

EAST;

RAVELS

MORE PARTICULARLY

PERSIA.

A work wherein the Author has described, as far as his pier. Observations extended, the State of those Countries in

1810, 1811, AND 1812;

and has endeavoured to illustrate many subjects of

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH,

History, Geography, Philology and Miscellaneous Literature, with extracts from rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts.

BY SIR WILLIAM OGSELERY, KNIGHT,

Honorary

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PRIEATE SECRETARY TO

HIS EXCELLENCY SLUGDRE OUSELEY, BARONET, K. L. S.

HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND FLENI-POTENTIARY AT THE COURT OF PERSIA.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

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This volume exceeds the second, numerically, by fifty-six pages; and, materially, in proportion of, at least, one hundred and fixty, from the close printing adopted at page 249 : a constance which will account for some delay in its publication. Al time throughout many countries of Asia, is the chief criterion by which distances are ascertained, the hour of departure from one stage and of arrival at another, is, in general, noticed with minute accuracy; and that future travellers may furnish their private stores accordingly, the principal articles of food at different places, are particularly mentioned,-some stages abounding with those which others altogether want. In a few copies the reference to Plate LVII (View of the mountains hear Isfahán) has been omitted; it should have occurred in p. 41, line 5, after the word "right." And in p. 500, line 2, after "appearance," should have been a reference to the View of Tosiah, Plate LXXX. The Turkish names of places between Kars and Scutari are given from a list obligingly communicated by Mr. Pisani, chief Dragoman to the British Embassy at Constantinople.

Crithowel, Brecknockshire:

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• Besides two Maps, (No. III. and No. IV) and the wood-cut (in p. 542), this third volume contains twenty-seven Plates, of which the last is numbered LXXXII.

TRAVELS

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

THE EAST.

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of Ispahán or Isfahán, and of the River Zendehrud, according to Eastern writers.

BEFORE I record the transactions which immediately followed our arrival at *Isfahan*, or describe any of the objects noticed there, it seems necessary that I should examine the information given by Eastern writers on the subject of this celebrated city; having previously remarked, that while, in conformity with modern pronunciation, the name throughout my pages generally appears *Isfahán* (*Juip*),⁹ PERSIA.

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yet it is more properly Ispahán (السيان), or, according to the strictness of orthography, Asp-hán, Aspahán. That this represents the ancient Aspadana, although placedby Ptolemy, in Persis, (Lib. VI. c. 4, As. tab. 5) can scarcely be doubted: of their identity the excellent D'Anville (Geogr. Ance) was convinced; and his opinion has been adopted by De la Rochette and Barbié du Bocage(¹):

The name written Spahán (or Sepahán) thus **MUUES** occurs three or four times in the Bundehesh, an extraordinary Pahlavi composition, of which I was so fortunate as to procure a well-writen copy from one of the Parsis or Fireworshippers at Bombay. M. Anquetil du Perron, who with considerable ingenuity and accuracy translated the Bundehesh into French, retricts its antiquity to the seventh century; although he regards if as a compilation formed from Zend originals, older not only than the Christian era, but probably than the victories of Alexander(²).

The next work, according to chronological order, wherein I have found notice of *Isfahán*, is the "Book of Conquests," that valuable record quoted (see Vol. II, p. 312) as the

(^b) See M. de la Rochette's map "Indiæ Veteris," &c. which I have already noticed with due praise, (Vol. 11. p. 174); and the Geographical "Analyse," &c. subjoince by M. Barbié du Bocage, to the "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre" of Baron de Sainte Croix, (2d edit. Paris, 1804, p. 817).

(*) "Le mont Bakhtan est dans Sepahan." See "Zendavesta," Tome. II. p. 368; and p. 393. "Le Khrei roud a sa source dans Sepahan," &c. See also p. 337 and p. 338, concerning the antiquity of the Bundehesh. Táríkh or chronicle of EBN AASIM of Cúfa, who flourished in the eighth century, soon after Persia had yielded to the *Muselmán* arms, of which he has traced the progress and success. This author describes *Ispuhán*, *Spahán*, or *Isfahán* (for it is so written in different copies) as furnishing twenty thousand men, to the army which assembled and fought in the great battle at *Nihávend*, (or *Nuhávend*) against the forces of OMAR the Arabian Khalifah in 641(⁶).

ISPAHA'N.

About this time, as we learn from TABRI (an historian of the ninth century), HURMUZA'N, a Persian prince and general, considered Ispahán as the head; Párs and Kirmán the hands; and Hamadán and Raï as feet of the empire(⁴); but Spahán is

(*) On this occasion the Persian*army consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, suvar a piadah (موارو بيانه) horse and foot, selected from different parts of the empire, according to EBN AASOM'S account, in the following proportions. Rai, Semnan, Dameghan and the neighbouring places contributed 20,000 men. Hamadon and Saveh, 10,000. Nuhavend, 10,000. Kum and Cashan, 20,000. Istahan, 20.000. Párs and Kirmán, 40,000; and Aderbaiján, 30,000. Respecting the name i I find it accented with fatteh on the first syllable, Nahávend, by EBN KHA-LECA'N who observes that some have accented it with damm, calling it Nuhabend : and he adds that this was derived from vi Nuhh or Noah, and avend signifying an edifice ; the city having been founded by Noah, (See EBN KHA'LECA'N in ABU AL KA'SIM JONELD (ابو القاسم جنيد). The Geographer SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI accents it also Nuhávend (in his MS. Takuim al beldán تقويم الدلدان). But the Dict. Burhán Katea marks the first syllable with kesr, and derives the name from & nih equivalent to shahr (شهر) a city; and اوند avend, the jars or vases manufactured there in great numbers! But this Dictionary also notices it as accented Nahávend and Nuhásend, and its derivation from Noah and *avend*, signifying a throne or seat.

(*) كه ان (اصفهان) ياد اهي تجمرا حماي سرست و يارس وكرمان دو دست so my orden copy of Land's Chronicle; the second MS: وري وهيدان دو پاي for Hamudan reads Aderbáigán (ادربايگان).

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noticed in a former part of TABRI's chronicle as having been the country of KA'VEH (...) a celebrated black-smith, to whose assistance the mighty FERIDU'N was indebted for his ithrone, seven or eight hundred years before Christ. The name of Istahán or Spahán frequently occurs in the Sháh "Nanch of FIRDAUSI; first, I believe, in a line which alludes to KA'VEH, the personage above-mentioned(⁵).

FERSIA.

EBN HAURAL (in the tenth century) described Isfahán as a wealthy and flourishing city, remarkable for its fruits, and manufactories of silk and linen, according to his printed work, p. 169; in this account the Sûr al beldán agrees, that fine MS. copy of his work so often quoted; and it adds, that "Isfahán consists of two towns, the first called Yehúdíah, the "other Medínah or the city"(6); that they were separated by a small interval, both having mesques, and their houses being constructed of clay: and that "this eity is the great mart for "Párs, and Kúhestán, and Khurásán, and Khúzistán; and "the very beautiful and costly garments made here of cotton; "embroidered scarlet stuffs, and silk, are highly prized and ." sent all over Irák, and into Párs, and every part of Kúhestán " and Khurásán, and the different regions of Islám. Saffron,

(*) "Thy father was of Sfahan, a worker in iron," بعرفت از صفاهان بد اعتكري "I suspect that this line has crept into some copies of FIRDAUSI's work, for it does not " occur in all) from the poem of his preceptor ASEDI, mentioned in Vol. I. p. 48, note 68.

(⁶) و اما استهان دو شهر است اول یهودیه و دیگر مدینه

"also, abounds in this place; and the fruits are much finer-"than those produced in any other country; and on account "of their superior flavour and fragrance, they are exported "throughout Irák; and from Irák to Khurásán there is "not any spot, except Raï, that yields so many comforts and "luxuries of life"(⁷).

ISPAH.

As the word Yehúdi signifies "a Jew", we might infer from the name Yehúdiah that this place had formerly been a Jewish settlement; the following extract from the Seir al belád will tend to confirm this inference. Having declared Isfahán (in the fourth climate) to be one of the most considerable and delightful cities of Persia, excelling more particularly in the purity of air and fertility of soil, in the beauty, accomplishments and virtues of its inhabitants, (on which subjects some verses are quoted) the Manuscript proceeds to state that "the ancient town was denominated Jei, and is said to "have been founded by ISCANDER; it was a place of great "size, and named Yehúdíah having been thus peopled;

(⁷) و آن فرضه بارس و کوهستان و خراسان و خوزستانست و جا ما با قیمت بغایت اطافت مثل عنالی و نکار کرده و سقلطو مات و تمامت حامیا ابریشم و پنده از اجا مرتبع می باشد و در عراق و بارس و تمامت کوهستان و خراسان و عدران از شهرها اسالم از آن حال می کنند و نقل می افتد و زعنران بسیار نیز در انجا می باشد و مدیقا اجا بر فراکه دیگر مواضع فصل و ترجدیم دارد و از اذت و بوی خرش که انرا هست از آن در عراق حمل می افتد و از عراق تاحراسان بغیر از ری شهری با خصب و راحت و خدرودعت و عیش و مسرت در ان بیشتر از اصفهان فدست "when BAKHTNASSER led away captive from Jerusalem "the wost ingenious artists, they arrived at the spot where "Istahan now stands; and finding that in the qualities of air "and water it resembled their holy city, they chose it for "their residence and established themselves there"(").

