musicians began to play, and we were entertained with a brilliant exhibition of fire-works; about nine o'clock at night we returned to the camp.

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During this feast I remarked that the Amin-ad-douleh's son, ABDALLAH KHA'N ((are ith all)) a man seemingly above thirty years old, the possessor of considerable wealth and governor of *Ispahán*, but seldom appeared among the guests; and only seated himself, as one of the humblest, when invited by the words or encouraged by the looks of his father. This reserve, however, was not caused by any ill-will or deficiency of kindness subsisting on either side; but arose from the filial respect which, in every stage and condition of life; the Persians are thus taught to express. Many similar instances I had already witnessed and shall have occasion to notice others. This respect is not the right of parental authority alone; it is generally extended to seniority among brothers.

We visited on different occasions ABDALLAH KHA'N and his two uncles; who treated us with magnificent repasts. But at the house of ABU''L HASSAN KHA'N, we found rooms furnished in the English style with chairs, tables, sofas, beds, mirrors, clocks, and writing desks; besides framed prints among which were portraits of many distinguished personages, the Prince of Wales, Lord and Lady Arden, and others whose flattering attentions the *Khin* had experienced when in London; he too, feasted us with a variety of Persian dishes, ISPAHA'N

to which he took an opportunity of privately adding a few glasses of excellent wine, rendered mellow by age, and the voyage from Madeira to Bengal, whence he had brought it seven or eight years before.

Several of our gentlemen proceeded one morning to the house of KA'ZEM WA'LEH (2) a celebrated poet whom they found composing an epitaph for his own tomb; as he was a person of remarkable countenance and of venerable age, (for he acknowledged eighty years) Colonel D'Arcy expressed a desire of sketching his portrait. WA'LEH at first objected; but some one present having ironically declared that many European monarchs were anxious to possess a resemblance of him, the vain old man called for different turbans; tried them all on his head, and when satisfied with one as sufficiently becoming, sat most complacently while Colonel D'Arcy finished an admirable likeness.

The months of August and September were pregnant with extraordinary rumours, and Ispahán was filled with alarm on the subject of those Bakhtiáris, whose attacks our guards had so much dreaded on the march from Shíráz. The Amín ad douleh sent an additional party of Tufangjis (xiii, or musketeers for the protection of our camp, from which, indeed, he recommended, as a measure of security, that we should remove into the city. The Tufangjis discharged their firearms every hour of the night. The burjes ( $x_i$ ) or towers

of Julfa were repaired, and battlements of clay were hastily. erected on the gate of Suleimán Beg (سليمان بيك), (represented in Pl. LVI, 3) which became the station of fifteen or twenty soldiers. One report seemed to excite much consternation among the citizens; for it threatened them with the approach of ASAD KHA'N (المدخار)) or the "Lion Lord," and a numerous body of his fierce Bakhtiáris who had vowed to carry massacre and pillage into the very heart of Ispahún. What reasons there existed for apprehending this incursion 1 could not learn; but the inhabitants were probably convinced that their defences, if assaulted in a spirited manner by four or five hundred men, must soon have fallen; and it was not yet forgotten, by many living witnesses of the disgrace, that ninety desperate fellows had once surprised the governor and levied contributions on the merchants of Ispahán(12).

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(<sup>13</sup>) Yet the inhabitants of *Ispahán*, regarding their own city as equivalent to half the world, (See p 25), and themselves as far superior to the people of other places, have long entertained a particular jealousy against the *Shirázians*. We learn from HA'TIFI' (هاتفي) who died in 1520, that ou occasion of the massacre to which I have alluded (p. 38) the men of *Ispahán* endeavoured to excite one another's courage by saying, "We are *Sipáhánians*, lions and tigers (or leopards); we are not *Shírázians* "dreading battle. We turn not away our faces from the blood shedding sword; we "feel not any inclination to demand quarter."

J have extracted these lines from the MS. Taimúr Nameh (تيمور نامه) or "History of TAIMU'R," also entitled the Zaffer Nameh (ظفر نامه) or "Book of Victory." comprised in about 4500 distichs. Like the four other poems of HA'TIVT, this is rare: indeed Sir William Jones could not procure (at least in Bengal) any besides the Laili Majnún (ليلي مجذون), of which he printed the Persian text; (See his preface to ISPAHA'N

Such an alarm was scarcely counterbalanced by news which soon after arrived announcing the surrender of Herát (هرات); this celebrated city, as a courier declared, had acknowledged the sovereignty of FATEH ALI SHA'H, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute; it was also whispered, but not very confidently, that the Russians had retired from some of their posts in Georgia; and that the Turkish government would allow the Persians to make an attack on ABDAR'RAHMAN (عبد الرحمر) Páshá of Baghdád; for this purpose, it was said, the prince of Kirmán Shúh had made great preparations; purchased all the wheat and barley in his capital; and was actually commencing his march, with thirty thousand armed men, besides followers of the camp; and that resolving to conquer or die, he had taken with him his caffen (ندر) or winding sheet. Being of all the kings sons reckoned most enterprising and warlike, described as heily rashid (حيلي رشيد) and sáheb e shamshír (ماحب شمشير), extremely brave and clever, and "lord of the scimitar," or expert in wielding the sword; some profound politicans of Ispahán were almost inclined to wish that he might not succeed in this design

that publication). Of the Isfahánians it may be here remarked that if they despised the people of other places, they have quarrel ed bitterly, during many centuries, among themselves, being divided into two parties or factions which, as the "blues and greens" formerly it Constantinople, have frequently rendered their city a scene of tumult and discord, and stained its publick places with blood. To these factions, originally proceeding from some slight difference of religious opinions, HAMDALLAH has alluded (See p. 9); they are noticed by Chardin and Tavernier; and Le Brun compares them to the two parties at Venice, the Nicototti and Castellani. (Voyages, p. 196, Amst. 1718).

against the Páshá, whose troops he could easily induce to unite with his own, and assist him in snatching the diadem from his father's brow; he was not, they said, the only prince whenhad determined to struggle for the empire; and a contest among four or five brothers would probably, on the death of FATEH ALI SHA'H, deluge the country with blood, although ABBA's MI'RZA' who governed at Tabriz, was generally regarded as heir apparent. After a silence of some days we were surprised to hear that the Turkish forces had completely defeated the Prince of Kirmánsháhz but subsequent and more authentick rumours affirmed that no battle whatsoever had occurred. Of these affairs, however, all consideration was dissipated among us in camp, on the arrival of a Tátár, who brought more interesting intelligence from, our European friends, transmitted by Mr. Stratford Canning, the British minister at Constantinople, in a packet with despatches to the Ambassador. We were four days delightfully occupied (I speak from the recollection of my own feelings) in answering the letters thus received, after which the Tátár set out on his return. Next morning, (August the 26th). our Mehmandur, MI'RZA ZERI, having made every necessary arrangement for his journey to Tehrán was dissuaded by the AMI'N AD DOULEH from commencing it at the hour appointed; for his astrologers had discovered that some aspects of the planets were not favourable to such an undertaking. The Vazir remained at Ispahán until a more auspicious moment two days after.

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People now reported that the king would soon honour this city with his presence, and reside in it probably several months; he had been for some time with the army, but rumours were also circulated, representing him as dangerously ill and unable to travel. The Amín ad'douleh at length was favoured, on the 8th of September, with a letter from his royal master, who fixed on Tehrán to be, as usual, the place of his winter residence. It was therefore decided that the embassy should proceed to that capital through Kum and Cáshán, instead of going by way of Hamadán to Tabríz, as had been originally proposed.

Meanwhile sickness diffused itself at Saadetübád, not only among the Europeans, but their Asiatick attendants. Bilious disorders became frequent and violent; whilst many were affected by those complicated feverish agues which the Persians call ( $i \rightarrow i$ ) tab u larz(<sup>13</sup>). The nights had been, from the middle of August, so cool that some laid additional blankets on their beds; about the first of September the nocturnal warmth returned, and I found that one sheet was a sufficient covering. At two o'clock after noon, on the third,

<sup>(\*)</sup> Tab, (تب pronounced teb by the Turks, and tup, as I understand, by the Indians who generally write it (تب) signifies a "fever," and in this sense contributes to form the name of Tabris, as we learn from geographical MSS. and many popular epigrams. One post whom I shall quote more particularly in my account of Tabriz, playing on the name of his native city, declares "that its soil is amber, and its air tab-

Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 96 in the shade; on the nineteenth at the same hour it stood at 89; and on the thirtieth at 84.

A bilious fever, attended with delirious ravings, proved fatal to the Ambassador's English coachman; he died at the age of twenty three-years, and we all attended the interment of his body on the thirty-first of August, in the Armenian cemetery. Mr. Sharp, the Surgeon, early in September, was reduced to a very alarming state of weakness; and at the same time KHOJEH ARETU'N, a venerable Armenian, and treasurer of our Embassy, lay at the point of death. About the tenth, Sir Gore Ouseley felt symptoms of indisposition which, after some days, became extremely dangerous. Lieutenant Willock, also, was confined by such violent illness that his recovery could scarcely have been expected. During the last week of this month (September) a comet was visible évery night(<sup>14</sup>).

On the first or second of October the weather became cool at night and morning; this change, perhaps, was beneficial to the European invalids, but much annoyed the *palankin*bearers, shivering Indians who had never before endured a

(14) Dr. Herschel, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, (for 1813) mentions that this comet first became visible to the maked eye about the middle of August, 1811; and that the luminous phenemenon which we call the comet's tail was, on the 15th of October, upwards of one hundred millions of miles long, its greatest, breadth being at that time about fifteen millions of miles.

