imagination of some one fresh from the tales of Haroun el Raschid. From more authentic documents it appears, that in the year 1805, the trade of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Surat, with Bussorah, left a balance of about half a million sterling in favour of British India annually. This trade is rather increased than diminished, and the value of the articles entering into it makes it amount to more than the number of vessels employed would seem to warrant. During the last year, there have been, altogether, fifteen ships from Bengal and Bombay, averaging from three to four hundred tons each. These brought Bengal muslins and piece-goods, pepper, spices, drugs, rice, sugar, indigo, silk, and cotton-yarn, Surat manufactures, shawls, china-ware, china-paper, dyewoods, coffee, lac, beads, sugar-candy, and other articles, as the produce of India; with lead, iron, cutlery, quicksilver, tin, steel,

cochineal, and other articles, as the European exports to that country. The returns were made chiefly in Arabian horses; treasure in various coins from Europe; pearls from Bahrein; dates from Arabia; copper from Tocat; gall-nuts from Koordistan; lametto, or gold-fringe, and coral from the Mediterranean, by the caravans from Aleppo; gums from Arabia; rose-water from Bussorah; assafoetida, almonds, dried fruit, and sometimes horses from Bushire, as the port of Persia; and occasionally, some few articles, in addition, from Muscat. Gold and silver coin forms, however, by far the greatest amount in actual value, and pays the most profitable freight to ships, the rate being four per cent. *ad valorem* to Bengal, three per cent. to Bombay, two per cent. to Muscat, and one per cent. to Bushire; and instances have occurred of the whole amount of treasure sent in one ship yielding a freight of 5,000*l.* sterling, and, consequently, amounting to 150,000*l.* in capital.

Horses form the most important return next to the precious metals. These are brought into Bussorah from all the surrounding country; but those of Nedjed are generally preferred. There is a standing or-

der of the Porte prohibiting the exportation of horses from any part of the Turkish dominions, on the old principle of confining what a nation is likely to want within itself. The consequence of such a regulation, while it was adhered to, was, that no one bred horses but for his own use, or just in proportion to the demand of the market, if for the use of others. For this reason, about twenty years ago, fifty Arab horses could not have been collected in a year, for any purpose, except a military one. The exportation of them to India, offering, however, a considerable profit, the Governor of Bussorah was prevailed on by bribes to wink at their being sent off in English vessels. The precedent being once established, there was no difficulty in obtaining the same privilege every year; for the Turks have such a regard for old customs, that they will do more in favour of a former precedent, than by virtue of an order even from the Porte. The one is held sacred in proportion to its immemorial usage; the other is frequently evaded, particularly when it enjoins any thing in the light of a novelty or an innovation. From that time to the present, the exportation of horses has increased

to such a degree, that during this last year about 1500 have been sent to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. About one-half of these go to the former place, one-third to Bengal, and the remainder to Madras.

The average prime cost of those sent to Bombay is about three hundred rupees, the freight one hundred, and the expense of groom and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, one hundred more. Added to this, is a duty of fifty Ain piastres per head, paid to the Custom-house here, besides occasional bribes for permission to ship, and other incidental expenses; making the average cost of each horse landed in Bombay about six hundred rupees, independent of insurance and risk of loss by death, which that does not cover. The average sale-price of horses at Bombay is about eight hundred rupees each; from which about one hundred will be probably deducted, for expense of landing, maintenance until sold, brokerage on sale, &c., leaving a clear profit of one hundred rupees only per head.

The horses sent to Bengal are always of a finer kind and higher price. The great-

est number of these are sent from here by the British Resident on his own private account, and the average cost of these is at least 1000 rupees each. The freight to Calcutta is two hundred rupees per head, and the duty to the Custom-house from Mohammedans fifty roomies, the same as for Bombay; but from British subjects only twenty roomies. The expense of grooms and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, may be reckoned at two hundred rupees, and one hundred allowed for insurance, risk of loss by death, agency, &c.; so that the average cost of each horse landed in Bengal is at least 1500 rupees. The sales are effected at a medium of 2000 rupees, or 200*l.* sterling, which is more than is made on sending them to Bombay.

The horses sent to Madras are few, and these only when a ship can conveniently touch there on her way to Calcutta. These are equally expensive, and of the same class of fine animals which are sent to Bengal, the freight and other charges on them being exactly the same; but, from their arriving there but seldom, they produce in general a greater profit on the sale.

The usual way of conveying these horses from Bussorah to India is in stalls, constructed by rough stanchions between the decks of a ship, while the hold is appropriated to general cargo. The stalls run along the whole length of the deck on each side, making two ranges, and admit of a third between them going right fore and aft, amidships, interrupted only by the hatchways, masts, &c. A length of six feet is allowed from the ship's side, towards the centre of the deck; and along this the stanchions are fixed, at a breadth of two feet from each other, that being the greatest room allotted to each horse, though in some ships they reduce this to seventeen inches. The front stanchions have then a cross one nailed athwart them, about three feet six inches from the deck, so as to form a breast stanchion to the horse, and prevent his coming out. This is the way in which the side ranges of stalls are fitted up. The central range resembles them, except that, from being open before and behind, there is a row of stanchions in front, with one cross one for the breast, and another row in the rear of the horse, with a cross-piece for his

hind-quarters, to prevent his moving either forward or backward.

When the horses are placed in their stalls, they have their heads towards the centre of the deck, for the sake of breathing more freely the air from the hatchways, and for the convenience of being fed and watered. Their heads are secured by a double halter : one end of which is tightened short, and fastened to the upright stanchion on each side of them ; and the two hind-feet are fastened by double foot-ropes to a strong eye-cleet, securely fastened to the deck. When thus stowed, there is very little space between their sides ; and they occasion much trouble by their gnawing through the stanchions, breaking their ropes, and, when it is possible, biting each other. There is usually one groom sent with every five horses, and he has often an inferior assistant. These are all maintained at the ship's expense while going to India, and furnished with a free passage back if the ship returns. The provisions for the horses are put on board by the respective shippers of them ; and though the barley and straw necessary for a ship's full number take up at least fifty tons of

room, yet it goes free, or is included in the freight paid for the horses. Each groom, having his own portion of provisions, feeds his horses at his pleasure; but it is usual generally to give them chopped straw twice, and barley once in the day, which is towards evening.

The quantity of water requisite to be furnished by the ship, is four gallons per day for each horse; so that a large stock must be laid in. During the long voyages and hot summers, in the Gulf of Persia, many horses die from confined air and want of water; and on these no freight is paid, since the payment of freight for horses is always made in India, and is then given only for the number landed. A well-authenticated instance was related to me, however, of some horses in the ship *Euphrates*, which drank sea-water, sweetened with dates, for three successive days, after all the fresh water was exhausted, and it produced no other effect on them than a gentle purging; but it sufficed their thirst till they reached a place where they could renew their supply.

In blowing weather it is usual to place mats under the horses' feet, to prevent their

slipping and falling on the deck ; but they are never slung by the middle, as is done in English horse transports, for the purpose of giving them rest. With Arab horses, it is so usual a thing for them to sleep standing, and to do so for years in succession, without ever lying down, except when sick, that their standing posture for a whole voyage is not objected to, as an inconvenience, nor do they seem to suffer from want of exercise. Ships intended for conveying horses should have a good height between decks, never under six feet ; and if reaching to seven, it is still better. A regular tier of ports, going fore and aft, is also a great advantage ; since, from the close stowage and great confinement of animal heat, a free passage for air is always desirable. If ports are not in the ship, large scuttles should be cut in lieu of them, and windsails for the hatchways should be used to increase the circulation of air below.

Of the horses exported to India from hence, the general age is about four years ; those above seven are seldom sent, and colts under two, rarely or never, except by express desire of any one ordering it. Mares are by no means so easy to be procured as horses ; since

the Desert Arabs almost every where prefer them for their own riding, from their giving less trouble on a journey; they keep them also for breeding; but it is not true, as has been asserted, that no consideration will induce an Arab to part with his mare, or that he would as soon think of selling his wife and family. The fact is, that mares are more useful to them than horses, and, being less beautiful and less in fashion to ride on in India, are less in demand by the purchasers at Bussorah. But a person desirous of procuring a mare might at any time obtain one for the payment of its estimated value in the country; and this would be but little more than that of a horse of the same class. It has been thought, too, that there was a law prohibiting the exportation of mares from Arabia; but this, as has been already explained, extends to horses of every description. Such an order is as permanent as ever, and remains unrepealed at Constantinople: but since the Pasha of Bagdad, though not versed perhaps in the doctrines of political economy, perceives that the supply of horses actually keeps pace with the demand, and that, though 1500 are exported annually, as many can be

raised for the service of the Government as could have been done when not one was allowed to be sent away, his fears on that head are quieted. A more powerful motive, however, for his winking at the non-observance of this decree of the Sublime Porte is, that the exportation is productive of great returns to the Custom-house here, and increases the funds of the Governor of Bussorah, who holds his place under him, and whose wealth, however acquired, he one day hopes to enjoy, as the Sultan, who is above him, does that of the Pasha.

A custom has of late crept in, of the shippers of horses demanding from the captain or owners of the ship, an advance of a hundred rupees per head, which is lent to them without interest; and neither this sum nor the freight is paid until arriving at the destined port, when, if the horse on which this advance is made, dies on the passage, both the sum thus lent and the freight are lost. Injurious as this practice is to the shipping interest, it seems to be fixed beyond alteration, and has been owing to competition among Arab naquodahs and agents, who, in endeavouring to outdo each other in the number

of horses they could obtain for their vessels, have established a custom highly prejudicial to themselves. The average number conveyed in each ship from hence was formerly about eighty, but it is now a hundred.

The duties on imports from India are regulated by the tariff established between the nation to which the owner of the goods belongs, and the Porte ; and if the trader claims no such privilege of tariff, he is considered as a subject of the Empire, and pays accordingly. The tariff of the English fixes the duty on all their imports from India at three per cent. *ad valorem*, and this is regulated by the price at which the commodity has actually sold in Bussorah ; so that the duty is not payable until the sale has been really effected. British subjects have the privilege of landing their goods either at the Factory, or at their own dwelling, or warehouse, which they may hire at rent during their stay here, without taking them to the Custom-house, where the goods of all others are obliged to go. The confidence placed by the Turks in the integrity of the English is such, that their own account of sales is taken without a check on them, and their ships' boats are allowed to

pass and repass from the city to the river without examination; though both of these privileges are often abused by Arab super-cargoes sailing in vessels under British colours.

The duty on imports paid by all those who are not subjects of any nation having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, is seven and a half per cent. *ad valorem*. This, however, is not regulated by the price at which the commodity sells, as is done with the English, but by an old standard of valuation contained in a Dufter, or book of estimates, made, as some think, several centuries ago, but certainly antecedent to the earliest period of the English trade here. By this standard, the value of most Indian articles is fixed at less than half their present selling price, some even at one-fourth, and all of them at least a third below their real value at the present day. Yet such is the veneration of the Turks for old customs of this kind, that though their power to accommodate this standard to existing circumstances has never been doubted, the interest both of the individuals in office under the Government, and of the Government itself, have not furnished a sufficiently powerful motive to break in upon an estab-

lished usage. By this means, though the nominal duty of the English is less than that of the other traders here, the real duty paid by them is often more; as, for instance, on a chest of indigo, by the old valuation, the duty of seven and a half per cent. makes just nine piastres and a half; but as good indigo sells on an average at from 800 to 1000 piastres per chest, the English duty of three per cent. amounts to thirty piastres!

One cause of this extraordinary difference between the old estimate and the present value, independent of the real increase of price in the article from that period to the present one, is that the size and contents of every package is increased; and, as the old estimates were neither made by measure nor weight, a chest is still considered to be a chest, whether large or small; and all other packages are numbered in the same way. Some of the native merchants here tried a similar experiment in exporting goods to Bengal, by packing up two bales together, and, to save the duty, calling them, in their manifests, only one: but the officers of the Customs at Calcutta, not being such slaves to old usages as the Turks, opened these double bales, and

taking the duty on one of them, as before, seized the others, and condemned them as smuggled goods; by which, it is said, there was a loss of two lacks of rupees, or 20,000*l.* sterling, sustained by these shrewd experimentalists of Bussorah.

It has been observed, that all nations having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, have their duties regulated by this; and that all other traders, of whatever country or denomination, are included in the laws and regulations applying to the subjects of the Empire. This was exemplified in a late instance of the arrival of two American vessels here, on a voyage of speculation and enquiry, who brought with them a variety of articles for sale, and money to purchase returns, if no market could be found for their imports. As these were not English, the Turks were at first a little puzzled to decide whether they could be considered as Europeans, or as their own subjects. Unfortunately for their deliberations, enquiry proved them to be neither. Yet they were certainly Fringhis, or Franks, as every one might see; but they came from the Yenghi Doonya, or the New World, which, according to the opinion of some of

the most learned sages of the town, was itself dropped from the moon about four hundred years ago. The Book of Estimates at the Bussorah Custom-house was made, as they all agreed, long before this New World had existed; so that no provision was made in it for the subjects of such a country: and as to their nation, as Americans, they knew of neither an ambassador from, nor a treaty with them, existing at Constantinople; so that they were, from all these considerations, a sort of nondescript people, whom they knew not how to class. Fortunately, however, for the Americans, the British Resident possessed influence enough to turn the scale; and by his suggestion they were considered as Franks, and dealt with accordingly, being subjected only to the duties paid by the English.

The duties on exports are differently regulated. On dates and grain a small duty is paid by natives to a Coasting Custom-house near the entrance of the creek, which is farmed by a different person from the one who holds the great Custom-house above. This duty extends, however, to such dates and grain as are shipped from the creek, or immediately opposite to Bussorah, as the same

articles taken on board in the river, about a quarter of a mile below, or at Minawi, are not liable to it; and this exemption continues throughout all the river below, even to the bar. The English pay no export duty on these or any other articles, which may serve as, or can be considered in the nature of, provisions, whether shipped from Bussorah or any other part of the river. On the export of copper, gall-nuts, lametta, and all goods brought down from Bagdad, which is the point of union for all the land caravans, there is a duty of five and a half per cent. paid by the natives, and three per cent. by the English; and as the valuation in both cases is nearly the same, the advantage is on the side of the British trader. Cochineal and coral, which come in large quantities across the Desert from Aleppo, are equally subject to this duty of five and a half per cent. *ad valorem*; but though these are annually sent from this port to India to an amount of many thousand pounds in value, they are invariably smuggled off to the ships; and though the Government are aware of the extent to which this is carried, and are defrauded by it of a large sum yearly, yet no steps

are taken to put a stop to the practice ; nor are any boats or persons seized with it, though its conveyance is always effected openly, and in broad day. On treasure, whether in coin, bullion, pearls, or precious stones, no duty is exacted ; and if it were, it would be still more easily evaded than that on the two last-mentioned articles, since the packages are always of less bulk and compass.

The naval force of Bussorah was once sufficiently powerful to command the whole of the Persian Gulf ; and the Turkish fleet, as it was called, in the time of Suliman Pasha of Bagdad, consisted of about twenty well-armed vessels, which were kept in actual service in that sea. These have now dwindled away to five or six old and unserviceable vessels, not one of which could be considered as seaworthy. At present, indeed, no attempt is made to send them to sea ; but they are moored in different parts of the river, under the pretence of keeping it clear of robbers, while one lies at the mouth of the creek of Bussorah, to act as a guard-vessel for the Custom-house ; and the Captain Pasha, who is a person of very little consideration, has his flag-ship abreast of Minawi, to return the

salute of vessels passing her, and to announce, by a discharge of cannon, the visits of the Mutesellim. It was about the time of Suliman Pasha, or nearly half a century ago, that the Gulf was infested by pirates to a greater degree than even at present, when for the important services which the vessels of the Imaum of Muscat rendered to the Pasha of Bagdad, in assisting to clear the sea of these marauders, and to give safe passage to ships of trade, the Imaum himself was permitted to send three vessels annually to Bussorah from his own port of Muscat, and all his own goods imported in them were suffered to be landed free of duty. This was, however, too great a privilege to last for ever, and it has been since commuted for the payment of an annual sum of one thousand tomauns, which, however, is still thought to be less than the tenth part of the gain actually derived from this exemption.

The country around Bussorah has no beauties to recommend it. On the banks of the Euphrates, on both sides, for a long way above and below the town, there are sufficient date-trees and verdure to relieve the

eye; but the country is every where so flat, and so few villages or people are to be seen, that there is a tiresome, monotonous, and gloomy silence throughout its whole extent. The tract immediately surrounding the city towards the land is a desert, with a horizon as level as the sea; and as it is covered with water from the overflowings of the river on the one side, and of Khore Abdallah on the other, for about six months in the year, it may be more frequently taken for sea than for land. This water is sometimes sufficiently deep to admit of the passage of boats from Bussorah to Zobeir, a town about ten or twelve miles distant in a south-western direction. When this water disappears by evaporation, and the remainder is imbibed by the earth, the Desert continues for a long time almost impassable, as the soil is here a clayey earth, altogether free from sand; and when it becomes entirely dry, a crust of salt is left on the surface, of sufficient thickness to yield supplies of this article to the town and neighbouring villages. It is this salt which, whether it is inherent in the soil, or comes from the Khore Ab-

dallah as an arm of the sea, renders the whole tract of many miles in length and breadth barren and unproductive.

It is the practice to enclose portions of this plain, near the city walls, within mounds thrown up for the purpose, and to water them from the canals of the river which supply the town. During the first year nothing is produced, but the soil freshens, and in the second year is cultivated. Its fertility increases however progressively; and after the water of the Desert has been effectually secluded for a few years only, the enclosed portions become fine garden-plots, capable of producing any thing congenial with the climate. If the Government were a provident one, and the character of the people so influenced by it as to ensure greater attention to their own interests, and some consideration for their posterity, the whole of the tract which is now desert, and extends as far as the eye can reach to the westward from the highest towers of Bussorah, might be changed to waving fields of plenty and abundance, and teem with a population made happy by their own exertions. At present, however, in riding round the walls of the

city, and particularly on the western and southern sides, nothing is seen but a dreary waste, to which the imagination can place no well-defined limits, when it conceives that the Desert reaches, almost without interruption, to the borders of Syria ; and within the range of view from hence there is nothing to break the sea-like line of the visible horizon, excepting only the tops of the houses of Zobeir, just seen above it, with a few modern watch-towers in the neighbourhood of that place, and the range of Gebel Senam, covered with a light blue tint, like a thick bed of clouds just rising in the west.

The climate of Bussorah is excessively hot during the summer, or from April to October ; but yet not so hot as at Bagdad, where the thermometer rises above  $120^{\circ}$ , while here it is seldom above  $110^{\circ}$ . Its greater nearness to the sea may be perhaps one cause of this difference, and also the occasion probably of the greater moisture of the air, and of more refreshing dews during the hottest weather. The autumn is acknowledged to be generally unhealthy, and few people escape without fevers, many of whom are carried off by them. The winters and the springs are how-

ever delightful ; for there is a sufficient degree of cold in the first, to render the use of warm clothing, carpeted rooms, and an evening fireside delightful ; and in the last there is but little rain to interrupt the enjoyments of morning rides and free exercise in the open air. It is usual for invalids to come from India to Bussorah, for the restoration of their health ; and if the seasons were properly chosen and attended to, there are few constitutions that would not benefit by the change.

The extreme filthiness of the town, which surpasses that of all other Turkish or Arab ones that I remember, is a great hindrance to perambulation through it ; and in the summer it is insupportable, from the heat of the air, the confined alleys, and the discharge of refuse into the streets themselves, all which must, no doubt, affect the health as well as the comfort of the passengers ; and in winter, riding on horseback without the walls is sometimes interrupted for several days together after only a slight fall of rain. The worst evil, however, which would be likely to be felt by an Indian invalid, who made this his hospital, would be the total want of so-

ciety, except the members of the factory at which he might be lodged. Independent of the present Resident, there is not another individual in all Bussorah, whether male or female, native, or stranger, whose company could be enjoyed after the manner of European society; and there is consequently no one whose intercourse amounts to more than a ceremonious visit for half an hour in the morning, and none of these understand English, or any other European language. These are evils which even an hospitable host, a good library, and a numerous stud of horses, can hardly overbalance; and for want of these, no doubt, the advantages of a bracing winter climate, abundance of the best provisions for the table, including fine fruits, variety of vegetables, and a constant supply of the choicest game, are not felt to their full extent; since there can be little doubt that agreeable occupation for the mind has as powerful an effect as any bodily remedies in restoring the tone and vigour of health to the constitution of an Indian invalid.

The character of the Arabs of Bussorah, as well as of those settled along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, partakes more of

that of the Desert Arab than is elsewhere found in towns and cultivated lands. The citizens are respectful towards strangers ; and there is no place that I have ever yet visited, where the English are held in such estimation, either by the Government or the people. There is an unusual degree of tolerance also towards all those of a different religion, and, regarding them as Mohammedans, a striking indifference about religious matters generally. Notwithstanding the unavoidable distinctions of rank and wealth among the inhabitants of so commercial a city as this, there is, nevertheless, a sort of Desert rudeness and independence among the lower order of its inhabitants, which is never found among a similar class in Egypt or Syria. Hospitality is seldom wanting, and protection is claimed and given in cases even of crime ; while the laws of retaliation by blood, and the severest punishments of fornication and adultery, are observed here with nearly the same rigour as in the heart of Arabia. There were, during my stay in the house of the British Resident, some of the Mutesellim's own servants, who had fled there to claim *dukhiel*, or protection ; and this being granted, they re-

main in safety till their crimes are forgotten or pardoned. Persons offending against the Resident have also flown to the house of the Mutesellim for *dukhiel*, and have been received and sheltered there; so that a sort of account-current is kept between the parties granting this protection; and there is either a release of individual for individual, like an exchange of prisoners in Europe, or at the removal or change of the people in office, or the death of the private citizens who may afford them such shelter, there is a tacit act of grace, like a general jail-delivery.

An instance of Arab hospitality between avowed enemies, which occurred in the neighbourhood of Bussorah, will show how far habit and usage can conquer the feelings which are natural to us. The Montefik Sheik Twiney, who possessed nearly the whole of the country from Hillah to the sea, and Sheik Gathban, who had the district of Chaub, both on the opposite banks of the Shat-ul-Arab, were enemies to such a degree, and for so long a time, that it became a proverb in Bussorah, when any one would express the violent hatred of another, to say, 'It was like the hatred of Twiney to Gathban;' as if the feeling was

thought to be hereditary and inherent in the government of the provinces themselves. A reverse of fortune dispossessed Twiney of his Sheikdom, when he fled for refuge to the porch of his oldest enemy in the Chaub district. The Sheik Gathban, having heard of his flight, and receiving news of his approach, rose and went out, attended by all his principal dependents, to meet him. The interview was as that of the oldest and most sincere friends. The fugitive Sheik was set on the horse of his protector, and, being conducted to his residence, was placed there in the seat of honour, when Gathban, taking his ring and seal from off his finger, placed it on that of Twiney, saying, 'As long as you remain beneath my roof, you are not only in perfect safety, but I constitute you, by this seal, the Sheik of the Chaub, and woe be to him who spurns your authority!' This chief remained some time in *dukhiel* with his enemy, who, after the most strenuous efforts, at length effected an accommodation on his behalf with the Pasha of Bagdad, who had dispossessed him; and Twiney was again restored by the influence of Gathban to the full authority of his own Sheikdom, and, with it, to

the former enmity between the Montefiks and the Chaubs, which continued with the same force as ever !

Among the Sheiks of the Desert, many similar instances are recounted, and of the fact of their happening, there can be no doubt ; but in analysing the motives and the feelings of individuals so conducting themselves towards each other, there is considerable difficulty in assigning satisfactory explanations to them. A striking instance was also related to me of the slavish obedience to one chief, which marked the days of the Sheik-*el-Jebal*, or Old Man of the Mountains, as he is called in our histories of the Crusades, and which still continues in some degree to be a feature of the Arab character. This same Sheik *Twiney*, who after his restoration was the greatest enemy to the Wahabee cause, was followed by his whole tribe with a feeling of attachment and obedience that united them as one man ; and his name not only held all his dependents firmly together, but struck terror into the hearts of his enemies whenever it was mentioned. Sheik *Abdallah Ibn Saood*, who was then the Wahabee chief, was desirous of accomplishing the death of *Twiney*;

and called his slaves around him, to demand from them a proof of their fidelity to their master. Of these, he is said to have had about fifty blacks from Soudan, who were always ready for the most daring enterprises of murder, and seemed to glory in imbruing their hands in human blood. The assassination of Twiney was proposed; and, though immediate death was the certain consequence of such a task, the execution of it was contended for among the slaves, with all the ardour of persons seeking the most honourable distinctions. It was confided to the most favoured one, and he accordingly set out on his errand. Arriving at the tent of the Montefik Sheik, he was received with the hospitality invariably shown to strangers; and, remaining there until the time of evening prayer, he stole behind the Sheik while he was prostrating himself, and, on his rising, thrust him through the body with a spear. As this was done in the midst of the tribe, he was soon cut into a thousand pieces, and his body given to the dogs of the camp to devour. The consequence of this event to the tribe itself, was their entire disunion and dispersion; and according to the expression of one

of the Arabs belonging to it, who was a witness of the scene, 'the very hearts who, under Twiney, were firm as those of lions, and thought that they were equal to the conquest of the world, now trembled like the leaves of autumn; and those on whom the sun rose as heroes, fled from their own shadows ere he set.'

The Wahabee chief himself, in the plenitude of his power, possessed an influence and an authority quite equal to any thing known in former or in present times; and a mandate issued beneath his seal was all-powerful from the Nedjed to the borders of Yemen, and from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Persian Gulf. But now that he had received some signal defeats from the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha, he had become a fugitive from castle to castle, and from post to post; and those who in the day of his prosperity were his most zealous adherents, had now, in the hour of adversity, become his most inveterate enemies. Nothing seems to have been more erroneous than the light in which the union of the Great Desert tribes to the Wahabee interest has been generally viewed. It was thought that the doctrines of

Abd-ul-Wahab had been the torch that kindled the flames of a new crusade, and that religious enthusiasm was the bond by which these new reformers were united. But there is too little of holy zeal in the character of the Desert Arabs, who are notoriously indifferent to both the doctrines and practices of religion, to suppose that it was this alone which stirred them up to enthusiasm in the cause. The field of plunder, always alluring to them, from habit and long-established usage, which this new war opened, was a more powerful temptation than the conversion of souls; and the pillage of the shrines and temples of the corrupters of the faith by land, and of the richly laden vessels of Indian idolaters by sea, was of more weight with them than even the destruction of unbelievers by the sword. A hundred facts, of alliance and treaty, as well as of war and peace, both among themselves and with strangers, might be cited to prove that their views and their motives were chiefly temporal; and that, if spiritual reasons were assigned, it was rather as a cloak for excesses, which nothing but religious wars have ever yet given rise to, and nothing but

a misguided zeal in a supposed holy cause would ever seek to justify.

At present the Wahabee power is fast declining ; and Abdallah Ibn Saood, who, but a year or two since, ruled nearly the whole of Arabia by his signet, is now forsaken by his friends, pursued and harassed by his enemies, and contemned and despised by both. It has been thought here that the Pashas of Bagdad and of Egypt might at any time have put an end to the war, and crushed the Wahabee power in an instant ; and it is asserted that they now suffer Ibn Saood to exist, as the pretence of keeping up a force against him furnishes them with excuses for the delay of tribute, and for balancing their accounts with Constantinople, by a display of long arrears of war expenses, which never actually took place. The Wahabees are reduced to a state, however, in which they are incapable of doing much injury by land ; and it wants only the extirpation of the Joassamee pirates by sea, to complete the annihilation of their power. For the execution of this task, all eyes have long been directed to the English ; and the inference drawn from their neglect is, either

that their trading interest is promoted by the hindrance thus offered by the pirates to all native vessels in the Gulf, or that they are afraid of attacking them from apprehension of defeat.

This plundering or piratical disposition is so general among the Arabs of these parts, that during the recent government of Bus-sorah by an Arab Sheik, it was really unsafe to pass from the city to the river by the creek after four o'clock, as boats were attacked and pillaged in open day, and after sun-set no one stirred from his own house; while, at any time during this government, no one ventured beyond the precincts of the town, without an armed party for his defence. The police of the city, under the present Mutesellim, is so well managed, and a general confidence is so well established, that it is safe to visit any part of it at any hour of the night or day. This man himself takes a peculiar pleasure in perambulating the streets, and going along the creek in a canoe, disguised and accompanied only by an ugly Abyssinian slave. They often effect wonders, though alone, even before they are discovered; and when it is once

known who they are that dare to interfere in rectifying abuses, the dread that they inspire is sufficient to disperse a host.

There was an order issued but lately by the Mutesellim, forbidding arms to be worn by Arabs who came into the city from without; and so much was his authority respected, that the observance of this prohibition was very general. Some persons were found, however, by the Governor and his slave, during their evening rambles, who had disregarded the mandate; and the next day they were taken, first to the Jisser-el-Meleh, or the Bridge of Salt, near the British Factory, where they were exposed to public view, by having their ears nailed to a post for several hours; they were next taken before the Palace in the Corn-market, and received several hundred strokes of the bastinado on the soles of the feet; after which they had their beards and mustachios shaved off, and were ultimately turned out of the city, and forbidden ever to enter its walls again.

Though this severity preserves sufficient safety in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, there are, nevertheless, many rob-

bers by water on the river, both between this and Kourna above, and between this and Debbah below. On the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Hye, and the Karoon, it is still worse; for there are whole tribes who encamp along them, for the sole purpose of attacking richly laden boats passing the stream. During fine weather, while the boats can keep in mid-channel, they are in general safe; but strong southerly winds oblige them sometimes to take shelter near the land, when their plunder is almost inevitable. The following instance of this occurred within the present month only.

A large boat, descending from Bagdad, with all the treasure of the Damascus caravan, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees, or upwards of 100,000*l.* sterling, principally intended to be sent by a ship to Bengal, was driven by a strong southerly wind into a bight of the river on the north-eastern side. After anchoring, the captain went on shore to reconnoitre the ground, and meeting with three or four Arabs, enquired of them whether a portion of the Beni Lam, who are great robbers, was not encamped near. He was assured that they were not, but that, on

the contrary, the Sheik of a tribe whom he knew to be friendly, had pitched his tents just behind the trees; and was invited to go up and pay his respects to him. The captain consented; but had no sooner turned to go on his way with them, than he was seized by these four men, and bound hand and foot. The crew, seeing this transaction from the boat, and observing the small number of his assailants, jumped on shore, with arms in their hands, to rescue him, when instantly two or three hundred men rushed from among the bushes, seized the boat, and put all those who resisted to death. The treasure, which was chiefly in gold and silver coin, was landed in an hour, and carried off into the Desert, and the boat scuttled and destroyed. The captain, whom I myself saw, and who related to me the whole affair, was left bound on the earth, and wounded in three places by a sword and a spear in resisting the first four traitors who seized him; but, after much difficulty, he loosed himself from his bonds, got to a neighbouring village, and came by slow journeys to Bussorah, with his wounds yet unhealed.

The Mutesellim sent his young son off

with a party to the spot as soon as he heard of the affair, but the robbers were by that time at a secure distance; and, indeed, as the Desert is open to them on each side of the river for a retreat, preventives are more practicable than remedies, and the slightest precaution to avoid the evil, is of more worth than collected hosts to retrieve it, when once it is done.

In stature and general appearance the Arabs of Bussorah and its neighbourhood are stouter than those of Yemen, Oman, and the Hedjaz, but not so large as those of Egypt and Syria. In person, both men and women struck me as uglier than either; for, besides the pale blue stains, or tattooing on the face, the women are dark, squalid, blear-eyed, and haggard, before they are thirty, and the men have a look of care and misery, which wrinkles their brow more than age. The general poverty of their dress, and the filth which is observed through all classes and conditions, except that of the very highest, increases the effect of their deformities.

The cutaneous eruption of the skin, which commences at Aleppo, and extends through Orfa, Diarbekr, Mardin, and Moosul, to Bag-

dad, is not known here ; but there are many afflicted with leprosy, who live in huts apart from the rest of the inhabitants, on the banks of the creek leading to the river, and who subsist entirely by casual charity.

Upon the whole, therefore, the general impression likely to be made on the mind of a European visiting Bussorah, would be, that it is an ill-built and half-ruined city, seated in a climate which is for half the year intolerable, defiled by filth enough to engender of itself the most pestilential diseases, and inhabited by an ignorant, a wretched, and an ugly race of people,—without any other advantages to set against these evils, than that of a favourable situation for trade, an agreeable winter, and an abundance and variety of provisions.

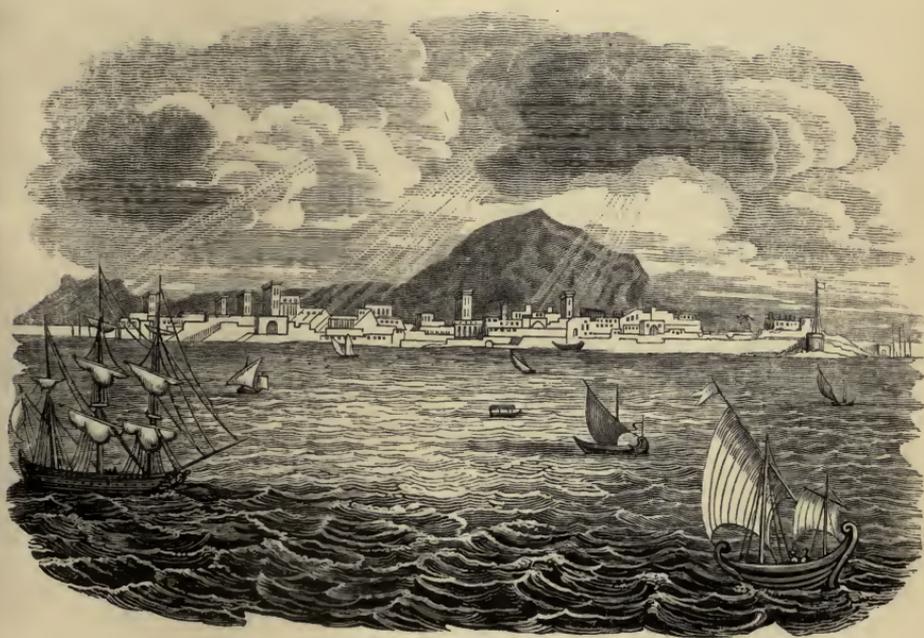
## CHAPTER VI.

