

tantly he had obeyed the summons that forced him from *Shíráz*. When the Ambassador complimented him on the healthiness of his looks after a fatiguing journey, "it proceeds," replied he, "from my happiness in being allowed to approach the king."

Returning from the palace I found two ragged mendicants standing at my door; they had certificates, and a letter written in Italian, addressed to all pious Christians, and signed by some bishops, representing the bearers as good catholicks, *de la nazione Caldea*, on their way from *Selmás*⁽¹⁸⁾ to India; "fallen through the cruelty of the barbarous Persians into extreme and lamentable poverty." "*Caduti per la crudelta dei barbari Persiani in una somma e lagrimevole poverta.*" Those papers were shown to the Ambassador, who granted pecuniary relief.

The *Muhharrem* or first month of the Muhammedan year commenced on Friday the 17th of January. On this day, or rather on the night immediately preceding it⁽¹⁹⁾, the

(18) *Selmás* سلماس a city of *Azerbiján* near the lake of *Urmiah* ارومیه, or as it is twice named by *FIRDAUSI* in his *Sháh náme*, the *deryái Khanjesht* دریا خنجشت or "Lake of *Khanjesht*. The Geographer *HAMDALLAH* describes *Selmás* as a considerable city, of which the inhabitants were (in his time) Muhammedans of the *Sunni* sect, and always at war with the *Curds*, their neighbours. To the adjacent Lake of *Khanjesht* he assigns a circumference of forty-four farsangs.

(19) The Persians seem to consider the evening before an *ide* عید or festival, as, in fact, the beginning of it; thus although their Sabbath is properly Friday, they suppose it to commence at sunset the day before; this reminds us of *Genesis*, ch. I. v. 5. "and the evening and the morning were the first day."

Persians began to celebrate those doleful rites by which they commemorate the death of HUSEIN, the son of ALI, and grandson of their prophet. These solemnities continue ten days (styled in Arabick *ushúr* عشر from the number عشر ten) on each of which a portion of the melancholy story is publicly recited in the streets of every town, by priests and others, to crowds of people who express their sympathy and grief not only by groans and sighs, but by howls of very suspicious loudness; violent beating of breasts; rending of garments, and even tears, which many, by annual practice, have taught to flow at will. Individuals, lamenting events that happened in a distant country, above eleven hundred years before, appeared to have suffered the recent loss of a parent or a child, or to mourn some other private and domestic calamity; all affected a negligence in dress; a depression of countenance and a whining tone of voice in which they uttered frequently the ejaculation “*Yá Husein!* (يا حسين) *Yá Hassan!* (يا حسن)” with many direful imprecations on those concerned in the martyrdom of their favourite saints. But whatever some enthusiasts might have really felt, I knew two or three Persians who, in secret, laughed at this “mock-ery of wo,” although they seemed, externally, to participate in the general affliction.

Of this *Muhharrem* (for the solemnities are so denominated after the month) ten acts, performed on so many successive days, constitute, I believe, the only Persian exhibition that

can be styled dramatick; for we must not dignify with such an epithet the low buffoonery or the disgusting obscenity of gesticulation and language displayed, to amuse the vulgar and the profligate, by *lúties* and their boys. Those scenes describing the distresses of HUSEIN and his family, are called the *taazieh* (تعزية); three or four of them I saw imperfectly and accidentally; but was fortunate in witnessing with other gentlemen, by express invitation, two of the principal, complete, and represented in the best style; the first at MI'RZA' SHEFIA's house, the other in presence of the king. We were entertained by the prime minister, on the 23rd, at night, with a very interesting portion of the tragedy, which many Persians of high rank attended. Under a spacious tent or awning spread outside the windows and illuminated by torches, HUSEIN and his family were supposed to dwell; the women chiefly occupying a *takht* or raised platform made of boards; they and the men were clothed with much propriety in Arabian dresses. A *Múlá* who occasionally supplied the place of a chorus, began by chaunting in a solemn *recitativo* the general subject of this evening's act, from a written paper; the other performers, also, assisted their memory with a similar help. The principal circumstances were the marriage of SEKI'NAH (سكينة HUSEIN's daughter) and the death of KA'SEM (كاسم), who immediately after the nuptial ceremony, had been obliged to leave her, his cousin and his fair bride, to join in an attack upon the enemy, by whom he was slain. The representation consisted of what may be

termed several scenes, connected and explained by the recitation or chaunt of the *Múlá*. The *Arúsi* (عروسي) or wedding; the hostile challenge; the bridegroom's farewell; his departure on horseback, accompanied by many warriors fully armed and clad in coats of mail; his mangled corpse brought back from the field of battle by his friends, and the women's lamentation over it. Although the lovely *SEKI'NAH* was personated by an impudent boy and the elder female characters by men, while the books or papers which they held, tended to dissipate any illusion, yet some incidents and expressions in the course of this simple drama, proved exceedingly affecting; and I could give credit to *MI'RZA' SHEFIA* and a few other spectators for the sincerity of their tears. On the court walls and on the roof of an adjacent building, twenty or thirty women and young girls had assembled; and from my seat in the open window I distinctly heard them sobbing in melancholy sympathy with the widowed bride, and, suddenly, tittering at the awkward motions of those men who represented the female personages.