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sensation of cold. In the city, at this time, daily deaths were numerous beyond the usual average of mortality; many persons, young and vigorous, fell victims to the illness of a few hours(<sup>15</sup>). The trees now began to shed their leaves; there were strong and frequent gusts of wind; and during the seventh and eighth soon after mid-day several clouds obscured the sky, and for some minutes it was impossible to ascertain the hour by a sun-dial; I had not before observed in Persia such a circumstance as this.

It had been determined that our journey towards Tehrán should commence about the middle of October; and on the twelfth Sir Gore Ouseley proceeded in a Takht-raván,  $(\bigcup_{i=1}^{n} described in Vol. I. p. 251)$  being still weak after his illness, to return the Amín ad'doulch's numerous visits (which were sometimes of unreasonable length, three or four hours) and to take leave; most of the gentlemen accompanied him. The minister presented a handsome sword and belt ornamented with jewels, on a silver tray, to the Ambassador,

<sup>(&</sup>quot;) Among these I must notice ABBA'S A'LI who sometimes visited us in the camp; he was a remarkably haudsome man and had acted with credit in the magisterial department. Feasting one day in perfect health with several companions, he heard that some of his intimate friends had suddenly died; this circumstance probably induced him to reflect on the precarious tenure by which life is held; he abruptly left the entertainment and proceeded to the nearest burial ground, where he inquired the price of a grave suitable for trimself. Being very tall he agreed to pay a few pence more than the two or three rials, usually charged on ordinary occasions; he then chose a particular spot for his own interment; saw the earth opened, went home, died the next day, and was buried according to the directions he had given.

who at the same time, received letters from the king, brought by a Persian courier, and despatches with English newspapers, by a *Tátár* from Constantinople.

On our return through the Chárbágh, an old blind man with a white beard, standing under the gate-way, solicited us for alms. I had often remarked him in the same place; and now learned, from another person, some particulars of his lamentable history. He had once been a chief or nobleman of high rank and considerable fortune, in one of the northeastern provinces; where a hundred servants attended him whenever he rode forth from his princely mansion; but having incurred the envy or suspicion of AKA MUHAMMED KHA'N, (that tyrant who bequeathed the government of Persia to his nephew the present king), he was stripped of all his wealth by arbitrary confiscation, and deprived of sight, a greater blessing, by heated plates of metal drawn across or held close before his eyes. In blinding persons of mean condition, the point of a knife or dagger is frequently used.

We employed ourselves on the thirteenth in preparations for our journey; and I finished several views and ground-plans of the edifices that decorated or rather constituted the Saadetábád or "Residence of Felicity." Among these, the principal structure has been delineated in Pl. LVI; another in Pl. LVII; and the ichnographical sketches are given near the end of this volume, and explained in the Appendix.

Among several Manuscripts which I purchased soon after our arrival at Ispahán, was a poetical work composed during the full splendour of this palace; the original perfection of its water-works, and beauty of its shady avenues, and of the luxuriant flowers that embellished their variegated borders. It is entitled "The Gulzár-e-Saadet or Rose bed of Prosperity, a poem in praise of the gardens and edifices at Saad-" etábád" (16), composed about an hundred and ten years ago. Besides the poem written to celebrate these gardens, I procured during my residence under the shade of their noble chinár-trees. many other Manuscripts; among which some are only beautiful copies of Arabick or Persian works, already known in the great libraries of London or Oxford, Paris or Leyden; but three or four may be considered as extremely rare; it is doubtful, indeed whether any duplicates of them exist in Europe; they shall be noticed in another part of this work. But Ispahan did not furnish even one of those ancient Arabick and Persian Manuscripts, that the booksellers undertook, and probably endeavoured to procure, according to a list which I had given them immediately on my arrival. . Some gems and a few medals (represented in Pl. LIX) were the chief result of my researches among sarrafs (صراف) or money changers, and delals (دلال) or persons employed by shop-

(\*) Its title is معادت مسمى بكارار سعادت در تعريف باغات و عمارات معاد آباد الا (\*) and it comprises about three hundred and fifty distichs. The same volume contains a poetical description of Yezd (يزد) and other compositions, occupying nearly one. hundred and fifty octavo pages. keepers to carry about specimens of their goods and to sell trifling articles of various kinds. From one delál I procured a small parcel of the hinné and rang, used in giving to the beard a fine glossy black tinge; these substances shall be noticed in the Appendix.

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t At Ispahán the covers of books are ornamented in a style peculiarly rich; and they often exhibit miniatures painted with considerable neatness and admirably varnished. I purchased many loose covers of different sizes, containing representations of the finest Persian flowers delineated from nature in exquisite colours, and with minute accuracy.

Most provinces of the kingdom are supplied by this great city with pencases or Kalmdáns ( $\exists$  generally pronounced Kalmdoon) made, like the book-covers, of pasteboard, and sometimes equally beautiful in their decorations; of those cases may be seen, in one shop, parcels three or four feet high, comprising many hundred, of various patterns, and of all prices from a shilling or half-riál to three or four guineas or túmáns. Out of such heaps I selected thirty, some on account of their particular devices, and others as presents for my friends in England. The Kalmdán consists of two parts; one resembling a drawer, from five to nine or ten inches long; generally about one inch in depth and a little more in width. The other is a sheath or cover made to close upon and fit the drawer with great exactpess. The last or Miscellaneous Plate shows, in fig. 1, the form of a kalmdán as stuck in the girdle or carried in the pocket. Fig. 2 and 3 represent the parts separated(17).

Of paper, also, many Sandúkcheh (مندرتهد) or small boxes, are manufactured at Ispahán; so tenacious and adhesive is the serísh (سريش), a viscous substance used in their composition, that the pasteboard seems to possess all the strength and soljdity of wood. Those boxes in general, are splendidly painted and varnished; some contain, in various compartments on the lids, ends and sides, very interesting pictures executed in the best style of Persian miniature. The common subjects are battles and hunting-parties; but they often exhibit scenes from popular romances, among which the favourite seems to be N1ZA'M1's story, The loves of KHUSRAU and SH1'R1'N.

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قلم) A case properly furnished should contain, d. four or five pens called kalm (") the Greek and Latin xalaµos and calamus). In the Miscell. Plate (fig. 4), a kalm is delineated of the real size. The best of these pens are made of the dark brown of blackish nei or reed that grows near Shushter (in the province of Khúzistán or Susiana) and thence denominated nei Shúshteri (نى شوشتري). II. The marakkeb (مركب) or ink. Ill. The duwat (دوات) or ink holder (fig. 5) of brass, silver, mother of pearl or other materials, plain or ornamented; a small kibleh numá (قبله نما) or magnetick needle, (which enables the Mussimán while praying to direct his looks towards Meccah), is sometimes set under a glass in the duwat as fig. 5 expresses. IV. A chaku (حاتر); this name distinguishes a small knife used for mending pens, from the longbladed knife called kared (كارد). V. A Makraz (مقراض) or pair of scissars, for or whet-stone. Fig. 6 shows the exact (سنک سا) or whet-stone. form and size of one now before me. VII. The katea zan (قطع زن) fig. 7; a flat and thin piece of horn two or three inches long, on which the pen is laid when its. point requires cutting. VIII. The ab duwat kun (اب دوات كن) fig. 8; with this. little spoon, generally made of metal, water is dropped into the duwat for the purpose. of diluting the ink when become dry or congulated.

All the fanciful devices above mentioned combine to decorate one Sandúkcheh which I procured, but at a price not very moderate; for its cover is enriched with portraits of real and living personages; the king seated on his throne, attended by some of the princes and chief ministers. That a very strong resemblance appeared in the countenances, and that the attitudes, state-dresses and ornaments of the figures were most faithfully represented, was declared by several persons who had frequently been at court; and my own personal observation, soon after, confirmed the truth of their assertions. To illustrate another chapter, I shall lay before the reader an engraving traced from this picture. The box which it adorns is about fourteen inches long, the pasteboard being three quarters of an inch thick. Most Sandúkchehs whether larger or smaller are formed nearly on the same model, which is sufficiently described in the last or Miscellaneous Plate, No. 9, showing the form of mine.

The artists who make those boxes and pen-cases, very ingeniously mount small looking glasses also in frames of pasteboard; a traveller finds these extremely convenient as they lie flat and occupy but little space among his clothes. Some are opened like a book, and fastened by means of a hook and catch (Misc. Pl. No. 10). Of others the mirror is occasionally covered by a piece which fits exactly in the pasteboard frame, and is easily separated from it by a person's nail (Misc. Pl. No. 11). These looking glasses are of various ESPAHA'N.

sizes and forms, square, oval or octagonal, from five to twelve or thirteen inches long and proportionably broad. The frames and covérs are often neatly painted, and sometimes ornamented with *Khátembandi* (ناتعبندي).

This is a kind of mosaick-work, used also on boxes, small cabinets or chests of drawers, musical instruments and other srticles. It consists in various patterns formed by laying minute pieces of ivory, brass, silver, hard wood, and bone stained of various colours, in a bed of such excellent glue or cement, that, as it has been said, the whole is often planed at once like a solid board, and thus no inequality remains among hundreds or thousands of the component particles; this I am almost induced to believe from the perfectly smooth and level surface of some specimens now on my table; one is copied in the Miscellaneous Plate No. 12.