### HISTORY OF THE JOASSAMEE PIRATES, AND THEIR ATTACKS ON BRITISH SHIPS.

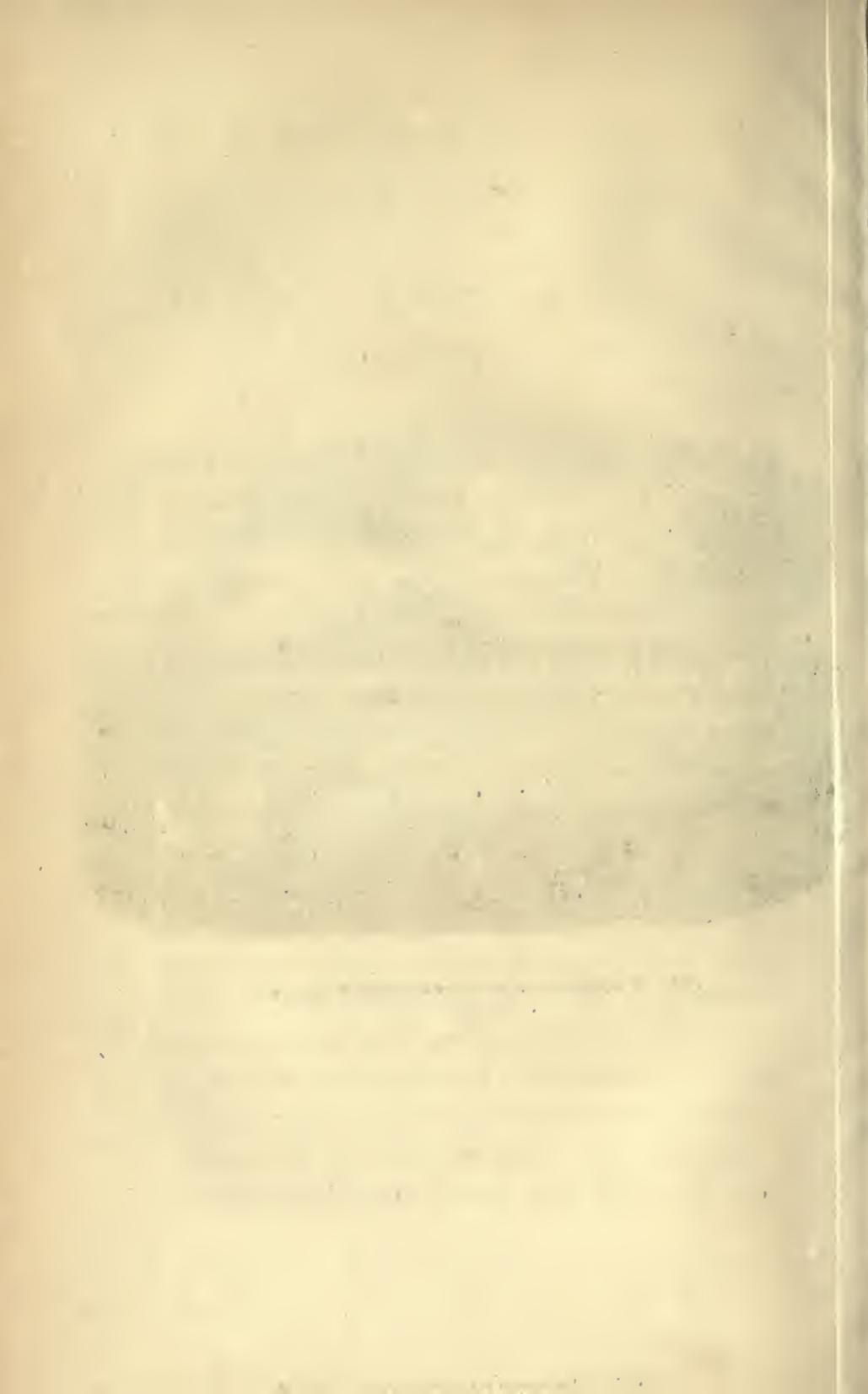
Nov. 18th, 1816.—THE squadron in Bussell Roads, consisting of his Majesty's ship Challenger, Captain Brydges, and the East India Company's cruisers, Mercury, Ariel, and Vestal, were reported to be now ready for sea. Their departure was therefore fixed for to-day, and the destination of all was said to be Ras-el-Khyma, and other ports of the Joassamee pirates in the Persian Gulf; from whence, when the object of the expedition was accomplished, one of the cruisers was intended to be dispatched to Bombay, and the others would follow their respective orders.

Short as my acquaintance with the commanders of these vessels had been, it was

CHAPTER VI.



PORT OF BUSHIRE, AS APPROACHED FROM THE SEA.



sufficient to procure for me the offer of a passage from each, as far as the squadron might proceed together, and the assurance of a reception on board the ship destined for Bombay, whenever they might separate. Captain Blast, of the *Mercury*, I had before met at Mocha on my first voyage to India, but his ill health obliging him to quit his ship, and remain on shore at Bushire, until her return from the pirate coast, the command devolved on his first lieutenant. Mr. Bruce, the resident of Bushire, and Lieutenant Taylor of the Bombay army, with an Arab Mollah, a Persian Mirza, an Armenian secretary, a pilot, and a train of native servants, were, however, all going to assist in the negociations with the pirates on the coast; and as the *Mercury* was the largest vessel, and the only one of the whole whose return to Bushire was certain, they were all to embark in her.

Colonel Corsellis and myself, who were both destined for Bombay, had therefore determined on taking our passage in one of the others; but the solicitations on the part of Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor to be of their party, were so pressingly kind, and seemingly sincere, that notwithstanding the already

crowded number destined to join them, we yielded to their persuasions.

The history of the rise of these Joassamee pirates, to whose ports the squadron was destined, was, as far as I could learn, briefly this. The line of coast from Cape Mussenndom to Bahrain on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, had been from time immemorial occupied by a tribe of Arabs called Joassamees. These, from local position, were all engaged in maritime pursuits. Some traded in their own small vessels to Bussorah, Bushire, Muscat, and even India; others annually fished in their own boats on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and a still greater number hired themselves out as sailors to navigate the coasting small craft of the Persian Gulf. All, however, were so much more skilful, industrious, and faithful in their engagements, than the other tribes of the coast, that they were always preferred, and constantly spoken of as the best people throughout the Gulf.

On the rise of the reformed religion of Abd-ul-Wahab, when Derryheea, the whole of Nedjed, and all the interior of Ammaan, had submitted to his doctrine, the sea-coast next became the object of conquest and con-

version, and the arms of the Wahabees were consequently directed against Ras-el-Khyma as the seat of the Joassamee Arabs, the only tribe in this part of Arabia who had not yet submitted to their doctrines.

During three whole years, it is said, these irreligious sailors resisted all the attempts that were made, both by the pen and sword, to bring them over to the new doctrines and precepts, held out to them as the only one which their own original faith enjoined, or by the observance of which they could hope for salvation.

The force of arms, however, at length prevailed; for as the Wahabee power became more extended throughout the tented deserts, in which it found its first proselytes, the chiefs and warriors were able to direct all their strength to subdue the refractory spirit of those, who had so long bidden successful defiance to their exhortations and their threats.

The town of Ras-el-Khyma, with all its dependencies along the coast, therefore, submitted, and at the same moment that they received the conquerors within their gates, they bowed submission to the new doctrines which they taught, and swore fidelity to such

laws and injunctions as the most learned and holy of the leaders might pronounce these doctrines to impose.

The tenets of Abd-ul-Wahab have been too often explained to need a repetition in detail : they enjoin the worship of one God, a belief in his prophets, among whom they admit of Abraham, Moses, and Christ, as distinguished leaders, and hold Mohammed to be the seal of them all : they consider the Koran to be a sufficient guide for all the purposes of policy and morals, and insist on the strictest observance of its maxims. It is thus that the right of conquest over infidels, the promulgation of their faith by fire and sword, and the perfect disposal of the lives and properties of their prisoners, are preached, not merely as admissible, but indispensable duties, binding on all adherents of the true faith, and both cowardly and criminal not to carry into execution.

The conquered Joassamees were called upon to abandon not only their former corrupted faith, but also their former mode of living ; the merit of which in industry, sobriety, and fidelity, was far outbalanced by the defiling state of communication in which they lived

with unbelievers and strangers to the true God. They obeyed the call with all the enthusiasm which new religions are so frequently found to inspire, and lived for a short time on the scanty productions of their own soil, and the fish of their own waters. This, however, could not last long ; the spark of religious zeal once kindled, either bursts into a blaze, or becomes again extinguished ; for if in any one state of feeling more than another a stationary medium cannot be admitted, it is certainly in the fanaticism of new converts to a proselytizing faith. The Joassamees therefore, directed their views to war and conquest ; their leaders easily persuaded them that God was on their side, and that therefore the legions of hell itself could not prevail against them ; and as their own feelings accorded with the admonitions of their teachers, war and plunder was the universal cry, and destruction to infidels was vowed in the same breath that uttered the name of their merciful Creator, and implored his aid to the accomplishment of their holy labours. The local position of the Joassamees offered them no wide field of conquest by land ; but as the sea was still before them, like the great

high-way of nations on which men of every faith and denomination had hitherto passed unmolested, they determined to reap the harvest of their toils on what might be termed in every sense their own element.

The small coasting-vessels of the Gulf, from their defenceless state, were the first object of their pursuit, and these soon fell an easy prey; until, emboldened by success, they directed their views to more arduous enterprises, and having once tasted the sweets of plunder in the increase of their wealth, had determined to attempt more promising victories:

About the year 1797, one of the East India Company's vessels of war, the *Viper*, of ten guns, was lying at anchor in the inner roads of Bushire. Some dows of the Joassamees were at the same moment anchored in the harbour; but as their warfare had hitherto been waged only against what are called native vessels, and they had either feared or respected the British flag, no hostile measures were ever pursued against them by the English ships. The commanders of these dows had applied to the Persian agent of the British East India Company there, for a supply

of English gunpowder and cannon-shot for their cruize ; and, as this man had no suspicions of their intentions, he furnished them with an order to the commanding officer on board for the quantity required. The Captain of the Viper was on shore at the time in the Agent's house, but the order being produced to the officer on board, the powder and shot were delivered, and the dows weighed and made sail. The crew of the Viper were at this moment taking their breakfast on deck, and the officers were below ; when, on a sudden, a cannonading was opened on them by two of the dows, who attempted also to board. The officers, leaping on deck, called the crew to quarters, and cutting their cable, got sail upon the ship, so as to have the advantage of manœuvring. A regular engagement now took place between this small cruizer and four dows, all armed with great guns, and full of men. In the contest, Lieut. Carruthers, the commanding officer, was once wounded by a ball through the loins ; but, after girding a handkerchief round his waist, he still kept the deck, till a ball entering his forehead, he fell. Mr. Salter, the midshipman on whom the command de-

volved, continued to fight the ship with determined bravery, and, after a stout resistance, beat them off, chased them some distance out to sea, and subsequently regained the anchorage with safety.

The lives lost on board the Company's cruiser on this occasion were considerable, and there was something so glaringly treacherous on the part of the pirates in the affair, that it was believed it would call forth the immediate vengeance of the British Government in India. No hostilities were, however, commenced against the perpetrators of this piratical attempt; nor, as far as is known, was any remonstrance, or even enquiry, made on the occasion.

Several years elapsed before the wounds of the first defeat were sufficiently healed to induce a second attempt on vessels under the British flag, though a constant state of warfare was still kept up against the small craft of the Gulf. This, however, at length occurred about the year 1804, when a new race of young warriors might be supposed to have replaced the slain and wounded, that in this period had been disabled, or fallen in battle.

About the year 1804, the East India Company's cruiser, *Fly*, was taken by a French privateer, off the island of Kenn, in the Persian Gulf; but before the enemy boarded her, she ran into shoal water, near that island, and sunk the Government dispatches, and some treasure with which they were charged, in about two and a half fathoms of water, taking marks for the recovery of them, if possible, at some future period. The passengers and crew were taken to Bushire, where several other vessels were captured by the French ship, and consequently a number of prisoners were collected there, as all were set at liberty, except the commander, Lieut. Mainwaring, and his officers, Mr. Arthur and Mr. Maillard, who were taken to the Isle of France, probably with a view to exchange. A number of those who were left behind, including a Mr. Yowl and Mr. Flowers, gentlemen, and one Pennel, a seaman, purchased by subscription a country dow at Bushire, and fitted her out with necessaries for her voyage to Bombay. On their passage down the Gulf, as they thought it would be practicable to recover the Government packet and treasure sunk off Kenn,

they repaired to that island, and were successful, after much exertion, in recovering the former, which being in their estimation of the first importance, as the dispatches were from England to Bombay, they sailed with them on their way thither, without loss of time.

Near the mouth of the Gulf, between Cape Mussunndom and the island called the Great Tomb, they were captured by a fleet of Joassamee boats, after some resistance, in which several were wounded, and taken into their chief port at Ras-el-Khyma. Here they were detained in hope of ransom, and during their stay were shown to the people of the town as curiosities, no similar beings having been before seen there within the memory of man. The Joassamee ladies were so minute in their enquiries, indeed, that they were not satisfied without determining in what respect an uncircumcised infidel differed from a true believer.

When these unfortunate Englishmen had remained for several months in the possession of the Arabs, and no hope of their ransom appeared, it was determined to put them to death, and thus rid themselves of unprofit-

able enemies. An anxiety to preserve life, however, induced the suggestion, on their parts, of a plan for the temporary prolongation of it, at least. With this view, they communicated to the chief of the pirates the fact of their having sunk a quantity of treasure near the island of Kenn, and of their knowing the marks of the spot, by bearings of objects on shore, with sufficient accuracy to recover it, if furnished with good divers. They offered, therefore, to purchase their own liberty by a recovery of this money for their captors; and on the fulfilment of their engagement it was solemnly promised to be granted to them.

They soon sailed for the spot, accompanied by divers accustomed to that occupation on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and, on their anchoring at the precise points of bearing taken, they commenced their labours. The first divers who went down were so successful, that all the crew followed in their turns, so that the vessel was at one time almost entirely abandoned at anchor. As the men, too, were all so busily occupied in their golden harvest, the moment appeared favourable for escape; and the still captive

Englishmen were already at their stations to overpower the few on board, cut the cable, and make sail. Their motions were either seen or suspected, as the divers repaired on board in haste, and the scheme was thus frustrated.

They were now given their liberty, as promised, by being landed on the island of Kenn, where, however, no means offered for their immediate escape. The pirates, having at the same time landed themselves on the island, commenced a general massacre of the inhabitants, in which their released prisoners, fearing they might be included, fled for shelter to clefts and hiding-places in the rocks. During their refuge here, they lived on such food as chance threw in their way, going out under cover of the night to steal a goat and drag it to their haunts.

When the pirates had at length completed their work of blood, and either murdered or driven off every former inhabitant of the island, they quitted it themselves, with the treasure which they had thus collected from the sea and the shore. The Englishmen now ventured to come out from their hiding-places, and to think of devising some

means for their escape. Their good fortune, in a moment of despair, threw them on the wreck of a boat, near the beach, which was still capable of repair. In searching about the now deserted town, other materials were found, which were of use to them, and sufficient plank and logs of wood for the construction of a raft. These were both completed in a few days, and the party embarked on them in two divisions, to effect a passage to the Persian shore. One of these, the boat, was lost in the attempt, and all on board her perished; while the raft, with the remainder of the party, reached safe.

As the packet of Government dispatches had been found only to contain papers, which the Arabs neither understood nor valued, it had constantly remained in the possession of these unfortunate sufferers, who had guarded it with an almost religious zeal, and it still was preserved to them by being with the remnant of the party thus remaining.

Having gained the main-land, they now set out on foot towards Bushire, following the line of the coast for the sake of the villages and water. In this they are said to have suffered incredible hardships and priva-

tions of every kind. No one knew the language of the country perfectly, and the roads and places of refreshment still less ; they were in general destitute of clothes and money, and constantly subject to plunder and imposition, poor as they were. Their food was therefore often scanty, and always of the worst kind ; and they had neither shelter from the burning sun of the day, nor from the chilling dews of night.

The Indian sailors, sipahees, and servants, of whom a few were still remaining when they set out, had all dropped off by turns ; and even Europeans had been abandoned on the road, in the most affecting way, taking a last adieu of their comrades, who had little else to expect but soon to follow their fate. One instance is mentioned of their having left one who could march no further, at the distance of only a mile from a village ; and on returning to the spot on the morrow, under the hope of restoring him to their party, his mangled bones only were found, as he had been devoured during the night by jackals. The packet being light, was still, however, carried by turns, and preserved through all obstacles and difficulties ; and

with it they reached at length the island of Busheab, to which they crossed over in a boat from the main.

Here they were detained, and money was even demanded of them by the Sheik, for his protection, or permission to land on his island. Finding entreaty would not prevail on this inhospitable chief to forward their views, they held a higher tone; and, defenceless as they were, a succession of miseries had given them fortitude enough to brave insolence with firmness, and to threaten the future vengeance of the British Government, if they were not instantly furnished by him with a boat for the conveyance of themselves and the dispatches in their charge to Bushire. This had the desired effect: the boat was provided, and the party embarked. One of the gentlemen expired in the act of being conveyed from the shore, several others died on the voyage itself, and one after their arrival at Bushire; leaving, out of all their numerous party, two survivors,—Mr. Jowl, an officer of a merchant ship, and Pennel, an English seaman.

These ultimately reached Bombay with the packet, for the preservation of which they

were thought to be adequately rewarded by a mere letter of thanks from the Government there, after these almost unexampled sufferings.

In the following year, two English brigs, the Shannon, Captain Babcock, and the Trimmer, Captain Cummings, were on their voyage from Bombay to Bussorah, both of them belonging to Mr. Manesty, the Company's Resident at that place. These were both attacked, near the islands of Polior and Kenn, by several boats, and, after a very slight resistance on the part of the Shannon only, were taken possession of, and a part of the crew of each, and these Indians, put to the sword. Captain Babcock, having been seen by one of the Arabs to discharge a musket during the contest, was taken by them on shore; and after a consultation on his fate, it was determined that he should forfeit the arm by which this act of resistance was committed. It was accordingly severed from his body by one stroke of a sabre, and no steps were taken either to bind up the wound, or to prevent his bleeding to death. The captain himself had yet sufficient presence of mind left, however, to think of means for his own safety, and there

being near him some ghee, or clarified butter, he procured this to be heated, and, while yet warm, thrust the bleeding stump of his arm into it. It had the effect of lessening the effusion of blood, and ultimately of saving a life that would otherwise most probably have been lost.

The crew were then all made prisoners, and taken to a port of Arabia, from whence they gradually dispersed and escaped. The vessels themselves were additionally armed, one of them mounting twenty guns, manned with Arab crews, and sent from Ras-el-Khy-ma to cruise in the Gulf, where they committed many successful piracies on maritime trade.

Had these been some of the East India Company's ships of war, it is not improbable but that the affair would have been passed over unnoticed, as was done in the case of the *Viper*; but belonging to Mr. Manesty, pecuniary interest urged what a regard to the honour of the flag had not yet been sufficiently powerful even to suggest. A strong remonstrance was made by Mr. Manesty to the chief of the pirates in their own port, and threats held out of retaliation, which, as they

came from one clothed with official power, were probably regarded as the sentiments of the Government itself, though they are now believed to have been those of the ship's owner alone, exerting himself to recover his lost property.

The Government, indeed, were not only indifferent to the insult shown their flag, and the injury done to commerce generally by the triumphs of these lawless plunderers, but an order was issued by the President in Council, directing all the commanders of the Bombay Marine, not on any consideration to attack or molest these *innocent* natives of the Gulf, and threatening to visit with the displeasure of the Government any among them who might be found in any way to interrupt them or to provoke their anger.

Within a year or two after this, an attack was made upon the East India Company's cruiser, *Fury*, of six guns, commanded by Lieutenant Gowan, when carrying dispatches from Bussorah to Bombay. The attack was made by several boats in company, and during a short calm; but the resistance made was determined and effectual, and the boats were made to sheer off, with the loss of a great

number of men. On the arrival of the *Fury* at Bombay, the commander waited on the governor in the usual way; but on reporting the affair of the battle, instead of being applauded for his spirited resistance, and his preservation of the dispatches under his charge, he received a severe reprimand from the Governor himself in person, for disobeying the orders given, and daring to molest the *innocent* and *unoffending* Arabs of these seas.

The Governor of that period, from ignorance of the character of this people, could never be persuaded that they were the aggressors, and constantly upbraided the officers of the English vessels with having in some way provoked the attacks of which they complained, — continuing still to insist on the observance of the orders, in not firing on these vessels until they had first been fired at by them.

The *Mornington*, of twenty-four guns, and the *Teignmouth*, of eighteen, both ships of war in the Bombay Marine, were successively attacked by these daring marauders, who were now emboldened, by the forbearance of the British Government, to attempt the stoutest of their vessels, since they very naturally im-

puted to cowardice a conduct which scarcely any but the members of the Government itself could at all understand or explain.

In the year 1808, the force of the Joassamees having gradually increased, and becoming flushed with the pride of victory, their insulting attacks on the British flag were more numerous and more desperate than ever. The first of these was on the ship *Minerva*, of Bombay, on her voyage to Bussorah, belonging also to Mr. Manesty. The attack was commenced by several boats, for they never cruize singly,—and a spirited resistance in a running fight was kept up, at intervals, for several days in succession. A favourable moment offered, however, for boarding; the ship was overpowered by numbers, and carried amidst a general massacre.—The captain was said to have been cut up into separate pieces, and thrown overboard by fragments; the second mate and carpenter were alone spared, probably to make use of their services; and an Armenian lady, the wife of Lieut. Taylor, then at Bushire, was reserved perhaps for still greater sufferings.

The ship was taken safely into Ras-el-

Khyma, twenty guns of different calibre were mounted on her, and she was sent to cruise in the Gulf. The second mate was still kept on shore, at the town ; the carpenter was sent into the country, to procure materials and construct gun-carriages, &c. ; and Mrs. Taylor was still held in the most afflicting bondage for several months, and was at length ransomed by Mr. Bruce, of Bushire, for a large sum.

A few weeks after this, the Sylph, one of the East India Company's cruisers, of sixty tons, and mounting eight guns, was accompanying the Mission under Sir Harford Jones, from Bombay to Persia, when, being separated from the rest of the squadron, she was attacked in the Gulf by a fleet of dows. These bore down with all the menacing attitude of hostility ; but as the commander, Lieut. Graham, had received from the Bombay Government the same orders as all the rest of his brother officers in the Marine, not to open his fire on any of these vessels until he had been first fired on himself, the ship was hardly prepared for battle, and the colours were not even hoisted to apprise them to what nation she belonged. The dows approached,

threw their long overhanging prows across the Sylph's beam, and, pouring in a shower of stones on her deck, beat down and wounded almost every one who stood on it. They then boarded, and made the ship an easy prize, before more than a single shot had been fired, and, in their usual way, put every one whom they found alive to the sword. Lieut. Graham fell, covered with wounds, down the fore hatchway of his own vessel, where he was dragged by some of the crew into a store-room, in which they had secreted themselves, and barricadoed the door with a crowbar from within; while a Persian passenger, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who was attached to the Mission as a secretary, had crawled into one of the cabin lockers abaft, with the same view.

The cruiser was thus completely in the possession of the enemy, who made sail on her, and were bearing her off in triumph to their own port, in company with their boats. Not many hours had elapsed, however, before the Nereid frigate, Captain Corbett, the Commodore of the squadron from which the Sylph had separated, hove in sight, and perceiving this vessel in company with the

dows, without any apparent resistance, judged her to be a prize in possession of the pirates. She accordingly gave them all chase, and coming up with the brig, the Arabs took to their boats and abandoned her, when she was taken possession of by the frigate, and secured. The chase was continued after the dows themselves, but without success, owing to the detention here occasioned, and their own superior sailing; though it is said that the *Nereid* sunk one of them by a broadside.

Only three days after this, the East India Company's cruiser *Nautilus*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieut. Bennet, was proceeding up the Gulf with dispatches, and on passing the island of Anjar, on the south side of Kishma, near the Persian shore, was attacked by a squadron of these pirates, consisting of a bughala, a dow, and two tranxies; the two former mounting great guns, the others having oars as well as sails, but being all full of armed men. The attack was made in the most skilful and regular manner, the two larger vessels bearing down on the starboard-bow, and the smaller ones on the quarter. As Lieut. Bennet had received the same positive orders as his bro-

ther officers, not to commence an attack until fired on, he reserved his guns until they were so close to him that their dancing and brandishing of spears, the attitudes with which they menace death, could be distinctly seen, and their songs and war-shouts heard. The bow-gun was then fired across their hawse, as a signal for them to desist, and the British colours were displayed. This being disregarded, it was followed by a second shot, which had no more effect. A moment's consultation was then held by the officers, when it was thought a want of regard to their own safety to use further forbearance, and a broadside was instantly discharged among them all.

An action now commenced between the Nautilus and the two largest of the boats, mounting cannon, and continued for nearly an hour; the trunkies lying on their oars during the contest to await its result, and seize the first favourable moment to board. As the superiority on the part of the cruiser became more decidedly apparent, these, however, fled, and were soon followed by the others, the whole of whom the Nautilus pursued, and fired on during the chase as long as her shot would tell. In this action,

the English boatswain was killed, and Lieutenant Tanner slightly wounded; but the destruction in the boats was thought to have been considerable.

These repeated aggressions at length opened the eyes of the Bombay Government to the weakness of their own forbearance, and the public voice seemed to call for some stroke of revenge on the injuries and insults that had for so many years been offered to the British flag, and to those who sailed under its protection. An expedition was accordingly assembled at Bombay, consisting of European and Indian troops, and ships of war, both from the Navy and the East India Company's Marine, as well as transports for the service of the whole. The naval force consisted of *La Chiffone* frigate, Captain Wainwright, as Commodore of the squadron; his Majesty's ship *Caroline*, of thirty-eight guns, Captain Gordon; and eight of the East India Company's cruisers, namely, the *Mornington*, *Ternate*, *Aurora*, *Prince of Wales*, *Ariel*, *Nautilus*, *Vestal*, and *Fury*, with four large transports, and the *Stromboli* bomb-ketch. The military force was composed of the 65th regiment of foot, a detachment of

the 47th, a detachment of the Bombay artillery, forming altogether about a thousand men, and about a thousand native troops, or sipahees, all under the command of Colonel Smith of the 65th.

The fleet sailed from Bombay in the month of September, and the first incident of the voyage was certainly an inauspicious one, for when scarcely clear of the harbour's mouth, the bottom of the Stromboli fell out, and the vessel sunk in an instant; drowning Lieutenant Sealy of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Taylor of the Marine, who were on board, as well as a great portion of her crew. This vessel, it seems, however, was one of the most unfit that could be selected for the service she was destined to perform. At a period long previous to this, she had been condemned as unfit for service, and lay for nearly three years moored off the entrance to Tannah river, or the strait which separates the Island of Salsette from the Mahratta coast, as a floating battery. From thence she had been removed to the lower part of Bombay harbour, and moored at the Sunken rock as a buoy. Yet, on the fitting out of this expedition for the Persian Gulf,

she was thought fit not merely to cross the Arabian Sea, but to be deeply laden with bombs and shells, the heaviest and most difficult cargo to be borne by any vessel, and requiring a frame of more than ordinary strength to support. The consequence of this injudicious, not to say blind and ignorant selection, was the loss of the only bomb-vessel, in a fleet destined for bombarding, with the lives of two valuable officers, and a portion of the crew on board her.

The voyage was still continued, and after a long passage the expedition reached Muscat, where it remained for many days to refresh and arrange their future plans; giving thus, at the same time, sufficient advice of their approach to their enemies, and ample time for them to prepare for their reception. The fleet at length sailed, and soon after reached Ras-el-Khyma, the chief port of the pirates within the Gulf. Here the squadron anchored abreast of the town, and the troops were landed under cover of the ships and boats. The inhabitants of the town assembled in crowds to repel their invaders; but the firm line, the regular volleys, and the steady charge of the troops at the point of

the bayonet, overcame every obstacle, and multiplied the heaps of the slain. A general conflagration was then ordered, and a general plunder permitted to the troops. The town was set on fire in all parts, and about sixty sail of boats and dows, with the *Minerva*, a ship which they had taken from the English, then lying in the roads, were all burnt and destroyed.

The complete conquest of the place was thus effected with very trifling loss on the part of the besiegers, and some plunder collected; though it was thought that most of the treasure and valuables which they possessed had been removed into the interior on the first news of their enemies approach. A journal of the second-mate of the *Minerva*, up to the day before the siege, was said to have been found, but he himself was not heard of; so that he was conjectured to have been killed on the first hostile steps of his countrymen.

This career of victory was, however, suddenly damped by the report of the approach of a large body of troops from the interior, and though none of these were seen, this ideal reinforcement seemed to have struck a

panic on the leaders of the invading party. A general order was issued for the plunder to cease, and the troops were instantly recalled and reembarked. This they did with some precipitation, and were fired at during their retreat by the yet unsubdued inhabitants, who had rallied to bid a second defiance, or to claim a victory over those who had thus hastily withdrawn.

The embarkation took place at daylight in the morning; and while the fleet remained at anchor during the whole of the day, parties were still seen assembling on the shore, displaying their colours, brandishing their swords and spears, and discharging their muskets from all points; so that the conquest was scarcely as complete as could be wished, since no formal act of submission had yet been shown. The officers of the expedition are themselves said to have regretted that their work was to be abandoned so prematurely; but whether the report of the reinforcements expected from the interior, or the temporizing and lukewarm instructions of the Bombay Government, guided the measures of the leaders in their retreat, is not accurately known.

From Ras-el-Khyma the expedition proceeded to Linga, a small port of the Joassamees, on the opposite side of the Gulf, on the Persian coast, and a little to the eastward of the eastern end of the Island of Kishma. From this place the inhabitants fled into the mountains on the approach of the vessels, taking all their moveables with them. The town was, therefore, taken possession of without resistance, and burned to the ground, and such boats as were found there were also destroyed.

The force had now become separated, the greater portion of the troops being sent to Muscat for supplies, or being deemed unnecessary, and some of the vessels sent on separate services of blockading passages, &c. The remaining portion of the expedition, consisting of La Chiffone frigate, and four of the cruisers, the Mornington, Ternate, Nautilus, and Fury, and two transports, with about five hundred troops, chiefly British, proceeded from Linga to Luft, another port of the Joassamees, on the northern side of the Island of Kishma. As the channel here was narrow and difficult of approach, the ships were warped into their stations of anchorage, and

a summons was sent on shore, as the people had not here abandoned their town, but were found at their posts of defence, in a large and strong castle, with many batteries, redoubts, &c. well defended by nature and strengthened by art. The summons being treated with disdain, the troops were landed with Colonel Smith at their head; and while forming on the beach, a slight skirmish took place with such of the inhabitants as fled for shelter to the castle. The troops then advanced towards the fortress, which is described to have had walls fourteen feet thick, pierced with loop-holes, and only one entrance through a small gate, well cased with iron bars and bolts, in the strongest manner. With a howitzer, taken for the occasion, it was intended to have blown this gate open, and to have taken the place by storm; but on reaching it, while the ranks opened, and the men sought to surround the castle to seek for some other entrance at the same time, they were picked off so rapidly and unexpectedly from the loop-holes above, that a general flight took place, the howitzer was abandoned, even before it had been fired, and both the officers and the troops sought shelter by lying down

behind the ridges of sand and little hillocks immediately underneath the castle walls.

An Irish officer, jumping up from his hiding-place, and calling on some of his comrades to follow him in an attempt to rescue the howitzer, was killed in the enterprise. Such others as even raised their heads to look around them, were picked off by the musketry from above; and the whole of the troops lay therefore hidden in this way, until the darkness of the night favoured their escape to the beach, where they embarked after sun-set, the enemy having made no sally on them from the fort. A message was then conveyed by some means to the chief in the castle, giving him a second summons to submit, and fixing on two hours after midnight for the period of evacuation, which if not complied with, the ships, it was threatened, would bombard the castle from a nearer anchorage, and no quarter be afterwards shown. With the dawn of morning, all eyes were directed to the fortress, when, to the surprise of the whole squadron, a man was seen waving the British Union flag on the summit of its walls. Lieutenant Hall, who had commanded the Stromboli bomb vessel at the time of her sinking, and was

saved by swimming, now commanded the *Fury*, which was one of the vessels nearest to the shore. During the night he had gone on shore alone, taking an union-jack in his hand, and advanced singly to the castle-gate. The fortress had already been abandoned by the greater number of the inhabitants, but some few still remained there. These, however, fled at the approach of an individual, either from deeming all further resistance unavailing, or from supposing, probably, that no one would come singly, but as a herald to others immediately following for his support. Be this as it may, the castle was entirely abandoned, and the British flag waved on its walls by this daring officer, to the surprise and admiration of all the fleet. The town and fortifications were then taken possession of; and as this was a settlement which had been taken by the Joassamees from the Imaum of Muscat, it was delivered over, with all that it contained, to such of the Imaum's people as accompanied the expedition in their boats.

From Luft the forces proceeded to Magoo, a small port to the eastward, on the Persian shore, between Cape Certes and Cape Bestion, and from thence to Shargey, Geziret-el-Ham-

mara, and Rumms, three small towns on the opposite coast, near to Ras-el-Khyma, where nothing was effected; but the destruction of such boats as were found at each of them; this being the extent of the orders of the Bombay Government, as it would seem, to the leaders of the expedition.

When the bottom of the Gulf had been thus swept round, the expedition returned to Muscat, where they rejoined the detached forces under the Caroline frigate, and remained some days at this rendezvous to refresh and repose.

On the sailing of the fleet from hence, the forces were augmented by a body of troops belonging to the Imaum, destined to assist in the recovery of a place called Shenaz, on the coast, about midway between Muscat and Cape Mussunndom, taken from him by the Joassamees. On their arrival at this place, a summons was sent, commanding the fort to surrender, which being refused, a bombardment was opened from the ships and boats, but without producing much effect. On the following morning, the whole of the troops were landed, and a regular encampment formed on the shore, with sand-bat-

teries, and other necessary works for a siege. After several days bombardment, in which about four thousand shot and shells were discharged against the fortress, to which the people had all fled for refuge after burning down their own town, a breach was reported to be practicable, and the castle was accordingly stormed. The resistance made was still desperate; the Arabs fighting as long as they could wield the sword, and even thrusting their spears up through the fragments of towers, in whose ruins they remained irrecoverably buried. The loss in killed and wounded among them was thought to be upwards of a thousand men.

The fort of Shenaz was then delivered up to the troops of the Imaum of Muscat; but this being a place which afforded no shelter to boats, none were found here. The object of the expedition was now thought to be sufficiently effected, and the troops and transports were sent from hence to Bombay, though the frigates and the cruisers again repaired to the Gulf, where they remained for several months before they finally dispersed.