PERSIA.

Some passages must now be extracted from HAMDALLAH CAZVI NI's description of Isfahán, and its four hundred dependent villages, comprised in eight districts, among which I find mentioned as first, the territory of Jei bordering on the city (جي در حوالي شهر). This account was written in the fourteenth century; when, says our author, Isfahán was reckoned by some as belonging to the fourth climate, but according to the calculation of longitude and latitude, men of science placed it in the third. From the Fortunate Islands, he adds, its longitude is 86, 40, and its latitude, from the equinoctial line 32, 25. "Originally," continues the Persian geographer, "it consisted of four villages, Karran, Der-i-

(⁸) و مديند قديمه جي نام داشت كويند ان از بناهاي اسكندو است و شهر كلاي بود الرا يهوديه كعنندي و كيغية ابادني ان برينه وال است كه مختنصر اعل جرفه و ضاعفرا از بيت القدس باسيري ابرده چون مجاي كه اصفهانست رسيدند اب و هواي المجار باب و هواي بيت المقدس مناسبت يافتند بنابر ان انرا جهت رطن اختيار كردند و بانجا مقيم شد (MS. Seir al belád. Clim. IV). توطن اختيار كردند و بانجا مقيم شد The reader of my former volumes will probably recollect that Iscanors or SECAn-DER is Alexander the Great, and BAKHTNASSER is Nebuchadnezzar. See what Major Rennell has ingeniously collected from various authors respecting the Jewish settlement at Ispahán (Geog of Herodot p 398). The word Jei in Pahlavi signified " pure, or excellent," and is still added to the names of fire worshippers at Bombay, and Suret, as Da'RA BJEI, BAHRA'MJEI, & or

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"kúshk, Júbúreh and Deridesht, with certain arable lands." "Of those, some part may be ascribed to TAHMURATH the "Pishdádian monarch, and some to JEMSHI'D; but the "greater portion to DHU'L'-KARNEIN, the "two-horned;" "or Alexander. When CAI KOBA'D, first sovereign of the "Caiánian dynasty made this place his capital, great multi-"tudes of people assembled there ; buildings were erected " without the villages, which being united by degrees, formed "at length a considerable city. RUKN AD'DOULEH HASSAN, "son of BU'IAH, surrounded it (in the tenth century of " Christ) with a rampart, of which the circumference amounts "to twenty one thousand paces; this was constructed under-"the Zodiacal sign of Sagittarius; the city is divided into "forty four districts, and has nine gates ; its climate is tem-"perate both in summer and winter, and the heat is never "so excessive, nor the cold, as to impede the business of "any person. Earthquakes, rain and lightning are here "seldom destructive ; in the earth of this place dead bodies "decay but slowly; and it preserves for several years what-"ever grain or other substances may be deposited therein"; " the plague and paralytick diseases are very rare. The river "Zendehrúd passes by Isfahán on the south-western side, and "from its stream many canals or conduits flow through the " city, there is well-water also at the distance (or depth) of five "or six yards, nearly equal in salubrity and pleasant flavour to " the water of the river; and whatever seeds are brought from " any other place and sown here, will be found, if they should !

"not improve, at least not to degenerate, except pomegran-"ates; which never thrive at Isfahán; and even this circum-"stance demonstrates the excellence of its climate and water, "for pomegranates flourish most in an impure air"(⁹).

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Then follow the praises of those fruits for which Isfahán has at all times been remarkable; the apples, quinces, pears, apricots, melons, and various others, so celebrated that they are exported to India and Asia Minor(10). HAMDALLAH

(*) در اصل چهار ده بوده است کران و د کوشک و جوباره و دردشت با چند مزرعه بعضی طهمورت پیشدادی و چندیرا چمشید و ذوالترنین اکثررا ساخته بودند چرن کیقباد اول کیانیان انرا دارالملک ساخت کثرت مردم انجا بهمرسید در بیرون دهها عمارت میکردند بندریج باهم پیوسست و شهری بزرک شد رکن ادرابه حسن من بویه ارا بارو کشید و دورش بیست و بکهزار کام است طالع عمار ش برج قوس است چهل وچار محله و نه دروازه دارد هوای آن معتدل است در تابستان و زمستان و کرما و سرما جان نبود که کمیزار از کار باز دارد و زلزله و بارندگی و ماعقه که موجب خرای باشد کمتر در آن اتفاق افتد خاکش مرد در در را در و پیماری مزمن و وبا کردر برد زنده رود در جانب قبله بر ظاهر شهر میکرد و درد و موه درمان و باند کمتر در آن اتفاق افتد خاکش مرد در در و درد و مرد و نزدیک و درد و مرد و در بان اتفاق افتد خاکش مرد در در نده و درد و مود نزدیک بود و در بانده در در ان اتفاق افتد خاکش مرد در در در و درد و پیماری مزمن و وبا کردر برد زنده رود در جانب قبله بر ظاهر شهر میکذرد و از و نهرها در شهر جاری و آب چاهش در پنج شش کری برد و در کوارندگی و خوش باب نهره در نزدیک بود و هو تخم که از حای دیگر بانجا برد د و زیع کند کر بهتر از مقام زود نزدیک بخر این نباشه الا آنار که آنجا بی د و زیع کند کر بهتر از مقام کرد در ایند کی و خوای ایمان در این مرد در مان مقام کرد در میرون در مید مرد در در در بانجا برد د و زیع کند کر بهتر از مقام کرد در در موای متعنی نیک اید (MS. Auzhat al Cuitab. Geor. و درد در MS. Auzhat al Cuitab. Geor. و در در بانه

(10) Among those fruits HAMDALLAH mentions the milchi ((11)) which I do not recollect to have seen in Persia, nor does he explain the name; but that it was a kind of pear, which in the soit of Isfahán acquired a flavour peculiarly exquisite, we learn from the MS. Seir al belad. The name Rúm ((12)) which I have translated Asia Minor, is sometimes extended to Greece; but properly signifies (as HAMDALLAH describes it in the seventh chapter of his Geography) the present Turkish empire or western part of Asia, bounded by the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, and by an imaginary line from the borders of Georgia and Armenia to the extremity of Syria near Egypt.

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proceeds to describe the pasture-lands which in a surprising manner fatten and strengthen cattle; the plains and admirable hunting-grounds abounding in game of every kind; he informs us that in the city were many publick edifices; at one of these (a madrassch or college) in the Gulbar (کشار) district, which contained the body of SULTA'N MUHAMMED, the Seljúkian, was preserved a stone weighing about two thousand mans, brought from India, where it had been esteemed the chief idol; and the people of that country offered, but invain, to redeem it at any price. He then observes that the inhabitants of Isfahân are fair-complexioned ; notices their reliz gious sects, the difference of which caused much strife and contention; he quotes some epigrammatical verses, and an Arabian prophecy respecting DEJA'L (دحال) the false Messiah. or Antichrist, whe, it is said, shall come from the Yehudiah of Isfahán, or the Jewish quarter above-mentioned. - One district, he says, the Shahristán (شهرستان) called also Shahr-inow (شهرنو) or the new town, was founded by SECANDER or Alexander, and rebuilt by FIRU'z, the Sasânian king; and in the territory of Marbin (ماربد) there was a castle erected by TAHMURATH, and this castle has been denominated Ateshgah, as BAHMAN the son of ASEENDYA'R constructed a (اتشكام) Fire-temple within it.

Having enumerated the districts and their respective villages, (many of which contained, in his time, a thousand houses or families) the geographer closes this account of *Isfahán* by

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calculating its distance from several other places; and as the statement appears sufficiently correct and may be useful to future travellers, I have subjoined it in the Appendix.

EBN VARDI, in one copy of his Arabick work, devotes but a single line to *Isfahán*, celebrating the excellence of its **air**, soil and water. This line occurs also in my second 'copy'; (a fine Manuscript) which has, besides, the following brief account of *Isfahán*: "it consists of two towns; one called "Yehúdíah, the other Shahr bánch; and these constitute at "present the most flourishing and abundant city of Jebál " (Irák Ajemi or Parthia) and the largest; here are manu-"factured embroidered garments of various kinds, silk and " cotton; saffron grows here in great profusion, and is sent " from this place to other countries"(¹¹).