But the grand catastrophe, the death of *HUSEIN*, was reserved for the 25th, when we saw it acted at the palace in the *Meidán* or square, which exhibited more valuable decorations than, probably, ever graced an European theatre; for the king had lent on this occasion, thousands of his most precious and brilliant jewels; he beheld the exhibition from room over the gateway, close to which a tent had been

pitched on the walls and carpets spread for the Ambassador and his party. There we took our places, about noon; enjoying a perfect view of the square which was lined with musketeers, *yeshouls* or constables, *ferúshes* and other royal servants; its walls being covered with many hundreds of women, mostly wrapped from head to foot in their white *chadders*. A space of ground, enclosed and divided by a canvass *seráperdeh*, represented the habitations of HUSEIN, his family and the few brave companions that remained faithful to him; the scene was the desert of *Kerbelá*; here, during nine days they had supported a miserable existence, surrounded by their enemies, the ferocious troops of YEZID, who interposed between them and the Euphrates, obstructed every supply of water from that river, or the wells in their vicinity; and thus involved them in all the anguish of excessive thirst.

This act commenced with a solemn procession, some men carrying on their shoulders the prophet's coffin or *tábút* (تابوت); on this hung a pall of gold-embroidered cloth blazing with the lustre of diamonds, emeralds and rubies; next was led before us the horse of ALI AKBAR (HUSEIN's eldest son recently killed) or of KA'SEM (his nephew before mentioned). A thousand arrows appeared to bristle in this noble steed; the inner garment lately worn by its unfortunate rider, was then displayed; pierced in many places and stained with blood. Now the colloquial part begins, recited or chaunted, as at the former exhibition, from written papers; the women

address many pathetic speeches to the arrow-stricken horse ; and utter loud lamentations at sight of the bloody garment ; their distress, meanwhile, arising from the want of water, becomes intolerable. One hero gallantly undertakes to procure them relief ; he sallies forth ; is opposed, fights bravely, but is overpowered and slain. ABBA'S, the brother of HUSEIN, then resolves to try the perilous adventure ; he clothes himself in complete mail ; girds on his scymetar ; grasps his lance, departs amidst the benedictions of his grateful friends, and having succeeded in filling a leathern *meshek* at the river, fights back his way through crowds of foes, but is intercepted, wounded, and deprived of the water, just as he brings it within view of those who so much want it. HUSEIN himself at length prepares to go ; his sister ZEINEB (زينب), his daughter SEKI'NAH and his infant son, endeavour by their tears, entreaties and forebodings to dissuade him from this enterprise of desperation. A herald of the enemy is introduced with due form ; he proposes terms ; HUSEIN indignantly rejects them ; and his charger is led out. The women renew their solicitations with much weeping ; some faithful warriors offer to devote themselves for his safety ; but convinced that Providence has already decreed whatever must befall the son of ALI and of FA'TIMAH (daughter of the prophet) he declares his intention of rushing amidst the hostile ranks. Next appear the *Jinn* (جن) or *genii*, whose chief the *Sháh e Jinn* expresses his readiness to assist him ; he with thanks, declines any supernatural aid, unless immediately

from God. The little *genii* then pay homage to HUSEIN and kiss the feet of his horse; he rides forth; many cavaliers are seen galloping about the plain in coats of iron mail, with shields and lances; quivers full of arrows and bows in cases. HUSEIN is environed by the soldiers of YEZID, and taken prisoner, dismounted and beheaded with a *khanjar* or long knife, by SHAMER (شم). The tent of HUSEIN is demolished and burnt; his women seized and carried off in black *cavahs* on camels; and finally, a lion comes from the desert and scatters earth on the dead bodies, and on some detached heads of those who had been martyred in the holy cause. Thus ended the tragedy: for a subsequent scene which I shall hereafter notice, did not appear materially connected with the death of HUSEIN.

I was exceedingly gratified by this performance; for it not only conveyed a most accurate idea of the Arabian dress and mode of warfare, but filled the imagination with a picture which, in many respects, I am inclined to think, represented not unfaithfully, our own age of chivalry. The introduction of heralds; the challenges of knights, if so may be styled the Saracenic warriors; their single combats; their military pomp and array; coats of mail, shields, lances and banners; the armour and caparisons of their horses, and many other circumstances, seemed to me almost exactly such as I had seen delineated in our emblazoned Romances, and other illuminated Manuscripts which describe the manners and customs

of European nations soon after the crusades⁽²⁰⁾. As on the former occasion, young men and boys were clothed like females; but the reader has, perhaps, wished to inquire under what form the *genii* appeared. They were children, probably nine or ten years old, dressed in black garments, their faces, heads and shoulders being covered with red handkerchiefs; all held drawn swords; their chief, the *Sháh e Jinn* or “king of the Genii” was taller than the others; he wore armour, carried a bow, quiver and shield, and had, like his attendants, a red handkerchief thrown over his head. A person in the skin of a wild beast, moving awkwardly on his hands and knees, performed the part of a generous lion, by scattering dust on the martyr’s bodies; and the heads which at first seemed waxen or wooden, and sticking in the ground, I perceived, on a second glance to be animated; the eyes and lips moving; they appertained to men who from enthusiasm in the cause, had voluntarily submitted to a partial interment, and remained above three hours thus buried to the chins in earth. Some Russian prisoners had been hired, or compelled, to represent the soldiers of YEZID; and, on the death of HUSEIN, could scarcely escape by galloping at full speed, from a shower of stones, which the mob pelted at them in rage against the enemies of their saint; SHAMER, by whom he was decapitated,



(20) This dramatick celebration of the *Muharrem* was instituted in the middle of the tenth century, by SULTA'N MOEZAD'DOULAH. (See D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.*, in *Aschour*). The first crusade was undertaken near the close of the eleventh.

suffered more especially from the violence of their fury; and I saw him receive many hearty blows and kicks, amidst innumerable execrations. At length appeared the prophet's coffin or *tábút*; and in the procession were led some horses richly adorned with the king's jewels; one particularly, of which the face was almost covered by a splendid mask or veil composed chiefly of diamonds; two men, held under this horse's head a large and fine white shawl, to catch any of the precious ornaments that might become loose.