To dispose such a multiplicity of those small diversified' materials within a narrow compass, and in patterns of the utmost regularity, was not only an occupation that ensured considerable profit to many artists of Shiráz and Ispahán, but, served, some centuries ago, as an amusing exercise of ingenuity, to persons of illustrious rank. DowLET SHA'H in his "Lives of the Poets," enumerating the accomplishments of SULTA'N AHMED BEN AVI'S (under the accomplishments of SULTA'N AHMED BEN AVI'S (under the accomplishments of in the year dered and succeeded his brother HUSEIN (under the year 1982, informs us that his musical compositions were highly esteemed; and "this prince," says the biographer, "being "himself acquainted with many sciences, encouraged them "in others; he was the author of excellent verses both in "Arabick and Persian; and considered a master in several "branches of art; such as in painting and gilding, in making "bows and arrows, and in *Khûtembandi*"(<sup>18</sup>).

That chess, originally an Indian game, has been since the sixth, or perhaps the third century of Christ, a favourite among the Persians, Doctor Hyde of Oxford sufficiently demonstrates in his elaborate "Historia Shahiludii;" the plates of which render it unnecessary for me to describe the table and various pieces used in playing. But although the same learned writer has traced nard  $(i_{i})$  or backgammon to ages of still higher antiquity, his account not being illustrated by any engraved representation, I have annexed the form of a takhteh  $(i_{i})$  made at Isfahán (Misc. Pl. fig. 13). This is of chinár-wood, about twenty inches long and twelve or thirteen broad, enclosed within a frame or ledge that rises half an inch, and prevents the dice from falling over. It is not divi-

<sup>(18)</sup> پادشاهي هذرمند و هغريرور بودد اشعار عربي و فارسي نيكو ميكويد و در انواع هغر خيري تصوير و تذهيب و قواسي و صهامي و خاتم بندي و غير ذاك استاد بودي See the Tezkerreh, or History of the Persian Poets by DOWLET SHA'H of Samarcand, in has account of HA'FIZ. Perhaps the finest pieces of Khátembandi mostick ever brought to Europe are those which Sir Gore Ouseley has caused to be inlaid in doors and tables, now forming some of the most rich and beautiful ornaments of his house in London.

ded into two, valves, like our European tables; but exhibits a middle space either blank or ornamented with pictures of birds, flowers or human figures, between the right and left painted compartments which contain the marks represented by us as pyramids with acute points; here they are parallel lines filled up with colours alternately dark and light. On the intermediate space above-mentioned the dice are thrown, not from a box but from the player's hand. Such is the form of a takhteh-i-nard (تخته نرد) or backgammon table. The men or muhreh (s, are commonly pieces of wood about one inch and a half in height, sometimes very neatly turned or carved, fifteen being black, the other fifteen either red or white. Fig. 14 shows the real size and form of those that I brought to England. The dice are generally of bone and larger than those now used among us. A knowledge of backgammon acquired in Europe enabled me, almost immediately, to contend with Persians at nard; observing, however, that they did not allow to doublets, peculiarly, any advantage beyond their obvious numerical powers.

The Indian game Pachis (بجيس) is sometimes played at Isfahán, where I procured the takhteh or board, made in that city, and represented by fig. 15, (Misc. Plate). It is of chimir-tree wood, and in form resembles a cross; mine consists of four pieces, equal in size and so contrived that two by means of grooves may be united with the other two; each piece is ten inches and a half long and above three wide,

divided merely by painted lines, into twenty four compartments square, and one triangular at the end which joins it to the others; thus each piece contains twenty five houses, or  $Khánehs(\omega\omega)$  as the Persians call these compartments; and that number is expressed by the name pachis given to this game in the language of Hindústán. Fig. 16 shows the form of one piece separated from the other three; on each, the compartments are filled with the same colours and exhibit the same ornaments, among which I know not whether we may class the Suns, having neglected to ascertain in what manner the game is played. Eight small shells however, are used, and as many wooden muhreh  $(z_{ft})$  or men, four red and four black, each above an inch high and of a conical form, as in fig. 17.

Cards did not seem to be much in use, at least publickly among the Persians, who call them Ganjafah (كنجغنا). Two or three packs which I examined in the bázár at Ispahán were of European manufacture, and had been brought from Russia.

Of pictures very neatly executed in water colours, on leaves of paper either separate, or collected into books, many hundreds were brought for inspection to our tents, and offered daily for sale in the shops of *Ispahámy* Among those I found several interesting, as portraits of remarkable personages; and others as they illustrated manners and customs, representing scenes of frequent occurrence in

domestick life; many were recommended as precious relicks of the ancient school, if so we may describe works of two gr perhaps three centuries; to me the oldest appeared the best; and such, indeed, the living artists did not hesitate to acknowledge them. Others were chiefly admired for the brilliancy of their colours; and a few, though exhibiting mere outlines, bore, as they deserved, a price comparatively high; for those outlines had been traced by the hand of some Persian Ffaxman. There was yet another class of miniature paintings which evinced in the grouping of figures and general style of drawing, considerable skill and ingenuity wasted on subjects the most offensive to a modest eye. Of such painted and outline figures on paper, as may without scruple be presented to the reader, I annex specimens among the Plates of this volume, and an account in the Appendix; but of several offered for sale, those most highly finished were unfortunately of such a description as precludes any farther notice.

Some figures painted in oil-colours on canvass, and nearly of the matural human size, represented those modern beauties who grace the *Harems* of the wealthy and voluptuous: From all that I could learn the fair daughters of Circassia, respecting whom we Europeans have heard or read so much, are confounded by Persians with the lovely damsels of a neighbouring country under the name of Gurji ( $\lambda_{r,2}$ ) or Georgians These seem to be most generally admired and are conse-

quently sold at the highest prices; while the denomination Cherkesi (=,,,,,) or Circassian is rarely mentioned. But this does not argue an inferiority of charms; taste among the Persians, as elsewhere, differs in individuals, and often appears depraved to a degree which we can scarcely comprehend. A Khán or nobleman of my acquaintance purchased, while we resided at Tehrân, a Calmuck girl whose broad flat nose, little angular eyes, and, in short, every feature, contributed to form what among us would be reckoned ugliness; yet this gratification of caprice cost the Khán as considerable a sum of money as he had paid, on former occasions, for the possession of young females who might have been considered pretty even in France or England.

The oil paintings are of various sizes; the best that I had an opportunity of seeing were from four to six feet long, and from two to three feet wide; the figures in Plate LXI are engraved from two in my own collection, and would sufficiently prove, what other pictures given in this volume serve to show, that female beauty is not much heightened by any elegance of Persian drapery.

I now return to the camp of Saadetabad, where we continued every night watching the comet, and listening to the melancholy yelping of a thousand jackals which prowled about the gardens till dawn of day in numerous packs, often rushing close by our tents, but running off with the utmost. ISPAHA'M.

speed whenever we attempted to surprise them; two or three, however, were shot by persons who guarded the *tavileh* (طويله) or place where our mules and horses stood at piquet.

That Isfahán abounded in fruit has already appeared from the testimony of ancient and modern writers, amply confirmed by the profusion of our daily desserts in the Sufreh Khá? neh (سفرد خانه) or dining-hall of the palace; while grapes, melons and peaches of exquisite flavour might have been found at all times on the respective tables of the English gentlemen. To this was added, most grateful when least to be expected, during days of excessive heat, the luxury afforded by snow and ice; of which, for a few púl i śiák (بول سياد) or half-pence, enough might be purchased to preserve for two or three hours in its original freshness, a large quantity of fruit, and to cool some bottles of wine or bowls of sherbet.

I have mentioned that the thirteenth of October was spent in preparations for the journey to Tehrán. 'On the fourteenth we departed from the gardens of Saadetábád or "Mansion " of Felicity," passed over the bridge of Khájú through the adjoining chárbágh, bázárs and winding streets, and under the gate called Dervázeh Túkchi(19), near which are two

(") In the Negáristán of Ghaffári I fud the name spelt  $z_{ij}$  (Túkchi); while it appears (Tukhchi) in the pages of a work written during our residence at Ispahán by a Persian, whose accuracy, however, is questionable.

figures of lions rudely carved in stone, each seeming to have partly swallowed a human head, of which the face, at least, is visible between the extended jaws; from this gate we procented along the garden with Khineh (ichalls) or king

flawk-house," within half a mile from which we encamped on a 'plain northward of the city, and near the source or stream called *A'b i Shdh pesend* (اب شاء پسند) which serves to supply a multiplicity of canáts or aqueducts. Our whole march did not, probably, exceed five miles.

Here we remained one week, amused with receiving or paying visits, and furnishing ourselves with various articles for which Isfaltan has been most distinguished. I explored the ruins of villages scattered over the plain in all directions near our camp; it is said that they once amounted to thirty; and some must have been considerable in size and respectable from the handsome houses which they contained. Although pillaged and depopulated by the Afghuns almost a century ago, many of their chambers yet remain, with vaults and stair-cases but little injured; yet no human being is ever seen within their walls except some traveller, who wonders at finding himself alone in places which might be easily rendered habitable, situate not much above a mile from the walls of a great metropolis. It must be confessed that these ruins. composed of sun-dried bricks and mud, appear, like many modern edifices of Persia, to much greater advantage in their outlines on paper than in reality; for the meanness of mateISPAHA N

rials cannot well be expressed in a drawing, however accurately it may represent forms and proportions. Among the, ruins nearest to our camp, I sketched a range of buildings, as they appear in Plate LX; and from my own tent, part of *Ispahán*; See the same Plate.