Notwithstanding that the object of this expedition against the Joassamees might be

said to be incomplete, inasmuch as nothing less than a *total* extirpation of their race could secure the tranquillity of these seas, yet the effect produced by this expedition was such, as to make them reverence or dread the British flag for several years afterwards.

Not long after the termination of this expedition against the Joassamees, a messenger was deputed by them to settle some disputed affair, and to conclude a treaty with the English, through Mr. Bruce, their agent at Bushire. This was effected on terms which promised a perpetual respect to the British flag, and was closed with all the professions of mutual and eternal friendship which characterize treaties of a higher order among European as well as Asiatic nations; where, as in this, the friendship professed is neither felt nor meant, and where an intention always exists of breaking the eternal pledge of union the moment it is convenient and profitable so to do.

On the return of the Deputy to Ras-el-Khyma, he was asked by the chief and the heads of the people how he had succeeded in his mission. He replied, "admirably," under the full expectation of applause for his con-

duct in the negotiation, as he said he had now the satisfaction to assure them that he had made the Joassamees on a perfect footing of equality with the English themselves, and that in all their relations to each other they were henceforth to be considered on a level. Some fanatic hearer of the assembly, giving an interpretation to this assertion, which was seemingly not meant by the maker of it, insisted that the faithful followers of the Prophet, and the only remnant of the worshippers of the true God left on the earth, had been dishonoured by such an association as that of an equality with infidels and strangers to the Word, and that the promulgator of such disgrace ought therefore to receive the punishment due to his crime. The spark once kindled, the flame of holy pride soon blazed more ardently, and, quickened by zeal, raged at length with ungovernable fury in every breast. The obnoxious ambassador was first disgraced and rendered contemptible, by having his beard plucked out by the roots and his face smeared with human excrement; when, in this state, he was placed on an ass, with his face towards its tail, and thus driven by the women and

children round the town, as an object of derision to all beholders.\*

Several minor incidents of ambiguous interpretation gradually occurred, to excite a suspicion of the growing pride and power of the Joassamee pirates; and some disputes had taken place between their boats and the cruisers of the Bombay Marine, as to the legality of their capturing Arab vessels under their convoy. A case at length appeared, which left no further doubt of their re-

\* When the messengers of David were sent from Jerusalem unto Hanun, the King of the Ammonites, at his capital beyond the Jordan, to offer him condolence for the loss of his father Nahash, these were suspected by the Ammonitish courtiers to be spies; on which occasion, the punishment inflicted on them was that of having one-half of their beards shaved off, and their garments "docked even to their buttocks," as the Scripture phrase is, when they were sent away. This loss of the beard was thought to be of so much importance, that David, when he heard of it, sent to meet them, because the men were greatly ashamed; and the King said, "Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return."—2 Sam. c. x. verse 1—6.

It was one of the most infamous punishments of cowardice in Sparta, to cause those who turned their backs in the day of battle, to appear abroad with one-half of their beards shaved and the other half unshaved.—*Burder's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 72.

D'Arvieux mentions an instance of an Arab, who, having received a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life rather than suffer his beard to be taken off to facilitate the cure.—*Ibid.*

These

newed hostile intentions, and of their desire of revenge having kept pace with their growing strength. In 1815, their boats began to infest the entrance to the Red Sea; and in 1816, their numbers had so encreased on that coast, that a squadron of them, commanded by one of their chiefs, called Ameer Ibrahim, captured, within sight of Mocha, four vessels, bound from Surat to that port, richly laden, navigating under the British flag, sailing under British passports, and being

These instances show the antiquity of the punishment, and the degree of disgrace which it is supposed to imply. Though these refer to *shaving*, cases are mentioned of *plucking* off the hair, which must have been equally infamous, and more painful. Nehemiah inflicted this punishment on certain Jews, who, as he says, had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab, and like Solomon, the beloved of God, and unequalled among the kings of the earth, had been led by these outlandish women into sin.—*Nehemiah*, c. xiii. v. 25, 26.

As a refinement of this cruelty, they sometimes put hot ashes on the skin, after they had torn off the hair, to make the pain more exquisite. Thus they served adulterers at Athens, as is observed by the Scholiast on Aristophanes in *Nubibus*. This kind of punishment was common in Persia. King Artaxerxes, says Plutarch in his *Apothegms*, instead of *plucking* off the hair of such of his generals as had been guilty of a fault, obliged them to lay aside the tiara. The Emperor Domitian caused the hair and beard of the philosopher Apollonius to be shaved.—*Philostratus*, lib. iii. c. 24.

subject to British laws. The crews of these were massacred, according to their usual custom, and only a few individuals escaped to tell their story.

Some months had indeed elapsed before the details of this affair were accurately known; but on their becoming so, a squadron was assembled at Bombay, consisting of his Majesty's sloop *Challenger*, of eighteen guns, and the East India Company's cruisers, *Mercury*, of fourteen guns, and *Vestal*, of twelve guns, to sail to the Persian Gulf. By these, a dispatch was forwarded to Mr. Bruce, the Resident at Bushire, instructing him to remonstrate with, and to make certain demands from the chief at Ras-el-Khyma. The squadron left Bombay in the early part of September, and after a long and disastrous voyage, in which the *Mercury* lost her mainmast at sea, the *Challenger* reached Bushire in November, and the other vessels in a few days afterwards. In the mean time, the *Ariel*, which had touched here on her way down from Busorah; had been dispatched to Ras-el-Khyma with a first letter from Mr. Bruce, enquiring into the circumstances of the cap-

ture alluded to, and reproaching them with a breach of faith in their departure from the terms of the treaty made by them to the British flag. The answer returned to this by the Ariel was, first, a flat denial of the capture of any vessels of any description in the Red Sea about the time specified; and next, a declaration of total ignorance of the fact assumed regarding the ships from Surat. This denial was followed up with the remark, that even if they had captured the vessels in question, they would have strictly observed the terms of their treaty, which were to keep peace with, and respect the property of the English, by which they meant those of the "sect of Jesus" only; never once renouncing their right to destroy all idolatrous Indians, and to extirpate from the face of the earth all the worshippers of false gods.

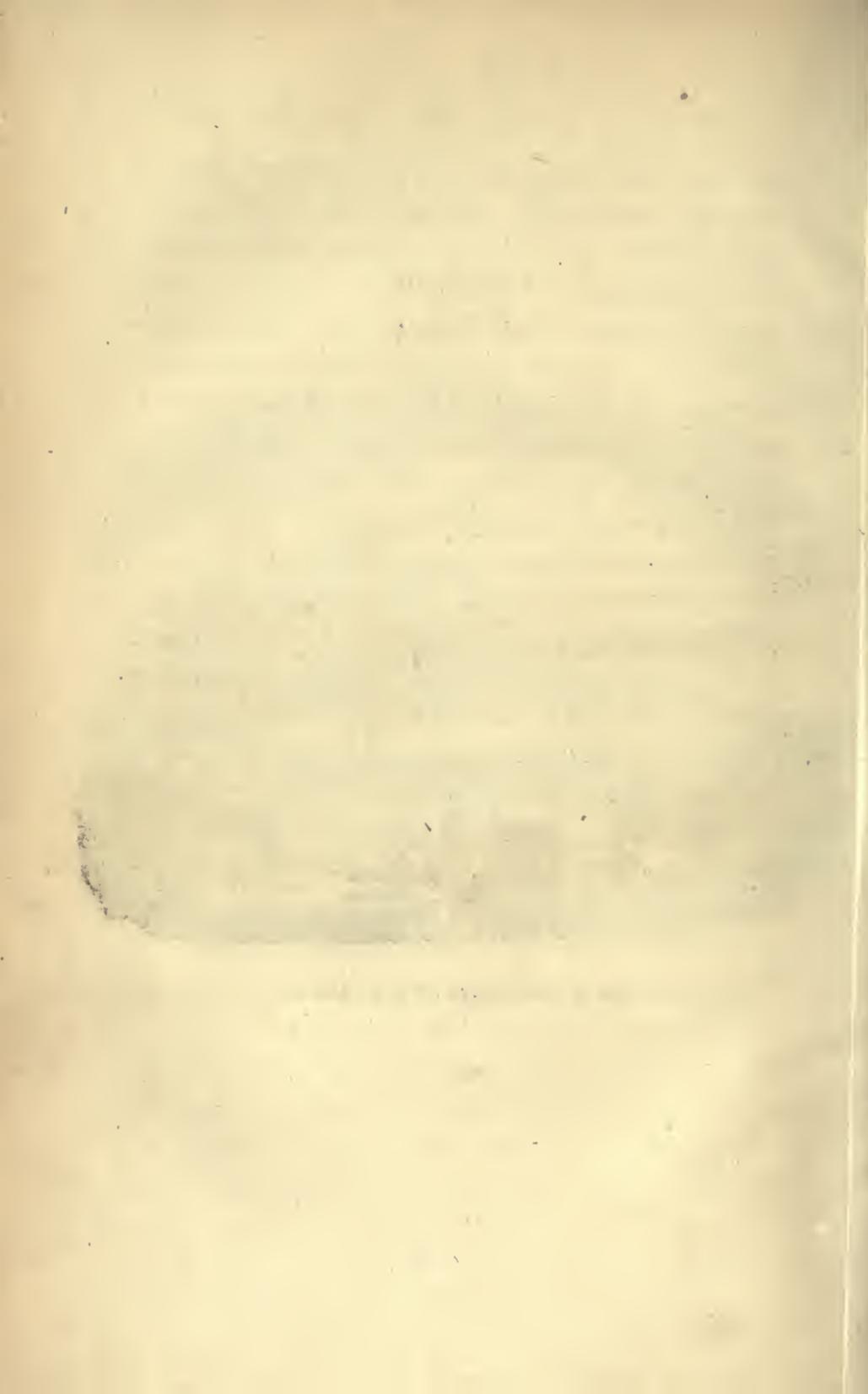
This was just the state of things at the present moment; and it was therefore determined that Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor, with their writers and interpreters, should go down to Ras-el-Khyma to make the formal requisitions ordered by the Government; and the whole of the squadron were to pro-

ceed together, to give respectability and influence to the mission. The terms of the requisition pointed out by the Government were these:—To demand a restitution of the Surat vessels and their cargoes, or the amount of their value in money, which was fixed at twelve lacks of rupees; to deliver up Ameer Ibrahim, the commander of the Joassamee squadron at the time of the capture, for punishment; and to place two persons of distinction in the hands of the British, as hostages for their future good behaviour. In the event of complying with these terms, the past, it was understood, would be at least pardoned, if not forgotten; and, with the same mistaken lenity, it was simply said, that if the terms were rejected, the squadron, on leaving the port, were to signify to the chief, that he might expect the displeasure of the British Government to be visited on his contempt of their flag.

CHAPTER VII.



RUINS OF ORMUZ, WITH ITS TOWN AND BAY.



## CHAPTER VII.

### VOYAGE FROM BUSHIRE DOWN THE PERSIAN GULF.—RUINS OF ORMUZ.

Nov. 18th.—It was on the morning of the 18th of November that we all embarked on board the *Mercury*, when the squadron made sail from the inner roads of Bushire, with a light north-east air; but it falling calm, we brought up again in the outer roads, where we remained at anchor during the remainder of the day, and weighed again after sunset, as the land breeze sprung up.

Nov. 19th.—The wind still continued light, but the weather was most agreeable, and our occupations such as were favourable both to health and pleasure, as the most perfect unanimity prevailed throughout our crowded party. Our place at noon was in lat.  $28^{\circ} 24'$

north, and long.  $50^{\circ} 40'$  east, with the distant mountains of the Persian coast in sight, and our depth of water twenty-seven fathoms.

In the afternoon we witnessed an eclipse of the sun, in which more than three-fourths of its disk were darkened, and the effect during a perfect calm was singularly impressive. The appearance was that of a bright moonlight; but though the sky was quite cloudless, no stars were to be seen, and the universal stillness that reigned around gave something of awfulness to the scene. At sun-set we had Cape Berdistan on the Persian shore, erroneously called Cape Kenn in Arrowsmith's chart, bearing south-east by east, several leagues distant, and were still in twenty-seven fathoms water.

Between Bushire and Cape Berdistan lies Khore Zeana, which, from its relative position between these projecting points, corresponds accurately enough with the Hieratis of Arrian, which is placed seven hundred and fifty stadia from Sitakus, and where, the historian says, 'Nearchus anchored in a cut which is derived from the river to the sea, and is called Hartimis.\*' It would be deemed presumptu-

\* Voyage of Nearchus, c. 39.

ous to say that no such place as Gilla exists hereabouts; though, from its being fixed on as the site of this anchorage of the Macedonian fleet, I had been careful in my enquiries after it, and had yet met with no one who knew a place of such a name. The names of Kierazin, Zezane, &c. as derivations from Kauzeroon, were all equally unknown to the pilots and fishermen, whom we consulted; and made me almost regret that so much etymological criticism had been exercised on a nonentity, for the sake of reconciling only seeming differences of name. Ze-ara, which is the name of the creek, is quite as near to Hieratis as Gilla, and needs no torturing to make it appear so. It is the same which is called Khore-Esseri by Niebuhr; though not, as Dr. Vincent thought, the Koucher of Thevenot,—that being, I think, more likely to correspond with the Khueer above, as wanting only the German pronunciation of the *ch*, to make it the same name. Sir Harford Jones's conjecture that Khore-Esseri means Khore-el-Zigeer, or the Little Khore, is another unhappy attempt to display an acquaintance with Arabic etymology. Such labour would have been better

applied in correcting the orthography of the stations between Hilleh and Bagdad, given in another part of the work; where there are names whose import could not have been understood, and a sight of which is sufficient to destroy all the writer's credit as an Orientalist. Dr. Vincent displayed more judgment in observing that Khore-Esseri was literally the channel of Esseri; though, he adds, that Esser doubtless has a relative sense. Zeara is the pronunciation of the pilots, and this is near enough to Esseri to suppose it to be the same; but I could learn no relative meaning that this possessed.

Tangeseer may possibly be the town called Gilla in the English charts, and thought to derive its name from Halilah. This appellation is given by the people of the country to the range of hills lying at the back of the plain on the sea-shore here, and going nearly north and south from just above Berdistan to below Bushire. The high peaked hill, called Halilah by us, is known to the pilots by the name of Koormoutche, and immediately follows the northern extreme of the Halilah range.

The Khore Khueer which remains, is close

to the foot of the peninsula of Bushire, and is small, and seldom frequented, from its vicinity to this port. This may perhaps be the Koucher of Thevenot, which is however doubtful; but it is certainly not the Padargus of Arrian, the next station of Nearchus beyond Hieratis; for the historian expressly says:—‘In this passage they had followed the winding of the coast round a peninsula, (on which they saw plantations and gardens, with all kinds of fruit-trees,) and anchored at a place called Mesambria.’\* This, therefore, could be only descriptive of the peninsula of Bushire, to the northward of which this station is to be sought for.

Nov. 20th.—The night had been dark and heavy, and just before daylight a tremendous squall, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain, burst upon us from the north-west, and blew for some time with irresistible fury. The ships of the squadron were reduced to the topsails on the cap, and yet felt the fury of the blast, though flying right before it. When it broke at sunrise, the wind settled into a steady breeze from the north-east, and the violence of the change in the weather

\* Voyage of Nearchus, c. 39.

was considered as an effect of the eclipse of the preceding day. In the course of the morning two ships passed us in-shore, on their way to Bushire; but though the Vestal chased them and displayed signals, no communication could be effected.

At noon, the ship's place was in latitude  $27^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $50^{\circ} 50'$  east, with the Hummocks of Khan, north-east half north, in thirty-five fathoms, the winds light and variable through the afternoon, and our water gradually deepening to thirty-nine fathoms at midnight.

The low woody land beneath the mountains of Khan, in sight of which we now were, is called by the natives Umm-el-Goorm, which last word was interpreted by the Indian name of jungle, meaning, a thick brush-wood, or what would be called in England, a wilderness, and in America, 'uncleared land.' We were assured also, that near this Umm-el-Goorm, at the foot of the mountains of Khan, was a small khore or creek for boats, retaining the name of the place itself, though the people knew of no town existing there now, or of any ruins of an old one.

This creek corresponds accurately enough

with the Sitakus of Arrian, who might easily have given the name of a river to an arm of salt water, long and narrow, and affording shelter to vessels ; as in India, among our own countrymen even at the present hour, the arm of the sea which separates Salsette from the Mahratta territory, is called the Bassein and Tannah river, though it is connected both at its entrance and exit, or source and mouth, (if it may be so said,) with the ocean. As no town is mentioned by the historian, no one is to be sought for now ; but there is great probability that the broad valley which we saw going up from the sea-side into the interior, is one of the passes leading through the mountains to Firouzabad.

This city lay at the distance of a degree and a half only from the coast at Berdistan ; and as Nearchus, during his stay here of twenty-one days, to refit, received supplies of corn, which were sent down to him by Alexander, it has been conjectured, with great probability, that the division of the Macedonian army under Hephestion, was halting here at Firouzabad, while Alexander was yet to the eastward beyond the mountains, and that it was from the stores of He-

phestion's division that the supplies came. It has been thought that a river called Sita Raghian descended from hence to the sea, and the name of Sitakus was conceived to be perceptible in this; but all my enquiries after such a stream led to no confirmation of its existence. It is certain that there was water in the neighbourhood of Firouzabad; but even this seems to have been artificially conducted hither from the mountains, and to have been afterwards exhausted in cultivation before it reached the sea.

In some loose extracts and notes now before me, and made for my journey through Persia, I find the following confirmations of this fact. "During the reign of Firouz, there was a great famine, in which, however, from his precautions, only one subject died of hunger at Arderschir." This city, says De Sacy, in a note on the passage above, from Mirkhond, is no doubt the same that the Persian geographer calls Arderschir Khoureh, and which was afterwards called Firouzabad. It is placed by Eastern writers in the third climate, and one of the most remarkable objects it contained was, according to them, a lofty edifice in the centre, for a pure air,

which building was called Ivan. Around the place was a large platform, and water was conducted there from the mountains. When Alexander conquered Persia, he could not master this place, say they, from the difficulty of getting at it; but turning the waters of the brook Khanikan from their course, he laid the edifice under water, and made the whole town a lake. Ardeschir employed an artist to drain the place, who dug a subterraneous canal, and when he opened it, was himself chained round the middle for safety, but was borne away by the strength of the current. The passage itself then fell into ruins. Ardeschir subsequently built on the same place the city of Ardeschir Khoureh, which was afterwards repaired by Adhad-el-Dowla, a Dilemite prince, who called it Firouzabad. Here the same writers assure us that all the water which was used for drinking was procured from the brook of Khanikan, since called Beraveh, or Bezazeh, and that the air of the place was bad and corrupt.

Notwithstanding these defects, however, this capital of the district of Ardeschir was celebrated, as Dr. Vincent observes, for its gardens, its vineyards, and its roses, as pre-

eminent in Persia, as those of Pæstum in Italy; and Eastern geographers, while they praise the inhabitants as being a sensible and honest race, do not omit to mention, that there was finer rose-water made here than in any part of the other provinces of the kingdom.\*

The ruins of this city are still very considerable, according to the reports given by a native of Fasa to Mr. Morier, and by him, the Atesh Gau, or chief fire-temple of the Guebres, is placed in a cave at Firouzabad. Col. Kinnier, however, who seems to speak from personal observation, makes the Atesh Kudda, or fire-temple of Firoze Shah, to be a building with three *immense* domes, and three small apartments before and behind, arched with small rough stones, and cemented with lime. This, I should think, was much more likely to be the remains of the lofty edifice of Ivan, which was reared in the centre of the city for catching a pure air; and the style of a building with three immense domes would be more suited to such a purpose than to a fire-temple.

I remember a similar error of Captain

\* De Sacy, Mémoires, p. 346.

Lockett, who is said to have pronounced the Birs, or Tower of Belus at Babylon, to have been a fire-temple also. It is well known, however, that caves and elevated places, on the tops of mountains, were frequently chosen by the fire-worshippers for their devotions; and all the fire-temples that I have seen throughout Persia, which were unequivocally the remains of early ages, were mere altars, in the open air, fitted for retaining fire on their summits; and some of them, particularly those at Naksh-e-Rustan, near Persepolis, not more than two or three feet square, and others near Ispahan, but very little larger. Captain Maude of the navy, who saw both the Tower of Belus and this edifice at Firouzabad, assured Mr. Williams, his companion, that they resembled each other both in size, form, and materials; but if so, it could not be this building, with three immense domes; nor the square edifice mentioned by Kinnier, as differing in form and style from any around it, and built of hewn stone, linked together with clamps of iron; nor the stone pillar one hundred and fifty feet in height, and twenty in diameter at the base; which are

said by this writer to be the only antiquities worthy of remark in the plain of Firouzabad, and which have certainly no resemblance to any of the remains at Babylon.

What is more to the present purpose, however, and what must draw us back from this excursion from the shore, is that in describing the modern town of Firouzabad as an inconsiderable place, the same author says, that the water of the river which flows through the plain here, is absorbed in the cultivation of the land. We must resort, therefore, to the former supposition, that if no fresh stream descended to the sea in the time of Alexander any more than now, the inlet of the Khore of Umm-el-Goorm was characterised by his admiral as a river, as narrow creeks of the sea are even now frequently called rivers by the most experienced and scientific sailors and hydrographers of the present day.

Nov. 21st.—The winds still continued light and variable, though chiefly from the eastern quarter, and our progress was accordingly slow. We had seen few fish, and no weeds in the course of our voyage, but great varieties of the substance called by

sailors blubber, and a number of sea-snakes, ringed black and white, and varying from one to four feet in length, and from one to four inches in circumference. These swim on the surface of the water, sometimes coil themselves in circles, and seem to have the same wavy motion which distinguishes the progress of snakes on shore. Their food is probably small flies or animalculæ found near the surface, as these are generally seen there, though they sometimes plunge below, at the approach of supposed danger. In doing this, it is said that they rear their heads high out of the water, as if to effect some change in the state of the lungs, and dive down head-foremost in nearly a perpendicular line. These sea-serpents differ in their appearance from those seen on the approach to Bombay, as the latter are of a yellowish colour, but the former are ringed black and white. Both of these, however, live only within soundings, or where the depth of water is less than one hundred fathoms, so that their habits must sometimes lead them to the ground; and the bite of both is said to be poisonous. In cases of irritation, those of Bombay have been known to bite fisher-

men, who threw them from their nets, and who afterwards died of the wound; and in an experiment made on a fowl by the bite of a small serpent found in the Persian Gulf, the bird died in less than fifteen minutes.\*

At noon we were in lat.  $27^{\circ} 11'$  north, and long.  $51^{\circ} 15'$  east, with a remarkable piece of table land on the Persian shore, called Barn Hill, bearing north-east, half-north; and a notch in the high land over Astola, bearing east by north, half-north, in thirty-five fathoms water. Just below the port of Kangoon, which is immediately under this Barn Hill, is a port called Tauhree, or Tahiree, where extensive ruins are spoken of, with sculptures and inscriptions in the Persepolitan character. Among the ruins of the city are said to be two exceedingly deep

\* The prognostic of approaching the river Indus, is the appearance of snakes rising up from the bottom, and floating on the surface; and a similar occurrence of a reptile called Grace is noticed on the coast of Persis.—*Perip. Eryth. Sea. India*, vol. i. p. 95.

The approach to the bay of Barāké, (or the Gulf of Cutch) is discoverable by the appearance of snakes, very large and black. The same occurrence takes place also along the coast of Guzerat, and at Barugaza, (or Baroache); but the snakes there are smaller, paler, and of a colour approaching to gold.—*Ibid.* p. 97.

wells, and stables sufficient to contain a hundred horses, excavated from the solid rock.

The weather continued light, and the winds variable from the eastward; our progress still slow, and our water deepening gradually to forty fathoms at midnight.

It is in this bay that Kangoon is situated; and both the name, the relative position, and the local features of the place, as far as we could collect them from the information of those whom we consulted, all agree accurately with those of Gogana, one of the stations at which the fleet of Nearchus anchored, and placed by Arrian at the mouth of a winter torrent called Areon. "The place," he says, "was not without inhabitants, but the anchorage unsafe, on account of the shoals and breakers which appeared on the ebb of the tide, and the approach was narrow and dangerous."\* A winter brook is not, however, to be found always in the same spot at any distance of time; and, accordingly, we could learn nothing of a stream now existing at Kangoon, sufficiently large to deserve notice; although, as the natives said, whenever it rained hard at this place, the rain

\* Arrian's Voyage of Nearchus, 38.

formed torrents, as it did every where else in the world; and they wondered that we should enquire after this as a singularity, or peculiar to Kangoon alone, for so they understood the drift of our enquiries. We subsequently learnt that there was a stream of fresh water which descended from the mountains above Kangoon; but it was added, that this did not discharge itself into the sea, being exhausted among the date-grounds before it reached the shore. On this stream, at about two hours from the town, a water-mill once stood, at which the people of the country had their corn ground; and a well is mentioned, not far off, having thirty-three yards of water in it, and sending up a bubbling spring above its brink in certain seasons of the year. In the time of Alexander, therefore, a winter torrent may easily be supposed to have discharged itself into the sea at Gogana. The character of the anchorage, as having shoals and breakers near it, which showed themselves on the ebb-tide, is still, however, characteristic of the place; and the approach, if made near to them, is still narrow and dangerous. But those very shoals and breakers, which were objects of terror to a

Greek fleet, are the cause of the secure anchorage afforded by them to vessels navigated after the improved method of the moderns; as ships anchoring in deep water, at a sufficient distance from them to swing clear, in case of a change of wind, find a smooth sea, and all the safety of a more confined harbour.

The small island of Monjella, as it is called in the English charts, lies from four to five leagues south-south-west of the point called Ras Berdistan by the natives, and the nearest part of the main land bears from it east-north-east about a league and a half. This island is called Umm-el-Nakheela, or 'the mother of palm trees;' from أمّ 'a mother, the root, or primary cause;' and نخيل, 'the palm or date tree.'

This is literally the same as the Palmeira of the Portuguese; and it is highly probable that, in giving this name to it, they meant it to be a translation of the native one, which they found characteristic of the spot to which it was affixed. It is also the same as the Omen-chále of Niebuhr, though he makes it a place on the continent, and not an island. The difference in sound between these names

is not so great as in their orthography; but the manner of writing the last, proves decidedly that Mr. Niebuhr was not aware of the derivation of the name; and his placing it on the continent is equally a proof that his information was from report; for, if he had passed near to it, he would have seen an island as large as Shitwar, covered with date trees, and thus explaining the etymology of its name.

There is said to be no fresh water on the spot, and consequently no inhabitants; and this island, with two smaller nameless ones to the westward of it, is seated amidst shoals and broken ground on every side. There is nevertheless a passage for native coasting-boats between these islands and the Persian shore, which is only sailed through in the day, on account of the dangers there; but is constantly frequented, inasmuch as it saves a considerable distance to those going up or down the coast along shore, in cutting off the great circuit that must otherwise be made, to go clear without the shoals to the westward. This last piece of information I received the most positive assurances of, and indeed it was subsequently confirmed to me by a person who had sailed through it, and whose des-

cription of the island and channel agreed exactly with the testimony of the others. Nearchus, therefore, might easily have taken his fleet through this passage, as none of his vessels probably drew more water than the common coasting-boats of the present day.

It was highly satisfactory to ascertain this fact, as one of the chief difficulties to render intelligible in the relation of this voyage by Arrian, lay here on this part of the coast. The distance sailed from Gogana to the mouth of the river Sitakus was eight hundred stadia, or about fifty miles, and the run was not made without danger. On this passage Dr. Vincent remarks, that the coast itself measures that distance, without allowing for the circle that must be taken to round the shoal off Cape Verdistan. It is not probable, he adds, that an English vessel should ever determine whether there is a passage within the breakers; but within, undoubtedly, Nearchus must have sailed, to make the stadia agree; and though M'Cluer makes an anchorage almost in the centre of them, a passage close to shore must be dubious, unless it could be proved that it is still practicable for native vessels. If there is a passage, he concludes, the mea-

sure of Arrian is correct ; if there is no passage, it is the first on this coast which has been deficient.\*

It is a pleasure to remove the difficulties and reconcile the seeming inconsistencies of early writers in any way, but especially so in cases where it serves to establish the fidelity of an ancient and curious journal like the present, relating to one of the most interesting voyages ever performed, considering the time, the circumstances, its motive, and its end ; and thus to remove the charge of falsehood and invention, which some angry but injudicious critics have laid to the whole history of it. It has happened, indeed, in more instances than the present, that the new lights thrown on geography and history by modern discoveries, have tended to illustrate and confirm the writings of the ancients, more particularly of those who treated of countries east of Greece ; as every one who has followed Herodotus, Strabo, Arrian, and the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, as travelling guides over the countries and shores which they describe, must have had abundant opportunities of observing.

\* *Dissertations, Persis*, p. 285.

A passage within the shoals of Berdistan does then, as we have seen, still exist, and is frequented at the present day: the distance given by Arrian for Nearchus's run through this passage is correct; and nothing can be more satisfactory proof of his having gone this way, than the details which he gives of the run throughout. The whole navigation along this part of the coast of Persia is, he says, among shoals and breakers; but, he adds, they (the Greeks and Macedonians) secured themselves in their present station by drawing their ships on shore, in order to careen and refit such of them as had been injured during the voyage.\*

Nov. 22nd.—Light, variable airs, and agreeable weather, but unfavourable to our progress. The ship's place at noon was in lat.  $26^{\circ} 49'$  north, and long.  $51^{\circ} 35'$  east, with Barn Hill north-north-east, and the notch over Astola north-east half-east, in thirty-eight fathoms.

The evening brought us fresh breezes from the north-west, to which we crowded all sail, though our situation required much caution in the course, the soundings, and the look-

\* Voyage, Persis, 381.

out. We here passed over the site of the Crescent, which, with the Scorpion, forms the two banks, called the Pearl-shoals of his Majesty's sloop Scorpion, 1807, as laid down in Arrowsmith's chart of 1810, and noted in Horsburgh's Directory of 1809, in the body of the work, as discovered by the ship Pearl in 1796. Each of these shoals appears to occupy a considerable space; and they are said to be dry in several parts, though they have a passage between them of twenty to twenty-five fathoms depth. Among the longitudes of the squadron, which were all by chronometer, our own was the westernmost by a few miles, and fresh departures had been taken from the meridian of Bushire, as in long.  $50^{\circ} 44'$  east; yet these shoals were evidently without us, or to the westward of our reckoning, and therefore probably to the southward and westward of the position assigned to them in the books and charts.

Nov. 23rd.—At sun-rise we were off a remarkable mountain on the Persian shore, which forms a sea-mark for the navigation of the Gulf, under the name of Charrack Hill. Beneath it is a small port, of the same name, belonging to the Joassamees, and affording

shelter to their piratical boats. This town was once possessed by the Danes; and there is still a race of their descendants there, with light hair and blue eyes; but in all their habits and language they resemble the aborigines of the country. The high land of Charrack seems to be the Mount Ochus of the ancients; and it is from every point of view a remarkably conspicuous object. Opposite to this point of Charrack is the small island of Kenn, or Kym of Horsburgh, about ten miles from the shore. It is low, and more thickly wooded than any of the islands in the Gulf, and is fruitful and well inhabited.\* Supplies of provisions and water may be obtained here, as well as shelter found under its lee from the north-west gales, in a good anchorage of nine fathoms, abreast the village, at its eastern end. As this island is low, it is not

\* Ammianus Marcellinus says, that the southern part of Persia, bordering on the Gulf, abounds in palm-trees, in fruits, and in streams, which render it agreeable. He observes also, that there are many considerable cities in the interior, or higher regions of the country, and that no towns of note existed on the sea-coast. The reason of this was not understood by him; but it was undoubtedly because the climate of the coast was less agreeable than that of the elevated parts of the interior, and because they had no maritime wars or maritime commerce to render sea-ports necessary.—Lib. xxiii. c. 6.

to be distinguished more than four leagues off; but Charrack Hill, on a bearing of north-north-east, is a good mark for running right upon it. When this hill at sun-rise bore east by north half-north, we had the notch over Astola, bearing north by west, and were then in forty fathoms water.

At noon the ship's place was in lat.  $26^{\circ} 19'$  north, and long.  $26^{\circ} 55'$  east, the weather dark and cloudy, Charrack Hill north-east by east half-east, and soundings forty fathoms. In the afternoon we had a light breeze from the north-west, which fell off at sun-set, and the atmosphere was then so heavy that no land could be seen. Our water deepened to forty-five fathoms at midnight.

Ras Nabend, which is nearly opposite to this, is conceived to be the place of the river Bagrada, of Ptolemy, which he makes the boundary of Karmania, differing in this from Arrian, whose limit, as we have seen, was opposite to Kaese, and formed by the range of hills ending at the sea, in the mountain of Charrack. The name of the river Bagrada, in Africa, is derived by Bochart from ברכתא Barkatha, a pond, in the Hebrew;\* and Dr.

\* Shaw's Travels in Barbary, p. 77.

Vincent says, that the characteristics of the Nabend in Persia, would suit such a derivation very well. I could learn no other features of this stream than that it was large, deep, and capacious; nor were our informers able to say whether it had any name resembling the supposed ancient one, either in sound or in signification. The word بركه, Burkah, which is evidently allied to the Hebrew Barkatha, signifies the same thing both in Persian and Arabic, though it belongs originally to the latter. Dr. Vincent did not seem aware of this; for, in a note on a place called by Colonel Capper, Birket Rahamah, he asks, 'What is Birket? Birk, is a well:' and adds, 'If the traveller had given us this, we might have judged whether it is yet a lake or dry.' He then proposes a query, 'Whether it is not an error of the press for Bahr-el-Rahma, the sea of Rahama, or Birk-el-Rahama, like Birk-el-Hadji, in Egypt, the lake of the Pilgrims, i. e. where they assemble for the pilgrimage.\*' The fact is, that Bir, and not Birk, is the common Arabic name for a well; and Birket, the usual term for a lake, as in the Birket-el-Hadj, or the

\* Sequel to the Voyage of Nearchus, p. 513.

Lake of the Pilgrimage ; for that is precisely the way in which it is pronounced in Egypt, where this lake is situated, and where it derives its name from the Hadj, or assemblage of pilgrims, who depart yearly from this spot for Mecca, halting here to fill their water, and to wait for the Emir-el-Hadj, or Prince of the Pilgrimage, who generally leaves Cairo the day before they set out.

Nov. 24.—At sun-rise, the weather being clearer, and the wind moderate, with a land breeze from the north-east, we saw Charrack Hill again, bearing north by east half-east, and were then in forty-two fathoms water.