AMI'N AHMED RA'ZI (المدين العبد رازي), author of a history of the Persian poets, entitled *Haft aklim* (هفت اناليم) or the "Seven "Climates," has illustrated his work with much geographical matter, and in the description of *Isfahán* borrows from the Seir al belád (or Athar al belád), and the Nuzhat al culúb many passages which I have already extracted from these Manuscripts and, therefore, shall not here repeat. His account then

⁽¹¹) اصبهان و هي مدينتان تسمي احدا هما اليهوديد و الخري شهربانه و هما اختصب مدن المجدال و اوسعها حالا و بها طراز انواع المحرير و القطن و الزعفران بها (Mi. Kheraied or Kheridet al ajaieb.) كثيرا يعمل مذها لي ساير البلاد given Shighrbanch as in the MS, but doubt its correctness.

proceeds to state that concerning the foundation of Isfahán there have been many contradictory opinions: several ascribing it to ISPAHA'N a descendant of YA'FET (or Japhet); whilst others regard it as the work of IsPAHA'N son of SA'M (or Shem) the son of Noah; and some have affirmed that Isfahan is a name formed of words implying "the city of "horsemen;" others declare that Isfahan is the general denomination of the whole territory; "and, adds our author, "it is mentioned in the Ajaïeb al beldán or "Wonders of "Regions" that this city was, at a very early period, styled "Ychudiah or the Jewish settlement; because the children of "Israel when they fled from BAKHT AL NASSER, carried "with them some of the clay or easth from Jerusalem, and "having wande at through the world they found that the "soil of Isfahan resembled the earth of their original sacred "habitation; and there they prected a city and called it "Yehudiah"----- "Isfahan is situate on the banks of the river "Zendchrud, or as some express the name Zaïendehrud; and "from this stream a thousand and one channels have been "cut, which supply abundantly with water the eight believes "or districts"(12). AHMED RA'ZI has not omitted to notice

⁽¹²) و در مجايب البلدان اورده كه ان شهررا در قديم بهوديه خواندندي كه باعث انكه چون بذي اسرايل از بخت النصر بكريمتند پاره از خاك ديت المدسرا بركرفته كرد عالم مديكرديدند چون خاك اصفهان را موافق خاك بيت المقدس يافتند انجا شهري بنا كردة موسوم بيبوديه- و شهر اصفهان بر كناره اب زندهرود كه بعضي بزايندهرود اعتبار كردهاند واقعست و اززندهرود هزار و يك نهر جدا شود و هشت بلوك را كغايت كرد the antiseptick quality of the earth, the purity of air, and the excellent fruits of *Isfahán*; where, he adds, venomous creatures such as snakes and scorpions are seldom discovered; he praises the publick buildings; the gardens and baths; and in conclusion, quotes a poem of the celebrated KHA'KA'NI, extravagantly representing that city as a perfect paradise; Egypt (or its capital) as less important than the district of *Jei*; and the far-famed Nile inferior to the Zendehrúd(¹³).

Of this river we perceive in the extract above-given that the name is variously expressed; and I have found it indifferently written in Manuscripts of equal authority, Zendehrud, (or Zindehrud) (زندورد)) which may be translated "the living "stream;" and Zääendehrud (زندورد)) the river that bringsforth, fertilizes or vivifies. These, however, may be variations of the same name; but according to the Seir al belad, the stream which runs by Isfahan was entitled "Zarin Rud" or the "Golden River," "celebrated for the pleasantness and purity "of its water; the coarsest thread when washed in that "stream becomes as soft and fine as silk; and the source is at

(¹³) نديل كم از ژند: رود مصركم ارجى. From the poem of KHA'KA'NI (خاذانی) our author has extracted but ten distichs; it consists, however, of seventy iwy, or seventy five, according to different copies of that poet's Dipán in my collection, each distich ending with the word Sifahán (مفاعان). Few Persian poets furnish so many local allusions as KHA'KA'NI; he ends every distich of another composition with the name of Rai (ري); and a poem of one hundred distichs (according to my best expy) has the name of Khurásán (خراطان) in the second line of each.

"a certain spot called *Tebakán* or *Betakán*"(¹⁴). Nearly in the same manner one copy of EBN VARDA's Arabick treatise above quoted celebrates the Zendehrúd; but, as I suppose through some mistake, the name appears written Nahr Zemrúd, which would signify " the river of emeralds." According to the MS. " it is famed for its pure and salubrious water; " in which clothes of a rough or coarse texture being washed " are rendered soft as silken garments; and it issues from a " place called Melkán"(¹⁵).

In his account of the Zendrud (for so the MS. one of very doubtful accuracy, exhibits this name) we learn from HA'FIZ ABRU that it is a considerable river which passes near Isfahan; "in some books," says the historian, "the name is written "Zinehrud, which may be derived from Zarinehrud or " the "golden stream," an appellation given because its water was "deemed so precious that even a drop of it should not be "lost or wasted(¹⁶);" he adds, that this river proceeds originally from the chashmeh or tountain of Janan (...).

(⁴⁴) نهر زرین رود که موصوفست بعدو ^ته اب و اطانت آن ریسمان قر^م متارا جون باب آن نهر بشویند چون حربر زرم و^و الیم کردد سر چشمه آن از قریم است که انرا بقا آن کوبند

⁽¹³) نبر زمرود و هو ناعاتهان موصف بالنالة و العذوبة يغسل فيه ال**نونية للخشن** فيصار الين من العربر وهو تخرج من قريه يقال لها ماكان

(¹⁶) نهر زندرود—دىر بعصې كتب زېنه رود نوشته اند و وجه تسميه ان بزرېته رو. • انكه يك قطره اب ضايع نميشود

1:53%

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It is traced however by HAMDALLAH (in his Chapter on the subject of Persian Rivers) to the "Kih Zerdeh among the "mountains of the greater Lur, and to the territory called Jui "Sarv, the "cypress stream," or fountain; having passed "through Rúdibár a district of Luristán, it proceeds to Firú-"zan and Isfahan, and is at length, after a course of eighty " farsangs, dissipated or absorbed, at Ravid Sestein in the "land of Gawkháni"(17). He notices its names, Záïendehrúd and Zarinrud; and informs us that according to some accounts, this river sinks into the ground at Gawkháni from which it runs subterraneously sixty farsangs, and then rises again in the province of Kirmán and flows into the eastern sea, (درياي شرقى the eastern part, we may suppose, of the Persian Gult). "It is related," adds he, "that in former times, a " piece of reed, having been marked for the purpose, was "thrown into this stream at Gawkhani, and appeared again in "Kirmán" (18); but the mountains, and soil would present so many natural obstacles in the intermediate space, that HAMDALLAH is induced to consider this story as not supported by facts or even by probability. Yet in the work entitled Ajáieb al beldán or "Wonders of Regions;" the descent

⁽¹⁷⁾ از کوه زرده و جدال لر بزرک بعدود جوي سرو پر مبنيزد بر ولايت رودبار لمحقان گذشته در ولايت فيروزان و اصنهان ريزد در ناحيت ويد مستين در زمين Oue copy for Ruvid Sestein has کاوخاني مذتهي ميشود و طولش هشتاد فرستک باشد Ravendsin (روندسين)

(¹⁸) و میکویند در زمان سابق ني پاره نشان کرده در کاوخاني در ان اب افکنده بودند درکرمان پیداشد of this river into the Persian Gulf is thus mentioned without any doubt or comment. "The Zendehrúd which waters the "territory of *Isjáhán*, is remarkable for its purity and salu-"brious qualities; from branches of its stream the gardens "and villages of that place derive considerable advantage; "and it falls into the sea of Fárs"⁽¹⁹⁾.

The Zendehrúd appears to have borne, in the ancient dialects of Persia, denominations totally different, at least in sound, from any of those above-mentioned; for the Bundehesh, according to Anquetil du Perron's translation, (Zendav. Tome II. p. 391, 393) styles it the Khréi (or Khreé) and the Mesrega roud, or Mesregantch The extreme accuracy of that learned Frenchman is evinced, as usual, by a collation of his version with the original text. From mv Manuscript copy already mentioned (p. 2) I annex (See Misc. Plate) as it appears written in Pahlavi characters, the passage respecting this river; which at present is only known by the name of Záiendehrúd or Zendehrúd; the former being by many considered as more correct, although the latter scemed to me more generally used in conversation.

This account might easily be lengthened by extracts from other Manuscripts now before me; these, however, would

⁽¹⁹⁾ زندمرود در ولایت امغاهانست و بعذوبة و لطافت اب معرف و رسان**یق و** بسان_این امغاهان از جداول او منتفع باشند و مصب ان اجر فارس است add but little to our stock of knowledge, as the authors have, in general, borrowed not only the matter, but the very words of those already quoted in this chapter. All the information respecting the river Zendehrúd which I received from various persons at Isfahán in answer to my personal inquiries, agreed so nearly with notices compiled at the same time by M1' RZA' MUHAMMED SA'LEH, (a young and ingenious man of letters who accompanied our embassy from Shiráz, and has since visited England), that in translating a few passages from his Journal, obligingly communicated to me by himself, I offer the result of our joint researches; previously mentioning one account unnoticed by him which traces the stream to a source called Chárchashmeh (========) or the "Four Fountains," situate eighty or ninety miles-westward of Isfahán.

"The Zendehrúd is a considerable river which rises among the mountains of Shámkheh (شامنتها) in the Bakhtyári (نختياري) country; and at the distance of twelve farsangs from those mountains, there is a certain bridge, the Pul-i-Kellek(إلى كله) exceedingly lofty, although it has but three arches; and this is situate in the territory of Chár mehál (جارمعال) or the "Four "Districts," which, as report states, comprise from two to three hundred pargamahs (بركته) of villages (20), where the lands are cultivated by the Bakhtyáris and people of Chár Mahál.