After this a very extraordinary dance was performed by eighty or an hundred athletick men, of whom several were naked to the waist; some held in their hands swords and long-bladed knives, and had either actually cut themselves (as is generally the case) in different parts of the body, or had with paint, exceedingly well imitated on their skins, the appearance of bleeding wounds. A certain tune regulated the measure of this dance under the direction of a man who, beating time with a wand, chaunted all the while in a loud voice the praises of MUHAMMED and his family, particularly of A'LI whom he frequently invoked by the exclamation "*Ai Shír-i-Khudá!*" (ای شیر خدا) Oh! lion of God!" Several among the dancers joined in this hymn or song, striking together in perfect cadence, two pieces of hard wood, each in size and shape like the half of a large orange; the action was violent, although they did not rise very high from the ground, rather jumping forward, with one leg advanced before the other, and then

retreating suddenly; but there were a few, who passed between the others, according to a regular and preconcerted movement; the manly figures of those actors, the clashing of swords and daggers, the striking together of the wooden pieces, and the chaunting of their hymn or song, in which several females raised their voices, induced me to imagine that this performance, partly religious and military, might resemble, in some respects, the Salian dance among the ancient Romans.

A pompous and tedious enumeration of the king's titles, with many benedictions, closed this entertainment, and we returned to our houses through streets and *bázárs*, where all the shops were shut, and but few persons visible. Two fellows, however, having on the way, insulted Mr. Sharp, were reprov'd by ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N; they then directed their insolence against him for espousing the cause of a *Sag-i-Farangki* (سک فرنگی) "a Christian dog, or an European;" next morning they were brought by an *yesáwal* (یساول) or constable, to the Ambassador's gate, where some stout *ferashes* immediately inflicted thirty or forty blows on the naked soles of their feet. An attempt had been made to substitute a poor and innocent stranger for one of those offenders, the handsome and impudent favourite of some great man; but our servants knew the real culprits, who had been repeatedly guilty of insulting the English gentlemen.

During several days of January the weather proved mild and fine; on others it was cloudy and tempestuous; much

rain and snow fell. The Thermometer from noon to two or three o'clock was generally up to 45, 46, 47, and (twice) to 48.

On the second of February at noon I proceeded to the palace, followed by a considerable number of *firáshes* and other servants, carrying on *khúnchehs* (خونچه) or trays, various presents from the Ambassador to the King; shawls, lace veils, pieces of cloth, watches, guns, a service of fine china; very beautiful cut-glass chandeliers and lustres; two bottles of cinnamon oil; English gun-powder, telescopes, and other things. I was accompanied by ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, and received at the palace gate by the *Amín ad douleh*, two or three other noblemen, a treasurer and gentleman-usher of ceremonies, who all very carefully perused the list of presents, which the Ambassador had written; they then conducted me into the court opposite a small *tálár*, or open fronted room, where the king was seated, plainly dressed in a dark coloured coat and holding in his hands a string of pearl beads; after several obeisances ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N and I were directed to advance within five or six yards of the *tálár*. The usher then proclaimed "that the *Ilchi* (ایلچی) or Ambassador had sent his "brother to the foot of the throne with offerings for the sovereign of the world." Then a *píshkash nevís* (پیشکش نویس) or "Registrar of presents," read with a loud voice the catalogue of articles, which, at this time, the *firáshes* were employed in bringing into the court, and placing before the king; who looking at me, graciously said *khúshámedi* (خوشامدی) "you are wel-

“come,” and *bíá pish*, (بیا پیش) “come forward;” I advanced a little and he inquired with much kindness after the Ambassador’s health; paid me some compliments on understanding Persian, and on having translated (as he had heard) fifty manuscripts into English; and after a few minutes conversation during which the presents were not mentioned, he, by a slight inclination of his head, made the signal for my retiring. **ABU’L HASSAN KHA’N** attended me to the door, but returned to superintend the more minute inspection of each separate article that had been sent. Although most of these were rare and valuable and to hundreds who saw them in the outer courts must have been objects of admiration (as was afterwards acknowledged); yet not one Persian ventured either to praise or disparage; because the king had not hitherto expressed his opinion, according to which theirs must be always regulated.

I remarked on this occasion, as on former visits, in all the outer passages and squares of the palace a strange confusion of common fellows; soldiers, *ferúshes*, and others among whom the ministers and *kháns*, when wrapped in *báránís* (بارانی) or “rain coats” were chiefly distinguished by the shawls twisted round their caps; but from that inner court where the king actually sat, this multitude was excluded; there prevailed solemn ceremony; and, until the usher had been authorised to speak, most perfect silence.

We frequently amused ourselves with excursions to the neighbouring villages, and in seeking hares, snipes, wild-pigeons and partridges, on the plain and amongst rocks and marshes near the ruins of *Raï* (ري); a city which by its ancient magnitude and celebrity, is fully entitled to our consideration, and claims some pages here as a memorial.