I sought and enquired in vain after the Siraff, which is thought to have been seated at the foot of Charrack, and opposite to Kaeese ; and which is noticed by Edrisi as a seat of commerce in his time, and connected with Kaeese, as Gomberoon was afterwards with Ormuz. Dr. Vincent proves, from the relation of a voyage of two Arabians, that in the ninth century Siraff was a port of importance ; for it seems in that early age to have been in the possession of the Arabians, and the centre of an Oriental commerce, which perhaps extended to China. He adds,

that both Siraff, which was conquered by Shah Kodbadin, king of Ormuz, about the year 1320; and Siraff, whose decline is mentioned by Alfragani, in his time, yielded its consequence to Ormuz, which was a celebrated mart long before the Portuguese were masters of that island; and he inclines to think, though Siraff is said by D'Anville to be now in ruins, that both the name and the site are to be identified with the Charrack of the coast. As Siraff was said to have been opposite to Kaese, there was a difficulty in reconciling it to the position of Charrack, as given by M'Cluer, since this was to the eastward of his Cape Bestion, and rather opposite to Polior, or Froor. Dr. Vincent was right in suspecting this arrangement, and in calling in question the accuracy of M'Cluer, with regard to names; though he modestly expresses himself as not qualified to decide. The town of Charrack is, as he conceived it ought to be, to the westward of this Cape, and close to the eastern foot of the hill from which it derives, or to which it gives its name. This, it is true, is still to the eastward of Kaese, but not so far as to prevent its being called, in a general way, 'opposite to the

island.' The town of Tawooné is nearest to the island on the east, and Kallat-el-Abeed, so called from an old castle in the mountains above, in which some rebel slaves defended themselves, is the nearest to it on the west. Between this and Cheroo another town was named to us, called Goorezy; but this we did not clearly perceive. Among them all, however, a position might be selected for Siraff, which would accord accurately enough with its vicinity to Kaeese, if other circumstances indicated either its name or its remains there.

Heather, on the authority of M'Cluer, places the islands of Kaeese and Hinderabia, at about fifteen miles distant from each other; but it appears that this navigator subsequently stated to Mr. Dalrymple, that he had altered the situation of Hinderabia, as he found it too near to Kenn; and actually extends the distance from twelve to twenty geographical miles, without stating what after-discovery had led to this correction. The illustrator of Nearchus's voyages very naturally congratulates himself on this alteration, since it corresponds more accurately with the twenty-five miles assigned to the distance be-

tween them by Arrian; and expresses great satisfaction in finding that the more correct the modern chart is, the better it corresponds with the details of his author. The alternative which D'Anville has chosen, however, of making the anchorage of the fleet at the eastern end of Kataia, so as to include the length of that island in the four hundred stadia of the run from Kataia to Ila, still remains: and if it be allowable to choose the most convenient end of one island for the point of departure; so it may equally be permitted to make the point of arrival at either extreme of the other, so as to include its length too, if necessary; more particularly as Ila, the harbour mentioned, is only said to be sheltered by an island in the offing, called Kaika, without saying from what winds, or in what direction; so that if the distance were the only point to be adjusted, twenty out of the twenty-five miles might be unobjectionably made out, even at present.

The island of Hinderabia resembles that of Kaika in its general character, being low, level, and sandy at the base; but not so well wooded, although it has some single trees and shrubs, and, it is said, good water.

As the day advanced, the wind drew more easterly; and at noon, being in latitude  $25^{\circ} 49'$  north, and longitude  $53^{\circ} 53'$  east, Charrack Hill bearing north half-east, distant at least sixty miles, we saw the Arabian shore, bearing south-south-east, rather low, and distant about twenty miles from us, our soundings being then in forty fathoms.

Neither the names of Cape Bestion, nor Certes, under any of their variations of sound, are at all known to the natives of this coast. The eastern cape they call Ras-el-Shenaz, and the western cape, Ras-el-Hhasseeni, both from towns of that name near their respective extremes. In the bay between them are the towns of Boostana and Mogho; the first nearest to Ras-el-Shenaz, and the second nearest to Ras-el-Hhasseeni, and about equidistant from these capes, and from each other. To the eastward of Ras-el-Hhasseeni, are the towns of Charrack and Tawooné, which are described as similar to Shenaz, Linga, and Cheroo.

This cape of Hhasseeni corresponds very accurately in point of distance from Shenaz, to the Cape Tarsia of Arrian, at which Nearchus anchored, after a run of three hun-

dred stadia, or about nineteen miles from Sididône, and before another run of the same distance to Kataia, or Kaese. Dr. Vincent thought he could perceive this Tarsia of the Greeks in Niebuhr's modern name of Dsjerd, and refers the classical reader to the fluctuations in the orthography of the name Tyrus, to satisfy him of its possibility. "The Phœnician word," he says, "is Tsor, with the two initials T S. correspondent to Niebuhr's D S J; and Tsor becomes by the T. Τυρ-ος Tyrus; by the S. Sor, or Sar—the root of Sour, Souria, Συρία, Syria, and found in Virgil, 'Sarrano indormiat ostro;' where the Scholia write, 'a *Saro* murice.' By the same analogy, Tserd, Tarsia, Serd, Sertes,—Certes, Gherd, Sjerd."\* After this, no one would surely despair of finding Tarseea, or Tarsia, in the present name Hhasseeni, which, from not being known before to be the real name of the cape, has had no learning or etymological skill exercised on it to see what it might produce.

The island of Kaese, abreast of which we now were, is apparently of less dimensions than those usually given to it. Thevenot

\* Note to the Dissertation, vol. i. p. 362.

mentions it as about five leagues in circuit ; and Horsburgh, from M'Cluer, states it to be as large as Polior : neither of which is correct. The extreme length of it appeared to us to be about four miles, and its general breadth about two, while Polior is at least double that size. Arrian, who, from Nearchus, describes it as a low desert island, gave its character much more faithfully than M'Cluer, who calls it a very beautiful one, and better planted with trees than any other in the Gulf. The expression of 'desert,' as used by Arrian, did not imply then, any more than it does now, a place totally incapable of producing any thing, but rather one destitute of verdure and natural fertility, though capable of supporting life, as the deserts of the Arabs do to tribes of thousands, with their still more numerous flocks, and of being made more productive by artificial means of cultivation. It is thus that, though Nearchus found it uninhabited, it was, he says, frequented by visitors from the continent, who annually brought goats here, and consecrating them to Venus and Mercury, left them to run wild. The learned illustrator of this interesting voyage has very

happily observed on this, that though the deities of the Persian or Arabian mythology here alluded to by these Greek names, are not easy to be discovered, yet that the practice indicated the navigation of the Gulf in that age; and that if the gods were to protect the breed for a time, we might suppose it was ultimately intended for the use of man, upon the same principle that Juan Fernandez was stocked by the Spaniards in the South Seas. Nearchus, he continues, has not informed us whether he violated the asylum of these animals; but this appears the natural inducement for his leaving the coast to make this island, as he had obtained no supply either at Tumbo or Sididône; and we do not read that the sacrilege, if committed, was revenged by Mercury or Venus in so severe a manner as the companions of Ulysses were punished for feasting on the oxen of Apollo.\*

If the size, the fertility, and the beauty of Kaese, have been all exaggerated by the moderns, so has its distance from the continent been made too great. The charts and directories make the channel to be four

\* Dissertation, vol. i. p. 364.

leagues wide ; and this is said in the same page to be the greatest distance at which it can be seen, from its being so low. It was necessary to assign a motive for Nearchus quitting the coast to go in search of it, and natural to find it in the one supposed, of seeking a supply from the consecrated herds and flocks of Aphrodisias, as Pliny calls this island from this circumstance of its devotions. But the channel hardly appeared to us to be as many miles as it is made leagues across, and certainly could not be passed without its very beach being distinctly seen from within. The main land here on the north is a lofty and abrupt mountain of greyish stone, whose surface is seemingly every where destitute of vegetation, and whose steep sides rise so suddenly from the sea, as to offer no temptation to approach them either for anchorage or refreshment. Nothing would be more natural, therefore, than for the Macedonian fleet to cross this narrow channel, which, supposing they sailed at a distance of only two miles from the continent, would not be a league over ; and the appearance of trees and vegetation there, would promise them better supplies of food and water than

they could hope to obtain from the main coast.

This lofty and barren mountain is the Charrack of the charts, and is the sea-mark for approaching Kaeese; for, when this bears north-north-east, it has the island in one with it, which cannot then be distinguished from the main. The island is at present inhabited by about fifty families, and produces sufficient sustenance for them only; though ships may obtain good water there, according to the account of our visitors. Its modern name of Kaeese sufficiently corresponds with the ancient one of Kataia, and its position and local features can leave no doubt of their identity.

‘At Kataia,’ says Arrian, ‘ends the province of Karmania, along the coast of which they had sailed three thousand seven hundred stadia.—The Karmanians,’ he adds, ‘resemble the Persians in their manner of living, their armour and military array are the same, and, as adjoining provinces, the customs and habits of both assimilate.’\* The opinion of Dr. Vincent, that this boundary line is not an imaginary one, but to be sought for in

\* Voyage of Nearchus, p. 38.

the Hill of Charrack, is reasonable, and supported by the appearance of this being, as he conjectured, the termination of a range, running inland, and forming a natural boundary. The fact related by Arrian of the Karmanians resembling the Persians in their manner of living, is as true at the present period as then. The physiognomy of most of these that I had had an opportunity of seeing on other occasions, was perfectly Arab; and the Arabic language was as familiar to them as the Persian; but every thing else, in their dress, their manners, and their character, was more nearly allied to Persian habits, and seemed to point out an Arabic origin.

At sun-set, having gone fifteen miles on a true course of south-east, the Persian coast still in sight, Charrack Hill bearing north by west, an island was seen from the mast-head, near the Arabian shore, bearing south by west, and our soundings in thirty-five fathoms. This was probably the island of Zara, mentioned as being near the port of Seer, about this part of the coast; but of which no particulars are accurately known. It is said, however, to be opposite to an angle or elbow of the land, from whence the coast

trends away more southerly than it is marked in the latest charts.

The bay from hence to the westward is reported to extend at least a degree deeper in a southern direction than it is delineated by the best authorities, and to contain a great number of islands generally unknown to European navigators. In a recent voyage along the Arabian coast, on this side of the Gulf, made by the Honourable Captain Maude, in his Majesty's ship *Favourite*, eight of these islands were seen, and their positions tolerably well ascertained; but a still greater number remain yet unknown, as the whole of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf has been but imperfectly explored.

The westernmost of all the islands in this bay is called *Geziret Bethoobee*, from a town of that name, abreast of which it lies. The town itself has a port, and is a place of some trade, being in friendship with the Imaum of Muscat, and receiving vessels and supplies both of merchandize and provisions from that mart. This island is placed by the latest authorities in lat.  $25^{\circ} 20'$  north, and long.  $53^{\circ} 40'$  east, and is in size nearly equal to *Polior*, extending about ten miles in length from east

to west, and being about half that breadth from north to south. The town of Bethoobee is placed in lat.  $24^{\circ} 35'$  north, and long.  $53^{\circ} 50'$  east, and lies on a low and desert coast. There is a wide and clear passage between the island and the main, in which the soundings decrease from twenty fathoms near the former, to five near the latter. This island may, after all, be the same with the Zara and the Seer of the charts, as nothing is more easy than the corruption of Gezireh, the Arabic name of an island generally, into either of these forms.

The first or northernmost of the group, discovered in his Majesty's ship *Favourite*, and called, after her commander, Maude's Islands, is the island of Halool; after which follow to the southward Sheraroo, Daoos, Jumaen, Danee, Arzeneeah, Delamee, and Geziret Beni Aass, making eight in number. Of these their discoverer gives the following account:—

Halool is in lat.  $25^{\circ} 41'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 23'$  east. It is high in the centre, decreasing towards each extremity; and, having a bold shore and deep water, from twelve to fifteen fathoms all around, may be approached

with perfect safety. From a correspondence of latitude, this has been supposed to be the island of May, so called in the English charts, and placed about a degree further to the eastward, or nearly in the longitude of Geziret Bethoobee; but this is not certain.

Sheraroo is in lat.  $25^{\circ} 13'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 18'$  east. It is from three to four miles in length from south-east to north-west, and not more than half that breadth, having two small hummocks on each extremity. About half a mile from the northernmost point is a small rock above water. To the north-west of this island, the Arabian coast may be approached; but as it is all low land in that direction, it should be done with caution.

Daos is in lat.  $25^{\circ} 10'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 45'$  east. It is six or seven miles in length from east to west, and about four in breadth. It is moderately high and rugged, with a low point extending to the north-west; and the soundings in passing it were on broken ground, and irregular.

Jumaeen is in lat.  $25^{\circ} 6'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 55'$  east. It has three high hummocks, of an equal elevation, two on the north part, and one to the southward; but, on passing

it, the haze prevented the extremities being seen.

Danee is a small and exceedingly low island, in lat.  $25^{\circ} 1'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 20'$  east; the colour of which, in hazy weather, approaches so nearly to that of the atmosphere, that it is difficult to be distinguished on the horizon, and therefore should be approached cautiously. The passage between this island and Sheraroo is clear of shoals, that would be dangerous to small ships; though there are sudden overfalls, on a coral bottom, from six to three fathoms and a half.

Arzeneeah is in lat.  $24^{\circ} 56'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 33'$  east. It is in length about seven miles from east-north-east to west-south-west, and in breadth about a league. It is rather high and uneven, and the south side is particularly rugged. His Majesty's ship *Favourite* anchored off this island in twelve and a half fathoms, on a coral and sandy bottom; the centre of the island bearing south by east half-east, and the ship off shore from five to six miles. There are no trees on the island, and but little other vegetation; and the soil was found, on examination, to consist chiefly of metallic ore. About a cable's length from

the eastern extremity of the island, and in that direction, is a rock above water, and a similar one also off the opposite, or western extreme; while from the north-east end a shoal extends for nearly a mile from the shore, composed of coral rocks and sand; and the south-west termination is a low and barren point.

Delamee is in lat.  $24^{\circ} 36'$  north, and long  $52^{\circ} 24'$  east. Its length from north to south is about six miles, and its breadth less than half that, from east to west. It is of a moderate height, and of a darker colour than Arzeneeah. On its northern end, is a round hill, the extremity of which terminates in a low sand; and towards the southern point there are three small hummocks, which slope off in a similar way. Off the northern end of the island, a shoal extends for nearly two miles in that direction, which ought not to be approached under seven fathoms; and the passage to the southward of the island, or between it and the Arabian shore, is considered as altogether unsafe. The channel between Delamee and Arzeneeah is, however, clear of shoals; though there are in it irregular soundings and overfalls, from twen-

ty-one to fifteen, and from twelve to seven fathoms.

Geziret Beni Aass is in lat.  $24^{\circ} 34'$  north, and long.  $52^{\circ} 40'$  east. It is rather high in the centre, very rugged, and extending to the south-west in a low point, which nearly joins the main land, leaving a narrow channel, navigable by small boats only. The Arabian coast, to the westward of this, is very low, and the pilot stated that there were several small islands off it, but he considered them dangerous to be approached, except by boats. The channel between Arzeneeah and Geziret Beni Aass is perfectly safe.

All the islands here described have the same arid and barren appearance as Polior and Nobfleur, the Tombs, and other islands on the opposite shore of the Persian Gulf. The water found on them is said to be brackish; but Captain Maude, from the appearance of the soil, and from what he witnessed on the island of Arzeneeah, was inclined to suppose that good water might be procured. Safe anchorage may be obtained under any of them during the prevailing north-west winds of this sea, as a shelter from which they are conveniently situated. The currents, or

tides, set through these islands from east-south-east to west-north-west; but neither their rate, nor the time of high-water, were ascertained. The magnetic variation, from a mean of several sights, was about  $4^{\circ} 30'$  west.

These islands are placed in the centre of an extensive pearl bank, which extends nearly two hundred miles in a longitudinal direction, and about seventy miles from north to south, and from this bank a great quantity of pearls are annually collected. The positions of these islands, as here laid down, were not considered by Captain Maude to be exactly accurate; the heat of the climate having considerably affected the rate of his chronometers, and the haze over the land being often so great as to prevent his estimating correctly the distance from the shore when the bearings were taken: but it is nevertheless believed that their assigned positions are sufficiently accurate to render this account of them of some use to those navigators to whom the southern side of the Persian Gulf is unknown.

From the bottom of the bay in which Maude's Islands are situated, the Arabian

coast extends for nearly two degrees in a north-north-west direction, till it reaches the point of Ras Rekkan, or Ras-el-Sharek of the Arabs, where it takes a bend round to the south-west, and forms the Bay of Bahrein. This Cape of Rekkan is in lat.  $26^{\circ} 12'$  north, and long.  $51^{\circ} 13'$  east, having the town and Fort of Zubarra about a mile or two to the south-east of it; and to the west-south-west of it, at intervals of a few miles distant, are the towns of Yamale, Agulla, Khore Hassan, and Fereyha, with the creek and port of Laghere, at twelve hours' sail beyond the Cape, to the westward. The coast from the Cape westward forms a concave semicircle, extending a few miles deeper than the line of  $26^{\circ}$  north lat. and ending at El Kateef, the eastern point to the entrance of which is in about lat.  $26^{\circ} 28'$  north, and long.  $50^{\circ} 5'$  east.

The islands of Bahrein, which are seated in this bay, are two in number; as the name, being a dual in Arabic, implies. The largest of these bears this name particularly, and the smaller retains that of Arad; an appellation of very early date, when these islands

bore the names of Tylos and Arad, in allusion to the Tyrus and Aradus of the Phœnicians, on the coast of Syria. The principal island has its centre in lat.  $26^{\circ} 13'$  north, and long.  $50^{\circ} 35'$ , east. Its length is about ten miles, in a direction of west-north-west and east-south-east, and its breadth about half that, in another direction, across. The general appearance of the island is low; but it is every where fertile, well-watered, and supporting an extensive population. There are estimated to be no less than three hundred villages scattered over this small island, and every portion of the soil is cultivated; producing dates, figs, citrons, peaches, and a species of almond, called loazi, the outer husk of which is eaten as well as the kernel. The principal town, which is called Minawah, or Minawee—properly, the scala, or port, like other places of the same description on the coasts of the Arabs, from mina, a port—is large and populous, and has a good bazaar, with twelve caravanseras for strangers. Many wealthy merchants reside here, and an extensive commerce is carried on in the exportation of pearls to India, and the importation of the

manufactures and productions of that country, for the supply of all the eastern coast of Arabia, and the interior of that peninsula.

The island of Arad is of nearly the same length as the principal one of Bahrein, but is exceedingly narrow, particularly towards the centre, where it is hardly half a mile across, and at its widest parts, which are nearest each extremity of its length, it is not more than two miles over. The direction of its length is nearly north and south, and its centre is in lat.  $26^{\circ} 15'$  north, and long.  $50^{\circ} 40'$  east, making these islands to bear about south half-west from Bushire, distant one hundred and sixty-five miles. On the northernmost point of Arad is a small town among date-trees, called Semahee; and in the centre or narrowest part of the island, another village; but the principal town, which is called Maharad, or Maharag, is seated on the southern extreme, and is nearly as large as Minawah, being defended with two forts, with bastions, one at each end of the town, and a wall surrounding the whole. From this last end, over to the larger island of Bahrein, which, lying nearly east and west, stands almost at right angles with the former, there is a ferry

by boats, which are constantly going night and day. The strait of separation between the islands is, at least, six miles in breadth; but being full of shoals, it does not admit the passage of ships through it.

The harbour is thus formed by these two islands; one lying north and south, and the other east and west; and good shelter is afforded by them from all but north-west winds. Though the approach to the harbour is rendered difficult by the foul ground and shoals, yet, these being of coral, the water is so finely transparent as to admit of their being seen at a considerable distance, which renders the navigation comparatively easy, requiring only careful hands stationed to look out aloft, and guide the vessel through them by the eye. One of the greatest disadvantages of the port, is the distance of the anchorage for ships from the shore, which is often four or five miles. His Majesty's ship *Favourite* anchored to the south-east of the islands, having the fort of Maharag to bear north-west, and the northern extreme of Arad Island north by west, where she was well sheltered from north-west winds. The Company's cruisers, however, usually anchor on

the north-west side of the islands, with the following bearings: the town of Semahee, east half-north; the central village on Arad, east by south half-south; Maharag town, south-east half-east; Minawah, on Bahrein, south half-east; and an old Portuguese fort on a rising ground, on the same island, south-west. This anchorage is in three and a-half fathoms water on a sandy bottom, and is about three miles off shore; but though well sheltered here from all but north-west winds, it is dangerous by its exposure to them, as that is the prevailing quarter from which they blow throughout the Persian Gulf, and there is then an extensive coral shoal, not more than a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the anchorage, which presents a lee shore to vessels riding here. The high land of Kateef, as seen from hence, bears west by north half-north, at a considerable distance. There is, however, a much more secure, convenient, and in every respect better anchorage than either of these two, within half a mile of the town of Minawah, where the dows and country vessels all lie in three and a-half and four fathoms water: the fort in the centre of the town bearing south-south-

east; a patch of coral shoal without, north-north-west; the Portuguese fort on Bahrein, about west by north; and the centre of the town of Maharag, east.

The pearl fishery, of which these islands form the centre, is calculated to yield annually about twenty lacks of rupees worth for exportation, the greatest portion of which find their way to India, and the remainder are dispersed throughout the Persian and Turkish empires, by way of Bushire, Bus-sorah, and Bagdad, and from thence to Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and even as far as the great capitals of Europe. The bank on which this fishery is carried on, extends from Bahrein, nearly to Ras-el-Khyma; and the finest of the pearls are found among the group of Maude's Islands, near Haloola, (which may derive its name from loolo, the Arabic name for a pearl,) and Geziret Beni Aass. The islands of Bahrein furnish annually about a thousand boats; the tribes of Beni Aass at Bethoobah, or Boothabean, about five hundred; and the other small ports along that coast an equal number; besides those which sometimes come over from the Persian shore. It is said by some that

any boats may fish for oysters on these banks without paying for such a privilege; but others contend that every boat found there must pay a fixed tribute to the Sheik of Bahrein. Both parties admit, however, that when any danger of capture from pirates is apprehended, the Sheik furnishes several armed vessels to protect the whole; and for this he claims a tribute of from six to ten pearls from each boat, according to her size and importance.

The fishery is carried on during the summer months only, when the bank is covered by boats throughout its whole extent. The divers are Arabs and negro slaves, who are mostly trained to the practice from their youth. They commence their labours at sunrise, and continue generally until sun-set. They go down in all depths, from five to fifteen fathoms; remaining from two to five minutes, and bringing up with them from eight to twelve oysters in both hands. On reaching the surface, they barely take time to recover breath, and then dive again immediately, as it is found that any length of repose between, rather weakens than recruits

the diver. All the gains of the fishery are divided in the most equitable way, by shares in proportion to the capital embarked in the boats ; and those who have not at all contributed to their equipment are yet paid in proportionate shares also ; so that all parties are interested in the gains of the concern, and all prosecute their labours willingly. The food of the divers, during the season, is chiefly fish, dates, and a small portion of bread, rice, and oil. During the fair season, they barely earn enough to keep them through the winter, which they pass, like the sailors of all other countries when on shore, in as great a state of indolence and dissipation as their religion and their habits will admit of. These men, as might be expected, who pass one-half of their lives in the most fatiguing labours, and the other half in dissipation, seldom live to an old age. They use the precaution of oiling the orifices of their ears, and placing a horn over the nose when they dive, to prevent the water from entering by these apertures ; but when they have been long engaged in this service, their bodies are subject to break out in sores, and

their eyes become blood-shot and weak ; and all their faculties seem to undergo a premature decay.

The terms of conducting an adventure in this fishery, vary so much at every season, and with every individual boat, that no rule can be laid down as a general one, except that each party is allowed to participate in the gain, in proportion to the capital he has embarked, or the personal service which he renders, and that strict justice and impartiality in the division prevails.

The largest and finest pearls are brought up from the deepest water, and all of them are said to be as hard when they are first taken out of the fish, as they are ever afterwards. They are, when new, of a purer white than after they become exposed to the air; and are calculated to lose, in this respect, one per cent. annually in value. There are two kinds of pearls found : the yellow one, which is sent chiefly to India, where those with this tinge are preferred ; and the pure white, which are more esteemed in Europe, and find a better market also at all the great Turkish and Persian towns. The pearl of Bahrein is considered by all as very superior to that of

Ceylon. The last is said to peel off, from not having acquired its perfect consistency when first taken, and to lose constantly in colour; whereas that of Bahrein is firm, and secure from that injury, and after a period of about fifty years, ceases to lose any thing in purity of colour. Before the pearls are sent off from the island, they are carefully assorted as to size, shape, tint, &c., and being drilled through, are strung on threads, and made up into round bundles of about three inches diameter, sealed and directed, and sent in that form to distant markets. They are then called metaphorically, 'Roomaan el Bahr,' or 'Pomegranates of the Sea,' as that fruit is in great esteem here, and these bundles resemble them almost exactly in form and size.

Bahrein is famous also for its springs of fresh-water arising in the sea. One of these rises in three fathoms, where the fresh-water gushes up through the sand of the bottom with great force. A jar is fitted to the mouth of this spring, and the person who procures the water from it, dives with an empty bag, made of a goat's skin, rolled up under his arm: this he dexterously places

over the mouth of the jar, and it being filled in a few seconds, it floats up to the surface with him. There are four or five springs of this kind around the island; and the only water which is drunk at Arad, is procured from one of these, situated a few yards below low-water mark on the sandy beach there. The water from all these springs is in itself very fresh; but from want of care in fitting the skins on their orifices, the sea-water is often admitted with it, and makes it brackish. A similar spring to these, it will be remembered, was discovered at the bottom of the sea near the Phœnician island of Aradus, on the coast of Syria. The inhabitants of that place are said, however, by Strabo, to have drawn their water from thence by means of a leaden bell, and a leathern pipe fitted to its bottom—a refinement in art, to which the people of Bahrein, with all the wealth which their sea of pearls affords them, have not yet arrived. The Arad of the Persian Gulf had at least this one feature of resemblance to the Aradus of the Mediterranean Sea; and both Tylos and it were worthy of their names, from the riches which they drew from the ocean; as colonies of a state, like

Tyre, whose strength was in her shipping and her commerce, and whose purple, that dyed the robes of kings and emperors in ancient days, was drawn from the same element as the pearls which went from hence to deck the crowns and diadems of queens and empresses, and serve more generally the purposes of ornament and decoration in modern times.

It has been thought that these fresh springs rising at the bottom of the ocean, as well as the plentiful fall of rains from above, are favourable to the formation of the pearl. Mr. Morier says, 'The fishermen always augur a good season of the pearl when there have been plentiful rains; and so accurately has experience taught them this, that when corn is very cheap, they increase their demands for fishing. The connexion is so well ascertained, (at least, so fully credited,—not by them only, but by the merchants at large,) that the prices paid to the fishermen are, in fact, always raised when there have been great rains.\*' There is a curious passage in Benjamin of Tudela, relating to the supposed formation of pearls, which seems to prove

\* Morier's Travels through Persia. 4to.

that it was a belief pretty widely extended ; for he speaks of the people of Kathipan, a very distant place in India, where there were fifty thousand Jews ; attributing the formation to the fall of a dew at a fixed period, which they collected from the surface of the waters, and afterwards caused to descend to the bottom of the sea.\*

In the bottom of this bay of Bahrein, about twelve hours' sail to the south-west of Ras Rekkān, or Ras Sharek, and from five to six hours' sail to the southward generally of Bahrein, is the creek and port of Laghere. In this creek, the boats of the pearl fishery are laid up during the winter, to the number of several hundred sail, as the creek is capacious, and extends for many miles inland.

\* ' C'est en ce lieu (Kathipan) que se trouve le Bdelium, qui est un ouvrage merveilleux de la Nature fait de cette manière. Le 14 du mois Nisan, il tombe sur la superficie des eaux une rosée que les habitans recueillent ; après l'avoir renfermée, ils la jettent dans la mer, afin qu'elle aille au fond. Mais au milieu du mois Tisri, deux hommes descendent au fond de la mer, attachés à des cordes, qu'on retire, après qu'ils ont ramassés de certains reptiles, qu'on ouvre ou qu'on fend pour en tirer la pierre précieuse qui y est renfermée.'—*Bergeron's Collection de Voyages*. Paris, 4to. p. 52, 53. By whatever name the pearl was known in the country of Kathipan, it is evident that this description of the manner of procuring Bdelium, can be meant of pearls only.

This town of Laghere is considered as the Mina, or Port of Lahsa, a large Arab town, about three days' journey by camels into the interior westerly, and nine other such days' journeys from Derriah, the Wahabee capital. The tribe of Arabs living there are called Beni Asareeah, and the place is reckoned to be of some strength and importance. During the expeditions of the Portuguese in these seas, Lahsa was the seat of a king, to whom both the islands of Bahrein and the port of Kateef were subject; and an account is given in the Portuguese histories of those times, of an expedition from Ormuz against Bahrein, on account of Mocrim, the King of Lahsa, having refused to pay tribute to them. Bahrein was taken by the combined arms of the Portuguese and Persians; and Antonio Correa, the leader of the former, added the title of Bahrein to his name. During the whole of the engagement, Reis Xarafa, or Asharoff, the Persian admiral, looked on from his vessel as an unconcerned spectator; but when afterwards the body of King Mocrim, who was shot through the thigh, and did not die till six days afterwards, was taken over to Lahsa to be interred, this cold-blooded

and cowardly spectator went over to the town, and cut off his head, which he sent to Ormuz. What seems equally disgraceful is, that Correa, the Portuguese commander, in memory of the share which he had in this event, was authorized to bear a king's head in his coat of arms, which is still, says the historian of his own country, borne by his descendants.\*

Beyond Laghere to the north-west is the town and port of El Kateef. A plan of this place, by Captain Simmons, has been seen by Horsburgh, and he judges from it that it is a safe harbour. In his Directory, he gives the latitude of the town as  $20^{\circ} 56'$  north, but in his chart it is placed in lat.  $30^{\circ} 36'$  north,—a difference which must have arisen from an error of the press. The directions for entering this port are probably from Captain Simmons too. It is remarkable, however, that though Horsburgh says, on the authority of the principal pilots, that the coast from Graine to Katif lies south by west; and that

\* Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India, p. 2, b. 3, c. 1. sect. 6, from the Portuguese Asia of De Faria of Sousa, inserted in Kerr's General History of Voyages and Travels,—*Edinburgh*, 1812. 8vo. vol. 6, p. 188.

a course from the island of Ohah, of south by west, will carry a vessel inside the islands between Graine and Kateef, and a course of south by east outside of them; yet he lays down this coast in his chart as about south-east half-south, or nearly four points different from that given in the Directory.\* In a commercial work like Mr. Milburn's, one does not expect so much hydrographical accuracy; and when we find him placing Bahrein thirty leagues west-north-west from Bushire,† an error of nearly as many leagues in distance, and of about six points in the course, one does not feel so much disappointment; but Captain Horsburgh is an authority so highly and so deservedly esteemed, that it is in every point of view desirable to see his excellent work as free of blemishes as possible.

El Kateef is situated in about lat.  $26^{\circ} 20'$

\* Horsburgh's Sailing Directions, p. 247, 4to. We have great pleasure in saying, that in later editions of these works, these errors have been revised, and that all subsequent improvements in our knowledge of these shores are embodied in the successive editions of Captain Horsburgh's Charts and Sailing Directions as they appear. See this subject discussed in the Oriental Herald, for September, 1828.

† Milburn's Oriental Commerce, 4to. 1813. vol. 1, p. 119.

north, and long. about  $50^{\circ} 0'$  east. It is a large trading town, intimately connected with the Bahrein Islands, and sharing in their pearl fishery as well as their general commerce, though the governments are independent of each other. It has a deep bay, in which the vessels of the pearl fishery are also laid up, as well as at Laghere, during the winter season. It is a singular fact, confirmed by all those who are well acquainted with the Gulf, that no worms are found to injure vessels' bottoms, or sunken wood, throughout its waters, destructive as that cause is to ships in all other seas. On the Persian side of the Gulf, there are no coral banks, and few other shoals, the soundings being mostly regular, on a muddy bottom, and the water thick and foul. On the Arabian side, coral banks and shoals abound, as in the Red Sea, with most irregular soundings, a rocky and sandy bottom, and the water beautifully transparent. In our progress through it, we had as yet seen no weeds, for which the Red Sea was so celebrated, under its title of Yam Sooph, and which, indeed, still abound there as much as ever; but floating serpents, of which I do not remember

ever to have heard mention in the Arabian Gulf, are found in this of Persia, as well as on the coasts of Scind, Guzerat, and Hindoostan. Whether any, or which of these facts may at all account for there being no worms throughout this sea, to injure the bottoms of vessels, would admit of some consideration. The whole of the bottom, from Ras-el-Khyma up to Kateef, and, as some say, even as far up on this side as the mouth of the Euphrates, presents broken ground and sudden overfalls, or unequal ridges, to the lead, differing five and even ten fathoms at a cast; and the pearl-divers observe, that in these pits of the bottom, the best oysters are found, under the overhanging edges, or brinks of these openings.

Proceeding upwards from El Kateef to the northward, or towards Graine, the coast of the continent is but little known to Europeans, and is navigated with great caution by the natives, who, from the abundance of shoals in it, never move but in the day-time, with persons stationed on their yards and at their mast-heads to look out, and anchoring always before sun-set, as is done on the coast of the Red Sea. In this interval of space,

there is however, in the offing several islands, to the number of seven, as the native pilots say. Four of these, which were seen and visited by Captain Biddulph, of his Majesty's sloop *Hesper*, have obtained the name of Biddulph's Group, and of these he gives the following positions.

The first island is in lat. observed on it  $27^{\circ} 55' 50''$  north, and long. by lunar distances  $49^{\circ} 26'$  east. This is not more than three hundred yards long and sixty broad, being merely a sand-bank elevated only four or five feet above the surface of the sea, totally destitute of vegetation, and lying in a direction of east-north-east and west-south-west.

The second island is in lat.  $27^{\circ} 44'$  north, and long.  $49^{\circ} 31'$  east. This is nearly a mile in length, in the direction of north-east by north, and south-east by south, and from four to five hundred yards broad. Its elevation is not more than five or six feet above the sea, and it has only some scanty vegetation on its southern edge.

The third island is in lat.  $27^{\circ} 41'$  north, and long.  $49^{\circ} 31'$  east. This is of nearly a circular form, and about half a mile in circumference. It is destitute of vegetation, and

elevated seven or eight feet only above the sea.

The fourth island is in lat.  $27^{\circ} 42'$  north, and long.  $49^{\circ} 26'$  east, it being observed from the ship to bear west-south-west from the second island, distant five or six miles.