^{(&}quot;) The MS. Dictionary Johangiri informs us that pargannal signifies a territory from which taxes are levied.

chiefly with wheat and barley and a little rice. After this, the river waters Linjan (الجارات or the Linjanht النجار) #tract of country containing nearly thirty pargannahs of villages, and about eight thousand inhabitants. Rice is here the principal object of cultivation, but the soil produces also cotton, barley and wheat, some vetches, lentils, and a sufficiency of pease. Gardens are very numerous in the territory of Linján, through which the river Zendehrúd passes; and there, likewise, is a bridge called Pul i Vargan (پل وركان) of firm workmanship. From this to the bridge of Kelleh before-mentioned, is a distance of six farsangs. The river, after a course of three farsangs from Put i Vargán, runs under another bridge of great size, the Pul i Marnun (يل مارنون) to within half a farsang of Isfahán, that city which resembles paradise (جنت نشان); there, situate on it, is the Pul-i-chchár-bágh (إلى جهارياغ), a very strong bridge and truly beautiful, crected by ALI VERDI KHA'N (شاء عباس) one of Sha'h ABBa's's (شاء عباس) principal servants. About three hundred paces below this there is a short bridge called Pul-i-chubi (پل جوبی), the occasion of building which was, that the channel of the Zendehrud being here, close to the royal palaces named Haft-dest (شعبت دست) and Saadet-abad (سعادت اباد), of considerable depth, the water might be more easily conveyed into those edifices, along the upper part of the bridge. Having passed from the Pul-ichubi three hundred paces farther, the stream arrives at the city near the gate of Khájú (خواجو), where a large and very strong bridge has been constructed; and this, which is called.

the Pul-i-Khájú, and the bridge of Cheharbágh, have each an upper and lower row of arches. The river then passes on to the Pul-i-Shahristán (پل شهرستان), a bridge so denominated from an extensive village on the eastern side of Isfahan; there is a minarelt (siles) or steeple, exceedingly high in the Shahristán, and this place affords a moderate crop; different sorts of barley, wheat, and other grain; the bridge here is not very long and has only ten or twelve arches. From this the river, Zendehrud proceeds to the beluk (بارك) or district of Berahan (براهان), where, as the ground presents an elevated surface, a band (بند) or dyke has been constructed, to facilitate the descent of the stream, and disperse it for the purposes of irrigation among the cultivated fields; the dyke of which we have spoken, is called the band of ALI KU'LI KHA'N (على قلى خان), and the whole population of Berahán, amounts, as it is supposed, to about one thousand people. The river next flows on to Rúdesht (رودشت); this place comprehends several villages, and the inhabitants may be reckoned four thousand, their crops are reasonably abundant; and there also is a dyke, the Band-t-Merwan (بند مروان); which derives its name from a person who governed under one of the Abbási Khalifahs. Hence the Zondehrud advances to Varzeneh, (ورزنه) in the district of Rúdesht; and a little beyond Varzench, settles on the earth." I must remark that one meaning of Zendeh (زنده) is "great;" yet it does not seem applied in this sense to the river by those poets who often play upon its name.

CHAPTER XIV

Residence at Ispahán.

WE remained at Ispahán from the twenty-ninth day of July until the twenty-first of October, a space of twelve weeks, during which our residence was in the Royal Gardens of Saadetábád, where Sir Gore and Lady Ouseley occupied the extensive building called Haft-dest, comprising many ranges of apartments⁽¹⁾. These, when the former

kings lived here, formed the Harem or Hharam (-,-) the dwellings of their wives; some chambers were still very richly gilt, painted and otherwise ornamented in the best Persian style. This edifice is not attached to any other situate within the precincts of Saadetábád gardens; the lower part is built of stone, in large and well-cut masses; the superstructure of brick; one end, a tower, appears in Plate LVI, (first view) which also represents the tálár (JU) or great open-fronted hall of the Palace hereafter described.

Some gentlemen of the embassy furnished for their own accommodation the rooms or recesses in that airy and pretty, but most inconvenient structure the "European hat," (Kuláh i Frangki(²), or as it is sometimes called the namekdán (نبکدان) or "Salt cellar." Of this building, described as an octagonal pavilion by Chardin, (Tome VIII, p. 228, Rouen, 1723) I made two sketches; one the subject of Pl. LVII, (No. 1), was taken near the Palace from the great walk through which runs a conduit with works for throwing up water. In this is included part of the mountain called Kühe Soffeh (کود صند). The same Plate, No. 2, represents the Kuláh i Frangki delineated from a spot near the garden gate, opening towards the cemetery or Kabrestan (تبرستدا.) of the district called Takhti-Púlád

^{() (}كلاد فرنكي) So called from a fancied resemblance in its projecting roof, to the old-fashioned kulák or hat of the Franks or Europeans. An edifice of this kind has been mentioned in Vol. II. p. 2.

(تغمت بوالد) after an ancient hero, Pu'LA'D; this view shews the basin or fountain raised on a circular platform, from the center of which water constantly issued, and as I heard, was often projected to a considerable height.

Most of us, however, preferred our tents, and pitched them among the lofty chinar (جنار) or plane-trees, so numerous in these ample gardens. We daily assembled at that stately edifice which I have denominated the Palace, being the handsomest, and principal of all that constitute the Saadetábád (سعادتاباد) or "Residence of Felicity." There the Ambassador received visits of ceremony; and there we breakfasted and dined in the magnificent and spacious " Hall of Audience," or " Diván Kháneh" (ديوان خانه) the tálár or open front of which has been already represented (Pl. LVI, No. 1) and appears in a different point of view (Pl. LVI, No. 2) when seen from a door-way near the Haft-dest; whence also is discerned the Pul-i Khújû (بل خواجو) or "Bridge of Khájú," as expressed in the same engraving. Of the Diván Kháneh, that splendid hall wherein we daily assembled at meals, the walls were formed at the lower part, of fine marble slabs, painted and gilded in patterns of birds and flowers.

In another place some architectural observations on this Palåce, and an ichnographical sketch, shall be offered; meanwhile I proceed to record the transactions subsequent to our arrival on the twenty-ninth day of July, at Saadetábád or "the Mansion of Felicity. PERSIA.

We had not been many hours in this Persian Elysium before the Ambassador received a visit from HA'JI MU-HAMMED HUSEIN KHA'N (حاجي محمد حسين خان) the Amin ad douleh (حاجي محمد حسين خان) second minister of the Empire and ruler of that extensive region, which lies between Aminábád and Tehrán; his son, ABDALLAH KHA'N (عبدالله خان) being peculiarly the governor of Ispahán; but it was attributed to his father's judicious and mild administration, that this celebrated city has, within a few years made rapid advances towards its ancient degree of population, splendour and opulence.

Next morning we set out on horseback at ten o'clock in full procession, to return the Amín ad douleh's visit; and having crossed the river Zendehrúd on the bridge of Khájú we rode through several long, handsome and well-peopled streets, but had opportunities of remarking that at least as many more were in ruins and uninhabited. The great man received us at his door with much courtesy; in honour of the Ambassador he had assembled all the chief personages of Ispahân; and at noon the floor of a spachous chamber was covered with ten very large trays, each containing twenty-five china bowls and dishes of various sizes(⁵); these

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^(*) I have seen a still greater number at once on the floor during a zidfet (a) a grand feast or entertainment) which the prime minister at Tehrán gave in honour of the Ambassador. To indulge in the use and display of beautiful porcelain has long been among the Persians a favourite fluxury. In his account of HEMA'M AD'DI'N.

were filled with the most savoury meat, conserves, sweet cakes, delicious fruit, both dried and fresh; sherbet of orange and pomegranate, and willow-water or *áb-i-bidmishk* (اب بیدمشک) cooled with ice; after this repast we were treated with coffee and *caleáns* or pipes. Rose water was poured into our hands, and we returned at two o'clock to the gardens of *Saadetábád*.

I rode next day into the city, visited some of the principal edifices, and many bázárs or rows of shops, and purchased a few triffing articles from painters and moneychangers who promised to reserve for my inspection whatever extraordinary pictures, gems, or ancient coins might fall into their hands. I also left with two intelligent booksellers, lists of about thirty rare Arabick and Persian manuscripts which at *Shiráz* had been in vain the object of my inquiry.

Although the nights were pleasantly cool, yet the sun acquired considerable heat very early in the morning; and, on the last day of July, at half-past nine, the thermometer had risen to 89; at noon it was up to 97; and stood, an hour after, at 98.

TABEI'21 (همام الدين تعريزي) who died about the year 1313, (A. H. 713) DOWLET SHA'H notices the bacquet given by a private, though wealthy, individual some years before that time, when four hundred china dishes and vessels were at once placed before the guests; حجارصد علبق حيدتي در أن مجلس حاضركرد. PERSIA.

Visits repeated two, three or four times every week during a space of nearly three months, enabled me to examine, with perfect ease, the chief objects of curiosity still existing at Ispahán and in the neighbourhood of that city, which has been so well described by Chardin, that the task remaining for a modern traveller is little more than to lament the decay of its buildings, and the decrease of its population. We learn from the account given by that ingenious Frenchman, that, about the year 1666, Ispahan contained, according to some calculations, eleven hundred thousand inhabitants; he acknowledges, however, that on this subject there were different opinions; but the most moderate statement, he says, only reduced the number to six hundred thousand, (Tome VIII, p. 3, 4,). I strongly doubt whether at this time, (1811) two hundred thousand could be found resident in the city.