It has been already mentioned that we passed among considerable ruins on our approach towards *Tehrán*, from which they are not distant in some places above four miles, although extending, in different directions, more than twice as far; the plain at least is irregularly covered, for a considerable space, with tumular masses of clay, and fragments of brick-built edifices representing, most inadequately, that venerable city of which the name as written by Greek geographers, *Rhaga*, or *Rhageia*, may be easily discovered in the modern softened pronunciation of *Raï*; while local circumstances sufficiently indicate it to be the *Rhages* described by Arrian, whose words I shall hereafter have occasion to quote⁽²¹⁾. It appears contemporary with Nineveh and Ecbatana, in the book of Tobit; which, though of apocryphal authority among the biblical records, must be considered as an ancient composition, and

(²¹) By some obscure writers the name of *Rhages* or *Rages*, has been corruptly given to that city of Mesopotamia, which the Arabians called *Roha* رها, or with the article الرها *Ar-roha*, and the Greeks *Calli-rhoe* Καλλιρων and *Edessa* Εδεσσα — "sic etiam apud Albertum Aquensem, apud Villernum Tyrium et Oliverium Scholasticum in historia "regum Terræ Sanctæ *Rhages* et *Ragès*," &c. See Bayer's "Historia Osrhoena et Edessena ex numis illustrata." (Petrop. 1734, p. 12).

That *Ragau*, noticed in the book of Judith (ch. 1. v. 15), is the *Rages* of Tobit, I am inclined, after some hesitation, to believe with two learned writers⁽²²⁾; how far that book may be regarded as historical authority my present object does not lead me to inquire; it is merely quoted on this occasion as, at least, a work of respectable antiquity⁽²³⁾.

(²²) The Syriac version of Judith (Walton's Polyglott. Vol. IV) has *Dura* (ܕܘܪܐ) for *Ragau* (ܪܓܐ) in the fifth verse (of chap. I) which is thus rendered according to our English bibles; "Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king

Rhages is memorable for the halt of Alexander during five days; when, having so far traced Darius, he there, as Arrian relates, desisted from the pursuit; a circumstance which may be dated in the year 331 before Christ⁽²⁴⁾. After this mention of *Rhages* we are surprised on finding the original construction (κτίσμα, εκτισμένη) of *Rhageia* and *Rhaga*, ascribed by Strabo (Lib. XI. c. 18), and Stephanus Byzantius, (in Παγα) to Seleucus (Nicator), who accompanied, and survived Alexander; and was first monarch of the dynasty called from him Seleucidan. This appearance of anachronism has induced Bochart (Sacr. Geogr. Lib. II. cap. 14), Vaillant (Arsacid. Imper. Arsaces II), and other ingenious writers

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“Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.” From the Syriac therefore it would appear (unless we suppose one name erroneously written for another) that those ancient monarchs first contended in the plain of *Dura*, and that Arphaxad was afterwards taken and slain “in the mountains of *Ragau* ;” for so we read in the twelfth verse of ch. 1. according to the Syriac translation. Whoever composed the book of Judith. is severely treated by Ludovicus Cappellus, as a “nugator” and “fabulator ;” he styles him “hominem plane infantem et stupidum,” &c. and accuses him of a geographical error in describing the plain of *Ragau* as situate near the Euphrates and Tigris (Comment. in Vet. Testam. p. 577. Amst. 1689). But this we also find in the latin Vulgate ; “Nabuchodonosor Rex Assyriorum qui regnabat in “Nineve civitate magna, pugnavit contra Arphaxad et obtinuit eum in campo magno “qui appellatur Ragau, circa Euphratem et Tigrim ;” (Judith 1. 6). The Greek Septuagint and our English version are free from this error.

⁽²⁴⁾ Alexander arrived at *Rhages* (or *Rai*) on the eleventh day of his march from Ecbatana (or *Hamadán*) ; and *Rhages*, adds the historian, is distant from the Caspian Straits, a journey of one day, to those who travel with the same expedition that Alexander used in leading on his troops ; Και αφικνεται ες Παγας ενδεκατη ημερα. Διεχει δε ο χωρος οστος απο των Κασπιων πυλων οδον ημερας μιας ελαυνοντι ως Αλεξανδρος ηγ. (Arrian, de Exped. Alexand. Lib. III. c. 20).

to offer an emendation or correction of the Greek geographer's words in their respective versions of the passages to which I allude; and for *founded* they would read, as more accurate, *repaired*, *restored*, or *rebuilt*. We find *Rhages* one of the *Heparchies* or prefectures of Media, and furnishing the principal winter quarter to Antigonus's army (about the year before Christ 314 or 315); as we learn from Diodorus Siculus; "τους δε στρατιωτας επιδιειλεν εις απασαν την σιτραπειαν, "και μαλιστα εις την επιρχιαν την προσαγορευομενην Ραγας." (Lib. xix.)

This city, to whomsoever its origin may be due, Nicator denominated *Europos* according to Strabo (Lib. XI, c. 18), who adds that the Parthians call it *Arsakia*. "Raga," says Stephanus of Byzantium (in Ραγα), "was named *Europos*; and afterwards *Arsake* (or *Arsace*) from Arsaces "king of the Persians;" him we are authorised to believe the second Arsacidan Monarch, or *Tiridates*, entitled the great; who died after a long and honourable reign, two hundred and seventeen years before Christ⁽²⁵⁾.