Between the second and third islands is a good passage, with ten fathoms, on a sandy bottom in mid-channel. These have each a coral reef around them, but it does not extend far off. When the third island bore west by north five miles, there were thirty-three fathoms, mud; and on the north-east side of the second and third islands, about three miles off, there were from twenty to twenty-eight fathoms, sand, in regular soundings. The first island had seventeen fathoms, sand and shells, on the west side, about two miles off. Captain Biddulph landed on three of the islands to observe, and found plenty of turtle and birds' eggs on all of them.

In Heather's chart of the Persian Gulf, there are seven islands lying scattered, with some shoals among them, nearly in this latitude and longitude; but their individual positions are most inaccurate. The whole

number of seven may, and do probably exist, however; and besides this group of Captain Biddulph's, the islands of Kenn and Zezarine, as they are called, further to the eastward, may help to complete the number.

The next port above El Kateef of any note on this coast, is that of Graine, as it is called in our English charts, though known among the Arabs by the name of Kooete only. This is a port of some importance, seated in a fine bay; and the town is large and populous, though the sandy desert presses close upon its walls, and no vegetation is to be seen around it, within the range of human view. It seems always to have preserved its independence too, even at the time when Ormuz, Muscat, Bahrein, Lahsa, and even Kateef and Bussorah, which two last were garrisoned by Turks, were assailed by the Portuguese arms,\* and they still bear the re-

\* See a detail of the operations against Kateef and Bussorah, in the very year in which the Portuguese poet, Camoens, went out to India to endeavour to advance his fortune by the sword, after it had been so little promoted by his pen.—*Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of Asia*, as before referred to in Kerr's Collection, vol. vi. p. 408—410.

putation of being the freest and the bravest people throughout the Gulf.

The town and bay of Graine is in lat.  $29^{\circ} 15'$  north, and about long.  $48^{\circ} 0'$  east, or nearly south-south-west from the bar of the Euphrates, at the distance of about fifty miles. The town itself is chiefly inhabited by mercantile and trading people, who engage in all the branches of commerce carried on throughout the Gulf. The port sends out, at least, a hundred sail of vessels, large and small; and the people who navigate them, as well as those for whom they sail, have the highest character for probity, skill, firmness, and courage. The bay admits of excellent anchorage, in convenient depths, from ten to five fathoms water; and it was for some time used as the station of the East India Company's cruisers, to land and wait for dispatches transmitting between India and Europe, during the temporary residence there of the Company's Agent, who had quitted Bussorah, on account of some differences with the Turkish Government.

The entrance to the Bay is covered by a group of three small islands, following each

other in succession, in a line of nearly south-south-east from each other. To the southward of these, at a distance so as but just to be perceived from the mast-head of a large ship in the clearest day, is another group of three similar islands, more widely separated.

The name of the northernmost of this southern group is Koubbeh, probably from having a saint's tomb with a dome on it, for that the name in Arabic implies. This is thought to bear about south-east, from the southern point of Graine harbour or bay, at a distance of fourteen miles. The name of the second is Umm-el-Maradam, and this lies south-south-east, distant about twenty-one miles from the same point of Graine harbour. The name of the third is Gharroo, which lies from the same place about south-east, distant twenty-five miles.

The name of the three islands that form the northern group, beginning from the northward, are Moochan, Feliché, and Ukhar. They lie in a direction of south-south-east from each other at intervals of four or five miles apart, and cover the mouth of the entrance to the bay of Graine, for which they

serve as sailing marks. These are all small ; and Feliché, the largest, is not more than seven miles in circumference. As far as I could learn, they were in general barren, and at present uninhabited ; but as they are said to possess fresh water, they might not always have been so.

Notwithstanding this long digression, a word deserves to be devoted to these islands, for the illustration of Ancient Geography. Arrian, in recording the design which Alexander the Great entertained of invading Arabia by sea, enters into a description of that part of it which borders on the Persian Gulf, beginning from the Euphrates. The extent of Arabia, along the sea-coast, according to the information given of it to Alexander, was, says his historian, not less than India ; and many islands lay not far off it. There were also sundry creeks and other places there, fit for the reception of a navy ; and divers convenient places to build cities, which in time might become rich and populous. Two islands were particularly reported to lie in the sea, over against the mouth of the Euphrates, one of which was not above one hundred and twenty stadia

distant from the mouth of that river and the sea-shore. This was the lesser of the two, covered with thick woods, and had a temple on it dedicated to Diana; the inhabitants had their dwellings round the temple. The report was that harts and goats, and other animals, strayed in the woods there unmolested, because it was deemed sacrilegious to take them on any other account than to offer them in sacrifice to the goddess. This island, as Aristobulus tells us, Alexander ordered to be called Icarus, from one of that name in the Ægean Sea, near which Icarus, the son of Dædalus, is said to have been drowned. The fable runs, that in disobedience to his father's orders, he attempted to fly into the upper regions of the air with wings cemented together with wax; and that these being melted by the heat of the sun, he fell into the sea, which was thenceforward called by his name, as well as the small island near the spot on which he fell.

We have here the measurement of about one hundred and twenty stadia, or from twelve to fifteen miles, for the distance of the Icarus of Arrian from the mouth of the Euphrates. Strabo mentions the same is-

land, and most distinctly states that it would be on the right hand of a voyager who sailed from the mouth of the Euphrates towards Arabia, and consequently it would be near that coast. He calls the temple on it one of Apollo, instead of Diana; but in other particulars he agrees with Arrian.

In opposition to those two excellent authorities, as to distance and position, Col. Kinnier, in his Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, has fixed on Karek as the Icarus of Arrian; though that island, instead of fifteen, is upwards of one hundred miles from the mouth of the Euphrates; and on sailing from these towards the coast of Arabia, must be on the left instead of the right, and at the distance of a hundred miles at least, so as not to be at all seen.\* The name of Karek seems in this instance to have been the only foundation for such an assumption, probably from some supposed resemblance to Icarus; but although a name given by Alexander to an island like this (for it was evidently not its native one) would last but for a short time among the people of the country, as no settlers were

\* Kinnier's Memoir, 4to.

placed there to perpetuate it, and though the facts of distance and position are less equivocal guides; yet, if a resemblance in names must be had, that of Ohhar, or Ukhar, (pronounced as a strong guttural in Arabic,) may be supposed to resemble the Greek, which Dr. Vincent writes Ikharus,\* quite as closely as that of Karek.

The other island, continues Arrian, is about one day and night's sail from the mouth of the Euphrates, and is called Tylus. It is very large and spacious, and not mountainous, nor woody, but produces plenty of several sorts of fruits, pleasant and agreeable to the taste.† In this we instantly recognize the present Bahrein, which retains to this day all the features here described.

It seems highly probable that the present town and harbour of Graine was the Gerrhæ of the ancients. Strabo says, that the Sabæans furnished Syria with all the gold which that country received formerly; but that they were in after-times supplanted in this trade by the inhabitants of Gerrhæ, near

\* Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients.

† Rooke's Arrian, 8vo. London, 1814, b. 7. c. 20. vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

the mouth of the Euphrates.\* Its position is quite as favourable for such a supply to Syria, as the country of the Sabæans could be; but, from whatever source the gold thus transported by them was then procured, that metal is no longer an article of trade, or even of remittance in any quantity, from the same quarter.

If an apology were deemed necessary for so long an interruption of the narrative of my voyage, it might be replied, that the information here detailed, regarding the western side of the Persian Gulf, is almost altogether new, and must be considered as at least a valuable addition to our hydrographical knowledge of this coast. The facts have been drawn from various sources, and these all authentic:—the manuscript journals of officers now in our squadron, kindly furnished to me for inspection; and the verbal information of our Arab pilot, Joomah, a native of Bahrein, and one whose life had been passed in sailing on these seas for the last fifty years. They have been thought the more worthy of preservation, as they are in general unknown to even the pre-

\* Strabo, lib. 16.

sent navigators of the Persian Gulf, who are all afraid to approach this shore, from having no charts or information regarding it; though the Arab pilots assert the possibility of making a passage up through all the islands, and inside most of them. As, from the excessive heat of the low and barren deserts, even in the depth of winter, the land and sea-breezes prevail on the Arabian shore, a vessel might possibly make a passage by the aid of these; while the strong north-west winds, which prevail for nine months in the year on the opposite coast, are exceedingly difficult to beat up against.

At sun-set on the evening of the 24th, after seeing the Arabian coast, we tacked off it in thirty-five fathoms; and, going seventeen miles to the northward, tacked on again, in forty-two fathoms water, on a moderately soft bottom.

Nov. 25th. — At sun-rise we had gone about six leagues on a true east-south-east course, when we saw the small island of Surdy, its centre bearing north half-west, distant three leagues, and our soundings in thirty-five fathoms water.

This island is in about the latitude of

25, 50'. north, nearly nine leagues to the westward of Bomosa, and eight leagues to the southward of Polior, according to Horsburgh. It is said to be about six miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and not more than four miles broad. From the north-west end, a reef of rocks is reported to run out two miles from the shore; but the southern part of the island, on which the town is situated, is said to be clear, and safe to approach. There are three hills on the island, two of them near each other; and the third, which is the highest, at a considerable distance to the southward of them. Off the town, at the southern side of the island, there is said to be good anchorage; and it is added, that water and refreshments may be obtained at a cheap rate.

All this cluster of islands, occupying nearly the mid-channel of the Gulf between the Arabian and Persian shores, but mostly nearer to the latter, including Surdy, Nobsleur, the Great and Little Tomb, and Polior, which is the largest of the whole, would seem to be the Pylora islands of antiquity, as they correspond nearly in number and position, and retain nearly the same name

in the principal one, from which the whole group might have been originally called.

The Great Tomb is a low island, little more than a league in length from east to west, and somewhat less than that in breadth from north to south. The northern extreme is the highest, and the southern shelves off to a flat beach, near which the water is shoaler than elsewhere; but as the soundings are regular, and there are no rocks known around it, the whole of its shores may be said to be safe to approach by the lead. Near its western end is a small bay, convenient for landing; and not far from this are some trees, close to which, it is said, fresh water may be procured. The island is at present uninhabited; and I could not learn that it had ever been otherwise, though its name is thought to be Portuguese in its present form, and derived from the appearance of some sepulchres there. Sir Harford Jones gives to this island, and a smaller one near it, called the Little Tomb, the Persian names of Gumbad-e-Bousung and Gumbad-e-Kutcheek, or the 'great and little dome,' from the domes which usually crown the sepulchres of Mohammedan Imaums; but

we could perceive no vestige of buildings at present on either of them; nor could I learn from the Persians and Arabs on board, that these had any other names than simply 'islands,' in either of these languages; or if there were any, they were not acquainted with them. It is mentioned as the place of anchorage of the fleet of Nearchus, after the grounding of the galleys on the shoal of Oarakhta, and is known by the identity of its situation, at the distance of three hundred stadia from that island, though it is there mentioned also without a name.

It is among the towns opposite to this, on the Persian coast, that the Sidodône of Nearchus is to be sought for, the place where he watered his fleet, after their coming from their anchorage at the island of the Great Tomb. It is as likely to have been Shenaz as any of the others; for at this they might procure good water, and fish at least, and this it seems was all they could obtain. This, too, would correspond more accurately than either of the others with the course of the route, and the distances given. The passage of the journal is, 'In the morning they weighed again (from the Great Tomb), and keeping

an island, named Pulora, on their left, they proceeded to a town on the continent, called Sidodône, or Sisidône: it was a poor place, which could afford no supply but fish and water; for the inhabitants here also were Ikthuthophagi, and had no means of support but what they derived from their fishery.\* Dr. Vincent had great difficulty in fixing on this town, from the discordant testimonies of different voyagers along the coast; and it must be confessed, that a comparison of the names and positions of the authorities he has quoted, would be alone sufficient to discourage a man of less perseverance than the learned Dean from the tedious and often unsatisfactory task of endeavouring to reconcile and harmonize them.

This island of Froor, though upwards of two leagues in length, and more than one in breadth, is not inhabited, nor was it known to any of whom I could enquire on board, whether it possessed water or vegetation. Its appearance was favourable to the conjecture that it had both; but this is always liable to error. There can remain no doubt of this island being the Pulôra which Nearchus is

\* Vincent's Nearchus, 37, vol. 1, p. 59.

described to have had on his left hand, when sailing from the desert one of the Great Tomb, where the fleet had anchored, to the town of Sidodône, where it procured water. It seems singular, in this instance, that the ancient Greek and modern English name should so nearly resemble each other in their variation from the original native one, unless one might suppose Polior to have been rather derived from Pulôra subsequent to the knowledge of its being the island so called by the Macedonian admiral; but both of them are so nearly allied to Froor, when analysed and compared, that they may both have been written down from a native mouth, so difficult is it to catch with accuracy the sounds of a foreign language, and still more difficult to express them in writing. The Greeks have been loudly complained against for their errors in this respect; and it is true that many of their names are difficult to be traced to their source, or to be recognized even as corruptions of original native ones. But the moderns, at least those not skilled in the languages of the countries of which they write, commit errors of equal magnitude. The German, the French, and the Italian

orthography and pronunciation of Oriental names, have often no resemblance to each other; and while our own countrymen, even in India, (who, navigating, like Nearchus, a shore previously undescribed in books, call the Joassamee Pirates the tribe of 'Joe Hassim,' and the Wahabee sect of Mohammedans, the 'War Bees,') have aimed to express in a foreign name, some known idea in their own tongue, one can hardly wonder at the Tylos and Arathus, the ancient names of Bahrein, being converted into Tyrus and Aradus, and derived from those islands of the Tyrians on the coast of Phœnicia,\* or at Sidodône being made a colony of the Sidonians,† particularly among a people who, from mere resemblance of sounds, connected Media with the Medéa, and Persia with the Perseus, of their prolific mythology.‡

At noon, we were in lat.  $25^{\circ} 23'$  north, and long.  $54^{\circ} 38'$  east, the low land of the Arabian coast being then in sight, bearing from east to east-north-east, distant about fifteen miles, and our soundings in fourteen fathoms water, on a sandy bottom.

\* Strabo, p. 766.

† Gronovius and Ortelius.

‡ Vincent's Diss. vol. 1. p. 353.

We had light, variable winds throughout the afternoon, with which we steered easterly; and had at sun-set a portion of the low coast of Arabia, appearing like an island, bearing south by east, about three leagues off; and its other extreme bearing north-east by east, somewhat more distant; our soundings in thirteen fathoms.

When the day had well closed, we had a land-wind off the coast, blowing nearly from the southward. With this we stood along-shore, to the eastward, shoaling our water gradually to seven fathoms at midnight, when we cautiously hauled off a little to deepen our soundings.

The whole of our sea-voyage from Bushire down the Gulf having afforded no view sufficiently interesting for a vignette to the present chapter, I have profited by the kindness of my excellent friend, Mr. James Baillie Frazer, whose works speak sufficiently of his intelligence and talents, to present the reader with a view of the Ruins of Ormuz, from one of the unpublished sketches contained in his portfolio. I had hoped, indeed, that in the course of our voyage we might have had occasion to visit this spot, rendered in-

teresting by its history and associations, and immortalized by the verse of Milton :—

‘ High on a throne of royal state, which far  
Outshone the wealth of ORMUZ or of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,  
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.\*

But not having had this pleasure, I content myself with subjoining a short notice of its rise and fall, from the History of Persia, as one of the most remarkable places in the Gulf; and without some mention of which, no account of these parts could be considered complete.

‘ Of the numerous settlements which Albuquerque had made on the coast of Persia, Ormus was the first. This island lies at the entrance of the Gulf, and is only a few leagues distant from Gombroon. It has neither vegetation nor fresh water. Its circumference is not twenty miles. Both its hills and plains are formed of salt; and that mineral is not only impregnated in its streams, but crusts over them like frozen snow. The nature of the soil, or rather the surface of the earth, renders the heat of summer more intolerant at Ormus, than

\* Milt. Par. Lost, b. ii.

in any of those parched islands, or provinces, with which it is surrounded; and unless we consider the advantages which it derives from its excellent harbour and local situation, it appears to be one of the last spots on the globe which human beings would desire to inhabit. The first settlers on this island were some Arabs, who were compelled by the Tartar invaders of Persia to leave the continent. These gave it the name of Hormuz, or Ormus; being that of the district which they had been obliged to abandon. One old fisherman, whose name was Geroon, is said to have been its sole inhabitant when this colony arrived. They remained masters of Ormus till conquered by Albuquerque; and it had been in the possession of the Portuguese for more than a century. It had become, during that period, the emporium of all the commerce of the Gulf: merchants from every quarter of the globe had flocked to a city\* where their property and per-

\* This city was at one time very large: little is now left, except the ruins of the numerous reservoirs, which had been constructed to preserve the rain that fell in the periodical season for the use of the inhabitants.

sons were secure against injustice and oppression, and from whence they could carry on a profitable commerce with Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, without being exposed to the dangers attendant on a residence in these barbarous and unsettled countries.

‘Abbas saw with envy the prosperity of Ormus: he could not understand the source from which that was derived, and looked to its conquest as an event that would add to both the glory and the wealth of his kingdom. Emaum Kooli Khan, Governor of Fars, received orders to undertake this great enterprise; but the king was well aware that it would be impossible to succeed without the aid of a naval equipment. The English were ready auxiliaries. An agreement, which exempted them from paying customs on the merchandize they imported at Gombroon, and gave them a share of the duties taken from others, added to boundless promises of future favour, were the bribes by which the agents of the East India Company were induced to become the instruments of destroying this noble settlement. A fleet was soon collected: Persian troops were em-

barked, and the attack made. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely; but, worn down by hunger and fatigue, and altogether hopeless of succour, they were compelled to surrender. The city was given over to the Persians, by whom it was soon stript of all that was valuable, and left to a natural decay. Abbas was overjoyed at the conquest; but all the magnificent plans which he had formed from having a great sea-port in his dominions, terminated in his giving his own name to Gombroon, which he commanded to be in future called Bunder Abbas, or the Port of Abbas.\*

\* If the English ever indulged a hope of deriving permanent benefit from the share they took in this transaction, they were completely disappointed. They had, it is true, revenged themselves upon an enemy they hated, destroyed a flourishing settlement, and brought ruin and misery upon thousands, to gratify the avarice and ambition of a despot, who promised to enrich them by a favour, which they should have known was not likely to protect them, even during his life, from the violence and injustice of his own officers, much less during that of his successors. The history of the English factory at Gombroon, from this date till it was finally abandoned, is one series of disgrace, of losses, and of dangers, as that of every such establishment in a country like Persia must be. Had that nation either taken Ormus for itself, or made a settlement on a more eligible island in the Gulf, it would have carried on its commerce with that quarter to much greater advantage; and

‘ The hopes which the servants of the East India Company had cherished from the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz, and their other possessions, were completely disappointed. The treaty which Abbas entered into to obtain their aid, by which it was stipulated that all plunder should be equally divided, that each should appoint a governor, and that the future customs both of Ormuz and Gombroon should be equally shared, was disregarded from the moment the conquest was completed. The sanguine anticipations of one of their chief agents, who wrote to England “that their dear infant” (this term was applied to the commercial factory at Gombroon) “would receive new life if the king but kept his word,”\* soon vanished: and we find the same person, after the fall of Ormuz, stating, that no benefit whatever can be expected from that possession, unless it be held exclusively by the English. But every expectation of advantage that had been in-

its political influence, both in Persia and Arabia, would have remained unrivalled.

\* Letter from Mr. Edward Monnox to the Company, dated Isfahan, 1621.

dulged, was soon dispelled by the positive refusal of Abbas to allow the English either to fortify Ormus, or any other harbour in the Gulf.\*

\* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 545—548.

To this may be added the following striking description of this celebrated mart, by a very early writer, who, in the antiquated but forcible language of his times, thus portrays the fall of this now silent and desolate heap of ruins:—

‘Ormus is an isle within the Gulf; in old times known by the name Geru, and before that, Ogiris (but I dare not say from a famous Thæban of that name); its circuit is fifteen miles; and procreates nothing note-worthy, salt excepted, of which the rocks are participant, and the silver-shining sand expresseth sulphur.

‘At the end of the isle appear yet the ruins of that late glorious city, built by the Portugals, but under command of a titular King, a Moor. It was once as big as Exeter, the buildings fair and spacious, with some monasteries, and a large bazaar, or market.

‘Of most note and excellence is the castle, well-seated, entrenched, and fortified. In a word, this poor place, now not worth the owning, was but ten years ago the only stately city in the Orient, if we may believe this universal proverb—

‘*Si terrarum Orbis, quaqua patet, Annulus esset,  
Illius Ormusium gemma, decusque foret.*

‘If all the world were but a ring,  
Ormus the diamond should bring.

‘This poor city was defrauded of her hopes, continuing glory, such time as Emangoly-Chawn, Duke of Shyras or Persepolis took it with an army of fifteen thousand men, by command of the King of Persia, who found himself bearded by the Portugall. Howbeit, they had never triumphed over them, had not

some English merchant ships (then too much abused by the bragging Lusitanian, and so exasperated) helped them, by whose valour and cannon the city was sacked and depopulated. The captains (serving the East India merchants) were Captain Weddall, Blyth, and Woodcocke.

‘ Their articles with the Persian Duke were, to have the lives of the poor Christians at their disposal, some cannons, and half the spoil; and accordingly when the city was entered, after a brave and tedious resistance, forced to yield by plagues, fluxes, and famine, every house of quality, magazine, and monastery, were sealed up, with the signets of the Duke and merchants. By which good order, the Company had no doubt been enriched with two millions of pounds (though but their share), had it not been prevented by a rascal sailor’s covetousness, who, though he knew the danger of his life and loss of the Christians’ credit, yet stole in a monastery sealed with both consents, commits sacrilege upon the silver lamps, chalices, crucifixes, and other rich ornaments, and stuffed so full, that in descending, his theft cried out against him, was taken by the Persians, led to the Duke, confessed, and was drubbed right handsomely. But the greatest mischief came hereby unto the English, for the perfidious Pagans, though they knew the merchants were not guilty of his transgression, and consequently had not broke the order,—notwithstanding, the soldiers went to the Duke, saying, Shall we sit idle, while the English, by stealth and secrecy, exhaust all our hopes of benefit and riches? Whereat the Duke, glad of such advantage, replied, If so, then go and have your desires. Whereupon they broke open the houses and store of what was valuable, and made themselves masters of all they found; whilst the confident sailors lay bragging of their victories a-shipboard. And when they were possessed of what was done, they exclaimed as men possessed; but the Persians understood them not, nor cared they what their meaning was, seeing they verified the adage, Give losers leave to prate.

‘ Yet they found enough to throw away, by that small, sufficiently showing their luxurious minds and prodigality, if they had gotten more : dicing, whoring, brawling, and tipping, being all the relics of their husbandry and thankfulness.

‘ Only Captain Woodcocke had good luck and bad : lighting upon a frigate that stole away, unwitting to the enemy, loaden with pearls and treasure, that he took for prize, and kept all to himself, perhaps worth a million of rials, or better. But see ill fortune. The Whale (of which he was captain), rich laden with his masters’ and his own goods, hard by Swally Road without the Bar, sunk, and was swallowed by the sands, occasioned by a hole, neglected by the carpenter, and failing to carine or mend her, the ports were open and took in water, which, to prove that even whales are subject to destruction, perished in that merciless element ; Woodcocke, not long after, overwhelming his life with too much care, too unable to moderate so great misfortunes.

‘ This poor city is now disrobed of all her bravery ; the Persians each month convey her ribs of wood and stone, to aggrandize Gombroone, not three leagues distant, out of whose ruins she begins to triumph.

‘ Ormus Island has no fresh water, save what the fruitful clouds weep over her, in sorrow of her desolation, late so populous ; those are preserved in urns or earthen jars, and are most comfortable to drink in, and to give bedding a cool and refrigerating sleeping-place ; to lenify scorching Phaëton, who is there potent in his flames and sulphur.’ \*

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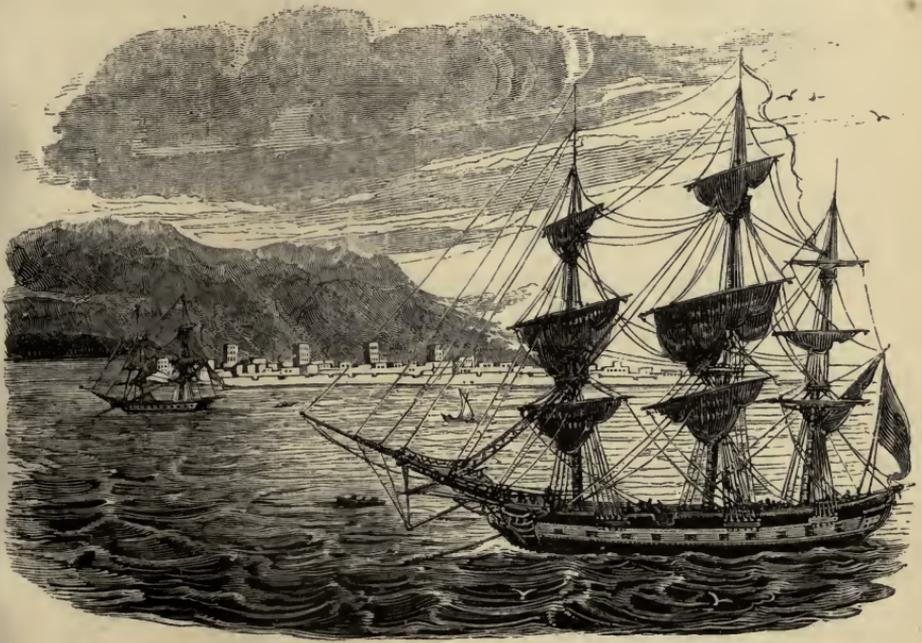
\* Herbert’s Travels in Persia, p. 46, 47.

## CHAPTER VIII.

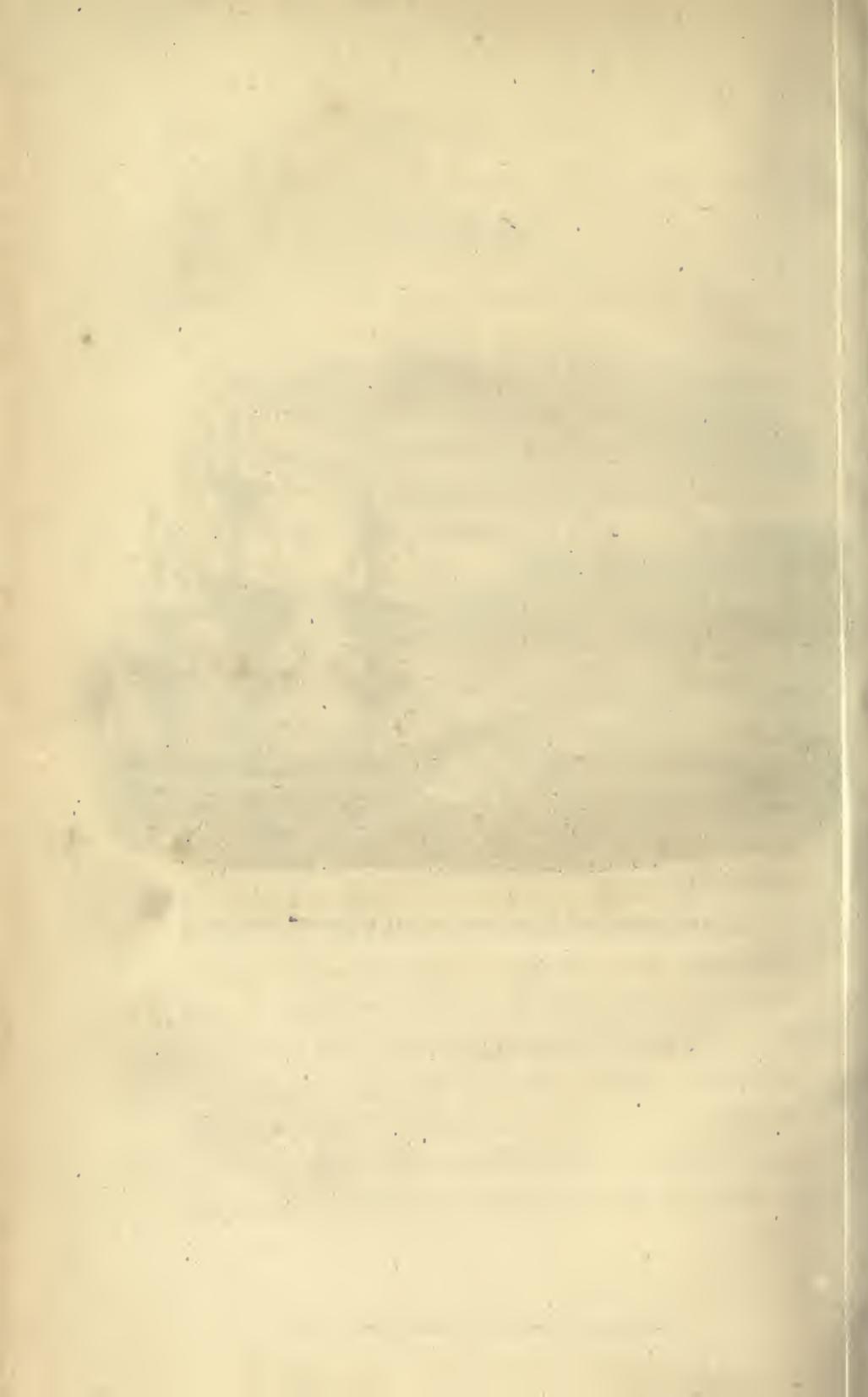
### VISIT TO RAS-EL-KHYMA—NEGOTIATION WITH THE PIRATES.—BOMBARDMENT OF THE TOWN.

Nov. 26.—THE morning opened clearly, and we had a moderate breeze off the land, from the south-west, with smooth water. In the course of the night, we had passed the port of Sharjee, on the Arabian coast, which is not an island, as laid down in Niebuhr's chart, the only one in which it is inserted; but a small town, on a sandy beach, containing from five to six hundred inhabitants. It is situated in lat.  $25^{\circ} 34'$  north, and lies eleven leagues south-west of a small island, close to the shore, called Jeziret-el-Hamra; and three leagues south-west of Sharjee is

CHAPTER VIII.



RAS-EL-KHYMA THE CHIEF PORT OF THE WAHABEE PIRATES.



Aboo Hayle. Both of these send boats to the pearl-fishery of Bahrein, during the summer months; and for their subsistence during the winter, they have abundance of fish, with dates, and the produce of their flocks, in milk, &c. though corn is rarely seen among them; and rice, their only substitute for it, is brought by them from Muscat and Bahrein, to which ports it finds its way from India and the Persian coasts.

Next in order to Sharjee is a small town, called Fisht, which is less than two hours' sail to the north-east of it, and whose population is scanty and poor.

Eiman is another small town, near the shore, a few hours' sail to the north-eastward of this, and, like Sharjee, containing a population of four to five hundred souls. These, however, do not send boats to the pearl-banks of Bahrein, but live chiefly by fishing on their own coast, and the produce of their date-trees and flocks on shore, being as destitute as the others of corn, rice, or other grain.

In the interior of the country, which is here a flat sandy plain, extending for several leagues inward, to the foot of a low range

of broken hills, are Arab families, of the tribes of Beni Chittib and Naaim, both of which are numerous, and live in hair-tents, and ride on camels, which form their principal property, as they have no horses, and but few goats. Beyond this, in the interior, past the line of mountains to the westward, are Arabs of the tribe of Beni Aass, who are still more numerous than both the former combined, and whose state of existence is still more rude. These are described as living even without tents, lying on the bare earth, and having no other property but camels, of whose hair they make their garments, and on whose milk they entirely subsist. Their sandy wastes do not furnish them even with dates, and rice and corn are almost unknown to them. The flesh of the camels that die is sometimes eaten by them; but this is seldom, so that the various preparations of milk, in the form of cheese, butter, lebben, &c. may be said to constitute their common food. It is added, that throughout their territories there is but barely water enough for their camels, who drink no oftener than once in two or three days, and subsist on the scanty supply of bitter and thorny plants scattered

over these desert regions; and that this water is of so brackish and repulsive a taste, as to be drinkable only in moments of extreme thirst. All these people are Mohammedans, of the Wahabee sect, enthusiastically devoted to their religion, and ready, on all occasions, to array themselves in battle against its enemies.

From Eiman, north-eastward, in the line of the coast, and distant about two hours' sail, or about ten miles, is Oom-el-Ghiewan, which we just discovered at sun-rise, and stood in for it on an east-north-east course. In running towards Oom-el-Ghiewan, we had a clear soft bottom, and regular soundings, shoaling from twelve fathoms at seven miles off, to seven fathoms within three miles of the shore. The coast itself presented a line of white sandy beach, with date-groves on the plain; and at the distance of twenty to forty miles within this, rose a ridge of lofty and broken hills, running almost north and south in the direction of the shore.

A large fleet of boats, to the number of more than twenty sail, were seen standing after us astern, probably bound either to Ras-el-Khyma, or some other port along-shore;

but as we carried all sail, we soon lost sight of them. Other smaller rowing-boats pulled off from different parts of the coast, as if to speak with us; but these also, for the same reasons, were unable to come within hail.

At nine P.M. we had approached within three miles of the shore, and were then nearly abreast of Oom-el-Ghiewan, having it to bear south-east on our starboard bow, as we now steered north-east along the line of coast itself. The appearance of this place was that of a square enclosure, forming a walled village, as the dwellings within it were visible; a number of circular towers at unequal distances along the beach, and fragments of a former connecting wall; with detached houses and scattered huts, mingled with clusters of date-trees. On one of the round towers a flag-staff was seen, on which the Arab colours were displayed for a short while, and then hauled down again. We noticed also three large boats at anchor in a creek or back-water to the north-east, their masts appearing over a low tongue of sand, and several other boats dismantled and hauled up on the beach. The appearance of four English vessels had apparently created some surprise,

if not alarm, as most of the population were collected in a crowd on the beach as we passed.

We now hauled north-east along the coast, with a light breeze right aft, and had regular soundings of six and seven fathoms, on a sandy bottom, at the distance of three miles from the shore.

At noon, we had sailed about ten miles along a flat sandy coast, with but few trees on it; and were then just abreast of an isolated dwelling of some size, probably once a fortified post, seated amid a thin grove of date-trees, and called Beit Salin-el-Khamees, alluding, perhaps, to some story connected with the place. We were now in latitude  $25^{\circ} 38'$  north, by observation, and longitude  $55^{\circ} 22'$  east, by account; with the house described, bearing south-east, distant about three miles, in seven fathoms water, and the town of Jeziret-el-Hamra, just rising in sight, bearing east-north-east, distant seven or eight miles.

We stood on north-east, along the line of the coast, and having a fine leading breeze, were abreast of Jeziret-el-Hamra about three o'clock, our soundings continuing at six and

seven fathoms throughout. This town is seated on a small low island of sand, separated from the main by a strait, which is at all times fordable, and never admits a passage for the smallest boats.