On the sixteenth several clouds passed along the sky, and a slight momentary shower surprised and pleased us; next day we were much annoyed by frequent whirlwinds extremely violent, which almost overwhelmed us in dust; many little Jerboas called by the Persians mush-sahrái (موش صحراي) "rats "or mice of the desert," were found alive, near our camp; and other creatures resembling ferrets (<sup>20</sup>).

It had been originally proposed that we should begin our march on the seventeenth or eighteenth. All the Ambassador's arrangements were made accordingly, and ABU"L

<sup>(\*)</sup> These were, perhaps, the Jird which Dr. Shaw found in Barbary, and associates with the Jerbóa or Yerbóa; (Travels, p. 176, 2d. edit. 1757) as two little harmless animals that burrow in the ground. By Bruce, in the Appendix to his Travels, a good engraved representation of the Jerboa has been given; and he, like Dr. Shaw, is inclined to regard this creature (from the extraordinary length of its hind feet, and disproportionate shortness of its fore feet) as that among the three kinds of Libyan rats or mice, which Herodotus styled "two footed;" Μυων δε γενεα τριχα αυτο 3ι εστι οι μεν διποδες καλεονται, (Lib. IV. c. 192). The learned Bochart has treated copiously of the Jerbcs, (Al Yarbús or Yarbúo (Psalm CIV, 18, Prov. XXX. 26) rendered in our translation "conies," plurally saphaním, DED (Hierozoic. Lib. III. cap 33, under the heád "Thy saphan non est cuniculus sed majoris Muris genus"). Shaw and Bruce, however, are not willing to adopt this opinion.

HASSAN KHA'N had been appointed to act as our Mehmándár; but the great fast of the month RAMAZA'N (رمظان) during which the Mohammedans abstain from eating, drinking, or smoking between sunrise and sunset, was now almost terminated; and no Persian would willingly commence a journey or any other business until the new moon had been perceived. Early on the nineteenth it was publickly and joyfully proclaimed that this event had occurred ; the day was therefore considered as an important eid (عبد) or festival, and devoted by the true believers to gluttony, the delights of tobacco, and sensual gratifications of every kind. Presents were reciprocally given by relations, friends and equals; and offered by servants to their masters with the usual compliment and wish, eid-i-shumá mubárek báshed (عيد شما مبارك باشد) " may this "holyday be auspicious to you"(21). On these occasions the gifts are not always of much intrinsick value; but a fruit, a flower, or a bit of sweet-meat, serves as a token of esteem or of respect. The twentieth day of October was the last of our residence here.

(") Or "may your festival be blessed or fortunate." In the Persian sentence bashed appears to have superseded, within two or three centuries, the original, and perhaps more correct term, bad (باد). On this form of compliment I shall offer some zemarks in the Appendix.

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# CHAPTER XV.

Journey from Ispahán to Tehrán.

On the twenty-first day of October, at six o'clock in the morning we left our camp near the Kúsh Kháneh of Ispahán, and having marched ten miles and three quarters, arrived within three hours at Gaz ( $\Im$ ). Our road was perfectly flat; with mountains both on the right and left; we passed by many of those ruined villages before-mentioned and, at the second mile, a running stream called A'b-i-Fazlábád ( $\Im$ ); after which we remarked several canáts or subterraneous conduits for the purposes of irrigation, but few symptoms of agriculture until we approached our halting-place, where some extensive plantations of melons, and of the castor and cotton plants were discovered. Gaz, it is said, comprises five hundred houses or families; but I think the number exaggerated by that statement; its caravansera is a handsome edifice externally, and constructed of brick not sun-dried in

the usual manner, but hardened by means of fire to the solidity and perhaps the durability of stone; yet its inner chambers were fallen to decay; our tents however rendered us independent of any accommodation that this building might have afforded. Gaz, of which the name is written by Arabian geographers Jaz ( $\neq$ ), was considered in the fourteenth century as chief of twelve villages belonging to the district of Narkhuársi ( $i\neq$ ); this we learn from HAMDALLAH CAZvI'NI, who adds, that "in this village of Gaz (or Jaz) a fire-"temple had been constructed by BAHMAN the son of Is-"FEN DYA'R"(<sup>1</sup>).

Some unfavourable aspect of the stars, (a ready, and to Persians a sufficient excuse for laziness or procrastination), detained our Mehmándár, ABU'L HASSAN KEL'N, until night in the city. Meanwhile his deputy on this occasion, MU-HAMMED BEG (Lance 1, 2000) found much difficulty, through some neglect of previous arrangements, in procuring for us and for our horses, the necessary siúrsát or allowance of provisions. Gaz enjoys a temperate air; the natives reckon it cold; Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose, however, to 75 at halfpast one o'clock.

We began our march on the twenty-second at a very early hour; the road was excellent, and with the exception

<sup>(1)</sup> و درین دی جز بهمن بن أمغددیار اتشخانه ساخته بود (1) MS. Nushut al Culúb, Geogr. Sect. ch. 2, in the account of Isfahím.)

of one inconsiderable rise, uniformly level; and would have presented no other obstacles to wheel-carriages than two or three water-courses. We passed some ruined villages and neglected though handsome caravanseras; and at lengthafter a journey of twenty one miles and a half, reached our tents near Múrcheh-Khúrt ( $(e_{e_{i}})$ ), or as the name is softened in pronunciation, Múrcheh Khúrd(<sup>2</sup>). Here is a mud-built castle with towers, and the whole place is supposed to contain about two hundred houses. To these belong some gardens which produce fruits of various kinds, and some fields where cotton and castor, wheat and barley were cultivated. Near the village we remarked a Caravanserá, which the Amín ad doulch's workmen were, or scemed, engaged in repairing.

On the twenty-third, at five o'clock in the morning, we set out from Mürcheh Khürt, after a night so extremely cold that the water was frozen in some of our tents. At ten we alighted near the caravansers of Akć Kemál púién (اقا كمال بايدى), or "the lower;" so called to distinguish it from another situate one stage farther towards the north("). We travelled this day

(\*) But in the MS. Nuchat al culúb (Chap. of Roads and Stages) I find the name written Múrcheh Khúr (مورجه خور). This place was the scene of a memorable battle fought on the twelfth and thirteeuth of November in 1729, when NA'DER SHA'H defeated the Turks and Afghans.

(\*) The Persians seldom take much trouble in giving the true sound to Arabick letters of difficult pronunciation; but generally call أفا or أما, A'gá, and often simply Aá, as is' the well known and ouce formidable name of A'KA' MUHAMMED, the present monarch's uncle. I remarked that páiin (يايدي) which distinguishes the first saravansers as "the lower," was commonly pronounced páium.

fifteen miles and a half, over a flat and dreary waste; the road was good, but destitute of houses, of men, trees, and even of shrubs. We found, however, the solitary caravansera, which owes its foundation and its name to AGA' KEMA'L, (an officer of the Harem under one of the Sefevi princes) a handsome structure; and here too we saw several masons employed. I was endeavouring to recollect some instance of a publick, or indeed a private edifice in Persia, besides this and the caravansera of Múrcheh Khúrt, being rescued from decay by timely reparation, when it was maliciously, and perhaps falsely whispered, that the labours of those workmen had commenced at our approach, and would terminate on our departure; as they were hired merely to excite in the Ambassador such an opinion of the Amin ad'douleh's zeal for the conveniency of travellers and the improvement of his country, as might be favourably reported to the king; this artifice. however, seems to me improbable, as it was contemptible and unnecessary; for we had already witnessed daily at Ispahan the numerous splendid and useful works devised by that minister and executed at his expense. This day the Thermometer at noon rose to 71; but the night was exceedingly cold.

Our march of the twenty-fourth commenced before six and ended about ten o'clock, when we halted at the caravansera of Akú Kemál bálá (M) or "the upper," having advanced in a northern direction thirteen miles. When nearly half-way we

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Our tents were placed near a caravansera recently constructed, indeed scarcely finished, by the Amin ad'douleh; the old caravansera, about a mile distant, being no longer frequented from an alleged scarcity of water. Yet I found on visiting it, a stream by no means scanty, murmuring near the back of this deserted edifice, which was still spacious and handsome; the stream flowed from an adjoining village where some houses were almost perfect, though none had been inhabited for many years. Here were two large willows, venerable in their decay; and near the new caravansera some younger trees of which I was induced to ascertain the number, a Persian having declared, in the usual mode of vague amplification, "that to him they seemed five hundred, or "perhaps a thousand;" neither he nor I could reckon more than eighty. It was here discussed whether we should proceed to Cashan by way of Kuhrúd or of Sow; the former was

preferred as affording shorter stages and more convenient balting places for the invalids(<sup>4</sup>).

To a day of pleasant temperature (for the Thermometer did not rise above 60) succeeded a night so cold that we were scarcely enabled to defend ourselves by means of additional bed-clothes from the frost which converted into ice much of the water in our *matarrehs* or leathern bottles (described in Vol. I. p. 247; Misc. Pl. fig. 12). Of the large and handsome, but deserted *caravansera*, I made a sketch from which is engraved fig. 18 in the Miscellaneous or last Plate of this volume.