(25) We find on various medals of the Arsacidan kings, bearing Greek legends, the initial letter A denoting that the place of coinage was *Arsacia*. Vaillant has engraved and described a brass medal of his own collection, which exhibits the head of Artabanus the fourth, (last monarch of the Parthian race) with the numeral characters ΠΥ; besides the initial A of *Arsacia*. Having ascertained by the numerals that this coin was struck in the year 480 of the Arsacidan era, (or of Christ 224) he seems to consider it as, perhaps, the latest of its class; the monarch whose image it bears having been overthrown soon after, and his dynasty in Persia extinguished. This is not among the coins of Vaillant respecting which Corsini, Frœlich, Pellerin, Eckhel and others have expressed some doubts.

But the ancient name was not forgotten ; and seems in the second century of our era to have resumed its right. Athenæus (Lib XII) informs us that the Parthian kings made *Rhages* their place of residence during the vernal season; and Isidorus Characenus describes *Raga* as greatest of the Median cities; (ων μεγιστη των κατα την Μηδιαν η Ραγα. *Mansiones Parthicæ*) ; among which he also enumerates *Charax*; this, however, and *Rhagea* are placed by Ptolemy in *Parthia*, while he assigns *Europus* and *Arsacia* to *Media*, and, even distinguishes these, one from the other, by the difference of longitude and latitude⁽²⁶⁾. Pliny (vi. 25) classes *Europus* and *Arsacia* among the cities of *Parthia*; and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii) speaks of them as belonging to *Media*. This separation, distinction or confusion, has been noticed by Bochart (*Geogr. Sacr.* II. 14) and others; that most learned critick also Saumaise, (*Salmas. Plin. Exerc.* c. LV) pronounces *Ragæ*, *Arsace* and *Europus* to be the same; and this opinion is adopted by D'Anville and our best modern geographers. The difficulty of reconciling those apparent inconsistencies will perhaps be removed, when we consider that the Arsacidan kings very soon overstepped the narrow limits prescribed to their original country by nature, and extended the Parthian sceptre over eighteen great provinces, among which were *Media the upper*, and *Media* (surnamed from the

(²⁶) According to his fifth table of Asia, however, (Lib. VI. c. 2) *Ragiane* (Ραγιανη) is properly placed in *Media*; *Raghan* appears to have been an ancient Persick name for *Rai*; (See Anquetil's "*Zendavesta*;" (Tome I. part 2. p. 269).

city) *Rhagian*⁽²⁷⁾; thus becoming so powerful as to vie in dominion with the Roman rulers of the west, while they themselves governed the eastern world⁽²⁸⁾. It does not there-

(²⁷) *Pariaue*, *Ratiane*, according to the manuscript of Isidorus Characenus, altered into *Matiana* by the translator, in Hudson's Minor. Geogr. Vol. II. p. 6. But I have already indicated (see note 26) a division of Media called *Ragiane* by Ptolemy; and remarked that *Raghan* is said to have been the old Persian name of *Rai*; and readily adopt Salmasius's correction of the *Ratiana* or *Matiana* in Isidore's work, above quoted; reading with that critic *Ragiana*; "Duæ Mediæ—superior et inferior, quæ "et *Payiaue* dicta ab oppido Rhagis," &c. (Plinian. Exercit. cap. LV).

(²⁸) *Και νυν επαρχουσι τοσαυτης γῆς, και τοσουτων εθνων ως τε αντιπαλοι των Ρωμαίων τροπον τινα γενομασι κατα μεγεθος της αρχης*, (Strabo, Lib. XI. 12) "Parthi penes quos, "velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta, nunc Orientis imperium est," &c. (Justin. Lib. XLI. cap. 1). Even with this equal division they do not seem to have been always contented; but, (in the words of an ingenious historian) "the twang of their "bow-strings sounded as far as Rome, and (as the Roman writers confess) frequently "struck a terror into the capital of the world." See Lewis's "History of the Par- "thian Empire," &c. Oct. Lond. 1728; pref. p. 1. TABRI like Justin above quoted, divides the world between the Parthians (or *Ajem*), and the Romans or Greeks (*Iunânian*). "Know," says he, "that after the death of Alexander *Dhu'l Kernein*, or "the two horned, all the Greeks of his army returned to Greece, and the world was "divided into two portions. From the banks of the Tigris (or *Dejleh*) on this side to "the river Oxus (*Jaihûn*), on the borders of *Turkestân* or Scythia, all was under the "Parthian dominion;" he then enumerates the provinces, *Irâk*, *Bâbel*, *Isfahân*, *Kuhes- tân*, *Râi*, *Jebâl*, *Tabristân*, *Gurkân* and *Khurasân*, forming that great empire; all these, adds he, belonged to the *Molûk tavâye* (ملوك طوائف) or kings of various tribes; there being "a king in every city, and a nobleman or chief in every village;" (بهر شهری ملکی و بهر دهی مهتری) each independent of the other. But on the western side from the Tigris, part of *Irâk*, as far as *Mausul*, *Jezrah* (or Mesopotamia) *Cûfah*, *Bâdich*, or the desert, *Shâm* or Syria, *Hejaz*, *Misr* or Egypt, *Iunân*, and *Lemen* (Arabia Felix) to the borders of *Maghreb* or Africa, were governed by *Iunânian* or Grecian sovereigns, the relations or partisans of Alexander. The first part of this quotation (to the word "dominion") is thus expressed in my oldest copy of TABRI's MS. Chronicle; and with little variation in the other three.