Yet so extensive is the tract covered with its ruins, that including the quarters still peopled, it is not probably, a very exaggerated representation, by which the natives have frequently described to me this great capital, as being ten farsangs in circumference(⁴).

(*) Chardin (Tome VIII, p. 3, 8) pronounced it one of the greatest cities in the world, forming with its suburbs a compass of not less than twelve leagues; he allowed a circuit of twenty thousand paces to the walls as they stood when he wrote in the seventeenth century; and we have seen twenty one thousand assigned to them by HAMDAL-LAH at the time of their original construction seven hundred years before (See p. 7). Kæmpfer allows sixteen farsangs, and bould not ride round them in one days (Americ, Exot, p. 163).

From its former vast extent and population, has arisen that hyperbolical saying which a stranger hears so often among the vaunting natives, and which declares Isfahan to be "half the world," (Isfahán nisf e jehán بهان الصنعان نصف جهان). This city, as an aged and respectable inhabitant informed me, contained when in its glory under the Sefeviah (منويه) princes, sixty five thousand families or houses; a number augmented to seventy two thousand by another account, reported in the Journal of MI'RZA SA'LEH, (See p. 16). Perhaps the saying above-quoted, may have alluded, inclusively, to the numerous villages once so thickly studded on the adjacent plains, fifteen hundred being situate, says Chardin, within a space of ten leagues. Of those villages several have totally disappeared or only exist in a state of absolute decay; many however still flourish and continue to supply Ispahán most abundantly with the produce of their fields and gardens.

From our residence at Saadetabád, we usually entered Ispahán by way of the bridge and gate called Khájú, and through the adjoining Chârbágh or quadruple garden, of which the spacious avenues, bordered with trees and shrubs, and watered by rills, flowing from ample fountains, led us to the Bázár of HASSAN ABA'D (viji, and let us to the Bázár of shops are under cover of one general roof; in the centre is an octagonal howz (add or reservoir, and the fronts of those buildings near it are decorated with gaudy pictures of kings

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and heroes. For this handsome bázár and the neighbouring Chárbágh, which now present busy and chearful scenes, where lately ruins alone were visible, the inhabitants are indebted to the AMN'N AD'BOULEH, whose indefatigable perseverance in embellishing and enriching Ispahán is evinced by the population and bustle of those streets situate between the bázár above-mentioned and the gate called Tukhchi (\bar{x} , a space of about two miles; also in the quarter of Kuisariáh (\bar{x} , and in the various districts allotted respectively to copper-souths, sadlers,

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cap-makers, sword-cutlers, druggists, cotton-manufacturers, dyers, those who sell clothes, contectioners, cooks and other artisans and tradesmen.

This patriotick minister also rebuilt (as I learn from some notes committed to paper on the spot) that gate styled Derwhich is exhibited a painted representation of SHA'H ISMAAIL (درب تیسر ۵) or corruptly, Derb-i-Kaisariah, (درب تیسر ۵), over which is exhibited a painted representation of SHA'H ISMAAIL (درب تیسر ۵) engaged in battle. He not only preserves from decay several magnificent palaces, founded by the powerful and luxurious Sevefiah monarchs; such as the royal mansions called Chehl Setim (جهل سترب) or the "Forty pillars," Hesht behesht (مشت بهشت) or the "Eight Paradises," and Sandet-ábad or "the Residence of Felicity" above-noticed; but has erected and completely furnished at his own expense, a very beautiful new edifice for the accommodation of his sovereign, in honour of whose name (FATTEH ALI SHA'H) (مشد عله) it is July 1811.]

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entitled Fatteh A'båd (النسابان) or the "Residence of Victory." If the other palaces derive from their more ample proportions and more rich though faded decorations, an air of superior majesty, this modern and smaller building pleases, perhaps in a higher degree, by the smiling gloss of novelty. The others, not yet claiming veneration as monuments of antiquity, are, however, sufficiently old to appear, when considered as dwelling places, dreary, gloomy and incommodious, whilst the newly-constructed apartments of Fatteh A'bád seem to constitute a chearful, clean and comfortable habitation. It possesses one chamber of peculiar beauty, gilt and painted with considerable elegance, and receiving light through stained glass, fancifully disposed in handsome windows, and of different colours so vivid as to excite, during sun-shine, an idea of most brilliant jewel-work.

The portraits of many ancient kings, represented of the natural size, contribute to embellish this palace. They have been painted within ten or twelve years by a celebrated artist, MIHR ALI (, and article years) of Tehrán; who has not only marked each picture with his own name, but considerately added the title of each illustrious personage whom he intended to delineate. This alone enables the spectator to distinguish FERI-DUN, NU'SHI'RAVA'N and others from ISCANDER or Alexander the Great, whose face, dress and arms are, most probably, the same that MINE ALI's imagination would have assigned to any Persian prince of the last fifty or hundred years. At a house adjoining the Fatteh Abad, I paid frequent visits to Captain Lockett, who had left Shiráz some days before our departure, and had suffered much from insults and extortion on the road between that city and Ispahán; his baggage had been repeatedly searched; one of his Indian servants threatened with death for the crime of not being a Muhammedan, and his own life in danger several times.

With him f often inspected the palaces above-mentioned; the great Meidân (مدرسه) or square; the Maddrassehs (مدرسه) or colleges, and various publick edifices so accurately described by Chardin, Le Brun, and other travellers; and we explored together the streets and bâzârs where the Kitâbfurúshán (کذاب فروسان) or booksellers resided.

Captain Lockett was desirous of proceeding through Hamadán ($(\downarrow,\downarrow,\downarrow,\downarrow)$) to Baghilád' ($(\downarrow,\downarrow,\downarrow,\downarrow)$), where he purposed finishing, under the eyes of learned natives, his translations from several manuscript works on the abstruse science of Arabick grammar. But to travel by the road of Hamadán was reckoned so hazardous, on account of the depredations committed by Bakhtyáris and other lawless tribes, and of hostilities between the pripce of Kirmánsháh and the Turkish governor or Páshá of Baghdád, that he determined on seturning to Búshehr, whence he might be easily conveyed in some English or Arab vessel to Basrah ($(\downarrow,\downarrow,\downarrow)$). About the middle of August he pitched his tent in the Seedetábád garden, and remained amongst us there until the twentieth of that month, when he commenced his journey, having agreed for a certain sum with muleteers, who engaged to escort him and carry his baggage in thirteen days from Isfahán to the Bander (....) or sea-port of Bûshehr.

If, respecting any particular object, the statements of two contemporary travellers, equal in abilities and authority be sometimes found to disagree, those who have visited distant countries and especially the East, will not always ascribe the variation either to neglect, or to wilful mis-representation. Accident may have furnished one with the means of obtaining the most correct intelligence which, from a combination of unfavourable circumstances, no exertions of the other could have procured. Nor must all those from whom it is sought, be necessarily supposed qualified to give it; although they are, in general, more ready to deceive or amuse a foreigner with erroneous information and vague conjecture, than to acknowledge their own ignorance. I have received from persons residing in the same street, and even in the same house, very contradictory answers' concerning subjects on which it was natural for a stranger to suppose that, from local and daily opportunities, they would have acquired the mest certain knowledge.

Tavernier and Chardin, about the years 1665 or 1666 differred in enumerating the gates of Ispahan; the former reckoned ten, the latter twelve, of which eight were always open and four, for superstitious reasons, always shut. We have seen (p.7) that a Persian geographer of the fourteenth century assigned to that city only nine gates; from what I could myself ascertain when on the spot in 1811, and from a written account given to me there by an ingenious native, the number appears to be twelve.

Another instance of discrepancy occurs in calculating the population of *Ispahán*, which Tavernier, most probably, under-rated when he informs us that Paris contained ten times more inhabitants than the Persian capital; whilst Chardin seems to have exaggerated it in an equal degree by stating them at eleven hundred thousand, or even at six hundred thousand; my own opinion, as already expressed, (p. 24) would not raise the amount of their present numbers beyond two hundred thousand.

But we find that Europeans are not the only travellers who differ in their reports on the same subject. In his very brief account of *Ispahán*, written by MI'RZA' JA'N whilst we were there, he mentions that the city is divided into twelve mahallehs (Alano) or sections resembling our parishes; and it comprises according to the journal of MI'RZA SA'LEH who accompanied us from Shiráz, no less than seventeer; of which, adds he, some are inhabited and others fallen to decay. These two reports might perhaps, be reconciled, by ISPAHA'N.

supposing that of seventeen five only were in a state of ruin; but if the peopled mahallehs do not exceed twelve in number, those which have been deserted are, as many statements induce me to believe, considerably more than five. The division, however into forty-four, that subsisted in the fourteenth century, according to HAMDALLAH CAZVINI has long since been reduced; and when Chardin wrote, (about the year 1676) Ispahán consisted of two principal districts, Deri desht and Júbúrch; these denominations still remain.