After a ride of fifteen miles we arrived on the twenty-fifth at Kuhrúd ( $\ddot{x}_{y,\ell}$ ); our path in various places bad and stony led us over many hills, and through one narrow mountain pass or gardeneh ( $\dot{x}_{\ell}c\dot{x}_{\ell}$ ) which would not admit two horses abreast. We saw several rats of an extraordinary size; the Jerboas were numerous, and some gentlemen of our party shot hares, partridges and wild ducks. Although the leaves were falling very fast at Kuhrúd, the multiplicity of its trees, (baffling my powers of enumeration) and its verdant fields, amply indemnified the eye for that naked and barren expanse over which it had so widely and hopelessly ranged during the last three

<sup>(4)</sup> Sow (of which I have never seen the name written in Person) was said to be a large village with a handsome cargvansera, about twenty-three miles Northward of. Murcheh khurt, and seven or eight miles Eastward of the road that we took.

This place is justly celebrated as one of the pleasantest davs. in Persia, and comprehends two villages; Kuhrúd giving the general denomination, though comprising but one hundred and fifty houses or families; while the other, Juinán (حوينان), is said to contain above two hundred; these are abundantly supplied with water by a beautiful stream which accompanied us during the last half hour of this morning's ride from a place where the roads of Sow and of Agá Kemál unite(5). The houses situate on the steep sides of a hill, almost seem to stand one upon another. Below is the caravansera; and near it, on a rising ground, the remains of an old castle; between various eminences the valley appears, richly cultivated, and finely diversified with gardens, fertilized by the stream above mentioned, and yielding in great quantities most admi-We thought the walnuts and apples particularly rable fruit. From a spot near the ruined castle I sketched excellent. part of this village, as in Plate LVIII; but it appears to much greater advantage in a different point of view as accurately

(\*) This "River of Kuhrúd" according to HAMDALLAH, "frows from the moun-"tain of Khánsár; and having passed through the territories of Jerbádekán, Luristán "and Kum, its waters in the spring season are lost subterraneously after a course "of thirty five farsangs."

اب قهرود از كود خانسار برايد بولايت جربادقان و لرستان و قم ميكذود و ابش بهرزه در بهار در مغاره منتهي ميشود طولش سي و پنج فرسنك هاشد (MS. Nuzhat al culúb, ch. of Rivers). I have here spelt Khánsúr as in the Manuscript (خوانسار) ; but in modern works the name is mostly written Khudusúr (خانسار) and the southern Persians invariably pronounce it Khoonsúr. This town is described as situate in one of the most fertile and beautiful parts of Persia; being about ninety miles north-eastward from Isfahán.

delineated by Colonel Johnson in the tenth plate of his very interesting "Journey from India to England," p. 133.

Here the Ambassador encamped as usual; but all the other English gentlemen, and ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, found sufficient accommodation at the caravansera; where in my shamber or vaulted cell the Thermometer at two o'clock did not rise above 50. Near this is the green roofed tomb of an Imámzádeh, or holy personage whom the journal of MI'RZA' SA'LEH styles SHA'H ZA'DEH HUSEIN son of the illustrious (شاهزاده حسين ولد جناب امام موسى كاظم) ; Imám Mu'sa Ca'zem "and from the summit of an eminence here," as the same "journalist affirms, "may be seen, in one direction, the "great mountain Damárend three stages beyond Tehrán; "and in another the city of Isfahan with its adjacent "territories and the neighbouring hills"(6). The village of Kuhrúd is a district considered as dependent on Cáshán; and according to the "table of roads and stages," given in HAMDALLAH's Geography, is distant from that city eight farsangs<sup>(7)</sup>; our actual measurement would scarcely

(<sup>6</sup>) و كود بلندي واقعست كه چنانچه در بالاي ان هركس ميرود كوه دماوند كه سه مذرل بعد از طهرانست و كوه و شهر و سواد اصفهانزا مي بيند MS. Jour #4! of MI'BZA' SA'LEB).

(') See his Itinerary من كاشان الي اصفهان from Cáshán to Isfahan" which thus begins نوسنك 'From Cáshán to the village of Kukrád, eight farsangs," (MS. Nuzhat al Culýb, ch. of roads and stages). allow twenty six miles to the road by which we travelled perhaps another more circuitous was, from some local cir; cumstance, preferred in the time of that author.

The ingenious Chardin thinks it not improbable that, as some European writers have asserted, the valley of *Kuhrúd* was the scene of Darius's last moments (Tome III, p. 889 Rouen, 1723). An examination of this opinion will find its place in a future work better adapted than the present to discussions on subjects connected with the history of Alexander.

On the twenty-sixth we did not leave our manzil before seven o'clock in the morning. The road during this day's march was in general bad, rugged and stony, and rendered uneven by numerous hills; but these, for the first three or four miles near Kuhrúd were beautifully wooded; and combined with the subjacent valley, its winding limpid streams, the well cultivated fields which they watered, and the thickly planted gardens, to constitute such scenery as even in Wales might be reckoned most "romantick and *picturesque.*" Passing by the village cemetery I remarked the image of a lion very rudely carved in stone, like that before noticed at Diris, (Vol. 1. p. 270); and on the slabs covering many graves were chiseled the figures of cypress-trees.

Between the fifth and sixth mile of our journey we came to that great band (yic) or dike which SHA'H Авва's constructed for the purpose of restraining and collecting mountain torrents and the water of dissolved snow. This band is an immense wall, apparently from forty to fifty feet high between two precipices; a winding path has been cut on the left side, but so dangerous did it seem at one projecting corner of the rock, that Lady Ouseley was induced to leave her palankin; and most of us encountered its difficulties on foot. The refervoir or lake formed by this mound was nearly dry; but we heard that the water has sometimes risen so exceedingly as to overflow the wall. One arch, at the very bottom, suffices for the transmission of a moderate stream. As we approached this extraordinary object I sketched the view engraved in Plate LVIII.

We proceeded to Gabrábád (الخبراباد) where our tents were pitched; and alighted there after a march of almost four hours; yet the distance from Kuhrúd did not by many yards exceed ten miles. Our camp was situate close to the ruins of a mud-built village, once the "Abode of Fire-worshippers," and on that account styled Gabrábád; within three quarters of a mile was the handsome caravansera which Abu"L HAS-SAN KHA'N and his servants occupied; it had been built in the time of SHA'H ABBA'S by a person named MI'R SA'BER (*perfectived*). During the course of this morning's ride, I perceived or imagined in the general surface of the country a gentle declination towards Cáshán, but not equivalent to the ascent of former stages; and though we were advancing in a

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northern 'direction, and had arrived at the twenty-sixth of October, Fahrenheit's Thermometer on that day at two o'clock rose to 67; higher by seventeen degrees than it had risen at the same hour on the twenty-fifth.

I walked about our camp from breakfast until dinner time with my gun; but rather in search of antiquities than of game! The ruined village furnished no criterion by which the religion of its founders or inhabitants could be ascertained; it was easy, however, and not uninteresting to trace the gradual process of decay; some houses were yet but slightly affected by the weather or by time; of others the roofs and arches had fallen, and many were half filled with the rubbish of their Some scarcely rose above the level of their own walls. foundations; and several were moulded into hillocks of clay. Near this, the remains of a handsome and commodious bath attracted my observation; it had been well constructed of excellent brick and neatly ornamented with lackered tilework. The pipes for conducting water and the stoves for heating it might still, without much trouble, have been rendered perfect. But my rambles, although extended four or five miles beyond this place, among the mountains and through the valley, were not recompensed by any thing that wore even the semblance of antiquity, except some vestiges of a stone building near the ruined village. They appear on the summit of a hill whence the whole road to Cáshán was distinctly seen, and that city with the long line of gardens behind it; on days less hazy, mount Damávand has often been discerned from this spot. If complete dilapidation be a proof of age those vestiges may boast of many centuries. Their situation would indicate a castle; but on the inconsiderable space which they cover may have once stood a Fire-temple; or, perhaps, one of those edifices wherein the Gabrs are accustomed to expose their dead.

T LIMULA

'We set out from Gabrábad about five o'clock on the twenty-seventh, and a little before ten in the morning reached our tents at Cáshán (كالطاري), after a journey of fifteen miles and three quarters over a country in general flat; through which the road was in some places rugged and stony. On both sides at various distances were villages; but to me the greater number seemed deserted. As we approached Cáshán the Ambassador was welcomed by an istikbúl very numerous and respectable, comprising the chief tajers (تاج) or merchants, the ked khudús (كدخدا) or householders, with all the principal inhabitants of that city; and at their head the Hakem (Ja) or governor himself, Mi'RZA' ABU''L KA'SEM (مدرزا ابو الغاسم) accompanied by AKA' MUHAMMED JAAFER (Ill and and a lill), brother of MI'RZA' ZI'N ALA'BEDI'N (مديرزا زين العابدين) already mentioned as Vazir or minister to the Prince of Shiráz. Having been conducted by these great men quite through the chárbágh-jedíd (چار باغ جديد) or "new garden," (a work of the indefatigable Amin ad'douleh) we halted at our camp near the old "royal garden," denominated after one of the Sefevi monarchs, Bágh-i-Sháh (باع شاد), and adorned with many stately cypresses.