اکاه باش که از پس فوالقرن لشکراو از یونانیان همه باز یونان شدند و جهان بدو نیمه شد اما از لب دجله ازین سوی تا لب جیحون کجا حد ترک است همه مملکت بجم بودی

fore in such an instance as this, seem to me very surprising that foreign writers should confound two provinces immediately bordering, and subject to the same monarch; in Strabo's time many districts, even as far as the Caspian Straits, the Aragi and Tapuri, were reckoned portions of Parthia, though originally of Media⁽²⁹⁾. Orosius and Æthicus declare that the Media of Scripture was that country generally called Parthia⁽³⁰⁾.

If there still exist, among the ruins at *Rai*, any vestiges of those buildings that constituted the city in its most early age; or, if the works constructed by Seleucus and his Macedonian followers, (perhaps in the Grecian style of architecture) have not totally perished; the remnant escaped my research, and may be supposed hidden beneath those masses of brick and earth, which, as I have already mentioned, are seen scattered along the plain for several miles, at unequal intervals; some, possibly, the relicks of edifices, raised on substructures of more ancient and more beautiful workmanship, and of more solid materials. But whatever they may conceal, those heaps, like the fragments of walls interspersed among them,

(²⁹) Σχεδον δ' ἐτι, καὶ τὰ μεχρὶ Πύλων Κασπίων, καὶ Ἀράγων καὶ Ταπυρων, οὐτὰ τῆς Μηδαίας προτερον. (Lib. xi c. 12). With good reason Casaubon and others would for *Arhagi* read *Rhagi*, (dropping the first letter); and suppose that Strabo alludes to *Rhagæ*.

(³⁰) It is sufficient to quote one of those two writers, who agree, almost exactly, in their words on this occasion. Orosius (Lib. 1. cap. 2) says "Generaliter Parthia, "dicitur, quamvis Scripturæ Sanctæ universam sæpe Mediam vocant."

offer externally so little to gratify the eye, that of many delineations which I made in different points of view, the sketch engraved (plate LXV) uninteresting as it may be thought, seems least unworthy of being presented to the reader. He must, however, recollect, that I have hitherto alluded only to absolute ruins; for of *Rai*, the inhabited village, called *Sháh Abd al Aazím* (شاه عبد العظيم) is said, apparently with truth, to be a portion. This pleases the sight with its verdant gardens amidst the dreariness and desolation immediately around; it enjoys the benefits of a handsome old mosque, and the tomb of a celebrated Muhammedan saint; it possesses, also, what the profane may, perhaps, think almost as great a blessing, some baths, several shops, a *bázár*, and at least two *cáravanserás*; in which, though not much above four miles distant, it is usual for those who undertake a journey from *Tehrán* on the great southern or *Isfahán* road, to halt the first night; and, if pious *Muselmáns*, to solicit protection from the entombed saint before mentioned. This village of *Sháh Abd al Aazím* seemed sufficiently populous for its size; containing probably from three to four hundred families, or even more according to some calculations. Here are still shown the remains of a tower, from which, as tradition relates, the reports of victories, or other auspicious tidings, were communicated to the inhabitants of *Rai* by a red flag, displayed on its summit; but this building does not exhibit any marks of remote antiquity.

Reverting to the ruins, we may perhaps consider as among the most ancient, those ramparts and turrets on a rocky

mountain that closes and commands the plain at its Eastern extremity, offering a situation so favourable for defence, and so well circumstanced with respect to water, that those who first fortified *Rhages*, *Rageia*, or *Rai*, whether before or after Alexander's visit, must naturally have availed themselves of its local advantages in the erection of a citadel. To this fortress the walls which I have delineated in the sketch (Pl. LXV), evidently belonged, and they now bear the name of *Kalaa-i-Rai*, (قلعه رای) "the castle or citadel of *Rai*"⁽³¹⁾. Those walls and towers are constructed of brick and clay; the lower parts being in a few places fronted and strengthened with stone. But of whatever age may be the materials of those buildings, or of the tumular masses that appear scattered for many miles along the plain; or whatever treasures of remote antiquity may be concealed within those heaps; one object only, among all that I examined, can with certainty be pronounced a work of art more ancient than the *Muhammedan* era.

This is a sculptured tablet which, until discovered by Mr. Gordon, no European traveller seems to have observed. It

⁽³¹⁾ But in the sketch is comprehended a small part only of those fortifications; as they extend considerably both on the plain, and over the rugged sides and summit of the hill; which is said by tradition to derive many of its asperities and inequalities from earthquakes, here in former times very frequent, and often overwhelming the inhabitants of *Rai* beneath the ruins of their own houses. This local tradition is supported by the authority of Persian writers, and tends to confirm what Diodorus (XIX) and Strabo (XI) have said respecting those convulsions and abruptions of the earth, (παγας, παγεις) from which *Rhages*, according to them, derived its name.

is carved in the usual manner of the *Sassanian* ages, on a face of the natural rock or mountain imperfectly squared and smoothed for the purpose; its situation among the ruined walls of the old castle will appear from the first sketch (pl. LXV); and in the second I have delineated its sculpture more particularly from a near inspection, having ascended to it by a fissure of the hill on the right side. It represents an equestrian figure, which from the strong resemblance to heads on medals, and other likenesses of SHA'PU'R, especially those at the place bearing his name, I do not hesitate to declare a memorial of that vain monarch⁽³²⁾. That it commemorated the victory obtained over Artabanus, or ARDAVA'N, last *great* sovereign of the Arsacidan dynasty, (for under him several petty princes entitled kings, (see note 28) governed in distant provin-

.....