Through some procrastination for which no satisfactory excuse or reason can now be offered, I neglected to ascertain from actual measurement the length and breadth of that great *Meidán*, described by so many travellers in terms of admiration; yet it was fully my intention to determine whether Daulier Deslandes, or Tavernier, or Chardin stated most correctly its dimensions; for the book of notes and extracts which I had compiled in England proved that their respective accounts did not, by any means, accord, although the writers visited *Ispahán* at nearly the same time(*). Whatever

(4) According to Daulier Deslandes it was 600 paces or steps (pas d'un homme qui se promeue) by 400. Tavernier says about 700 (pas) long and between 200 and 300 bronds Charilist 440, by 160; an ingenious travelier of our own time describes it as " une place d'environ 760 pas ordinaires de long du nord au sud et de 230 de large. " de l'est a' ouest." (Olivier, Voyage en Perse. l'ome V. p. 183, Paris, 1807). Pietro della Valle assigned to this "Plazza magiore" about 600 of his steps (passi de i miei) by 230; and Kampfer 660 (passuum) by 212. Le Brun extends its length to 710, and states its width at 240 steps (pus).

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may be its extent I am willing to believe that few cities of the world can boast so magnificent a publick square as this "Royal Meidán," Meidán sháhi (ميدان شاهى) or " Place of the "lofty gate," Meidán Aali Cápis for it bears both names(5). Yet its appearance did not altogether correspond to the vast ideas which I had formed. 'Time has, in many parts, defaced its buildings and exposed the original meanness of their materials, brick or clay; and we, at least, never witnessed any of those brilliant cavalcades which rendered this scene so interesting, whilst the monarch held his court in the splendid palace adjoining; nor that bustle of amusement and of business by which it was animated, whilst the city could pour greater multitudes into its ample space. Near one end however, I generally observed some booths or awnings under the shade of which a few traders of the lowest classes sold their wares. Luties or mountebanks here practised their buffooneries and pahlaváns (بهدوان) or kushtigirs (كشتيكير) displayed their skill in athletick exercises. Two of these appear wrestling in the view with which Kæmpfer has illustrated his excellent account of this Meidán; wherein also he has represented a goat trained to jump on the highest of many little wooden pyramids piled one above another, yet not throw any down. To this an allusion has been already made; and to the exhibitions of wrestlers, such as T have frequently

^(*) Some affect to call it Ali Copi (علي قابي) or ALI's gate, instead of Asli Copi (علي قابي) or ALI's gate, instead of Asli Copi عالي قا
stopped to contemplate in the great square at Ispahan, (See Vol. I. p. 232, 234, and Pl. XII).

The hundred and sixty-one masjeds () or mosques, comprehended within this city's walls during the seventeenth century according to Chardin, are now reduced to sixty, as the statement of MI'RZA' JA'N acknowledges; and even of hese, he says, no more than forty are kept in a state of repair, the others having fallen to ruin; but MI'RZA' SA'LEH, who committed his observations to paper at the same time declares that there are one hundred and twenty; the principal is entitled Masjed i Shah (مسعد شاه) or the "King's Mosque," a very handsome edifice founded by SHA'H ABBA's, and situate at the southern side of the great square or Meidan Ali Cápi above mentioned, so called sometimes from the gateway which forms part of its western side. This noble gateway serves as chief entrance to the royal residence, consisting of various buildings and separate ranges of apartments; it comprises the Chehlsutún (جهل ستون) or "Palace of Forty Pillars;" the Talar Tavileh (تار طويله) or "Hall of the Stables ;" the Hesht behesht (شمت بيشت) or "Eight Paradises;" the Guldesteh or "Bunch of Roses;" the Harem (حرم) or chambers of the queens and their female attendants; besides a whitety of distinct dwellings for the king's officers, body guards, and demestick servants; with extensive gardens watered by streams from handsome and copious fountains supplied by subterraneous conduits. 251

Adjoining, in a south-western direction is the palace with its princely domain called Hezár jeríb (حزار جرب) or "the "Thousand Acres;" through the ample chárbágh (جارباغ) or quadruple garden of which, a straight and spacious avenue leads to the river Zendehrúd, and the bridge of Julfa (بانه), or of Aliverdi Khán; or, as it is often denominated from the gardens adjacent, Pul i chárbágh. This has been already mentioned and shall hereafter be more particularly described.

Meanwhile, returning to the city I must remark that if a modern statement reduces the mosques to one third of their former number, the colleges or madrassehs (مدرسه) would appear to have multiplied by nearly one half; for Chardin reckoned only forty-eight; and in a report given to me at Ispahán. eighty-four are noticed; those no longer frequented; being included with those still flourishing. Of all the colleges, that styled royal Madrasseh Shahi (مدرسه شاهئ) is considered as I suspect however, the accuracy of my living informchief. ant with respect to the number. Yet in another instance the recent calculation is considerably lower than Chardin's; according to notes which he had collected the publick baths of Ispahán amounted in his time to two hundred and seventy three. MI'BZA' JA'N, who resided there in 1811, informs us that the city contains about eighty baths, of which the best is called Hamám-e-Khusrau A'ká (حمام خسرواتا). Mi'R ZA' Sat-LEH at the same time, inquired their number, and says that they amount to about one hundred. My own questions on

this subject produced very vague information, fluctuating between eighty and a hundred and twenty.

Ispahán abounds in those tall, slender, cylindrical towers or steeples which the Persians call minárch, generally constructed of brick and sometimes richly decorated with glazed or lackered tiles of various colours. According to a list before me, the masjed or "Mosque of Ali" possesses the Joftiest minarch; two of great height belong to the Masjed jamaeu (, two likewise to the mosque of AKA' CHEMA'KLU' (اتا جماتلو); one is attached to the mosque of ALI in the district of DA'R AL ZEIA (دار الصبا); and there is another which indicates by its singular name, minár e serkeh (منار سركه) or "vinegar tower;" the commodity sold by an individual at whose expense it was erected. The Mináreh Shahristán (منارد شهرستان) is also very lofty ; but the first that I went to see was the tower of Gulbár (كليار) or Gulvár as commonly pronounced), respecting which Chardin's account had excited my curiosity; those who showed it, however, did not point out any circumstance in its construction particularly remarkable.

A respect almost natural for ancient trees induced me to inquite after those mentioned by former travellers as deserving notice; but my researches were not always successful, Of the venerable trunk called *chinár súkhteh* (جنار سونته) or the "burnt plane-tree," which existed when Chardin wrote his

description of *Ispahán*, the name at present only remains; transferred from the tree to an ordinary door or gateway, that occupies its place at the end of a bázár.

The celebrated castle of Tabarrak (تبرك), will much disappoint those who may expect to find it as represented by Chardin, whilst the fcrtifications were yet preserved in a defensive state; he enumerates minutely, and without doubt, accurately, as usual, the different buildings comprised inside its walls and the royal treasures of which it was, in 1676, the impregnable depository. Kæmpfer too, who visited Persia ten or eleven years after, describes it as being still a favourite object of admiration to the citizens, and interesting to for-But the last century has robbed it of all its hoardeigners. ed riches, its strength and beauty; even in the year 1704 Le Brun found its ramparts so shattered that a person might see through them in several places; he thought that to discharge a cannon from them would cause their overthrow; and, strangers he believed were only excluded lest they might discover that decay had made still greater progress within. The ruined walls are now mouldering into heaps of clay. perceived however, from the size, the thickness and height of some towers and bastions not yet fallen, the depth of its ample ditch, and the extent of ground which it covers, that this must have been a fortress of considerable strength. While viewing its remains I was entertained with several anecdotes related by two or three Persians, demonstrating

the very remote antiquity of its foundation; all those were equally absurd as one which I shall record in the words of MI'RZA' SA'LEH; adding his comment to prove, what many other examples have convinced me, that the present men of letters and of liberal education in this country attach but little credit to those fictions of their ancestors wherein preternatural beings are employed as agents. "The Kelaa or citadel denominated Tabarrak;" says MI'RZA' SA'LEH, "was once "exceedingly strong although at present in ruin. Still its "vestiges remain, such as the ditch, some towers and walls. "It is said that Tabarrak was a Div or gigantick demon, who "had revolted against the holy king Solomon; but this story "is most probably untrue; since we find that every thing in "a slight degree uncommon or extraordinary is immediately "styled the work of a Demon"(⁶).

It was supposed by Chardin and Kæmpfer that the name of this fortress signified "benediction;" they must have sought, therefore, its etymology in the Arabick language; but from the story above-quoted, and similar traditions we might perhaps infer that it borrowed the name from some

(⁶) قلعه تبرک ان نیز قلعه بسیار مظبوطی بوده است اکرچه حال خرابسته لیکن حال اتاری از ان باقیست مثل خندق ویرچ و جدارش میکویند تدرک دیوی بوده است که از خبرت سلیمان یاغی شده بود شاید قول مصیحی نباشد بسیب اینگه هر چیزیکه اندک غرایبتی دارد میکویند کار دیواست Mi. Journal of Ma'2284 'Sa'2284.

powerful chief, its ancient founder. Yet the Eastern lexi cographers of highest authority do not sanction either derivation, and those excellent Dictionaries, the Jehángíri and Burhán Kátea, class Tabarrak among words purely Persick, and inform us that "it expresses, in a general sense, any "castle or fortress; but, particularly, the citadel of Isfahán(").