The oldest accounts of Cáshán that I have discovered were written in the tenth century; it appears from the MS. Súr al beldán that the city was then small but well supplied with the necessaries and conveniences of life: and abounding in' fruit; it was infested, however, by scorpions of a black and most venomous kind, that killed all persons whom they stung"(8). In the printed "Geography of EBN HAUKAL," (p. 171) those black scorpions are described as very numerous at Cashán, " and another species called heirárah ( \_\_\_\_)." From the MS. Seir al belad we learn that in the thirteenth century Cáshán was remarkable "for its manufacture of pot-"tery; and the earthenware was, accordingly, sent into various " provinces;" and " the apricots of that city," adds the MS. "are extremely delicious, and considered when dried as "acceptable presents in distant countries where apricots so "excellent cannot be found. But at Cáshán are also black "scorpions larger than any produced elsewhere(9).

(<sup>8</sup>) و قاشان شهري كوچك أسك باخصب و نعمت و مديوها بسدار و در انجا . صنغي از مقارب سياد منكر هست كه كرا بكزد بكشد . In another passage of the same page, the name of *Cáshán* is spelt as at present.

<sup>(9)</sup> ظروف سفالدین و انهارا در عمل انظروف دستی است فراخ که بهدی شهری مثل ان ظروف نسازند و از انجا ببلاد دیکر برند و بانجاست زردالو بغایت شیرین انرا خشک سازند و برسم هدیه بسایژ بلاد برند از انچه چو ان زردالو بهدی شهری دیگر نباشد و بانجاست از غقارب سیاه بکلانی انقدر که در جای دیگر نباشد MS. Seir al belád. (Clim. IV.)
a tan 19 pa

Cáshán (كليكن), says the geographer HAMDALLAH, is a city of the fourth climate; "founded by ZOBEIDAH KHA'TO'N the "wife of HARU'N AR'RASHI'D, under the zodiacal sign of "the virgin. In its vicinity is a clay-built castle called Fín. "Cáshán enjoys a warm climate, and is watered by means of "channels from Fín, and by the river which flows from Kuh-"rúd and Niáser; and in winter the cold is not so excessive "as to cover those streams with a great quantity of ice; "but there, as at A'vah, the water is preserved frozen in "pits or wells until the heats of summer. Cáshán is of mid-"dling elevation; among its fruits the melons and grapes are "particularly excellent"(<sup>10</sup>). Among the reptiles there, HAMDALLAH adds that the "scorpions are very numerous " and of deadly sting, which, however, it is said, they seldom " employ against a stranger"(<sup>11</sup>).

AMI'N RA'ZI, author of the Haft aklim or "Seven Climates;" after a vague and hyperbolical encomium, wherein he compares and prefers the buildings and streets of Cáshán to the

<sup>(19</sup>) زبيده خاتون مذكرحه هارون الرشيد ساخت بطالع سذبله و برظاهر ان شهر قلعه كلين است و انرا فين خواند هواي ان شهر كرمسيرست و ابش از كاريز فين ميرود و رودي كه از تهرود و نياسر ست و بزمستان سرما چذان ندود كه يخ بسيار يكيرند و إنجا ايز همچو اوم اب در چام يخ مي بندد تا بهدكام كرما باز ميدهد و ارتفاعتش وسط بود از ميوهاش خريزه و انكور نيكوست (MS. Nuzhat al Culúb. Geog. Sect. ch. 2.)

(<sup>11</sup>) در ا<sup>ن</sup>جا عقرب بسیار بود و قتال باشد، و کویند غریبرا زخم کمتر زند MS. Nuz. al Culub. ibid.)

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cheeks of lovely damsels and Houries resplendent with beauty; condescends to inform us, in plainer language, that "it is a modern city having been founded under the celestial "sign Virgo, by ZOBEIDAH the queen of HA'RU'N AR'-"RASHI'D; and in truth" adds he, "the purity and sweetness "of this place cannot be equalled in all Iran, nor even in "the whole world. And there is at Fin, issuing from one "rock, a considerable fountain such as the most experienced "travellers have rarely seen or described; the gardens and "cultivated fields of Cáshán are chiefly watered by this "stream; and destructive scorpions abound among the rep-"tiles of the city, but do not sting foreigners" (12).

CA'SHA'N

Notwithstanding the recent origin here ascribed to Cáshán, I am inclined to suppose that queen ZOBEIDAH only enlarged or embellished a place already peopled; for the venerable EBN AASIM of Cúfa describing the great battle of Cádesíah, which in the year 636, destroyed the hopes of YEZDEJERD, the Persian monarch, informs us that "to join the royal army, SHI'RZA'D, "Vâly or governor of Kum and Cáshán, marched, with twenty

(<sup>12</sup>) و كاشان از شهرهاي جديد است و زبيده خاتين مذكوحه هارون الرشيد قرا بطالع سنبله بنا نهاده احت بشيريني و پاكيزكي ان شهر در تمام ايران پلكه در جهان شهري نيست-و در فين چشمه ايست عظيم كه از يك سنك بر مي ايد چنانچه سياحان جهان مثل ان چشمه كمتر نشان داده اند و اكثر زراعت و باغات كاشان برين اب است-و از حشرات عقرب قتاله در شهر بسيارمي باشد اما ير غيريب مضرب نميرسانده "five thousand troops, cavalry and infantry"(<sup>13</sup>). At the subrequent battle of Nuhávend, these cities contributed, according to the same historian, twenty thousand; a circumstance which may be 'dated above one hundred years before the existence of Queen ZOBEIDAH. Indeed some have assigned the foundation of Cáshán to TAHMU'RAS, one of the earliest kings; and an etymology for its name is offered by an old Persian writer who classes it among the ancient cities. On the subject of its antiquity I must refer to the last article of the Appendix.

Concerning the fruits and the warmth of Cáshán, our positive testimony can be offered in confirmation of the account above given. We found the pears, figs and grapes delicious, and some of the melons were equally large as exquisitely flavoured. Major Stone and I measured one nearly spherical, which in circumference was two feet and nine inches; we divided between us and preserved its seed; but this, from experiments lately made, seems to degenerate in our English climate. Although the mornings and nights were cool, the Thermometer rose between two and three o'clock, both on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth (of October) to 72 degrees; indeed without the vaulted chambers and cellars (or those subterraneous recesses called sardábah ( $\omega_c \omega_k$ )

(<sup>13</sup>) دیکر شدرزاد ولی قم و کاشان با بیست و پذ<del>جهز</del>ار سوار و بیاده (MS. Turikh i Aasim e Kuft.) attached to almost every house, people could scarcely endure the heats of summer in this place(14).

With respect to the scorpions, I can give but a negative testimony in favour of their generosity towards strangers. None of our party suffered from those creatures; yet it was acknowledged by many of the inhabitants that five and twenty or thirty persons had, within the last year, perished by their envenomed stings; to avoid which, bedsteads raised from the floor on high feet were, as I heard, very generally used(<sup>15</sup>).

Some of our gentlemen visited the fountain celebrated by AMI'N RA'z1' in the passage extracted from his Manuscript work (See p. 89). They found the garden of *Fin* a very pleasant spot, and the water most admirably pure and clear; workmen were employed there in preparing a house for the king and his *Harem*. This edifice, originally designed as a summer residence for the king's brother (now dead) HUSEIN KULI' KHA'N (حسين قلي خان), rivalled, it was said, the new palace of *Fattehábád* at *Ispahán* in the glowing colours

<sup>(14)</sup> My Journal has thus marked the degrees to which the Thermometer ascended on the twenty-eighth of October. At 7 in the morning, 46; at a quarter past 8, 54; at noon, 69; and at half past 2, 72.

<sup>(18)</sup> From Pliny, (after Aristotle) we learn that the scorpions on Latmus, a mountain of Caria, while they killed the natives of that country, were harmless to strangers. "In Latmo Cariæ monte Aristoteles tradit, a scorpionibus hospites non lædi, indigenas. "interimi;" (Nat. Hist. Lib. VIII. 59). The subject of scorpions must be resumed ; in the Appendix.

that enriched the glass of its windows; Fin is about three miles and a quarter from the city.

We remained at Cashan from the twenty-seventh until the thirty-first day of October, and had ample leisure to explore the city, which, to me at least, appeared much larger than Shíráz, and superior in population and the lively stir of business. Cáshán is remarkable for the excellence of its weavers; for its various manufactures of silk and cotton stuffs(16), velvets, and a sort of shawls worn and esteemed in the most remote provinces of the empire; and above all, for its copper-ware, generally tinned or whitened so as to resemble silver. As I rode through the Bázár-e-misgarán (بازار مسكران), or "quarter of the copper-smiths;" their ponderous hammers incessantly rising and falling, assailed my ears with a more violent noise than any thing since the first broadside fired from our ship at the Arabian pirates in the Persian gulf. Some of our attendants had, during the whole journey from Búshehr, dispensed, even at Ispahán, with many culinary utensils, that they might supply their wants at Cáshán. Here were several dik bars (ديكبار) so ingeniously contrived and so neatly executed, that they would not injure the cookery whilst they might ornament the kitchen even of an English epicure. The Dikbar comprises various articles, from twelve to thirty,

<sup>(&</sup>quot;) A man selling striped handkerchiefs at our tents, recommended his goods by declaring, in language familiar to a Persiau, " that their colours were as unchangeable " as the decrees of fate." "

fitting one within another, the outer being a kettle or pot; the price is according to the size and number of those articles, from fifteen to fifty riáls, or from thirty shillings to five pounds.