At the period of the first expedition against the strong-holds of the Joassamees, in 1808, this was destroyed; and since that period it has never recovered itself, the few who saved themselves by flight having added to the population of Ras-el-Khyma for mutual strength and security. At present, however, this place still presents the appearance of many perfect buildings, with round towers and walls, all seemingly of white stone, though only a few fishermen resort here in the fair season.

The wind now slackened, and it was not until four P.M., after sailing about two miles on a north-east course, with the same soundings, that we perceived the town of Ras-el-Khyma, rising from the water-line at the foot of the lofty mountains in the east-north-east. We hauled immediately towards it, going little more than two miles an hour, and shoaling our water gradually from eight to six fathoms.

At sun-set, having gone about eight miles on a north-east by east course, we anchored in the last named depth, on a sandy bottom, with the following bearings: northern extreme of the town, south-east quarter south, three and a-half miles; town of Ramms, north-east by east, three-quarters east, eight miles; Jeziret-el-Hamra, south-west quarter west, ten miles; Rash Shahm, north-east half north, twenty-five miles; Ras Khassab, north-east three-quarters north, thirty-five miles; high land of Gombroon, north by east, three-quarters east, eighty miles; islands of the Great and Little Tombs, north by west half-west, thirty-five miles.

As the arrival of the squadron had excited a considerable degree of alarm in the minds of the natives, since they had been prepared to expect hostile measures, the whole of the night appeared to have been passed by them in preparation for defence, and we witnessed a continual discharge of musketry in different quarters of the town, and even of cannon, from the towers and forts.

Nov. 27th.—At day-light in the morning, a boat was sent from the Challenger, under the charge of Mr. Wimble, second lieutenant,

to take on shore Mr. Taylor and the Arab Mollah, as bearers of a letter from Mr. Bruce. The purport of this letter was briefly this : It stated the firm conviction of the British Government, that the capture of the vessels in the Red Sea, under their flag, was committed with a knowledge of their being English property; and waived all further discussion on that point. It insisted on the immediate restoration of the plundered property, amounting to about twelve lacks of rupees. It demanded also, that the commander of the piratical squadron, Ameer Ibrahim, should be delivered up for punishment, and that two of the sons of their chiefs should be placed in the hands of the Bombay Government as hostages for their future conduct. A refusal to comply with all, or any of these requisitions, it was added, would be considered as a defiance of the British power; and therefore noon was fixed for the return of a definitive answer, by which the future movements of the squadron would be regulated.

On the return of the bearers of this letter to the ship, they reported that they had landed on the beach, and made their way to

the gate of the town, which was guarded by persons within, who opened it only a few inches to receive the letter brought; that the gate was then closed in their faces; so that they were obliged to return to the boat, without having been permitted to enter any part of the town, or to go in any other than a straight line to the beach.

As Captain Bridges did not feel perfectly assured of the letter having reached its destination, and suspected that its not having been delivered into the hands of the Chief himself might be afterwards urged as an evasion of the requisitions it contained, he was desirous of ascertaining the fact more clearly, as well as of reconnoitring more closely in person the place of landing, the soundings, fortifications, &c. This wish was expressed to me by Captain Bridges himself, and my opinion of its practicability asked, which was followed up by a request that I would accompany him to assist in that duty, and serve him at the same time as interpreter, to which I readily assented.

We quitted the ship together about nine o'clock, and pulled straight to the shore, sounding all the way as we went, and gradu-

ally shoaling our water from six fathoms, the depth in which we rode, to two and a-half within a quarter of a mile of the beach, where four large dows lay at anchor, ranged in a line, with their heads to seaward, each of them mounting several pieces of cannon, and being full of men. We were hailed in passing these, gave the necessary reply, and passed on.

On landing on the beach, we found its whole length guarded by a line of armed men, some bearing muskets, but the greater number armed with swords, shields, and spears; most of them were negroes, whom the Joassamees spare in their wars, looking on them rather as property and articles of merchandize, than in the light of infidels or enemies. It at first appeared to us that this line would oppose our progress, since they were evidently placed there to cut off any approach to the town; but, on beckoning to those immediately opposite to our place of landing, a party of them came near. To these I communicated, in Arabic, our wish of being conducted to the presence of Hassan ben Rahma, the Chief himself, as we had some communications to make to him personally. This

was instantly complied with, and we proceeded under their escort, myself perfectly unarmed, and Captain Bridges wearing only a sword. As we were led through narrow passages, between lines of grass huts and small buildings, great pains were taken to prevent our seeing any thing to the right or the left, or making any observation on the plan of the town; while men, women, and children, who had all collected to see us pass, were driven before us by the spearmen, and made to fly in every direction.

When we reached the gate of the principal building, which was nearly in the centre of the town, we were met by the Pirate Chief, attended by a retinue of about fifty armed men. I offered him the Mohammedan salutation of peace, which he returned to me without hesitation, believing me to be, as represented, a merchant of Egypt, on my way to India, who had given my services to the English captain, as an interpreter, because I understood his tongue as well as my own, and wished that no blood might be spilt through ignorance or misconception of each other's meaning. After a few complimentary expressions on either side, he bade us be

seated. As we were in the public street, there were neither carpets, mats, nor cushions, but we all sat on the ground. I then observed to him, at the request of Captain Bridges, that as the messengers by whom the letter was sent to him in the morning, had not found access to his presence, we had come to ascertain from his own mouth, whether the letter had reached his hands, whether he perfectly understood its contents, and whether an answer would be given to it within the time specified, or at noon of the present day. He replied in the affirmative to all these, offered us repeated assurances of our being in perfect safety, and expressed a hope that the affair would be amicably accommodated. We repeated our assurances also, that no breach of faith would be made on our parts; and after some few enquiries and replies exchanged between us, we rose to depart, and were escorted by armed men, who cleared a path for us to the boat in the same way as we had come from it.

The Chief, Hassan ben Rahma, whom we had seen, was a small man, apparently about forty years of age, with an expression of cunning in his looks, and something parti-

ularly sarcastic in his smile. One of his eyes had been wounded, but his other features were good, and his teeth beautifully white and regular, his complexion very dark, and his beard scanty, and chiefly confined to the chin. He was dressed in the usual Arab garments, with a cashmeer shawl turban, and a scarlet benish, of the Persian form, to distinguish him from his followers. These were habited in the plainest garments, with long shirts and keffees, or handkerchiefs, thrown loosely over the head; and most of them, as well as their leader, wore large swords of the old Norman form, with long straight blades of great breadth, and large cross handles, perfectly plain; short spears were also borne by some, with circular shields of tough hide, ornamented with knobs of metal and gilding.

The town of Ras-el-Khyma is situated in lat.  $25^{\circ} 47'$  north, and long.  $55^{\circ} 34'$  east, by the joint observations of the squadron on the first expedition here, and confirmed by our own at present. It stands on a narrow tongue of sandy land, pointing to the north-eastward, presenting its north-west edge to the open sea, and its south-east one to a

creek, which runs up within it to the south-westward, and affords a safe harbour for boats. The town is probably half a mile in length, from north-east to south-west, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, from the beach of the sea to the beach of the creek. There appeared to be no continued wall of defence around it, though round towers and portions of walls are seen in several parts, probably once connected in line, but not yet repaired since their destruction. The strongest points of defence appear to be in a fortress at the north-east angle, and a double round tower, near the centre of the town; in each of which, guns are mounted; but all the other towers appear to afford only shelter for musketeers. The rest of the town is composed of ordinary buildings of unhewn stone, and huts of rushes and long grass, with narrow avenues winding between them. The present number of inhabitants may be computed at ten thousand at least, of whom probably three thousand may be males, capable of bearing arms, and certainly more than half of these are negroes, of African birth. The government is in undisputed possession of Hassan ben Rahma, the Chief; and his kinsman,

Ameer Ibrahim, is considered as the commodore of their maritime force. They are thought to have at present about sixty large boats out from their own port, manned with crews of from eighty to three hundred men each. Forty other boats, of a smaller size, may be counted among their auxiliaries, from the ports of Sharjee and Ramms on the Arabian coast. Charrack and Linga, on the Persian coast, and Luft, on the inside of the island of Kishma, are subject to their authority. Their force, if concentrated, would thus amount to at least a hundred vessels, with perhaps four hundred pieces of cannon, and about eight thousand fighting men, well armed with muskets, swords, and spears. No circumstances are ever likely to bring these, however, all together ; but on an invasion of their chief town, at Ras-el-Khyma, they could certainly command a large reinforcement of Wahabees, from the Desert, within ten or fifteen days' notice. The cannon and musketry of these pirates are chiefly procured from the vessels which they capture ; but their swords, shields, spears, and ammunition, are mostly brought from Persia.

The country immediately in the vicinity

of Ras-el-Khyma is flat and sandy; but on the south-east side of the creek spoken of, and all along from thence to the eastward, there appear to be extensive and thick forests of date-trees, the fruit of which forms the chief article of food both for the people and their cattle. At the termination of this flat plain, which may extend, in its various windings, from ten to twenty miles back, there rises a lofty range of apparently barren mountains. The highest point of their broken summits was estimated to be about six thousand feet above the level of the sea, and their general aspect was that of lime-stone; but we could obtain no specimens or fragments of it. White strata were seen running horizontally near the summits, preserving every where a perfect level, though the summits themselves were ragged and uneven. The highest point of these hills was nearly behind Ras-el-Khyma, in a south-east direction; to the north-east the ridge fell gradually, until it terminated in the capes of Khassab and Shahm, set in the bearings of our anchorage; and to the south-west it tapered away almost to a level with the plain, and lost itself in the Arabian Desert.

In these mountains live a people called Sheeheeheen, who are distinguished from all around them by having fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes, like Europeans, and by speaking a distinct language, which no one but themselves understand, and which has been compared by those who have heard it, to the cackling of a hen. They live both in villages and in tents, and acknowledge a Sheik of their own body as Chief. They have three towns near the coast, between Ras-el-Khyma and Cape Mussunndom, called Shahm, Khassab, and Jaadi, each of which gives its name to the nearest headland. These, however, are hardly considered to be ports, since the Sheeheeheen possess no trading or war-vessels, and only use the sea in fishing for the supply of their own immediate wants. Most of them speak Arabic, besides their own language, and they are all strict Mussulmans of the Soonnee sect, having hitherto successfully resisted the efforts of the Wahabees to effect their conversion.

The anchorage off Ras-el-Khyma is an open roadstead, exposed to all the fury of the northerly and north-west winds, which prevail in the Gulf, and throw a heavy sea

into this bay which then becomes also a lee shore. In approaching it from the offing, we shoaled our water gradually, on a sandy bottom, to six fathoms, within three miles of the beach, where our squadron anchored. In our way from the vessels to the beach, in the Challenger's boat, we sounded as we went along, and carried two fathoms and a half to within bare range of gun-shot from the houses: just beyond this, a ridge, or bank, with only ten feet on it, formed a sort of breakwater, running along parallel to the shore, at the distance of half a mile from the beach. Within this, the water deepened again to two fathoms and a half, and here the light dows rode in smooth water, within a hundred yards of the shore, being sheltered from the sea by the ridge spoken of. The mouth of the creek, or back-water, in which they haul up their vessels for greater security or repair, appeared to us to be about a mile and a half to the north-east of the extreme point of the town, along the line of the beach. The entrance to this creek is impeded by a bar, over which there are only eleven feet at high-water; so that it is im-

passable at all other times but by vessels of very easy draught.

The tides along this shore set from north-east to south-west, in the line of the coast; the north-east being the ebb, and the south-west the flood: the former winding round Cape Mussunndom, out of the Gulf, and the latter flowing up the Arabian shore. The rise and fall, while we lay there, was about six feet, and the rate not more than a mile and a half per hour, or just sufficient to swing the vessels in a light breeze; but no accurate observations were made to ascertain the time of high water at full and change.

About seven miles from Ras-el-Khyma, to the north-eastward, is a town called Ramms, which shows some towers and dwellings, and has also a creek, with a bar across its entrance. This place affords good shelter for boats, and is a dependency of the former, as well as Jeziret-el-Hamra, already described, lying south-west by west half-west, eleven miles from the town.

Captain Bridges and myself having returned to the Challenger, we waited until the hour of noon had passed, when a gun was

fired, the topsails sheeted home, and the signal made to prepare to weigh anchor. This was instantly followed by the whole of the squadron, though it was intended to wait another hour of grace for the answer from the shore. In the mean time a boat arrived, with deputies from the Chief, bringing a reply to the requisitions sent. In this, he stated the impossibility of restoring either the property demanded, since that had long since been divided and consumed ; or paying the amount of its value in money, as this was more than their whole wealth at the present moment could furnish. He peremptorily refused to deliver up the Ameer Ibrahim, who was his kinsman and near friend ; denying also that this chief was guilty of any thing which deserved punishment, in capturing, with the vessels under his command, the persons and property of idolaters and strangers to the true God. Deputies were offered to be sent to Bombay to treat on the affair ; but not in the light of hostages, as demanded,—since safe protection would be required for their going and returning. It was added however, that, as all things were of God, deliberation might possibly accord better

with his councils, than hasty determination; and it was therefore requested that time might be granted until the next day's noon, to know what His wisdom had decreed to take place between them.

The Letter of Public Instructions from the Government of Bombay had ordered that, on the refusal of the Joassamee Chief to comply with the requisitions therein stated, the squadron was to quit the place, but not without signifying to him that he might expect the displeasure of the British Government to be visited on him and his race. Notwithstanding this, however, and the insolent as well as evasive answer of the Chief, it was determined to allow him until the following noon to deliberate; and our sails were accordingly furled, and the signal for weighing anchor again for the present annulled.

At sun-set the wind having freshened from the north-west, and a heavy swell setting into the bay, it was deemed imprudent to continue at anchor there during the night: the squadron therefore weighed in company, and stood out to sea, the wind increasing to a gale towards midnight.

Nov. 28th.—It was intended, on our leaving Ras-el-Khyma, to have returned again to the anchorage there at sun-rise this morning; but the gale having obliged us to keep the sea, we found ourselves at day-light nearly over with the island of Kishma, on the Persian coast, having gradually deepened our water in mid-channel to forty-five fathoms, and from thence progressively shoaled again.

At eight A. M. we had closed in with Kishma, and had the smaller island of Angar under our lee to the north-east. The land had broken off the heavy swell of the sea; and finding ourselves in smooth water, the signal was made for the Mercury to lead in and anchor in the bight between the islands.

We accordingly stood in-shore, gradually shoaling our water to ten fathoms within about three miles of the southern edge of Kishma, where the soundings are erroneously marked in Arrowsmith's chart of 1810, as five fathoms, at a distance of six miles.

Bearing up from hence east-north-east along the line of the coast, and shoaling from ten to five fathoms as we approached the island of Angar, we anchored at noon in that depth, on a muddy ground. Our place

of anchorage, by careful observation, was found to be in lat.  $26^{\circ} 40'$  north, and long.  $55^{\circ} 41'$  east, with the following bearings:—western extreme of Kishma, west by south twenty miles; eastern visible ditto, east half-south, ten miles; southern extreme of Angar, closed in far over Cape Mussunndom, south, five miles; northern extreme of Angar, east by south, three miles and a half; ruins of a town on Angar, east by south half-south, three miles; nearest part of Kishma, north, two miles.

The island of Kishma is the largest of all those in the Persian Gulf, being about sixty miles in length from north-east to south-west; and nearly twenty miles in its greatest breadth, from near Luft, on its northern shore, to the point near Angar, on its southern one. It is called by the Arabs, Jeziret Tuweel, or Long Island, and is said to have been once thickly peopled by them. Their deserted villages, indeed, still remain; but the inhabitants have been driven out by the Joassamees, who plundered them in successive debarkations on their coast, carried off all their cattle and moveables, and obliged them to seek refuge in the opposite moun-

tains of Persia. The valleys are still said to be verdant, and both dates and water abundant; but the flocks and herds, once so numerous here, have followed the fate of their former possessors. The central range of hills, which traverses the island of Kishma lengthwise, appears to have been originally a table land, or elevated plain; but this being worn down, and broken at irregular intervals, presents a line of fantastic elevations, of moderate height, or generally under one thousand feet. The soil is white and soft, and, according to report, antimony is found in it. The hills themselves are perfectly barren; but the valleys of the interior are said to be in general fertile. This island, which is called Kishom, or Queixome, in the old voyages of the Portuguese, is described by them to have been in their days sufficiently fertile, but very unhealthy; and this complaint against the salubrity of its climate still continues. It is separated from the main land by a navigable strait of about five miles in general breadth, and having five fathoms water in mid-channel. To the north-east of Kishma, about five leagues, is the island of Ormuz, the Harmozia of the

Greeks, and the celebrated emporium of the Portuguese, as well as the port of Shah Abbas at Gomberoon, called after him Bunder Abassi, of both of which mention has been already made.

At the eastern extremity of Kishma is the island of Larack, (the Oracti of the Greeks, with the Arabic article prefixed,) which is said to be high, and to afford a shelter from the north-west gales under its lee; and at the southern edge of Kishma, about midway between its eastern and western extremes, is the island of Angar, which formed the excellent anchorage of our squadron. This last island is called by the Arabs Eneeam, and is separated from Kishma by a strait of about a mile wide, with a clear passage through, of six fathoms, and safe anchorage both within and on either side of it. The island is low towards its edges, moderately high in the centre, nearly round in form, and seemingly from four to five miles in diameter, its southern extreme being in lat.  $26^{\circ} 37'$  north.

Some observations made on this island during the expedition against the Joassamees in 1809, state that the soil of which the

island is composed is chiefly sand and clay. Wherever the sea has made an irruption, the clay is petrified into hard rock; and not long since the roots of a plantation of date-trees were discovered in a complete state of petrification. Immediately beneath the surface of the soil, in a valley, which has been seemingly overflowed by the sea, salt was also found in large spiculæ. On one of the highest parts of this island were found two excavations, which were conceived to be mines; and from the appearance of the soil, it was thought probable that iron and brimstone had been found therein; indeed sand of a ferruginous quality abounds over every part of the island.

There is said to be fresh water on the south-west point only; but this article was formerly collected, during the rains, in large tanks, of which several are still remaining in a state that would require little expense to put them in perfect repair. In a failure of rain, water could be had from the villages of Kishma only; but these, as well as the ruined ones still seen on Angar, are now all depopulated and abandoned. The island of Kishma, and that of Angar, to the south

of it, seem to have been included in the ancient name of Ongana, which might easily have been corrupted into Angar, and applied only to the last by the moderns, since the former was distinguished most appropriately by the Arabs as the 'long island,' in contradistinction to all the others of the Gulf.

We had the tides in our anchorage here similar in rates, course of setting, and height of rise, to those of Ras-el-Khyma, but we had not experienced the tide of three miles per hour, which is marked in the chart to run in mid-channel. No observations had been taken for the magnetic variation since my being on board the vessel; but half a point was allowed in a rough way on the courses steered: the variation of the compass in 1809 was  $8^{\circ} 45'$  west, as marked in the charts.

The island of Angar, which is called Hingam by the Arabs, is the one mentioned by Nearchus, as situated at the distance of forty stadia from the greater island of Oarakhta, and which he says was sacred to Neptune, and reported to be inaccessible.\* On this

\* Voyage of Nearchus, vol. i. p. 59.

passage the learned illustrator of his voyage says, 'It was inaccessible, perhaps, from some native superstition, like that attending the retreat of the Nereid in the Indian Ocean, and sacred to Neptune in a sense we do not understand. The Greeks attributed the names of their own<sup>t</sup> deities to those of other nations, adorned with similar symbols; and as there is a conspicuous tomb on this spot at present, it is by no means impossible that the representations on its walls, if antique, might still unravel the superstition alluded to in the Greek Neptune.\* The distance given by Nearchus is but little in excess; and is as near the truth as the guess of any modern navigator would be, who had only seen, but not actually measured it. Modern accounts of Hingam, or Angar, as it is called in the charts, make it appear that the island was at some former period well peopled, since the ruins of a considerable town, and many reservoirs for water similar to those of Ormuz, were observed there by Col. Kinnier; and the report of Captain Wainwright makes the island to be productive of metals, of which some

\* Vincent's Dissertation, b. 4. vol. i. p. 355.

mines were formerly worked here. In 1800 it was recommended by Sir John Malcolm to Lord Wellesley, and in 1809 by Captain Wainwright to the Bombay Government, as a place admirably adapted for an English settlement; and it must be confessed that the advantages which it offers of an excellent harbour, safe and easy of access at all times, with good water, and a cultivatable soil, are not to be found in any other island of the Persian Gulf that could be so easily defended, or is so well situated for guarding the entrance to the sea as this is.

The island of Kishma, or Kismis as it is called in the charts, on the southern edge of which Angar is situated, is the largest and the most fertile island in the Persian Gulf. It is the Oarakhta of Nearchus, the Ounoctha of Ptolemy, the Oracla of Pliny, and the Doracta of Strabo, — variations common enough to all the ancient geographers, when using foreign names, especially of places so far distant and so little known as this is. It is called Queixomo by the Portuguese, and Kismis by the English, which is thought to be the same word, and is conceived to be derived from its production of a small grape

without seeds, called Kismis in Persia, and Sultana in Turkey, particularly at Smyrna, where it is an article of export to England. By the Arabs, however, this island is called Jeziret-Toweel, and by the Persians Jeziret-Drauz, both implying literally 'Long Island;' and as there is at its eastern end a town called Kassm, this is more likely to have given it the names of Kism, Kishm, and Kismis, than the production of the fruit mentioned. It is said to have had formerly three hundred villages upon it; and the report may be credited, for the fertility of the soil would be quite sufficient to support them. At present, however, there are not a dozen hamlets that are inhabited; though the situation, the soil, and the climate, are still as favourable as ever to population. The channel between this island and the continent of Persia is navigable for large ships; and our frigates, cruisers, and transports, went through it during the expedition of 1809 against the Joassamee pirates, when several of their towns and strong-holds in this channel were destroyed. The ship Mercury beat up through it from the westward within the present year; and the officers

describe the channel to be clear and safe, the shores on both sides well wooded and watered, and the scenery of the whole channel interesting.

As on most of the islands throughout these seas, there are several dome-topped sepulchres seen in different parts of this; and it is quite probable that a similar custom of venerating the tombs of particular characters prevailing before Mohammedanism was in existence, might have given rise to the story of King Erythras and his tomb in this island. The Greek historian says, 'In Oarakhta the inhabitants pretended to show the tomb of Erythras, who, they say, was the first sovereign of their territory, and who communicated his name to the Erythrean Ocean, or at least to that part of it which is comprehended in the Gulf of Persia.\*' After all that has been said on the origin of this name, I most cordially agree with the learned illustrator of Nearchus, that its most probable derivation is from Edom, a Hebrew word, signifying *red*,—and given as a name to Esau, because he desired to be fed with the *red* pottage which lost him

\* Voyage of Nearchus, vol. i. p. 58.

his birtright.\* Though Yam-Suph, or the 'Weedy Sea,' is a name strictly applicable to the Arabian Gulf, notwithstanding Bruce's assertion to the contrary; yet the Sea of Edom, as the name of the land it bordered on, is much more natural; and while the Greeks translated this literally into their own tongue by the word Erythrean, they would apply it as readily to every part of the ocean approached from this sea on the east, as they did the term Atlantic to the ocean approached by Mount Atlas at the Pillars of Hercules on the west. The discovery of a King Erythras, and even of his sepulchre at the entrance of a more remote branch of this sea, would be too conformable to the taste and fashion of the Greeks, to draw forth much critical enquiry into its truth at the time of its being first suggested; and, for the same reason, it can excite but little surprise now.†

Nov. 29th.—Having lain at the anchorage of Angar during the whole of the night, and the strength of the north-west gale being abated, we weighed with the squadron soon

\* Genesis cap. 25, v. 30.

† Vincent's Dissertation, b. 4. p. 350.

after sun-rise, and stood across the Gulf towards Ras-el-Khyma, having, in going out, the same soundings we had on coming in.

At noon we observed in lat.  $26^{\circ} 32'$  north, and were in long.  $55^{\circ} 36'$  east, with the centre of Angar bearing north-east, and the western extreme of Kishma west by north; with soundings in twenty fathoms, on mud. The winds were light, and hanging from the westward through the afternoon; and at sun-set we had the extremes of the Arabian land bearing from east by north to south by east half-east, but no part of the coast yet visible above the horizon, and our soundings deepened to forty-two fathoms.

Nov. 30th.—We had light winds through the night from off the land, and at sun-rise had shoaled our water to twenty-three fathoms on a sandy bottom, the extremes of the Arabian land from south by east to north-east by east. At 9. 30. A.M. we saw the town of Ras-el-Khyma, bearing south-east, just rising above the horizon, with four large dows at anchor abreast of it. At noon we observed in lat.  $25^{\circ} 50'$  north, and were in long.  $55^{\circ} 34'$  east, with the extremes of the Arabian land from south-south-west to north-

east by north, and the centre of the town of Ras-el-Khyma, south-east, with soundings in ten fathoms, on mud. At 2 P.M. having gone about four miles south-east since noon we anchored in the roads, in five fathoms water, with the centre of the town south-east half-south, distant about three miles, and the extremes of the Arabian coast from north-east half-north, to south-west quarter-south.

The afternoon passed without further communication with the shore than the sending a letter to the Chief, signifying the cause of our quitting the bay so suddenly, and announcing our return, as well as granting him until the following noon to prepare his final answer to the original requisitions made.

DEC. 1st.—We waited throughout the morning at our anchorage, in hourly expectation of a deputation from the shore, when at length, about noon, a boat appeared, bringing some messengers from Hossein ben Rahma. The substance of the answer brought by them was equally as unsatisfactory as their former replies; and they wound this up by saying, that if the commander of the squadron would receive ambassadors on board his ship from the Chief, and leave pledges

for his conducting them safely to the presence of the Governor in Bombay to treat of the affair in question, as well as for their safe return to Ras-el-Khyma when such treaty was concluded, they should be sent with instructions for that purpose; but that if he refused this, and persisted in his original demand, the issue must be left in the hands of Him from whom all events proceed, and what He had decreed must come to pass.

The messengers were accordingly ordered to quit the ship, and repair with all possible haste to the shore; it being signified to them, at the same time, that the final answer of their Chief could be received in no other light than as a defiance of the power of the squadron to enforce our demands, and that therefore all further negotiation was at an end.

The signal was now made to weigh, and stand closer in towards the town. It was then followed by the signal to prepare for battle, and shortly afterwards by the signal to engage the enemy. The squadron bore down nearly in line, under easy sail, and with the wind right aft, or on shore; the Mercury being on the starboard-hand, the Challenger

next in order in the centre, the Vestal following in the same line, and the Ariel completing the division. The north-easternmost dow had weighed to sail up along-shore, and get closer to the other three, the approach to which was protected by the ten-foot bank or ridge described as running along parallel to the beach there. It was intended that the Ariel should have cut this vessel off; but, as the wind was light, there was no approaching her in sufficient time for that purpose.

A large fleet of small boats was seen standing in from Cape Mussunndom at the same time; but these escaped by keeping still closer along-shore, and at length passing over the bar and getting into the creek or back-water behind the town.

The squadron continued to stand on in a right line towards the four anchored dows, gradually shoaling from the depth of our anchorage to two and a-half fathoms, where stream anchors were dropped under-foot, with springs on the cables, so that each vessel lay with her broadside directly facing the shore. A fire was now opened from all in succession, the Vestal having discharged the first gun, and these were all directed to the four dows

anchored close in-shore. These boats were full of men, brandishing their weapons in the air, their whole number exceeding probably six hundred persons. Some of the shot from the few long guns of the squadron reached the shore, and were buried in the sand; others fell across the bows and near the hulls of the dows to which they were directed; but the carronades all fell short, as we were then fully a mile from the beach. The master of the Challenger was now sent with a boat to sound, in order to ascertain if it were practicable at that time of tide to approach any nearer to the enemy; but he found the bank of ten feet to be only a few yards within the ship, which drew fourteen. The Vestal and Ariel, however, dropped to within six inches of their own draught of water; and in the Mercury we had not a foot to spare; yet, even with the risk of grounding, our fire was ineffectual; and out of at least three hundred shot that were discharged from the squadron jointly, not one of them seemed to have done any execution.

The fire was returned from the dows with as little success, all their shot falling short; but two of the forts, after some time passed

in preparation, at length opened on us, and their fire was much more ably directed than even ours had been: none of their shot fell far from us; and one of them carried away the Vestal's fore-shrouds in its passage, and then dropped under the weather-bow.

The Arab colours were displayed on all the forts; crowds of armed men were assembled on the beach, bearing large banners on poles, and dancing around them with their arms, as if rallying around a sacred standard, so that no sign of submission or conquest was witnessed throughout.

Seeing that all our efforts were unavailing from the ships, and judging that there was no chance of success in attempting to cut these dows out with our boats, though every boat of the squadron had been hoisted out before we left our first anchorage for that purpose, the signal was made to weigh. The Ariel continued to discharge about fifty shot after all the others had desisted, but with as little avail as before; and thus ended this wordy negotiation, and the bloodless battle to which it eventually led.

The instructions of the Bombay Government had ordered that, on the failure of the

application for redress, the squadron should retire, after signifying to the Chief, that he might expect the displeasure of the British nation to be visited on him in return for his hostile acts against their flag. Had this been strictly complied with, the Joassamees might have remained in a state of suspense with regard to the capture of our vessels, agitated between hope and fear; and time would have been given to the Bombay Government to prepare a more formidable expedition against them, without exposing their vessels to capture during the interval. But by this act of open warfare, which admitted of a triumph over our weakness, and a contempt of our incapacity to accomplish what we had attempted, all peace was at an end, and the slightly armed merchant-ships of the English were exposed from this moment to be attacked in their passage; since they must all pass in sight from Ras-el-Khyma, on entering and on departing from the Gulf. It is true that the destruction of the four dows which lay at anchor in their harbour prepared for such depredations would have been a temporary good, if it could have been effected; but even this would have been but a trifling reduction

of their blockading force, while they had, as we were assured from other quarters, fifteen sail cruising at the entrance of the Gulf, from Ras-el-Had on the Arabian side, to Cape Jasks on the Persian shore; and five other sail blockading the entrance of the Bussorah river. At all events, it would have been wise to have first weighed all the obstacles, so as to decide whether they could be overcome or not, before undertaking what, if accomplished, would have been a very doubtful benefit; and what, if failed in, was likely to make the most unfavourable impressions, and lead to very serious consequences before they could be provided against by any counteracting force.

It was about four o'clock when we made sail from the bay and stood out to sea. We now all disarmed; since every one in the ship, whether passengers, servants, or others, had girded on his weapons, under an idea that, as the boats were hoisted out to attack, our own vessels might have to repel an assault in return; and that all, in short, might be called upon to lift their hands in defence. It would be difficult to paint the trembling alarm, the tears, and womanish agitation of

the two Persian Secretaries of the English Resident on this occasion. Colonel Corsellis and myself had succeeded in animating all the rest, however, by our example; and Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor, who had gone on board the Challenger before the bombarding commenced, had taken the Arab Mollah and the Bahrein pilot with them.

At sun-set the crew were summoned by the tolling of the ship's bell to attend the funeral service of one of their shipmates. This was an European, who had been some time in a state of great weakness; and, on hearing of the preparation for battle, was so much agitated by the discharge of the first gun, that he fell back and expired. The simplicity with which this solemn service was performed, and the devout attention with which it was witnessed by the sailors, who but an hour before were lost in one roar of blasphemy and imprecation, was particularly impressive; though, like the track which their vessel ploughs so deeply on the ocean, it was in a moment afterwards forgotten and effaced.

DEC. 2d.—The squadron had continued together during the night, on their way to Shar-

jee, where demands similar to those which had been already refused at Ras-el-Khyma were to be made. This town was known to bear about south-west from our point of departure from the latter, at the distance of forty miles; but from an unnecessary fear of approaching the shore, the squadron had all steered out west-south-west, after the example of the Commodore; in consequence of which, we had no land in sight when daylight appeared.

In leaving our inner anchorage at Ras-el-Khyma, and steering west-south-west to the offing, our soundings were by no means so regular as in the course of our approach from the outer anchorage to the shore had been. We first gradually deepened to three and a half fathoms, and had then four and four and a half at a cast, returning again to three, and immediately deepening to five, which proved the existence of overfalls, or ridges and banks, in the bottom. Beyond ten fathoms, we deepened more regularly to twelve, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, eighteen, twenty, and twenty-one, at intervals of an hour between sun-set and midnight; and then shoaled again to twenty, eighteen, seventeen and a half, seventeen, and sixteen and a half, in

hourly intervals from midnight until sun-rise, without once altering our course from west-south-west, and having gone on an average of three knots per hour, or about forty miles by the log, during the whole run. The land-breeze dying away at an early hour, we all lay becalmed; and, from inattention and bad steerage, were so widely separated from each other, as to be scarcely able to distinguish any signals made. The Commodore, growing impatient of this delay, sent his boat from a distance of at least three miles, in the calm, to communicate his intention of sending off the *Vestal* from hence to Bombay with dispatches relative to the issue of the negotiation at Ras-el-Khyma, and to desire Mr. Bruce to prepare for that purpose with all possible speed. This, indeed, was a measure which ought to have been done in the opinion of all, except the immediate leaders themselves, on the first day of our anchoring at Ras-el-Khyma, when the ship to be dispatched would have gone off with a fine north-west gale, which, by carrying her straight into the regular monsoon of the season, would have ensured her passage to Bombay in six or seven days. She had been led about, however, from Ras-el-Khyma to

Angar, and from Angar to Ras-el-Khyma again, without either necessity or advantage; and even now had again been taken fifty miles on an opposite course to that of her destination; during all which delay, the north-west gale, and with it the chance of a quick passage, had ceased, and the prospect now before them was that of a long and tedious voyage. This was an evil of the utmost importance; for, as the Government of Bombay had expressed its intentions of preparing and assembling forces for an expedition into the Persian Gulf, its departure would depend entirely on the advices received as to the result of the present negotiation; and the season of the fair weather monsoon being now far advanced, the delay of a fortnight would render it too late to embark them during the present season, the loss of which season would occasion a suspension of all operations for at least six months.

At noon we observed in lat.  $25^{\circ} 22'$  north, and were in long.  $54^{\circ} 43'$  east, still calm, in fifteen fathoms water, and no land yet in sight in the point of bearing to which the squadron were directed, though the high land of Ras-el-Khyma and the island of Bomosa were still

visible. The signal being made for commanders to visit the Commodore, preparatory to our parting company, Colonel Corsellis and myself, who had been promised a passage to Bombay in whichever vessel might be first dispatched, were transferred from the Mercury to the Vestal, and soon after this the squadron separated,—the Mercury and Ariel to go to Sharjee, Linga, and Charrack, for negotiations similar to those entered into at Ras-el-Khyma; ourselves, to Bombay; and the Challenger to convoy us clear of the Gulf, and from thence proceed to Muscat to give information of hostilities, and afford protection to vessels bound upward from thence.