We learn from SHERIF AD DI'N ALI's chronicle that, in the year 1387, on a day of memorable atrocity, which the servile historian celebrates as an era of victory and honourable triumph, while seventy thousand citizens of *Ispahán* were massacred by the barbarians who gladly obeyed their more sanguinary chief, TAIMU'R; this conqueror was stationed in the fortress of *Tabarrek*. 'Although Petis de la Croix, in his translation of that chronicle has judiciously contented himself with a mere statement of the fact, yet it may gratify some readers to see how the adulation of a Persian writer has embellished the simple circumstance of TAIMU'R's retiring into the castle. I find it thus expressed, on referring to the original Manuscript; "And the august monarch, that hero always fortunate "in accomplishing his desires, entered the city; and by the "glory of his auspicious arrival he caused *Tabarrak* to become

(⁷) تبرك – هر حصاري را كويند عموما حصار اصغاهانرا خوانند خصوصا (⁷) MS. Dict. Jehángíri explain: Tabarrak and writes the name of Ispahán. By Kempfer the castle is styled ⁶⁶ قلعه بروك ⁶⁶ Kalahi berùk, i. e. arcem benedictionis." (Amonit. Exot. p. 168). " an object of envy to that azure or turquois coloured fortress " of the celestial spheres, the fourth region of heaven!"(⁸)

Returning through the streets of Ispahan I shall again remark what Milton styles the "busy hum of men" that pervades so many of its crowded bázárs; while extensive tracts immediately adjoining, covered with ruined houses and publick edifices sinking to decay, offer a most dreary picture of desolation very strikingly contrasted with the neighboaring scenes of life and bustle.

During the first fortnight of August I found the quicksilver in Fahrenheit's Thermometer rise, on some days, to 97, 99 and 100. On the fifteenth, at half past three o'clock, there was a violent storm of wind and rain, with loud peals of thunder, and much lightning. While this continued, the quicksilver in a few minutes sunk from 83 to 76; and within an hour to 71; after that, until the last day of this month, my journal does not mark a higher degree of heat that 89. The change had been foretold by natives of this place, whose prognostications concerning the weather scarcely ever prove fallacious. They pretend, indeed, to determine with precision the very day or even hour when spring shall perceptibly

(⁸) و صاحب قرآن کامکار بشهر در امد و طبرک را بغر قدوم همایون رشک (⁸) و صاحب قرآن کامکار بشهر در امد و طبرک را بغر قدوم همایون رشک (Book II. ch. 60). In my two copies of this work the name of TAB & RAK is spell . .

succeed to winter, and when summer and autumn are to follow in their turns. The power of doing this they have enjoyed since the time when, according to an old tradition, BALKI's (بلقيس) the Queen of Sheba, having been affected by as dangerous malady, king Solomon ascertained, from his books of mysterious science, that she could not possibly recover unless removed to a particular spot, where the four seasons and their respective periods of wind and rain, heat and cold, perpetually recurred at intervals not liable to the vari-After an anxious search throughout ation of one moment. the world, it was found that Ispahán alone corresponded to this description. Hither the fair BALKI's was transported by her royal lover; and to corroborate the truth of this tradition (for some strangers have appeared incredulous) the very place is still shewn where she resided and regained her health, on a mountain called, from the remains of an ancient structure, Takht i Rustam (تخت رستم). The view annexed will shew some general features of those parched, barren, and mostly insulated mountains which are scattered numerously over the territory of Ispahán, and from the multiplicity of flat and hollow intervals between them have caused it to be denominated Hezár dereh (هزار عره) or "the Thousand Vallies." This tract, it is said, extends an hundred miles from east to west; and appears fifteen or twenty broad in different parts. The sketch which I made at Kabristán-i-Púlád (قيرستان يولد) or Pulad's cemetery, (near the outer gate of the Saadetabad gardens where we were encamped' represents two of those mountains,

highly celebrated in Persian romance like the tract in which they stand, as scenes of many heroick and wonderful exploits.

One is the Takht i Rustam before mentioned, which the spectator, directing his view a few miles southward from *Ispahán*, sees on the right. Its name alludes to some inconsiderable ruins crowning the eastern summit; and once (as fame reports) the *throne* or *seat* of RUSTAM, that mighty warrior of ancient times, whose ponderous mace wielded by his invincible arm, has so often resounded through this "Region "of a Thousand Vallies."

But neither did those remains, of which a particular description is unnecessary as they have been minutely delineated by Le Brun; nor the consecration of this rock by the visit of Solomon and his Queen, according to an anecdote already noticed, so strongly interest my curiosity as the neighbouring mountain, on the left, called $K \acute{uh}$ -e-Sofah ($ideoregic{delta}{dot}$), rendered by a more probable tradition almost classick ground; for it is said, that from a place of security contrived on its steep and lofty side, the unfortunate Darius beheld his troops defeated with prodigious slaugher by the Macedonians under Alexander. Its name is derived from an edifice occupying a terrace or flat spot, on the northern side and facing the city; this terrace forms a seat or resting place which, in our language may be expressed by the adopted Arabick word Sofa; and the villa erected there, about one hundred and fifty years.

ago, by SHA'H SULEIMA'N (شاء سليمان) is sometimes styled his takht (it) or throne. What this summer-house may have been in its founder's time, the engraver of Kæmpfer's view, taken about 1684, has barely enabled us to conjecture (Amoenit. Exot. p. 197). Le Brun describes it as containing several handsome apartments shaded with trees of various kinds and refreshed by a fall of water (Voyages, ch. XL). His view, which may be deemed correct, represents its aspectin 1704. But some changes and considerable decay, not perceptible, however, at the distance of three or four miles, have been occasioned by the lapse of little more than a century. When seen from the cemetery above mentioned, the edifice seems to fill a small natural chasm of the mountain, about half way up its side; but from a ruined gumbed (كنيد) or tower near it, the various buildings appear as in Pl. LVIII, No. 1. These I was induced to sketch, not so much by any beauty or remarkable circumstance in the structure, as on account of one tradition that indicates this to be the station of Darius; and it is sufficiently high to command a very extensive prospect. But other reports exalt the monarch to a more elevated region and place him where the remains of walls are seen immediately over the summer house. To reach them, however, by scrambling almost perpendicularly from below, or indeed in a more circuitous manner from any side, was a task so difficult and dangerous, that of several gentlemen and attendants with whom I rode one day to the Kúh e Sofah, an English artillery-man alone succeeded in ascending to that second stage; there he

found only some remains of masonry on a small flat terrace; but he could perceive that the approach had once been regdered more easy by a path, now scarcely passable, which seemed to encircle the mountain in a direction nearly horizontal; exhibiting at some angles the vestiges of a parapet, and of towers on the most prominent parts. We could also discern from our lower situation, that even the very summit had once been decorated or fortified with some building, assigned to Darius by a third account; this likewise relates, that SHA'H SULEIMA'N's villa of which we examined the apartments at our leisure, occupied a spot formerly reckoned sacred as the residence of a Dervish (درویش) or hermit, whose cell was in the dark natural cavity behind an edifice on the left ; here, it is said, a fountain of limpid water issued from the rock, over-shadowed by majestick planes and cypresses. which during a succession of nine hundred years were held in superstitious veneration, a compliment to the holy pir (مد) or elder, whose long-established sanctity inspired every visitor with religious awe. Of those ancient trees I sought in vain some relick; a few of more recent growth (perhaps coeval with the building), appear as in the view (Pl. LVIII). two being pre-eminently conspicuous at a distance of many miles.

With the original trees, this place seems to have lost its sacred character, and during the last century, the villa has been a scene of most profane merriment and of the grossest de-

bauchery. No longer frequented by its royal owners, it is stripped of its splendid furniture; the doors have been removed, its roof has partly disappeared, and it occasionally serves the profligates of Ispahán, as a retreat, where, with théir effeminate dancing and singing boys they enjoy the forbidden delights of wine, and indulge in excesses the most criminal. Of some rooms, the gilding and painting have not yet decayed; and I found written on the walls many records of those who had visited the place within forty or fifty years. Among them had been some Jews, and prefixed to their names appeared the Persian word yádgár (גָלָעֹן) or memorial, thus expressed אר מיל in Hebrew letters. Here also the French travellers, Olivier, De Nerciat and Bruguiere had inscribed their names.

Returning once from the Kúh e Sofah to our camp, I rode through a spacious garden or chárbágh of which the avenues were in several places unpaved; the cisterns and conduits without water; and even the few remaining trees wore a melancholy appearance of neglect, corresponding to the perfect desolation of many stately mansions adjoining. These have been untenanted since the Afgháns (انفان) under MI'E MAH-MU'D (ماير محمود) occupied them in 1722 while besieging Ispahán(⁹). Of the magnificent apartments, however, which

^(*) The horrors of this siege, equal to any recorded in ancient history, have been described by the Polish Jesuit Krusnski, who personally witnessed them, (See his History of the Revolution of Persia, published by the Pere du Cerceau); and they are

they contained, some beautifully decorated with stuccoed work, and walls and ceilings richly painted, still seemed so little injured that I thought them capable of being rendered, at a trifling expense, again habitable and commodious; but in this country an insulated dwelling is never secure, and for mutual protection 'several must be at once inhabited or all must be suffered to decay; it is not probable that the suburbs will be peopled while half the city continues in a state of ruin.