Paying a visit one morning to ABU"L HASSAN KHA'N at the garden-house of the Chárbágh, I saw a quadruped, beau<sup>2</sup> tifully formed and spotted, which was described by the man who held it, as a young palang ( $\downarrow$ ) or leopard, brought from some place on the road leading to Hamadán; but another declared that it was a yúz ( $_{yel}$ ) or beast of the lynx kind, trained to assist in the chase, and carried, occasionally, on the huntsman's horse. This account I am inclined to believe, as from DowLET SHA'H in his "History of the Persian "Poets," we learn that a place between Kum and Hamadán was celebrated for the yúzes it produced(<sup>17</sup>). At Cáshán were offered for sale, by the heirs of a person lately deceased, some Manuscripts, being, in general, fine copies of works not very rare. This city as a native informed me, contains thirty

اما فراهان قصبه ايست من اعمال تم و در مدان ولايت همدان و قم افتاده و صاحب صور الاقاليم مي اورد كه در نواحي فراهان يوز شكاري خوب بدست مي ايد كه در اقاليم مثل ان يوز ندست و بجهت مناطين ان يوزهارا بتصفه مي بزند (./MS. Tezkirreh ; in the account of JELA'L BEN JAAPER F3BA'HA'NI)

<sup>(&</sup>quot;) "Feráhán," says the biographer, "is a district in the territories of Kum; "situate between that city and Hamadán; and the author of the geographical work, "entitled Súr al ákálim, relates, that the vicinity of Feráhán affords very fine Yúzez "for hunting; and that throughout the world no place furnishes such yúzes as Feráhán, "whence they are sent as gifts worthy of kings."

mosques, twelve publick baths, and ten madrassehs or colleges, of which one is a new and very handsome building; the city has also six gates; and its circumference is reckoned equal to one farsang.

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During our residence here, a fellow was punished for some offence committed before we left Ispahán; where, being the servant of MUHAMMED BEG, (assistant on our march to the Mehmándár, ) he had not only arrested and insulted an infirm old woman who was going for medical advice to the Surgeon's tent, but exceeded his authority by robbing her of two rials; besides which, he beat the Surgeon's Persian attendant, who had interfered in the woman's behalf; and completed the measure of his guilt by condemning in the grossest terms, all Farangkis or Europeans to the infernal regions. These circumstances were represented to the Ambassador, who demanded satisfaction from MUHAMMED BEG; but he connived at the escape and concealment of his servant, swearing that he had taken refuge in a masjed or mosque, from which sacred asylum it was not possible to This excuse he employed while we remained at drag him. Ispahán, with hopes that in the bustle of a march all offences But the Ambassador had declared that might be forgotten. he would never admit the assistant to his presence unless the culprit should accompany him; many efforts were made, in vain, to soften this resolution; and MUHAMMED BEG perceiving that he must either relinquish the expectation of presents, usually bestowed to persons in his department, or resign the offender to justice, despatched a messenger who brought him nearly an hundred miles, by rapid marches, to our camp at Cáshán; where immediately on his arrival he was flogged by some stout feráshes, and severely cudgelled by his own master, who indemnified himself by many hearty blows for the trouble which this servant had caused him. The Ambassador thought an example of unrelenting rigour necessary, as the punishment inflicted on a former occasion (See Vol. II. p. 225,) was not found sufficient to repress a spirit of insolence towards Europeans, which had lately become manifest.

After a ride of two hours and a half, we arrived on the thirty-first day of October, at Nasrábád (نصراباد), a mud-walled town, containing about three hundred houses, with a caravansera, some corn fields and cotton plantations; distant from Cáshán ten miles and a quarter; the road was flat and good. About the second mile we crossed a stream which waters the village and gardens of Ghyath ábád (مال عدال الله في on the left; a little beyond this we saw on the right Isa ábád (عدالي الله عنه); and near it, on the same side, another village called Hárán ábád (مارون الماد) after the great Khalífah, to whose name is generally subjoined the Arabick epithet, rashíd (مارشيد), prudent or sagacious, one who leads in the right way.

Half a mile farther, towards the left, and situate on a rising ground, were the trees and houses of Kheirabad (خيرباد); and,

nearly opposite, the village of Núshábád (نوشاباد). At eight miles from Cáshán we passed on the right Ali abad (alulu) with its gardens. Of all those villages which I have mentioned, and several others seen this day, Ali abad appeared most flourishing, although the clay-built castle had fallen to decay. Here we saw the tomb of some venerable Imámzúdeh or saint, with its green-tiled roof; and a mud-walled place called Murchan (مورجان) now uninhabited, but exhibiting many vestiges of former cultivation. We heard that within eleven years of the Amin ad douleh's government, this country had been improved by the construction of one hundred and fifty canúts, or subterraneous aqueducts; and that each cost three thousand tâmáns; thus forming, altogether, a sum exceeding four hundred thousand pounds; which was gently levied by equitable assessments on the various districts in proportion as they benefited by the distribution of water.

Nasrábád proved still warmer than Cáshán, for at one o'clock the Thermometer rose to 79.

We proceeded early on the first of November to Sinsin (wime), and encamped there after a journey of ten miles, close to the handsome caravansera, another work of the Amin ad douleh; erected about three years before at his.own expense. The road lay through a sandy waste, so flat that this building was in view during almost the whole march; some remains of villages appeared near the mountains on our left, while the desert seemed equally boundless as barren towards the right. Sinsin, according to report was, in former ages a very extensive and populous village; but the houses are now in a state of ruin. Behind the caravansera .runs a stream of water, and near it are a few hovels wherein some people reside who watch the cotton and barley fields. Here several partridges were shot; and the Thermometer about moon stood at 78.

From Sinsin we marched soon after five o'clock on the second, and arrived at our tents near the caravansera of Pásengán (پاسنکار) at half past eleven; this was a journey of twenty one miles and three quarters; the road in many places very hilly. At four miles we rode among the ruins of Dehi-nar (, i. .), once a considerable village, but pillaged and depopulated by the Turcománs; some walls and even chambers of handsome houses yet remain; and near them on the right, a fine rivulet gushes from an eminence close to the road At seven miles we passed a new caravansera, denominside. ated from a stream of "brackish water" that runs not farbeyond it, the Cáravánserá-i-áb-i-shúr (كاروانسرا اب شور). This also, is a memorial of the Amin ad douleh's liberality, and here he has stationed guards for the protection of travellers.

Some inequalities of the road prevented us from seeing, until within a mile, either our tents or the caravansera at Pasengán; although not only Kum, the next stage, was visible, nearly seventeen miles beyond this place, but even Mount Dumávand (دمارد) had been all day in sight, at the distance of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty miles, rising far above the horizon, towards the north-east. The only building or habitation of any kind at Pásengán, is, I believe, the caravansera; which was founded by a merchant of Cazvía, named Ha'JI MUHAMMED Ba'KER (حاب محمد باتر); attached to it are two barkch (مركب) or reservoirs of water. We found the weather here unpleasantly warm, the Thermometer at one o'clock rising to 84.

Our march on the third of November commenced at five o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten, when we entered Kum (تم), having travelled sixteen miles and three quarters; during most of which we had in view before us the gilded cupola of that city's chief mosque or sanctuary; at sunrise; it appeared like a globe of fire. About seven miles from the last halting place we passed a village called Langrud (المكرود) with a few trees, situate on the right; but more than half the houses had been long deserted and were mouldering to decay. As we advanced, the remains of habitations, gardens, and tombs, became so numerous as to evince a considerable degree of former population; and it was contrived to assemble, from different parts of the country, although now very thinly inhabited, a respectable pishwáz or istikbál, composed of well-dressed horsemen, and a ragged pedestrian rabble in proportionate numbers; this crowd was led by Ha'II KUM.

HUSEIN B. 'BA' (VIL KA'SEM CA'SHI, (حاجي حسين بابا) of MI'RZA' A'BU'L KA'SEM CA'SHI, (ميزا او ألقاسم كاشي) the governor, then absent. Many compliments having been offered as usual to the Ambassador, we all proceeded towards the city, and our tents beyond it, riding through extensive ruins; at least two thirds of the buildings seemed to have been untenanted for fifty or perhaps an hundred years; they covered a space of some miles, and confirmed the accounts left us by several writers concerning the magnitude of Kum.

Yet in the two most ancient geographical treatises that I have had an opportunity of consulting, this city is not described as remarkable for its size. On the contrary, having noticed, as in a passage before quoted (p. 87) that Cáshán was small, the MS. Súr al beldán adds " and all the " cities of this province (Kúhestán the mountainous region, " Jebál; Irák A'jemi, or Parthia,) are, except Raï, which is " very considerable, nearly equal in littleness, one to ano- " ther." " But Kum," as we read in the same work, " is a " pleasant place with much verdure; and around it has been " constructed a rampart; and it derives water from wells; the " trees there are numerous, and the fruits abundant; such as " pistachio nuts, filberds, and others; and the houses both " at Kum and Cáshán are mostly built of clay"(<sup>18</sup>).

(<sup>18</sup>) و دىر تمامت شهرها كوهستان بغير از ري كه شهري بزركست باتي همه دو كوچكي بيكديكر نزديك مي باشدً– اما قم شهر خوش و نزه و سبز است و حوالي

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Although EBN HAUKAL'S work agrees in general with the Súr al beldán, yet we here find a variation, caused probably by one of the thousand errors in that Manuscript from which I published several years ago my translation of the "Oriental "Geography;" according to this, (p. 171) "Kum has not "any walls," and it adds that, at certain seasons a considerable stream runs by the city gate.

'A passage already quoted from the chronicle of AASIM E Cv'FI, expresses that the united contribution of troops furnished in the year 636, by *Kum* and *Cáshán*, amounted to twenty five thousand men.