It was about four o'clock when the colours were hauled down, as we made sail: we then steered out to the eastward, with the sea-breeze setting in at north, and gradually came up hourly to north-north-east at midnight, having gone about thirty-two miles, and deepened our water hourly to twelve, twelve and a half, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen fathoms, always on a sandy bottom.

DEC. 3rd.—The wind having drawn round progressively to the north-west, we steered

from midnight to sun-rise a course of north-north-east, making a distance of thirty miles, deepening our water on the whole to forty-three fathoms, on a soft bottom, and then having the extremes of the Arabian land to bear from east by north to south-south-east, with the high land of Gomberoon north-east. The wind now became light and variable, and at ten A.M. it freshened up from the south-south-east, drawing round southerly, and settling at last at south-west.

At noon we observed in lat.  $26^{\circ} 17'$  north, and were in long.  $56^{\circ} 8'$  east, the island of the Great Quoin bearing east-north-east half-east, and the extremes of the Arabian land from east half-north to south half-west. The south-west wind continuing fresh and fair, we stood on to the eastward, with all sail, going nearly eight knots. At one P.M. the islands called the Quoins became visible from the deck, and at three P.M. we saw through the passage between them and Cape Mussunndom. The Quoins are two small islands, or masses of rocks, high, barren, and presenting cliffs on all sides, so as seemingly to preclude landing on any part of them; they are consequently uninhabited, and per-

haps as yet untrodden by human foot. These islands are less than a league distant from each other, but have a clear passage of twenty fathoms between them, which is never however attempted but in cases of the most urgent necessity, from the probability of irregular blasts of wind, eddy currents, and the forbidding aspect of their cliffy shores. They lie about three leagues to the north-north-east of Cape Mussunndom, and afford a clear passage of fifty fathoms between; though even this, broad as it is, is seldom run through but with a steady leading wind, to secure success.

Cape Mussunndom, erroneously called Mussledom in most charts, is itself composed of a cluster of high and rugged islands, completely barren, with steep cliffs on all sides, and seemingly rent from each other by some great concussion of nature, which tore them in separate masses from the high promontory of the continent behind them. Between all of these, it is probable that there are passages of deep water; but as a necessity of navigating through them could hardly ever exist for large ships, so the attempt would be imprudent in the extreme; since hidden

rocks and violent currents might be expected there, as well as sudden gusts through the chasms which the channels of the islands form.

The actual point of this Cape is extremely difficult to fix with precision; for, opposite the termination of the promontory of the continent are several broken islands, all of them high, steep, and barren, and, by the abrupt chasms that appear between them, they seem to have been separated both from the main land, and from each other, by some violent convulsion of nature. The water is known to be of great depth all around and between these islands; and this circumstance, with the narrowness of the channels, occasions continual eddies, which are dangerous to ships passing near them. An instance is mentioned of an English ship of war anchoring in upwards of one hundred fathoms water in a calm, to prevent being driven on the rocks; and this was within half a mile of the cliffs.

This promontory is unquestionably the Maketa of Nearchus, seen by him from the opposite coast of Persia, and estimated at a day's sail in distance; and the information

given to him by those acquainted with the country, that this vast promontory was a part of Arabia, and that from the ports in its neighbourhood spices were exported to Assyria, proves the existence of a very ancient commerce between the Arabs of these parts and India, from which such spices must have been brought.\* It is no doubt also the same cape which is named Mount Pasabo by Marcian, and Asabo by Ptolemy, who calls the range, of which this is the termination, the Black Mountains; but I cannot help thinking the construction a forced one, which makes the combination of these names to mean the Black Mountains of the South, from a supposed affinity between Asaba and the Arabic word Asswad, black, as suggested by Sir Harford Jones. Dr. Vincent's interpretation of Sabo, as sometimes signifying the south, is more happy; but even then, it would be only to the very northernmost Arabs that this relative term would be a just one; for, to all the Arabs of the coast of Yemen, Hadramaut, &c. who, as navigators, were likely to have fixed the name, these mountains would be in fact northern ones.

\* Vincent's Nearchus, vol. i. p. 51.

The proper name of the Cape, as pronounced by all the Arabs of these parts, is Ras-el-Mussunndom ; so that the other conjecture of Sir Harford Jones, as supposing this name to be a corruption of Ma-Salaum, or Cape Safety, is not more happy than his former one. The ceremony which he describes, as performed by the Lascars or country sailors of vessels coming into the Gulf, I have never witnessed ; nor could I, after all my enquiries, learn that such a custom existed ; so that the conjecture as to the name, and the reason adduced in support of it, seem to rest on equally frail grounds.\*

The distance from Cape Mussunndom to the opposite point of Ras-Mobarack, or the 'Blessed Cape,' on the Persian shore, is about ten leagues ; so that the entrance of the Gulf is sufficiently broad for all the purposes of navigation ; and the land, being high, is distinctly visible on both sides at once, from any part of the channel. This Ras Mobarack, or Bombarrack, as it is called, though placed in its right position by M'Cluer, is thrown down near Cape Jaskes by Arrowsmith, with-

\* See Vincent's Dissertation, vol. i. p. 321.

out any statement of authorities for the alteration.

The wind drew round from the south-west again to south, and, blowing thus right into the Gulf, obliged us to tack, and try to beat in mid-channel, in which we were slightly favoured by a current still setting outward, as the effect of the last north-west gale.

At sun-set we had the visible extremes of the Arabian land bearing from west-north-west to south-west by south; the island of the Great Quoin north-west half-north; the island of the Little Quoin north-west half-north; and the outermost island of the Cape, which is generally called Mussledom Island, north-west by west half-west; with the visible extremes of the Persian land from north-west by north to south-east. Our soundings having now ceased to be a guide, as we had no bottom at fifty fathoms, the lead was discontinued, and we still beat to windward until midnight.

DEC. 4th.—During the early part of the morning it was calm, and this was succeeded just before daylight by light breezes, varying from west-north-west to east, or nearly

all round the compass, having at sun-rise the extremes of the Arabian shore from north by west half-west to south-south-west half-west, and a portion of the Persian land south-south-east.

At noon we were again becalmed, and observed in lat.  $25^{\circ} 48'$  north, long.  $56^{\circ} 42'$  east, the Arabian land bearing from north-west to south-west by south.

In less than half an hour afterwards, a strong breeze freshened up from the south-west, which obliged us to double-reef the top-sails, and send down royal yards and masts, the ship going eight knots on a bow-line, steering a south-south-east course, and close-hauled to the wind. This continued until sun-set, when the only visible land was a part of the Arabian coast, bearing west-south-west; and at midnight we were steering a point off, with the same breeze, and going nine knots free.

DEC. 5th.—The wind had drawn round to the westward after midnight, and gradually passed it to north-west by north at sunrise, going eight knots throughout on a south-east course, the high land of Arabia then bearing

from south-south-east to south-south-west, very distant. At noon, however, we approached Muscat, the principal port of the Arabian Sea, where it was intended we should separate, leaving the Commodore to return to the Persian Gulf, and proceeding ourselves to Bombay.

## CHAPTER IX.

### HARBOUR AND TOWN OF MUSCAT,\* AND VOY- AGE FROM THENCE TO BOMBAY.

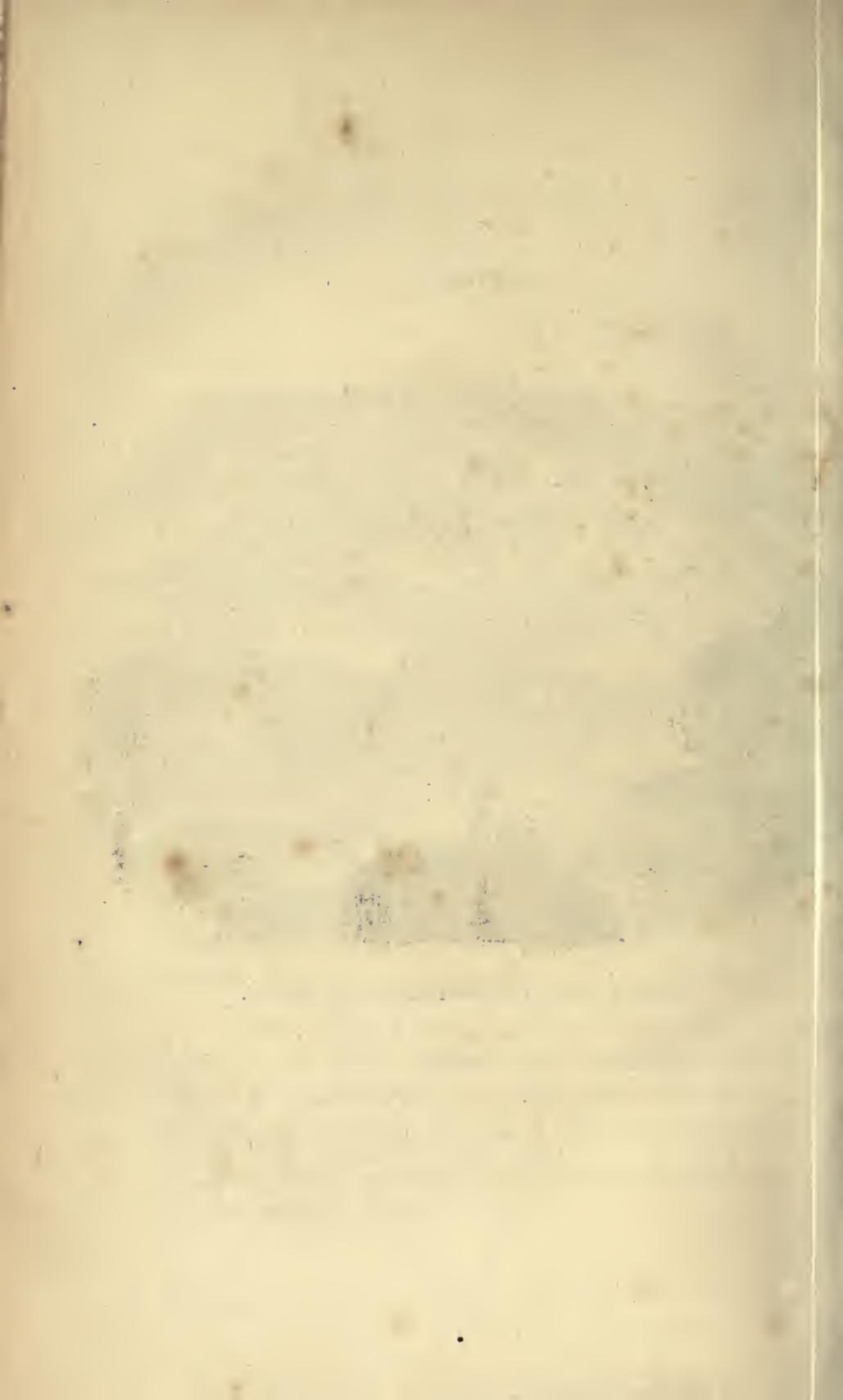
THE harbour of Muscat, which lies in latitude  $23^{\circ} 38'$  north, and longitude  $59^{\circ} 15'$  east, is formed by a small cove, or semicircular bay, environed on all sides, except at its entrance, by lofty, steep, and barren rocks, and extending not more than half a mile in length from the town, at the head of the cove, to the outer anchorage, in the mouth of

\* A small portion of this description of Muscat has appeared in one of the new Annuals for 1829, 'The Friendship's Offering,' it being furnished by me at the request of its editor, Mr. Pringle, to accompany the View of Muscat, engraved by Jeavons, from a painting by Witherington, after a sketch of Colonel Johnson, of the Bombay Engineers; of which the accompanying vignette is a faithful copy.

CHAPTER IX.



HARBOUR, TOWN, AND FORTIFICATIONS OF MUSCAT.



it; and not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth from fort to fort, which guards the entrance on the east and west. The entrance to this cove is from the northward, and the water deep, shoaling quickly from thirty to fifteen fathoms at the cove's mouth. Ships entering it from the northward, with a fair wind, should go no farther in than ten fathoms before anchoring, as the ground does not hold well; and within this, there is but little room to drive. In entering it from the west, with a southerly wind, a ship should keep close to the small rock, called Fisherman's Rock, at the north-east point of Muscat Island, as there is deep water all along its edge; and on opening the ships in the harbour, it would be necessary to brace sharp up, and luff round close to the wind, under short sail, as the wind is often squally in coming over the high land from that quarter; and as there is not an inch of room to lose in fetching the anchorage, without tacking from the harbour's mouth, ships of war, and vessels making but a short stay here, usually lie well out, in fifteen to twenty fathoms water, with Fisherman's Rock open on the east, and the town of Muttrah open on the

west ; but this would be neither safe nor convenient for merchant-ships having to receive or discharge cargo. These therefore generally lie farther up towards the town, in the bight between it and the westernmost fort, where they moor head and stern, or in tiers, in three, four, and five fathoms water. There is another middle anchorage, well calculated for vessels wishing to make a stay of a few days, which is sufficiently secure, and yet leaves them always in readiness to weigh for sea. This is between the eastern and western forts, and nearly in the centre of the harbour, in six, seven, and eight fathoms water ; and is the spot in which the Imaum's frigates and other large ships generally anchor.

The town of Muscat is seated near the shore, at the bottom of the hills, and in the south-western quarter of the cove described. It is of an irregular form, and meanly built, having apparently no good edifices in it, excepting the residence of the Imaum, and a few of his nearest relatives, and others holding the first posts of government. It is walled around, with some few round towers at the

principal angles, after the Arabian manner ; but this is only towards the land-side, the part facing the sea being entirely open. Before this wall, towards the land, was originally a dry ditch, but it is now nearly filled up, and this side may in all respects be considered its weakest one. For its defence, towards the sea, there are three principal forts and some smaller batteries, all occupying commanding positions, and capable of opposing the entrance into the harbour even of the largest ships. The walled town is certainly less than a mile in circuit ; but the streets being narrow, and the dwellings thickly placed, without much room being occupied by open squares, courts, or gardens, the estimated population of ten thousand, given, as they say here, by a late census of the fixed inhabitants, may not exceed the truth. Of these, about nine-tenths are pure Arabs and Mohammedans ; the remainder are principally Banians and other Hindoos from Guzerat and Bombay, who reside here as brokers and general traders, and are treated with great lenity and tolerance. There are only three or four Jews, and no Christians

of any description, resident in the place; though, as far as I could learn, there was no law or custom that excluded any class.

Besides this walled town, there is an extensive suburb without or behind it, formed of the dwellings of the poorer class of people, who live in huts of reed, and cabins made of the branches of trees interwoven with mats of grass, in the same way as at Mocha, Jedda, Hodeida; and the other large towns on the western side of Arabia on the Red Sea. The population of this suburb may amount to three thousand, a portion of whom are by origin, Persians, and settlers from the opposite coasts near the mouth of the Gulf.

The Government of Muscat is entirely in the hands of the Imaum. The power of this Prince extends, at the present moment, from Ras-el-Had, on the south-east, to Khore Fakan, near Ras-el-Mussunndom, on the north-west; and from the sea-shore on the north-east, to from three to six days' journeys inland on the south-west. The whole of this territory is called *امان* Amān, implying the land of safety or security, as contrasted with the uncivilized and unsafe countries by which it is bounded. On the north, as before ob-

served, it has the sea ; on the south, are the Arabs of Mazeira, who are described as a cruel and inhospitable race, and whose shores are as much avoided, from a dread of falling into the hands of such a people, as from the real dangers which it presents to those who coast along it. On the east, the sea also forms its boundary ; and on the west are several hostile tribes of Bedouins, who dispute among themselves the watering-places and pasturage of the Desert, and sometimes threaten the borders of the cultivated land. The southernmost of these unite with those of Mazeira, and still retain their original indifference to religion ; but the northernmost are by degrees uniting with the Wahabees ; and being infected, as soon as they join them, with the fanaticism of that sect, they are daily augmenting the number of the Imaum's enemies, and even now give him no small degree of apprehension for the safety of his northern frontier.

Throughout this space, thus distinguished by the name of Amān, and which is somewhat more extensive now than it was under the predecessors of the present governor, are scattered towns, villages, and hamlets, in

great abundance. The face of the country is generally mountainous within-land, and the mountains are in general rugged and bare; but, as they are very lofty, the dews, of which they facilitate the fall, and the clouds which they arrest, give a mild and agreeable temperature to the air that blows around them, and causing showers to wash down the decomposed surface of the rocks they add to the soil of the valleys, and occasion also rills and torrents to fertilize them. In these valleys are corn-lands, fruit-gardens, and excellent pasturage for cattle; and some of the country residences of the rich inhabitants, whose situations have been judiciously chosen in the most agreeable of these fertile spots, combine great picturesque beauty, with the desirable enjoyments of shady woods, springs of pure water, and a cool and healthy air. The land near the sea-coast mostly extends itself out from the feet of the mountains in plains, which are but scantily watered by a few small streams descending through them to the sea, but which produce nevertheless an abundance of dates, nourish innumerable flocks of sheep, goats, and camels, and are lined all along their

outer edge by small fishing-towns, which give occupation to one part of the population, and furnish seasonable supplies of food to the other.

The revenues of the Imaum of Muscat are derived chiefly from the commerce of the port. There are no taxes levied either on land or on cattle throughout all his dominions; and corn and dates, the only two productions of the soil which are in sufficient quantity to deserve the notice of the Government, pay a tithe in kind. The duties on commerce are five per cent. *ad valorem*, paid by strangers of every denomination; and two and a half per cent. by Arabs and other Mohammedan flags, on all goods brought into the port. As the country exports but little of its own productions, and these are duty free, it may be said that there is no export duty here; since transit goods, having once paid it on their importation, pay nothing more, whether consumed in the country, or exported from hence to any other market. As far as my enquiries went, it appeared to be the general opinion, that the revenues of the Imaum, from the productions of his own country, did not exceed a

lack of rupees per annum ; while that collected by the Custom-house of the port, on foreign commerce, amounted to at least twenty lacks, or, as my informant said, ten hundred thousand German crowns, estimated in round numbers.

During the lifetime of the present Imaum's father, or about twenty years since, the foreign trade of Muscat, in its own vessels, was much more considerable ; and the number of ships, under other flags, resorting to its port, much greater than at present. They were then the carriers of India, under a neutral flag, as the Dutch were once, and after them the Americans, in Europe. The wealth which their merchants acquired from the high freights given to their vessels, both by the English and the French, in the time when the Indian Sea was a theatre of naval war, enabled them to purchase largely of the prize goods which were then to be found in the ports of both these nations at a very low rate, and to carry them in their own vessels with security to every part of the Eastern Islands, the coasts of Pegu, and the ports of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, where their profits were immense. Their own port too, being

made, like Malta in the Mediterranean, a magazine or depôt of general merchandize, the smaller vessels of all the surrounding nations who could not procure these goods from the English or French settlements direct, came and bought them here, so that the port was always crowded with shipping. The trade of Muscat is at present confined to about twenty sail of ships under the Arab flag, properly belonging to the port, and forty or fifty bughelas and dows. The former, which vary in size from three hundred to six hundred tons, are employed in voyages to Bengal, from which they bring muslins and piece-goods; to the Eastern Islands, for drugs and spices; to the coast of Malabar, for ship-timber, rice, and pepper; to Bombay, for European articles, principally the coarser metals, lead, iron, and tin, and for the productions and manufactures of China, into the ports of which country their flag is not admitted; and lastly, to the Mauritius, for coffee and cotton in small quantities, returning by way of Zanzibar on the African coast, where they have a settlement, in which is collected gold dust, ostrich feathers, tamarinds, elephants' teeth, and slaves. Their

dows or smaller vessels carry assortments of all these goods to Bussorah, Bushire, and Bahrein, from which they bring down dates, pearls, and dollars, with some little copper; to the coasts of Sind and Baloochistan, from which they bring in return the commodities of more distant countries, met with at Mecca during the great fair of the Pilgrimage; and to Mocha, from whence they bring the coffee of Yemen, the gums of Socotra and the Samauli coast, and both male and female slaves of Abyssinia in great numbers. The interruption of the navigation of these seas by the Joassamee pirates of Ras-el-Khyma has, for the present, almost suspended the coasting trade of the smaller vessels of Muscat, and even their larger ones are not always safe from them. This had given employment, until lately, to several vessels under English colours, principally from Bombay, who were employed by the merchants of Muscat at advantageous freights; but the late visit of the squadron under his Majesty's Ship Challenger to Ras-el-Khyma, and the open declaration of hostilities against them, having taken away the idea of protection from neutrality, which these merchants

attached to the English flag, it is no longer resorted to as a cover for their property; and the trader is cramped and fettered by the necessity of arming every vessel, at an enormous charge, for her own defence, or submitting to the delays and vexations of convoy, which the British ships of war and East India Company's cruisers now grant to all vessels trading in the Persian Gulf. As the remittances from this place to India are made chiefly in treasure, such as gold sequins, dollars, German crowns, and pearls; and as all these pay a freight of two per cent. and are allowed to be conveyed by his Majesty's as well as the East India Company's vessels of war, these never fail of touching at Muscat, in their way, for the purpose of receiving such freight; and the King's ships being naturally preferred, from their superior force, for the safety of such conveyance, the emoluments of their commanders, from this source, are very considerable, and reconcile them to all the other inconveniences of being stationed in the Persian Gulf. Here, as at Mocha, the German crown is more commonly met with than the Spanish dollar. The former is called

Rial France, and the latter Abu Tope, or Father Gun, from the pillars of the Spanish arms being thought to represent cannon. The German crown now passes current here for twenty-one Mohammedies, a small coin of Muscat; and the exchange on Bombay was at the rate of two hundred and twelve rupees for one hundred German crowns, and two hundred and twenty-five rupees for the Spanish dollar. The Venetian sequin in gold is valued, when at full weight, at two and a quarter German crowns; all coins, however, receive their value in metal from the Sheraufs, or money-changers, who are chiefly Banians, and are very numerous here, as large profits are made by them in transactions and exchanges of money.

Out of the revenues which the Imaum receives on the productions of his own country, and on foreign trade, the expenses of his government are defrayed; but these are so light as to leave him in possession of considerable personal wealth. Were it not for the interruption of the trade, and consequently of the source of these gains, the treasures in his coffers must have been immense; but at the same time that his revenues have

been recently lessened, the expenses of his government have been increased, and that too from the same cause. The growing power of the Joassamees by sea might have been checked by the arming the merchantships of Muscat in their own defence, and by the cruising of the frigates and sloops of war under the Imaum's flag in the Gulf, even without the assistance of the English squadron of the King's and Company's ships cruising there. But the Wahabees, of whom the Joassamees are but the maritime portion, threaten the dominions of the Imaum still more formidably by land. To repel them from his frontier, the deserts bordering on which are in actual possession of these sectaries and the tribes lately become their proselytes, it is found necessary to keep up a large moving force. Among the Arabs there are no standing armies; but every man capable of bearing arms is called on to become a soldier, whenever his services may be required. The only persons steadily kept in pay as military men are half a dozen captains, who command the forts at Muscat, Muttrah, and Burka, on the coast, with about a hundred gunners, for the ma-

nagement of the cannon under them. The rest of the army may be called a sort of *levy en masse*. On his territory being threatened in any quarter, the Imaum addresses letters to the Sheiks, or heads of families, and to the men of the greatest influence and power in the quarter threatened, calling upon them to prove their allegiance by raising a body of men, specifying the number and the service required. According to the popularity of the war to be engaged in, these come forward with alacrity and good-will. Every man is already armed, almost from his cradle, according to the custom of the nation; and the very act of wearing such arms familiarizes him to their sight, and often improves the wearer in the use of them. As all discipline beyond a sort of general obedience to some chief is unknown among them, neither uniformity of dress nor of arms is required. Every man brings with him the weapons he likes best; the magazines of the Prince supply the ammunition; and the heads of such districts as the armed force may be actually in, are enjoined to furnish them with subsistence. Remunerations are made to these heads of districts, either

by sums of money, or by exemption from tithes and duties to the amount expended. The spoils of the war, if any, are entirely divided among those engaged; and besides a stipulated daily pay to every man bearing arms, in proportion to his rank, an ample reward is made to every one at the close of the war, proportioned to the service which he himself is thought to have individually rendered. These branches of expenditure at the present moment, when the Imaum has a body of twenty thousand men on foot, press hard on the declining revenues of his port; but on the other hand, he is liberally supported by every one throughout his dominions, and voluntary gifts of sums for the prosecution of the war are made by wealthy patriots: and his own resources are thought to be yet very ample, and much more than adequate to meet every exigency.

The appearance, dress, and manners of the Arabs of Muscat differ but little from those of Yemen and the coast of Hádramaut. In stature they are of the middle size, but almost invariably slender. Their physiognomy is not so marked as that of most of the Desert Arabs, from their race being more mixed with

foreigners brought among them by trade. The complexions of those of pure Arab descent are much fairer here than in any part of Arabia that I have visited, from the southern borders of Palestine to the Indian Ocean; though, excepting the plains of Babylonia, Muscat is the hottest place I have ever experienced, in any part of the world. From the preference which seems to be given here to handsome Abyssinian women over all others, there are scarcely any persons able to afford this luxury, who are without an Abyssinian beauty, as a wife, a mistress, or a slave. This has given a cast of Abyssinian feature, and a tinge of Abyssinian complexion, to a large portion of the inhabitants of Muscat: besides which, there are many tall and handsome young male slaves, who are assigned the most honourable places, as rulers of their master's household, though still slaves; and others again, who by the death of their masters, or other causes, have obtained their freedom, and enriched themselves so as to become the principal merchants of the place.

A distinguished person of this last description had recently arrived here with all his family and suite, from Bombay. This man

was a native of Gondar, tall, handsome, and of regular features, approaching to the European form; but his complexion was a jet black and his hair short and woolly, though he had nothing else in his appearance that was African. He was originally brought from Massowah, on the Red Sea, and sold as a slave at Muscat. Having the good fortune to serve a most excellent master, and being himself a faithful servant, he was admitted as adopted heir to all the property, there being no children to claim it; and, as is not unfrequently the case in similar instances of a faithful slave serving a benevolent owner, he was invested with all the property by will before his master's death. Not long after, or when the time required by the law had been fulfilled, he married the widow of his benefactor, and took her and all her relatives under his protection. Making a voyage to India, he remained long enough as a fixed resident in Bombay to establish his domicile there; and, in virtue of this, was considered to be a British subject, and permitted as such to sail his vessels under the British flag. One of these, the Sulimany, commanded by an English captain, touched at Muscat, on

her way to Bussorah. Some slaves were put on board of her against the English captain's remonstrances; and the agents of the owner, who was himself at Bombay, seemed to think, that though their principal was sufficiently an Englishman, by adoption or domicile, to obtain a British flag for his vessels, yet that they were sufficiently Arabs to be justified in conducting their own business, even in these ships, as Arab merchants. The Sulimany sailed for Bussorah, was examined and captured by his Majesty's ship Favourite, the Hon. Captain Maude, in the Gulf, was sent to Bombay, and there condemned in the Court of Admiralty, as a lawful prize, for being found with slaves on board under English colours, and accordingly condemned. The Abyssinian, finding his interests shaken by this stroke in India, had returned to what he considered his real home, and had brought all his family and domestics with him.—There were many genuine Abyssinians, and others mixed with Arab blood in their descent, settled here as merchants of wealth and importance, and this returning Abyssinian was received among

them all with marks of universal respect and consideration. There are also found here a number of African negroes ; but these, from their inferiority of capacity and understanding to the Abyssinians, seldom or ever obtain their freedom, or arrive at any distinction, but continue to perform the lowest offices and the most laborious duties during all their lives.

These three classes are all Mohammedans, and of the Soonnee sect. Their deportment is grave, and their manner taciturn and serious ; but there is yet an air of cheerfulness, and a look of content and good-nature mixed with what would be otherwise forbidding by its coldness. Beards are universally worn ; but these are by nature thin and scanty : they are generally preserved of the natural colour, and not dyed, as with the Persians ; though henna, the stain used for that purpose, is here applied freely to the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands ; as well as cohel, or surmeh, the Arabic and Turkish names of antimony, to the eyes, from an idea that it increases their sparkling effect, and preserves the sight.

Rings are sometimes worn, with the turquoise or firouzi stone set in them.\* The dress of the men is simply a shirt and trowsers of fine muslin, slightly girded round the waist, open sandals of worked leather, and a turban of small blue checked cotton, with a silk and cotton border of red and yellow, a manufacture peculiar to the town of Sahar, to the north-west of Muscat, on the coast. In the

\* Pliny describes this stone under the name of Gallais, which is translated 'turquois.' His observations on it are these :—It has a certain green, inclining to a yellow. It is found among the inhabitants of Caucasus, and here they grow to a large size, but are imperfect. The finest and the best are those of Carmania. In both countries they are found softly imbedded in earth, and, when seen in cliffs, project out like bosses. They are mostly found in places difficult of access, and were, for that reason, formerly slung at with slings; so that a mass of earth, falling, brought them down with it. This stone was in such esteem among the rich people of the countries themselves in which they were found, that no jewel was preferred above it, for collars, chains, or necklaces. They must be fashioned into the desired shape by the lapidary, and are easy to be wrought upon. The best stones were thought to be those that came nearest the grass-green of an emerald (though now the bluest are preferred, and a green tinge is held an imperfection). Their chief beauty was however considered to be given by art, and it was admitted that no stone became setting in gold better than it. The finer colour a turquoise was, the sooner it was thought to lose its hue; and the baser it was, the longer to retain it. It was added that there was no stone more easily to be counterfeited by art than this was.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. 37, c. viii.

girdle is worn a crooked dagger; and over the shoulders of the merchants is thrown a purple cotton cloth of Surat; while the military, or people of government, wear a neatly made wooden shield, hung by a leathern strap over the shoulder, and either hang the sword loosely above it, or carry it in their hand. Nothing can surpass the simplicity of their appearance, or the equality of value between the dresses of the wealthiest and the lowest classes of the people. The garments of the Prince, taken altogether, without his arms, could not have cost more, I should conceive, than about an English guinea; and his arms were not nearly so costly as is usual among the northern Arabs and the Turks. Notwithstanding which, however, the people of Muscat seemed to me to be the cleanest, neatest, best dressed, and most gentlemanly of all the Arabs that I had ever yet seen, and inspired, by their first approach, a feeling of confidence, goodwill, and respect.

The foreigners who sojourn here for such periods as their business may require, but who are not reckoned among the permanent residents, are Hindoos; principally Banians

from Guzerat; some few Parsees from Bombay; Sindians and Belooches from the coast of Mekran; Persians from Bushire; Arabs from Bahrein; and Jews from Bussorah. Some Desert Arabs sometimes come in from the country; and while they are looked upon as much greater strangers by the people of Muscat than any of those enumerated, and spoken of as a sort of wild race, among whom no man in his senses would trust himself, they, in their turn, regard every thing they see of the port, the shipping, and the bustle of commerce, with an eye of surprise and admiration. The few of these men that I saw, were of a smaller stature, more dried and fleshless in their forms, of a darker colour, and altogether of a more savage appearance, than even the Yezedis of Sinjar. Like them, these seemed never to have passed a razor over their heads, or scissors over their upper lip. Their hair was long and black, and hung in a bush of thick locks over their foreheads, eyes, and shoulders. They wore no other covering than a blue checked cotton cloth, girt around their loins by a small plaited leathern cord, and were without any other shelter for their head than the im-

mense bush of hair, plastered with grease, which covered it. One of these only had a yambeah; two or three of them had swords and wooden shields; but the greater number of them carried short spears only. They were seemingly as barbarous and uninformed as men could possibly be.

The town of Muscat is on the whole but meanly built. The Custom-house, which is opposite to the landing-place both for passengers and goods, is merely an open square of twenty feet, with benches around it, one side opening to the sea, and the roof covered in for shelter from the sun. This landing-place is also the Commercial Exchange, where it is usual, during the cool of the morning, and after El Assr, to see the principal merchants assembled, some sitting on old rusty cannon, others on condemned spars, and others in the midst of coils of rope, exposed on the wharf, stroking their beards, counting their beads, and seeming to be the greatest of idlers, instead of men of business; notwithstanding which, when a stranger gets among them, he finds commerce to engross all their conversation and their thoughts. Of mosques I saw not one; at least none

were perceptible in the town by their usual accompaniments of domes and minarets. There is no public bath, and not a coffee-house throughout all the place. The bazaars are more narrow and confined, and the dwellings all certainly poorer than in either of the commercial towns of Mocha, Hodeida, Jedda, or Yambo, on the Red Sea; and there is a strange mixture of Indian architecture in the Banians' shops and warehouses, gilded and decorated in their own fantastic way, which contrasts with the sombre melancholy of the Arab houses and alleys by which they are surrounded. The dwelling of the Imaum, which has an extensive and pretty front near the sea, the residence of one of his brothers near it, and about half a dozen other houses of the chief people here, are the only edifices that can be mentioned as good ones. The forts, which command the harbour, look contemptible to an European eye, though they enjoy commanding positions, are furnished with good cannon, and are perhaps of greater defensive strength than they would at first sight appear to be.

One great distinguishing feature of Muscat, over all other Arabian towns, is the

respect and civility shown by all classes of its inhabitants to Europeans. Even in Mocha, where the East India Company have so long had a factory, the most impudent insults are offered to Franks, as they are called, even by children. Here, however, where there has not for a long while been any European resident, an Englishman may go every where unmolested. In the town, every one, as far as I observed, even the Imaum himself, went on foot. When they journey, horses are seldom used, but camels and asses are the animals mounted by all classes of those who ride. During our stay at Muscat, I did not see, however, even one of either of those animals, though I was on shore and visited every part of the town. The tranquillity that reigns throughout the town, and the tolerance and civility shown to strangers of every denomination, are to be attributed to the inoffensive disposition of the people, rather than to any excellence of police, as it has been thought. There is indeed no regular establishment of that kind here, either in patrols or guards, except at the forts on the heights above the town, where there are sentinels who repeat their cries from tower to

tower. Nevertheless, whole cargoes of merchandize, and property of every description, are left to lie open on the Custom-house wharf, and in the streets, without fear of plunder. The ancient regulation which prevented the entry of ships into the port, or the transaction of business on shore, after sunset, is not now enforced ; and though shore-boats are not permitted to come off to ships in the harbour after dark, yet ships'-boats are allowed to remain on shore, and to go off at pleasure. Every thing, indeed, is favourable to the personal liberty, the safety, and the accommodation of strangers ; and the Arabs of Muscat may be considered, I think, as far as their manners go, to be the most civilized of their countrymen. The author of 'L'Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes,' speaks of the people of Muscat as celebrated, at the earliest period of their commercial history, for the most excellent qualities. He says, 'Il n'est point de peuple dans l'Orient dont on a loué si généralement la probité, la tempérance, et l'humeur sociale. On n'entend jamais parler d'infidélité dans le commerce,

qu'il n'est pas permis de faire après le coucher du soleil. La défense de boire du vin, et des liqueurs fortes, est si fidèlement observée, qu'on ne se permet pas seulement l'usage du café. Les étrangers, de quelque religion qu'ils soient, n'ont besoin ni d'armes ni d'escortes pour parcourir sans peril tous les partis de ce petit état.\* This character of them is still applicable to their present state, and gives to their country a just claim to the proud title of Amān, from the security every where to be found in it.