Near this garden in the wall of some decayed edifice, a door, turning on an upper and lower pivot, all formed of one solid stone, attracted my observation; it was about four feet six inches high; two feet and three quarters wide and almost five inches thick. I have since found that similar doors of stone are not uncommon throughout Persia.

noticed in the "Histoire de Perse depuis le commencement de ce siecle," (the eightcenth), of M. la Mamye Clairac, on authorities which cannot be disputed. The inhabitants of Ispahán were compelled by famine to devour not only mules and horses, but dogs and other creatures which their religion taught them to consider as unclean. A woman endeavouring to strangle a cat was heard to exclaim at every scratch or bite that she reseived "Thou strivest in vain, I'll eat thee notwithstanding." The leaves and bark of trees were ground into a kind of meal and sold by weight; shoe-leather was boiled and used as food; at length human flesh became the chief support of many miserable wretches; who for awhile were content with what they could collect from bodies that filled the publick streets; but some were induced to murder their fellowcitizens, and, it is even said, that parents killed and devoured their own children. From the MS. Memoirs of ALI HAZI'N, (mentioned in Vol: I. p. 415) we learn that "a crust or "lump of bread was sold at so high a price as four or five ashrefis, or pieces of gold coin. A pound of bread, according to .كه قرص ناني بجهار پذيج اشرفي رسيدد بود Krusinski, attained in September, the price of thirty shillings; and, in October, of above fifty. Among the calamities of this memorable liege ALI HAZI'N laments the destruction of his library which comprised about five thousand volumes, Arabick and Persi." an, many enriched with the marginal notes of his learned ancestors.

Some Armenians having one day applied for medical advice, I accompanied Mr. Sharp, the Surgeon, to Julfa, where we visited an infirm old man, and were regaled by his friends and children with sweet-meats, cakes, and a cordial made of the strongest arrack extracted from grapes and saturated with spices. We were permitted to inspect the places of worship, and the convent of nuns, or "Damsel's Church," Kelisiá-i-Dukhterán (كليسيا دختران) as the Persians call it. We saw, likewise, those pious virgins themselves; among eighteen of whom, but one possessed, as I thought, even a moderate share of beauty. By them too, we were treated with the ardent cordial. Of the churches and chapels formerly thirteen in number, seven, as I heard, still exist; the two or three that we saw were profusely ornamented or rather lined with pictures of saints executed by no very masterly hand; and some extraordinary representations of hell, of the infernal torments, and portraits of the principal devils.

Julfa comprehends an extensive tract, with its gardens; of which one, denominated the Khalifahs ("Bágh-i-Khalifah") (باغ خليف), has in some years, produced twenty thousand mans of quinces. But this town has suffered in the general decrease of Persian population; it was supposed to contain, as Kæmpfer declares, about the year 1685, no fewer than shirty thousand souls; and according to the account that I received from a native, it comprised, in the time of SHATH AB-BATS, two thousand houses or families of which the number is now reduced to three hundred and fifty, or at most four hundred. The inhabitants are christians, whose fore-fathers that monarch forcibly removed from their original place of residence at Julfa in Armenia, allowing, them, as an indemnification for his tyranny, to bestow the name of that ancient city on the territory allotted as their new abode; he made, however, a more substantial recompense, in affording thein personal protection and encouraging their commercial transactions. But his successors, adopting the ruinous system of excessive taxation, of imposts and confiscations regulated only by caprice or avarice, have reduced to misery the scanty remnant of that once flourishing and numerous colony; and its present members are daily exposed to the brutal insolence of their Muhammedan neighbours.

At Julfa also reside eighteen or twenty catholicks whom we found in such poverty and distress that even a few guineas or tumáns subscribed by the English gentlemen were received with most grateful acknowledgments, by them and their Bishop. The Ambassador having bestowed immediate relief, exerted his influence for the permanent benefit of all the christians living in this place; he solicited an amelioration of their circumstances from the Amin ad'douleh, and a restoration of some important privileges granted to their ancestors by the monarch who first transported them from their native land.

The bridge of Julfa is sometimes called, as I before observed, the Pul-i-chárbúgh from those gardens of Hezár jeríb beyond the river, to which it leads; or the bridge of ALI VERDI KHA'N, after the general at whose expense it was erected about two hundred years ago. The view given in Pl. LVI, (No. 3), I took from the Dervázeh-Meidán-i-Suleimán Beg (دروازد میدان سلیمان بیک), the gate of a Meidán or piece of ground bearing the name of SULEIMA'N BEG; this is situate close to the Zendehrúd on its southern bank, and not far from the palace of Saadetábád.

Of that handsome bridge which some have considered the most wonderful specimen of Persian architecture, many excellent delineations representing its near appearance may be found in the works of different travellers, who have accurately described its singular construction; its lower row of thirty four arches; the covered galleries on each side, and the passage under it. Among the recesses of its battlements are those small chambers where several indecent pictures so much offended the delicacy of ABBA's the second, that by his order the entrances were closed. But had it been the monarch's object to preserve publick morals from contamination he should have to ally effaced those vestiges of a licentious pencil; there, however, they remain; and the doorways of those chambers having been during a century filled up with brick and lime were opened a few years since at the instigation of curiosity; and such painted scenes of impurity

are now disclosed in various compartments on the walls, as must have tended to corrupt the innocence of rusticks on their very approach towards the capital, and taught lessons of extreme depravity to the infant citizens while yet unconscious that what they learned was vice(10). The figures appear to have been executed in a style worthy of better subjects, and beyond the skill of most modern Persian artists? but from the fading colours we may reasonably hope that those pictures will not much longer continue to excite disgust or taint the imagination. In the view is seen, above the bridge, a mountain distant five or six miles, on which are some remains of an edifice not very ancient but occupying. as tradition relates, the site of a ruined Fire Temple. Hence the mountain has been denominated Kuh átesh kadeh (كود اتشكده) or áteshgah (Itin).

In the account, already given, of *Ispahán* and the river Zendehrúd, several neighbouring villages have been mentioned, which lay within the compass of our morning rides; I shall now briefly enumerate some others; Sín (سين); Garsang (سين); and Garkáb (كركاب) celebrated for the most delicious melons; Nejefabúd (خيناباد) in the territory of Múrbín (ساربين).

(10) In the words of Quintilian (Lib. I cap. 2) " discunt have mixeri antequam sciant " vitia esse " Notwith standing the grave, decorous and respectful behaviour of young: Persians before their superiors or elders, I fear that we might app'y to them when assembled without restraint among themselves, the passage immediately preceding that above quoted from Quintilian on the education of Roman boys, " Onme convivium " obscients casticis strepit; pudenda dictu spectantur; fit ex his consuetudo, deinde., " natura."

produces admirable grapes, almonds, walnuts, apricots, and other fruits, and it is said to contain four thousand inhabitants. Another considerable village is Kálehdán ($\forall \forall \forall \forall \forall i \}$; this yields quinces in great profusion, and according to a statement probably much exaggerating the truth, comprises fifteen hundred families. But it is chiefly remarkable for an *Imámzádeh's* tomb, of which the towers are shaken by a slight exertion of any person ascending to their summits. Of those villages some derive water from wells and *canáts* or subterraneous conduits, others more directly from the Zendehrúd itself.

During twelve weeks that we resided on its banks, this river was in general rendered so shallow by natural drought and the innumerable drains which it supplied for the irrigation of land, that many who daily walked across its bed, were not wetted above their knees. Yet in some places be-'tween the bridge of Khájú and of Aliverdi Khán, the water, for a few yards, was from four to seven or eight feet deep. These spots though often swept by the nets of Armenians, served as nurseries for fish; one very numerous but small kind, resembled our bleak, and there were others not unlike carp, of which I killed several, twelve or fourteen inches long; for, having brought from England the necessary implements, a rod, a line and "all the slender watery stores," I was induced, at an early hour of morning, and frequently even under a meridian sun, to indulge in angling. It is probable

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that an artificial fly had never before floated on the surface of this stream(¹¹).

An intercourse of ceremonious or friendly visits led us frequently to the houses of great men at Ispahán. On the twenty-eighth of August, at five o'clock, the Ambassador with all the gentlemen of our party, went in grand procession. to dine with the Amin-ad-douleh, and we found that numerous guests had been invited to meet us. Politely anticipating the wants of Europeans our host had spread his sumptuous feast upon a table; and we were accommodated with chairs and stools, (many of very antique fashion) and with plates and napkins, spoons, knives and forks, not by any means of uniform patterns. Sherbet, however, supplied the place of wine; a forbidden liquor, which before so many Muselmáns, jealously watching the conduct of a superior, the hospitable Amin-ad-douleh (who had made the sacred pilgrimage) could neither venture to taste himself, nor offer to his less scrupulous friends. We were conducted after dinner through various long galleries and winding passages to some handsome apartments where tea, coffee and caleáns were served, as usual; when the evening became dark, many hundred candles surrounding a large hawz or reservoir of water, and small lamps in surprising numbers were lighted; a band of

⁽¹¹⁾ The fishes here seemed ready to seize indiscriminately large and small hooks dressed in Wales with plain coloured feathers and silk, and those which I disguised with tinsel and gaudy plumage in initation of the living Persian flies.