We learn from the Seir al belád that "Kum, a city in the "land of Cúhestán, or the hilly region, is situate between "Sáveh and Isfahán. It is of considerable size, and abund-"antly supplied with every thing necessary; but at present," adds this Manuscript," (a work of the thirteenth century) "the city is mostly in ruins, and all the water used there is "drawn from wells"(<sup>19</sup>). We afterwards read that according

ان صوري براورده و اعب انجا از چاه مي باشد و ذر ان شهر درختان بسيار و ميوه وانو هست مثل فستق و بندق و غيره---و خانها قم و كاشان غالب از كل مي ياشد (Súr al beldán). In this old MS. dirakhtán is often used as a plural.

(<sup>19</sup>) تم شهریست بزمین گوهستان میان ساو<del>ه</del> و اصفهان و آن شهر کلالیست همه چیز دبر آن فراوان بشهر کرفته شد-و اکلون بیشتر آن شهر خرابست و آبهای آنها همه از چاها است KUM

to some ingenious authors there is near Kum a certain mine of salt, from which, if any person who has not deposited there the price, take any salt away, the ass that carries it shall become lame; that there also, is a mine of gold and silver, which has not been indicated to the inhabitants lest they should neglect their agricultural labours; and a talisman is then noticed, made to guard the citizens from serpents and scorpions, and banishing these reptiles to a neighbouring mountain, where they so abound that no person is able to pass over it.

Kum, as we learn from the geographer, HAMDALLAH, is a city of the fourth climate; founded under the zodiacal sign Gemini; and "its ramparts in circumference exceed ten "thousand paces, being by forty more, according to report, "than the circuit of Cazvín. Its climate is temperate and it "is watered by a stream that flows from Jerbadekán"( $^{20}$ ); and at Kum as at A'vah, adds HAMDALLAH, water frozen during winter is preserved for use in pits or wells until the heat of summer dissolves the ice. The water of Kum has a slight tendency towards brackishness. Among the chief productions of this place, says he, are wheat and cotton, which grow in great abundance; and of its fruits the best are

(<sup>30</sup>) فور بارش زياده از ده هزار نام است گويند چهل كام بر باروي قزوين زياد تست هوايش معتدل است و ابش از رودي كه از جربادقان مي ايد (MS. Nussaid al Cultub. ch. 2.) pomegranates, pistachios, melons and red figs; the cypress trees are very beautiful. He then describes the people as bigots of a certain *Muselmán* sect; and adds that in his time (the fourteenth century) *Kum* was mostly tallen to ruin; although the ramparts continued for the greater part uninjured.

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From the MS. Haft al. lim or "Seven Climates," we learn that the soil of Kum is enriched or sanctified by the remains of several Muselmáns, distinguished for their orthodox piety; four hundred and forty four Imámzádehs or descendants of the Imáms and other persons of religious celebrity, having there found repose; and among their tombs, one is resplendent with divine light, being the burial-place of (ناطم الله المام المام على موسى الرفا) FATIMAH, sister of the Imám ALI MU'SA AR'REZA', (ناطم علي موسى الرفا). The mild climate of Kum, and its excellent fruits are then noticed, "and it is reported," adds the Manuscript, "that aloes, there, does not yield any "odour." (و كويند دير ان ولايت عود يوي ندهد).

It is unnecessary to quote some minor Persian geographers, since they merely repeat the words of those writers from whose works I have extracted the passages above given.

That Kum is considered as a place of remote antiquity, appears from the lines in FIRDAUSI'S Shahnameh, which represent CAI KHUSRAU or Cyrus rewarding his favourite generals with the government of towns and provinces; he commanded, says the poet, that to GU'DERZ, should be given a written assignment not only of Kum but of Isfahán; given a written assignment not only of Kum but of Isfahán; anonymous perhaps because imperfect, assigns the foundation of Kum to CAI KOBA'D, the great grandfather of Cyrus, and supposed by Sir William Jones to have reigned about the year 610 before Christ. Some accounts indeed would allow to this city a much higher degree of antiquity; forthey attribute the construction of it to TAHMURAS, who may be placed before CAI KOBA'D at least two hundred years(<sup>22</sup>).

Whatever monuments of those early times existed prior to the fourteenth century, were probably destroyed during the horrible visitation of TAIMU'R; the ruins at present visible are extensive, and occupy a much more considerable space than the inhabited houses. These, however, in proportion to their numbers, contain more handsome females, if I may

(<sup>a</sup>) Kum is mentioned once again (and, I believe, not more often) in the Shâhnâmeh, where we find it described us belonging, with Isfahân, to the second of those four portions which constituted the empire of NU'SHIRAVA'N, according to his division in the sixth century of our era; دكر بهرى زو بد قم و إصغهان

(\*) Many circumstances indicate CA1 KOBA'D to be the Cyaxares of our historians, although Chronologers differ much in their opinions respecting this Median sovereign, (See Scaliger, U.ber, Prideaux, Jackson, &c.) From a passage of Æschylus (Mydos yap uv o mowros, &c. Persæ, 762), Sir William Jones declares it evident that the first king commemorated there by the Tragedian is Cai Kobad, "whom the Greeks "call Cyaxeres." (Hist. of Pers. prefixed to Nadir Shah). Kum seems to occupy the site of ancient ('hauon (Xavwv) mentioned by Stephanus (de Urbib.) and probably in the same with Ptolemy's Choana (Xoava), Lib VI. c. 2. PERSIA.

judge from those that appeared on the walls and in the streets, than either Shiráz or Isfahan<sup>25</sup>.

That Kum has been fertile in religious excellence we learn from many MSS. besides the Haft Aklim, before quoted, (p. 102) which notices, in general, four hundred and forty four personages, who flourished here and died in the odour of sanctity, whilst other works very formally record their names and authenticate their miracles; but of these the reader must not expect from me a more particular account; even now, this place, according to report, abounds with men the most pious; although it is paradoxically asserted that their women are not by any means of a character corresponding(<sup>24</sup>).

(\*) The families resident at Kum do not amount to above two thousand, as a native of that place acknowledged, nor even to seventeen hundred, in the estimation of a wellinformed traveller; yet when Chardin visited this city about one hundred and forty years ago, it boasted of *fifteen thousand* houses. Of the numerous *Madrasschs* or colleges which in former times embellished it, all, I believe, have fallen to decay; one has been lately built by the present king; this edifice is decorated with lackered tile-work, and contains in the inner court a *hawz* or reservoir of water, with a small garden at each of the four corners, and a bath, also a *khalwet* (in private apartment to which the Monarch may retire after the performance of his ziáret or religious devotions at FATIMAH'S tiely Tomb. Of twenty handsome mosques once erowded by the pious; Kumites, two or three only have been saved from ruin.

(\*) From a shrewd Mazánderáni who reemed to hold in cohtempt the reputed sanctity of Kum, I learned that the principal inhabitants, even the Moláscor priests of this city, entertain such an heretical fondness for spirituous liquors that they keep in their houses the strongest arrack, professing to use it merely as a remedy against the stings of scorpions. A scandal of the same import was whispered respecting the true-believers of Cashan. Here we remained during the fourth day of November, when the morning was cold, dark, and cloudy; and the sun scarcely perceptible; a circumstance in Persia of very rare occurrence. The Thermometer at eight o'clock was down to 52; at ten it rose to 60, at noon to 68, and soon after three it stood at 78.

We discovered that the saints of Kum had not wholly composed those crowds which welcomed us on our approach towards this city. To the *istikbál* of inhabitants had been joined many Iliáts from a neighbouring ordú ( $\lambda_{loc}$ ) or camp, and various travellers belonging to a numerous Kofilah (iii) or caravan, of which the mules and camels were reposing outside the walls; people also had been brought from distant villages to augment the multitude. We purchased here a thousand walnuts (girdú  $\lambda_{cc}$ ) for one riál or about two shillings; and for the same price were sold five large chickens or hens.

I sketched from a spot near our tents the holy tomb with its golden gumbed (Уцерова) or cupola; (See plate LXII). This is the building which derives celestial splendour from the body of FATIMAH deposited within it, according to the Haft aklim, above quoted, (p. 102). At the sanctuary of this mosque, where the most atrocious criminal may screen himself even from royal authority, ABU"L HASSAN KHA'N, late Ambassador at the English court, took refuge several years

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ago, and saved himself from the king's anger during four days; when, although it was forbidden to supply him with food, the women who came on *ziliret* or visits of devotion, to the consecrated shrine of FA'TIMAH, brought him clandestinely a little bread and water; meanwhile, by the intercession of a powerful friend, he was forgiven. It is natural to inquire what offence he had committed; his only crime was being the nephew of HA'JI IBRA'HI'M (حاجي ابراهيم), whom the king had put to death.

From some ruins near a cotton plantation not much beyond our camp, I made a view of the Kuh-e-Telesm (كوه طلسم) or "Mountain of the Talisman;" distant in a north-western direction about eight or nine miles. To this spot the snakes and scorpions were by præternatural art banished from the city as a Manuscript already quoted has informed us; according to one story, however, for there are many traditions attached to the mountain, its talisman had not an object apparently so beneficial; but was constructed that those who might endeavour to ascend the eminence should never return; and no person has been found so adventurous as to attempt it since some fatal experiments made by order of SHA'H ABA's. It is said that from whatsoever quarter this mountain may be viewed, the aspect presented is always the same; and if any opinion can be formed from three sketches which I made at various distances while passing it on the eastern side, this popular report is not altogether