(32) He appears of the human size; advancing at full gallop to close combat; armed with a spear of which, according to relative proportion, the shaft nearly equals his wrist in thickness; a quiver hangs by his right thigh; the globular ornament of SHA'PU'R's crown, so conspicuous on his medals and on other monuments, is here also visible. But the whole sculpture, though not deficient in spirit of design, is indistinct; and to me seemed rather an unfinished work, than one that had been defaced either by violence of man, or the gradual decomposition of the stone. The artist perhaps abandoned his undertaking, having found the rock not favourable to more minute execution. Of the antagonist, whom it was most probably intended that SHA'PU'R should transfix with his lance, the form does not appear to have been ever traced; and of his horse, the head only can be discerned, in faint relief. Over the tablet which contains the Persian monarch's figure is a square of smaller dimensions (see pl. LXV) and seemingly adapted for an inscription; but I could not perceive on it the vestiges of any letters. My sketch comprehends, what indeed was scarcely worth delineation, the second horse's head; it would otherwise have been rendered superfluous by Mr. Morier's excellent drawing of SHA'PU'R's figure, (*Trav.* Vol. II. p. 190). This sculpture is at the distance of about five miles nearly S. S. E. from *Tehrán*.

ces); I was induced on the first examination to suspect, as *Rai* appears to have been his capital; and, according to various manuscript records, he was slain in a battle near that city⁽³³⁾. But one seeming incongruity opposed itself against my first conjecture. The defeat of Artabanus (A. D. 226) is ascribed by all writers, Grecian, Rōman and Oriental, to Artaxerxes, called also Artaxares, or ARDASHI'R; and from the loose phraseology of many Persian historians it might almost be infer-

(33) The MS. *Tārīkh Guzīdān* informs us that "ARDASHI'R, proceeded to fight with ARDAVA'N and slew him after the battle, in the vicinity of *Rai*, (or a little on the "outside of that city"). و بجنگ اردوان آمد و او را بر ظاهری بعد از محاربه بکشت. The same terms respecting the scene of action ظاهر ري are used in the MSS *Lubb al Tu'arikh* and *Tarikh Kipchak Khāni*. According to MIRKHOND'S MS. *Rauzet al sefa*, the battle was fought on a plain called *Hormuzjān* (محرای هرمزان); and so we read in most copies of TABRI'S MS. chronicle, from which MIRKHOND seems to have learned the name; this, however, in one copy of KHONDEMI'S MS. *Uabib al Seir* is written *Hormuzān* (محرأ هرمزان), probably through mistake. The plain we might suppose connected with *Hormuz* in *Kirmān*, or with *Rām Hormuz* in *Khūzistān*; but such an association can scarcely be accommodated to the direction of ARDASHI'R'S marches; for having subdued, says TABRI, many princes in the south he sent a messenger to ARDAVA'N, king of *Jebāl* (the province in which *Rai* is situated) challenging him to fight at a certain time on the plain above mentioned. He then advanced from *Pārs*, and at the place appointed defeated ARDAVA'N, after which victory he proceeded to *Hamadān*; or, as FIRDAUSI says, returned to *Pārs*. It is not by any means probable that the Parthian monarch would consent to meet his rival in a place so distant from the seat of his own immediate government as *Rām Hormuz* in *Susiana*, or *Hormuz* in *Carmania*, at the extremity of Persia; and that the battle was fought near *Rai*, his capital, appears from FIRDAUSI who mentions the troops at that city; (ز لشکر هر آنکس که شد سوی ري) and represents ARDASHI'R as going immediately after the victory to ARDAVA'N'S palace "in which he remained one month or "two months;" (به ایوان او بود تا یکدوماه) and then "the illustrious hero directed "his course from *Rai* to *Pārs*, (سوی پارس آمد ز ري نا بجري). In a preceding line of the *Shāh nāmeh* we learn that ARDASHI'R had gone, when a child, to the court of king ARDAVA'N at *Rai*, (بدرگاه شاه اردوان شد بري).

red that the Parthian Monarch fell by his conqueror's hand. Yet the crown represented in this sculpture, the hair, the dress and figure of the personage wearing them, so plainly indicated SHA'PU'R, that for a moment I accused the artist of having flattered him at the expense of his father ARDASHI'R, or of having given to the father, his son's form and attributes. But it soon appeared to me, certain that the figure was SHA'PU'R's, whomsoever the artist intended for his antagonist⁽³⁴⁾; that prince, according to TABRI, led the van of his father's army in a most memorable conflict of which, not improbably, the scene was near this spot where now we behold the sculpture; and slew with his own hand DA'RBENDA'D (داربند or DA'RBEND) the *Vazir* and chief general of ARDAVA'N. Yet I do not believe that the monuments of SHA'PU'R's glory were designed to represent him engaged in personal combat with any foe less illustrious than a sovereign. One copy of TABRI's chronicle might be supposed to imply, that SHA'PU'R actually slew ARDAVA'N; against this statement, however, there is a multiplicity of manuscript authorities, according to which the Parthian monarch was either killed by some unknown adversary in the promiscuous rout;

⁽³⁴⁾ The *Rhagian* sculpture may be regarded as one of those monuments by which SHA'PU'R hoped to perpetuate, through various regions, the fame of his personal valour, and of his distant conquests; nor does it seem necessary to suppose that this memorial celebrated a combat fought immediately on or near the spot; his triumph over Valerian, we have already seen commemorated in the vicinity of *Cázerún* (Vol. I p. 285) and at *Durábgird* (Vol. II. p. 146); places very distinct one from the other, and both widely separate from Edessa, the real scene of that Roman Emperor's defeat.

or by ARDASHI'R himself; or at his command after the battle, and in his presence, by the ignoble hand of an executioner⁽³⁵⁾.