The history of Muscat, as far as it is known in European annals, is given in a few words. During the splendour of the Portuguese power in the Indian Seas, and when their island and city of Ormuz was the chief magazine of trade for the Persian Gulf, the rival port of Muscat, enjoying even then the consideration which its local position was calculated to obtain for it, excited the jealousy of the intrepid Albuquerque, who made himself master of it about the year 1507, and endeavoured to force all the trade it carried on from hence, to increase that of their favourite establishment at Or-

\* Tome i. liv. 3, p. 268.

muz.\* When this island was lost to them, the Portuguese endeavoured to concentrate

\* After the taking of Socotra, about the year 1507, by Alfonso de Albuquerque and De Cunna, the former of these proceeded towards the coasts of Arabia and Persia, with seven ships and four hundred and sixty soldiers. He came first to Calayate, a beautiful and strong place, in the kingdom of Ormuz, built after the manner usual in Spain, but which had once been more populous. Sending a message to the Governor, he received supplies of water and provisions, and entered into a treaty of peace. Proceeding to Curiate, ten leagues farther on, he was very ill received; in revenge for which, he took the place by storm, losing only three of his own men, while eighty of the defenders were slain. After plundering this place, it was destroyed by fire, along with fourteen vessels, which were in the harbour. From thence he sailed for Muscat, eight leagues farther, which was stronger than the two former, and well filled with people, who had resorted there from all quarters on hearing of the destruction of Curiate. Being afraid of a similar disaster, the Governor sent great supplies of provisions to Albuquerque, and entered into a treaty of peace; but while the boats were ashore for water, the cannon of the town began unexpectedly to play upon the ships, doing considerable damage, and obliged them hastily to haul farther off, not knowing the cause of these hostilities; but it was soon learnt that two thousand men had arrived to defend the town, sent by the King of Ormuz, and that their commander refused to concur in the peace which had been entered into by the Governor. Although Albuquerque had received considerable damage from the smart cannonade, he landed his men early next morning, and attacked the place with such resolution, that the Moors fled at one gate, while the Portuguese entered at another. The town was given up to plunder, all except the residence of the Governor, who had received the Portuguese in a friendly manner, and had very

their commerce in Muscat, of which they still retained possession. The Abbé Raynal states, that all their efforts to effect this were fruitless, as navigators took the route of Bunder Abassi, or Gonbroon, near to Ormuz, on the continent of Persia. He says, that every one dreaded the haughtiness of these ancient tyrants of India, and that there was no longer any confidence in their good faith, so that no other vessels arrived at their port of Muscat, than such as they conducted there themselves. A more modern writer

honourably given them notice to retire, when the troops of Ormuz arrived; but he was slain during the first confusion, without being known.—*Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, vol. vi. part 2. b. 3. c. 1. s. 5.

The Portuguese Government of Ormuz and its dependencies was however so oppressive, that they constantly laid the inhabitants under undue exactions, and behaved to them otherwise with such insolence and violence, as even to force from them their wives and daughters. Unable to endure these oppressions, the inhabitants of Ormuz and its dependencies formed a conspiracy against the Portuguese, and broke out into an open insurrection against them suddenly at Ormuz, Bahrein, Muscat, Kuriat, and Zoar, all in one night, by previous concert, and by a private order from their King. The attack was so sudden and well-concerted, that above one hundred and twenty of the Portuguese were slain on that night; and one Ruy Boto was put to the torture by the Moors, in defence of the Faith.—*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 192. part 2. b. 3. c. 1. s. 6.

says, however, that after the destruction of Ormuz, Muscat became the principal mart of this part of the world, and thereby produced very great advantages to the crown of Portugal, exclusive of the prodigious private fortunes made by individuals. During that time, continues the same writer, this city was very much improved ; for, besides regular fortifications, they erected a stately church, a noble college, and many other public structures, as well as very fine stone houses, in which the merchants resided, and those who by the management of public affairs had acquired fortunes to live at their ease.\* The traditions of the people here are more conformable to the Abbé's account, though it is true that their vanity would naturally lead them to prefer this to the other, if they had to make a choice between them. This much, however, may be said, that there are at present no visible remains of such grandeur, in fortifications, colleges, churches, palaces, and private mansions, as Mr. Milburn has described; though at Aden in Arabia Felix, and all over Salsette in India, marks of such monuments are to be traced, and

\* Milburn's Oriental Commerce, vol. i. p. 114.

it is not easy to conceive a reason why they should be more completely erased in this place than in either of the others. Both of these writers agree, however, that the Portuguese were at length driven out from Muscat by the Arabs; and that these last, to avenge themselves for their former injuries, betook themselves to general piracy, and having many large ships, from thirty to fifty guns, committed great depredations on the maritime trade of all India. They were at length so effectually checked by the naval force of the British in these seas, that their piratical pursuits were abandoned for commercial ones as early as the commencement of the last century, since which they have become such as I have here endeavoured to describe them.\*

\* Some of the wise men of the East, who saw the star of the Messiah, and came to Judea to worship him, are believed to have assembled at Muscat in their way, according to the curious relation of an Armenian bishop, who spent twenty years in visiting the Christians on the coast of Coromandel. In giving the history of the dispersion of the twelve Apostles through the world, and the visit of St. Thomas to India, where he suffered martyrdom, this grave bishop declares upon oath, that it was affirmed by a learned native of Coulan, that there were two religious houses built in that part of the country by the disciples of St. Thomas, one in Coulan, and the other at

A little to the north-west of Muscat, and seated at the bottom of a cove, almost of the

Cranganore; in the former of which the *Indian Sibyl* was buried, who advised King Perimal of Ceylon to meet other two Indian kings at Muscat, who were going to Bethlem to adore the newly born Saviour; and that King Perimal, at her entreaty, brought her (on his return from Jerusalem) a picture of the Blessed Virgin, which was kept in the same tomb.—*Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India*, part 2. b. 3. c. i. v. 6.—in *Kerr's Collection*, vol. vi. p. 196, 197. and part 2. b. 3. c. iv. s. vi. p. 419.

This Sibyl of the East seems to have been as highly favoured with a prophetic knowledge of the great work of redemption then about to be wrought by the Deity, as the last remaining Sibyl of the West was, who continued to burn the oracular books to the last three, and still demanded the same price for these as she had done for the original nine, from a conviction of their high importance, as they contained even more sublime prophecies of the Messiah than the most eloquent of the writers among the Holy Scriptures had given utterance to.

The history of these Sibyllæ, and of the Sibylline verses, may be found at large in the Classical Dictionaries. But there is a note of a reverend Doctor of Divinity, as the Editor of one of these works, that is worth repeating. He says, 'There are now eight books of Sibylline verses extant, but they are universally reckoned spurious. They speak so plainly of our Saviour, of his sufferings, and of his death, as even to *surpass far* the sublime prediction of Isaiah in description; and therefore, *from this very circumstance*, it is *evident* that they were composed in the second century by some of the *followers of Christianity*, who wished to convince the heathens of their error, by assisting the cause of truth with the arms of PIOUS ARTIFICE!'—*Lempriere's Class. Dict. art. Sibyllæ*.

If the eloquence of prophecy, or the correspondence of sub-

same form and size as its own, is the town of Muttrah. As a harbour, this is quite as good as Muscat, having the same convenient depth of anchorage, from ten to thirteen fathoms, the same kind of holding ground, and a better shelter from northerly and north-west winds. Ships not being able to beat into the cove of Muscat with southerly winds, may always stretch over to the westward, and anchor in that of Muttrah, from whence they may weigh with the land-wind,

sequent events with the facts predicted, render it evident that such predictions *must have been* composed AFTER the events predicted had really occurred, it is to be feared that the Sibylline legend of Coulan will rest on as slender a basis as those of the prophetic sisters of Greece and Italy: but such a doctrine, if admitted, would sap the foundations of even the sublime prophecies of Judea.

It was a common opinion among the ancients, that their great men and heroes, at their death, migrated into some star; in consequence of which they deified them. Julius Cæsar was canonized, because of a star that appeared at his death, into which they supposed he was gone.—*Virg. Eclogue*, 19. 47. *Horace*, lib. 1. ode 12. The wise men who came from the East to Jerusalem, thus exclaim, ‘Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen *his* star in the East, and are come to worship him.’—*Matt.* ii. 2. There is a passage in Virgil too, which implies that the gods sent stars to point out the way to their favourites in difficult and perplexed cases, and that the ancients called globes of fire appearing in the air, stars.—*Æneid*, ii. 692.

and come into Muscat at pleasure. Muttrah is less a place of business than Muscat, though there are more well-built houses in it, from its being a cooler and more agreeable residence, and, as such, a place of retreat for men of wealth. Provisions and refreshments for shipping may be had with equal ease from either of these places; indeed, the greater part of those brought to Muscat are said to come through Muttrah, from the country behind.\* Meat, vegetables,

\* Muttrah is mentioned at a very early period, as connected with Muscat, under the name of Matara. About the year 1580, when Philip the Second of Spain was admitted as King of Portugal, and obliged all the Portuguese in India to take the oath of allegiance to him, Muscat was still in their possession. There was at this time a certain Mir Azenam Pasha, a native of Otranto, and born of Christian parents, who was governor of all Yemen, in Arabia, and resided at Sana, the capital city of that province. Being desirous of plundering Muskat, Mir Azenam sent three Turkish gallies on that errand, under Ali Beg, who took possession of Muscat, whence most of the Portuguese residents saved themselves by flight, leaving their goods to be plundered by Ali Beg. The fugitives took refuge in Matara, a town only a league distant, whence they went to Bruxel, a fort about four leagues inland, belonging to Ceatani, the Sheikh or chief of a tribe or horde of Arabs. The Arab officer who commanded there, received the Portuguese with much kindness and hospitality, and protected them till the departure of Ali Beg, when they returned to Muskat.—*Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, part 2, b. 3, c. 4. s. 10. vol. 6, p. 460.

and fruit, are all abundant in their season, of excellent quality and low price; and fish are nowhere more plentiful or more delicious than here. The water also is pure, wholesome, and agreeable to the taste; it is brought from springs in the hills, and conducted into a reservoir at Muscat, from which a ship's casks may be filled in a few hours, if a sufficient number of hands be employed. This is more frequently done by large boats and people from the shore, than by the boats of the ships watering, and is found to be attended with conveniencies which more than overbalance so trifling an expense, being also much more expeditious. For ships having tanks, or wishing to fill their own casks on board, it is usual to send off water in bulk, in a large boat, filled at the reservoir; but this is found to affect the quality of the water materially, and should, if possible, be avoided. The boats themselves being frequently oiled on the inside to preserve the wood, this oil gives a peculiarly unpleasant taste to the water, which remains on it for many hours; the boats always leak a little also in their upper works, by which the sea-water is let in to mix with the fresh, and makes it quite

brackish ; and lastly, the men employed on this service, who are generally negro slaves, make no scruple to come from the shore with dirty feet, and to wash them in the boat ; they plunge their perspiring bodies also into the water, remain in it to row off to the ship, immersed up to their middle, and even scrub and wash themselves in it before coming alongside, so as to leave all the filth and impurities of their skin behind them. All these causes, though creating no perceptible difference in the appearance of the water at the time, need only be mentioned, to create an objection to this mode of receiving it on board, and to give a decided preference to filling it in the ship's casks.

It has been before observed, that it is usual for ships to moor in tiers at Muscat, or, if single, to ride head and stern, as there is no room in the inner part of the cove to swing. The best anchor, and the ship's head, should be to the northward, and the stern anchor to the southward. Neither in entering the harbour, nor in securing the ship, is any assistance now given by pilots of the port, nor indeed is it at all necessary, as there are no dangers but those above water and in sight.

It appears that formerly there was a Serang of the port, who moored the ships, and was allowed a fixed remuneration for it from the vessel brought in : but this is not usual now; though, if assistance were really wanted, or signals of distress made, they would no doubt be very promptly complied with. It should be added, that ships wishing to refit here, ought to be furnished with all the necessary materials on board; as naval stores of every description are scarce and dear, from their being altogether foreign produce. Ship-timber is brought to this port from Malabar; canvass from Bengal; coir from Africa and the Laccadive islands, and made into rope here; and anchors and all smaller stores, as well as guns and ammunition from Bombay. As the tide rises about five or six feet, light vessels may be hauled on shore at high-water, and careened, both at Muscat and at Muttrah; and there are shipwrights and caulkers sufficiently expert in their arts, to render any assistance that may be needed from them in that way. Deficiencies in ships' crews may also be made up by Arab sailors, who are always to be found here, and are unquestionably braver, hardier, and better seamen

than the Lascars of India, though they are sometimes more difficult to be kept in order. On board their own large ships, even the names of the masts, sails, and ropes, as well as the orders of command in evolutions, are, as in India, a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Hindee, Dutch, Portuguese, and English; so that the Hindoostanee of a country ship is quite intelligible to them all. Besides the terms common to the vessels of India, I remarked some here, which were evident remains of Portuguese domination, as 'Bandeira, Bussola and Armada,' for flag, compass, and squadron; which are called in Hindoostanee, 'Bowta, Compaz, and Jhoond;' in Arabic, 'Beirak, Deira, and Singar;' and in Persian, 'Alum, Doora, and Sengar.'

DEC 5.—With a strong and favourable breeze, we left Muscat and continued our course in the Vestal, under all sail for Bombay, after parting with the Challenger, who remained at the former port. At noon we observed in lat.  $24^{\circ} 3'$  north, and were in long  $58^{\circ} 40'$  east, with the visible extremes of the Arabian land very distant, from south half-east to south-south-west. At 5. 30. P. M. we opened a remarkable valley, or depres-

sion in the hills, called by sailors the Devil's Gap, and forming a conspicuous mark for navigators on this coast. It is in lat. about  $23^{\circ} 20'$  north, and is distant nearly eleven leagues from Muscat, in a south-easterly direction, so that it serves to mark the approach to that port.

The coast of Arabia, from Ras-el-Had, near the entrance to the Persian Gulf, to Bab-el-Mandeb, at the entrance to the Red Sea, is very little known indeed to Europeans. I had occasion, in the year 1815, to make a voyage along a great part of it, in a ship belonging to a Mohammedan merchant, called by the orthodox name of 'Suffenut-ul-Rusool,' or Messenger of the Prophet; during which I had an opportunity of verifying some positions, and adding to the illustrations of the ancient Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Some of these, which relate more particularly to the eastern portions of the tract near Ras-el-Had, may therefore be appropriately introduced here, as belonging to the hydrographical illustrations of ancient history, which form so large a portion of this voyage through the Persian Gulf.

The position of Ras-el-Had, as the eastern-

most point of all Arabia, is most distinctly marked by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, who, on describing the southern and south-eastern coast, after passing the islands of Zenobius and the larger one of Sarapis, or the islands of Curia-Muria, and Mazeira, says, that on approaching the Gulf of Persia, you here suddenly change your course to the *north*. This is literally true at Ras-el-Had, and nowhere else upon the coast; for Ras-el-Had is the extreme point east of all Arabia, as Korodamon is in Ptolemy. ‘If I had found,’ says Dr. Vincent, ‘that the monsoon was divided by this cape, as it is by Gardefan, I should have sought for an etymology in Greek, as the *divider* or *subduer* of the west wind; but I can learn nothing of the monsoon: and *Corus*, notwithstanding its meaning in Latin, I cannot find as the name of a wind in Greek.\* The name of this cape is written and pronounced راس ال حد Ras-el-Hhadd, which, when written حد in Arabic, and حد in Persian, signifies in both languages, ‘a boundary, a limit, a definition, distinction, an impediment, a check, a goal for racers,’—in all which senses, it would

\* Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 351.

mean either the eastern 'boundary' or extent of Arabia, or, as is literally the case, the northern 'limit' of the monsoon, which ends the moment a ship gets round it, as it does at Gardefan : and thus the Greek etymology, as a *divider* or a *subduer* of the west wind, is perfectly consistent with its present Arabic name, and, what is of greater importance still, with the more marked and permanent features given to it by nature.

Beyond Ras-el-Had, to the westward, are the islands of Curia-Muria. Edrissi calls the bay in which these islands are situated, Giun-al-Hascisc,\* (pronounced Hashish.) In another place he makes Hasec the city, and Al Hascisc the bay ; and the principal town of the Periplus in this bay is Asikho, which is but another way of writing the same word.† The Curia-Muria Islands are called by Edrissi, Kartan-Martan ; and Bochart has observed that, by a change of points only,

\* Sinus Herbarum, Al Edrisi, p. 22.

† From Moskha, (which is assumed to be Shahr,) the coast extends fifteen hundred stadia more to the district of Asikho, (the Hasek of Edrisi : Hasek means weedy, and the sea here is said to be so,) and at the termination of this tract lie the Seven Islands of Zenobius in succession, which correspond to the Curia-Muria.—*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, vol. i. p. 92.

this will be Kurian-Murian: as thus, كرتان Kurtan, كريان Kurian, (the points above the third letter making it a *t*, and below making it an *i*.) By Kurian-Murian would be meant the island of Kurian, and others around it: as it is common in Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee, when speaking of several things of the same or a similar kind, to add a word exactly like the name of the thing expressed, except its always beginning with an M, as Bundoock-Mundoock, for musket and all accoutrements thereto belonging; Barsun-Marsun, for plates and dishes, and all other tableware;—which will be recollected by every one conversant with those languages. The islands of Curia-Muria are those to which the Arabian fable applies, which speaks of two islands, one inhabited by men, and the other by women. In Oriental geography, they are placed at a great distance to the south; but the origin of the fable is on the coast, and truly Arabian. Ptolemy makes these islands seven in number.\*

Mazeira, which lies beyond this, is described by the author of the *Periplus* to have been in his time not under Arabian, but Persian

\* Vincent's Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 347.

jurisdiction, and the natives were then uncivilized. 'A vessel,' he says, 'after passing the coast, stands off to sea from the islands of Zenobius during a course of two thousand stadia, till she reaches the island of Sarapis, which lies one hundred and twenty stadia from the main. Sarapis is two hundred stadia in breadth, and divided into three districts, each of which has its village. The natives are held sacred, and are ikhtheiophagi; they speak the language of Arabia, and wear an apron of cocoa leaves. The produce of the island is tortoise-shell, of superior quality, in great abundance, which the boats and small vessels from Kané come here regularly to purchase.'\*

'From Sarapis,' he continues, 'the course is along the adjoining continent, till you arrive at Korodamon or Ras-el-Had, when it turns to the north, to the Gulf of Persia; and beyond this promontory, at the distance of two thousand stadia, lie the islands of Kalaioo, or Kalaias. These islands stretch along parallel to the coast, in distinct lines, and you may sail through them, or between them and the shore. The inhabitants are a

\* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. i. p. 92, 93.

treacherous race, and during daylight their sight is affected by the rays of the sun.\*

Dr. Vincent says, these are the islands called Swardi, a corruption of Sohar-di, or dive; this last syllable signifying, in some of the Indian languages, an island, and there being a port near, called Sohar, once as much frequented as Muscat now is, for the Indian trade. He supposes the original name of Kalaioo, or Kalaias, to be traced in Kalaiat, or Kalhat,† the name of the high land between Ras-el-Had and Muscat.

\* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. i. p. 93.

† It would appear from the following narrative, that the town of Kalayat, seated in this district, was a place of some importance. The Portuguese general, Albuquerque, on his returning from the island of Socotra, where he had wintered in or about the year 1508, to Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, was determined, on his way thither, to take revenge on the town of Kalayat, for some injury that had been done there to the Portuguese. Kalayat is situated on the coast of Arabia, beyond Cape Siagro, called also Rasalgat, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Behind this town there is a rugged mountain, in which are some passes which open a communication with the interior; and by one of these opposite the town, almost all the trade of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which is a fertile country, of much trade and full of populous cities, is conveyed to this port. Immediately on his arrival, Albuquerque landed his troops and took possession of the town, most of the inhabitants escaping to the mountains, and some being slain in the streets. He remained here three nights, on one of which a thousand Moors entered the

‘ Beyond these islands of Kalaioo,’ continues the author of the *Periplus*, ‘ there is another group, called Papias, at the termination of which lies the Fair Mountain, not far from the entrance of the Persian Gulf; and in that Gulf is the pearl fishery. At the straits which form the entrance into this sea, you have on the left that vast mountain called Sabo; and opposite to it, on the right, a lofty round mountain, which takes the name of Semiramis.’\*

DEC. 6th.—The wind had gradually decreased in strength, though it still continued to blow from the north-westward, and was accompanied by clear and pleasant weather. On examining the supply of rice received from the *Challenger* before we parted with her, nearly the half of it was found to be unfit for use, and accordingly thrown overboard; so that we had now only enough provisions on board for a very short passage

town by surprise, and did considerable damage before the Portuguese were collected to oppose them, but were at length put to flight with great slaughter. Having secured all the provisions of Kalayat, which was the principal booty, Albuquerque set the place on fire, and proceeded to Ormuz.—*Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, vol. xi. pp. 109, 110; part ii. b. 3. c. i s. 4.

\* *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, vol. i. p. 93.

indeed. At noon we observed in lat.  $23^{\circ} 7'$  north, long.  $60^{\circ} 30'$  east, no land being in sight, the air being more sultry than we had yet felt it during the voyage.

DEC. 7th.—Light airs from the southward and eastward enabled us to make a few miles during the night; and we were partially assisted by a south-east current, as at noon we observed in lat.  $23^{\circ} 3'$  north, and long.  $61^{\circ} 17'$  east; the weather having now fallen calm, and continuing so until sun-set, when it was followed by variable airs from the eastern quarter.

DEC. 8th.—A dead calm still continued throughout the morning; but we had now felt the influence of a north-east current, as our meridian altitude of the sun gave us a latitude of  $23^{\circ} 22'$  north, and our longitude, per chronometer, was at the same time  $61^{\circ} 32'$  east. Soon after noon a breeze freshened up from the south-south-west, to which we made all sail on an east-south-east course, going about thirty-five miles before midnight, as the breeze gradually freshened.

DEC. 9th.—Still moderate breezes from the south-south-west, and a smooth sea. Tropic birds were seen for the first time to-

day, and flying-fish of a small size: a shark, of nine feet in length, and six in width around the head, was also taken, and afforded great diversion as well as a fresh supply of food for the crew, among whom it was equally divided. At noon we observed in lat.  $23^{\circ} 15'$  north, and were in long.  $62^{\circ} 48'$  east, with light western airs and fine weather. Soon afterwards the wind veered southerly, and continued so, without interruption to our course, throughout the remainder of the day.

DEC. 10th.—The southerly airs had now drawn round to the south-east, and obliged us to haul close on a wind, in order to make all the easting we could before we reached the limits of the north-east monsoon; but the wind still continued very light. At noon we observed in lat.  $23^{\circ} 20'$  north, and were in long.  $63^{\circ} 33'$  east, the breezes being now from the south-south-west, but with a squally and unsettled appearance, and the winds flying all round the compass between noon and midnight.

DEC. 11th.—The wind had set in from the north-north-west before daybreak, and as it freshened, it drew round to east, the weather

being dark and threatening. At sun-rise we had severe squalls from the east-south-east, with heavy rain; and these settled into a fixed gale from that quarter, which obliged us to send the royal-yards and masts on deck, and treble-reef the topsails. As there was at the same time a very heavy sea, we could not lie higher than south, looking up at intervals a point to windward. At noon we were in lat.  $22^{\circ} 40'$  north, and long.  $64^{\circ} 45'$  east, and now considered ourselves as having entered on the edge of the north-east monsoon, which prevails in the Arabian Sea from the month of September to May or June following, or nearly three-fourths of the whole year. We had here found it blowing strong from east-south-east to east-north-east, accompanied with squalls and a heavy sea, owing undoubtedly to our having the Gulf of Cutch, which lies in that direction, broad upon our weather beam; but it is known to draw more northerly, as the conformation of the land favours that direction, as well as to incline that way towards the close of the season; since in our passage from the Red Sea to Bombay, in the Suffenut-el-Russool, in March and April, we had the

wind from north to north-north-west, at the close of our voyage, near the Indian coast.

The wind continued a fresh gale throughout the day, but the sky grew clearer aloft towards night. As it still came in squalls, however, of considerable violence while they lasted, and the sea had not abated, we close-reefed, and made the ship snug.

DEC. 12th.—The morning opened with a clear sky, but the wind was still fixed at east-north-east, the Gulf of Cutch being still open to us, and the swell of the sea high, though more regular than before. During the forenoon we had an opportunity of taking a set of lunar distances for confirming our longitude by chronometer; and the mean of two sets and three single sights, alternately taken by the commander and myself, gave us a longitude of  $65^{\circ} 27'$  east, at nine A.M. At noon we observed in lat.  $21^{\circ} 23'$  north, and were in long.  $65^{\circ} 42'$  east, by chronometer; which was a sufficiently near agreement with the lunar distance to prove the accuracy of both, differing only ten miles in their results, when the reckoning was brought up at noon.

We had perceived some regularity in the

periods of the ship's coming up and falling off, which, as she was always close-hauled, seemed to prove a diurnal and nocturnal change, influenced most probably in this slight degree by the land and sea-breezes which prevail along the western coast of India, Guzerat, and Scind during these months. In the evening the boatswain of the ship, who had been ill of a relapse into fever, from intemperance, and had been confined to his cabin for a few days only, died without pain, in the flower of his age.

DEC. 13th.—The morning presented us with the same unfavourable wind as before, with which we could not keep our course for Bombay. In consequence of the wind still hanging so far easterly, and our having on board only six days' provisions for the crew, it was thought necessary to reduce all hands to half allowance, until a prospect was afforded of our being able to reach some port of the coast of Malabar, where we might refresh.

The body of the boatswain, being opened by the surgeon of the ship, was found to have the kidneys greatly enlarged, the bowels ulcerated all over, and the liver almost

destroyed,—all of which were the effects of hard drinking, to which this young man was dreadfully addicted. On being sewn up, his corpse was carefully washed and dressed in clean linen by his shipmates; and being wrapped up in a hammock, with two cannon-balls at his feet for sinking, the funeral service was read over him, to which all attended with due decorum, and his remains were committed to the deep.

This ceremony had scarcely been ended, before a report was brought up of the death of a marine, who had been sent on board sick from the *Challenger*, to be taken to the hospital at Bombay. This man, whose name was Edward Lyon, was of a good family, and in his youth had run through a fortune, in premature debauchery. The efforts of his friends to reclaim him had been so often tried and disappointed, that they at length abandoned him to his fate; and after passing by degrees into the lowest walks of life, the ranks of the marine corps brought him up, and he became fixed in the waist of a man-of-war. Among his relatives, he had a brother a rear-admiral in the British Navy, and a sister married to the captain of the

Leander of fifty guns ; but he had not now a being near him to close his eyes, or even the common feelings of a messmate drawn forth to pity his untimely end. These last offices of humanity were performed by strangers, who were neither moved by his history, nor warned by his fate. His body was also opened by the surgeon, and found to be affected nearly in the same way as that of the boatswain, and from the same causes. The funeral service was read over his corpse, which was secured in the usual way, and committed to the deep.

Our lunar distances were again repeated before noon, and the mean of their results gave a longitude of  $66^{\circ} 51'$  east, at ten A.M., when at noon we observed in latitude  $20^{\circ} 24'$  north, and were in longitude  $67^{\circ} 3'$  east, by chronometer.

We still observed the regularity of the ship's coming up and falling off at intervals of about twelve hours, with a freshening and moderating of the wind between the changes, exactly as in the land and sea-breezes along-shore. We began to come up at noon from south-south-east gradually to east-north-east at sun-set, and east about ten o'clock, the

period of the sea-breeze, when the wind of the ocean here followed its direction in a slight degree, and was thus drawn more northerly, or less off the land, than the monsoon, without such influence, would have been. After midnight we again began to fall off in the same gradual way from east to south-east until past sun-rise, when the winds blew from the east-north-east, evidently influenced by the land-breezes which blow off during that period ; a variation highly favourable, if taken due advantage of, to the navigation of this sea, particularly when approaching the Indian coast from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.

DEC. 14th.—As we closed in the Gulf of Cutch, we found the heavy eastern swell setting out of it, now exchanged for smoother water, and its violent squalls for steady though still fresh breezes. The wind too became more favourable, as its variation through the day and night was from north-east to north-north-east, enabling us to lie east-south-east when most off, and to come up to east for an equal space of time. This circumstance, as it brightened our hopes of a less tedious passage than we had prepared for, admitted

of an additional allowance of provisions to the crew, before they began to suffer from its first reduction.

Before noon, our lunar distances were repeated, and a mean of one set of three-sights, and a single one, taken alternately by the commander and myself, as before, gave us a longitude of  $68^{\circ} 23'$  east at ten A.M., when our observation at noon made us in latitude  $19^{\circ} 40'$  north, and longitude  $68^{\circ} 32'$  east, by chronometer. As we advanced in a south-east line, we found the weather more and more steady, the winds more moderate in their force, and the water smoother.

DEC. 15th.—Being now completely under the lee of the Guzerat coast, we had smoother water than we had yet found, with the winds steady from the north-north-east, so as to admit of our steering east by south, with the fore-topmast studding-sail set. The weather being fine, we sent up the royal-masts and yards, and bent the light sails again; and as the prospect of a speedy termination to our voyage brightened every hour, the crew were restored to their full allowance of provisions and water.

At noon we observed in latitude  $19^{\circ} 24'$

north, and were in longitude  $70^{\circ} 30'$  east, when we hove to, and obtained soundings in forty-five fathoms on the Bombay bank. A yellow sea-snake had been already seen by one of the officers, the sure mark of our approach to shoaler water; and the colour of the sea was of a greener cast than in the deep ocean. At sun-set we had the same soundings as at noon, on fine grey sand; and, with a fine breeze from the north-north-east, and smooth water, we stood on east throughout the night.

DEC. 16th.—As we opened the Gulf of Bombay, we had the wind from out of it in a more northerly direction, which enabled us to set all the flying-sails and keep the ship free. At midnight we had forty fathoms, at four A.M. thirty-nine, and at sun-rise thirty-eight, the water now of a pale dull green. At seven A.M. the land was reported from the mast-head; and at nine we made it distinctly from the deck, the Peak of Bassein then bearing east by north, distant fifty or sixty miles, and soundings in twenty-five fathoms on fine sand.

We now bore up east by south half-south, and having a commanding breeze, with all

sail set, we rose the land rapidly. After the high land of Bassein, and its remarkable peak, being the summit of a conical mountain of the Mahratta country, was seen, we next distinguished the piece of land called the Neat's Tongue, a portion of the island of Salsette, so named from a supposed resemblance to a tongue; though a wedge would be an equally illustrative comparison, it being high at its north-western end, and sloping down gradually at its south-eastern one. The two islands called the Great and Little Caringa, within Bombay harbour, next developed themselves, with the Funnel-hill and the high land of Tull Point, forming the southern boundary of the entrance to the port,—all remarkable lands, and constantly referred to as sea-marks.

We obtained, by casts of the lead, at intervals of two hours, from sun-rise until noon, the depths of twenty-four, twenty-two, and twenty fathoms; and observing then in lat.  $19^{\circ} 0'$  north, and long.  $72^{\circ} 31'$  east, we had the Neat's Tongue bearing due east, distant apparently from twenty-five to thirty miles.

At one p. m. still sailing at the rate of six knots, on an east-south-east course, the sum-

mit of the island of Elephanta, which is within the harbour of Bombay, began to appear over that island; and soon afterwards the trees on Malabar point, looking like vessels at anchor, for which they were first taken. The island of Bombay then gradually rose, and white houses appeared in the back bay, looking like boats under sail, with the lofty flagstaff on the hill of Malabar point. It is said that, when the summit of Elephanta becomes visible from the deck, the light-house on Coulaba can be perceived from the topsail-yard; and when the trees of the island of Bombay, and the flag-staff of Malabar point appear, it may then be seen from the deck.

It was about half-past one o'clock when we just distinguished the summit of the light-house, rising above the water, a little to the northward of the northern brow of the Great Caringa. Soon afterwards, a gun discharged there, announced the appearance of a ship in sight, which was followed by a flag at Malabar point, denoting the description of vessel, and marking the quarter from which she was approaching. The signal of our number being displayed, was then repeated

by the flag-staff at Coulaba, and the name of the ship was thus speedily made known to the marine authorities of the Island.

As we approached still on an east-south-east course, the lead was discontinued, the weather being clear, and the marks now a better guide than soundings. Standing on until the light-house was in one with Browton's Grove, with the flag-staff of Bombay, and with the highest part of the Neat's Tongue, all at one time, we were then right off the pitch of the south-west prong, which extends nearly three miles in that direction off the light-house, from which we were then distant about three miles and a half, or half a mile to the southward of the pitch of the prong, in seven fathoms water. A good mark for the clear passage along this reef is the Funnel Hill, just touching in one with the northern brow of Great Caringa, on which is an old Portuguese convent; but this is not seen in thick weather.

Having the marks described in one, we hauled close round the south-west prong steering north-east by east, and bringing a small low island, with a beacon on it, called the Oyster Rock, nearly on with the square

steeple of Bombay church, keeping the church still a little open to the westward of the beacon, in order to clear the outer edge of the south-east prong. We might have shaped a course of north-east by north, for the buoy of the Sunken Rock, if the wind had been free, and from thence gained the anchorage; but the wind heading us off from the northward, we were obliged to beat up the harbour by short tacks, in which we were favoured by the young flood-tide, and anchored in safety before sun-set.

I repaired instantly to the shore, and met a cordial welcome from the friends whom I had left here about twelve months before, on my voyage to Suez, by the Red Sea; since which I had traversed nearly the whole of Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Media and Persia: and therefore had much to relate; while my complexion had been so changed by the scorching heats of the Desert, and my full dark beard and Oriental garments had become so much a part of myself that some time was necessary before those whom I had originally known under a very different appearance, could be quite re-

conciled to the change which we both experienced at our meeting. This meeting was, however, one of great and mutual gratification, which I shall long continue to remember with pleasure.

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