We must now consult a few notices respecting Rai found in Eastern geographical manuscripts. The *Sûr al heldân* (written in the tenth century) describes it as more abundantly supplied with the necessities and luxuries of life than any other city between *Irâk* and *Khurâsân*. From *Baghdâd* eastward none exceeded it in size, except *Nîshâpûr*; but Rai was better peopled; it occupied a square of one farsang and a half, the houses being mostly constructed of clay; some of brick and

(³⁵) Many Persian historians merely state that ARDAVA'N was defeated in battle by ARDASHI'R, and slain: thus BEIZA VI says. اردشیر با بکان ویر هلاک کرد. BENA'KETI اورا بقتل رساند. SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI اردوان بقتل آمد. MI'RKHOND اورا هلاک کرد. در حرب اردشیر کشته شد. BAKHTA'VEŖ KHA'N says that ARDAVA'N شد. But TABRIZ relates that ARDASHI'R having pursued and overtaken ARDAVA'N, slew him; then alighted from his horse and dashed out the fallen monarch's brains with his *gurz* (گرز) or mace, as one MS. relates; or as another, by kicking him with both feet on the head. و لگد بر سر و همیزد بر نوپای تا مغرش از سر بیرون آمد. That rare MS. the *Mujmal al Tuwârikh* describes ARDASHI'R's conduct as still more barbarous; for "when in battle he had killed ARDAVA'N with his own hand, he drank of his blood, and trampled on his neck, having crushed his head with blows."

و چون اردشیر اورا بدست خویش بکشت اندر حرب خوش بخورد و بر گردنش بایستاد بعد از آنک سرش بکند پست کرد

FIRDAUSI however informs us that, overwhelmed with a shower of arrows, ARDAVA'N was seized by a warrior named KHERA'D or KHERA'M, as in one copy of the *Nâmah*, (بدست یکی مرد خرد نام), and led captive before ARDASHI'R, (بدشیر) (بدتر حیم فرمود شاه اردشیر) (جهانگیری بدش اسیر) to cut him in two at the waist with his *khanjar* or long knife. (نخنجر میانش بد. یم کن). I shall not here endeavour to reconcile these accounts with the *Apraßavon mei avatpei tou βασιλεα* of Agathias, (Lib. II.) nor the *αποκτείνει* of Herodian, (Lib. VI.) nor with what other writers, Greek and Latin, have recorded on this subject.

mortar; in another passage *Nishápúr* itself is not excepted; for we read that “from *Irák* to the eastern extremity of *Islám*, “or the regions inhabited by *Muselmáns*, there is not any city “larger or more opulent and flourishing than *Rai*.”

و از عراق تا آخر شهرها اسلام از طرف مشرق هیچ شهری معمورتر و خیر و خصب و مال و نعمت اهل آن بیشتر و بزرگتر از ری نیست

But even then the greater portion of *Rai* was in a state of ruin; بیشتر آن شهر خراب است. The remainder of this description so nearly agrees with *EBN HAUKAL*'s words that a reference to the printed “*Oriental Geography*” (p. 176) of that traveller will here suffice. It may be observed that the MS. *Súr al beldán* adds some titles of pious *Muselmáns* entombed at *Rai*; a circumstance which I should not have noticed, but that among them is enumerated *ABD AL AAZI'M*, the saint before mentioned (p. 181) whose monument is held in superstitious veneration, and occupies what a Persian on the spot assured me was traditionally regarded as the very centre of the ancient city; while this holy personage's name is now, almost exclusively, bestowed on all that remains inhabited of *Rhages*, *Rageia* or *Rai*.

*Such was the state of this venerable capital in the tenth century of our era, and the nineteenth or twentieth from the date of its foundation, according to Persian geographers, who relate that it was first built by king *HU'SHANG* eight or nine hundred years before Christ. In the MS. *Athár al belád*, or *Seir al belád* (Clim. IV) an account of *Rai* is given by *ZACARIA*

who lived in the thirteenth century. He mentions HU'SHANE as its founder; but adds that some have ascribed its origin to RÁZ (راز) the son of KHURASA'N; hence a person of this place is denominated Rázi رازی⁽³⁶⁾. The adjoining mountain contains mines of gold, as report states, but the profit of working them was not equivalent to the trouble and expense; this mountain, called *Tabarrak* (تبرک) is a naked rock without any verdure. The inhabitants of *Rai*, says ZACARIA, construct their houses so that the entrances should be extremely contracted, dark and difficult; for numerous bodies of troops are constantly passing through this great city on their march to different provinces; if hostile they proceed at once in search of plunder; and even if soldiers of the friendly side, they rush into houses and commit violent acts of insolence and outrage. In the wells at *Rai*, precious jewels and pieces of gold coin are frequently discovered; the remains of treasures formerly buried⁽³⁷⁾; for this city has always been the residence of power-

(36) A tradition noticed in the dictionary *Burhán Kátea* (under رازی) assigns the origin of this city to two royal brothers, RA'I and RA'Z; between whom it was agreed that the place should bear the name of one, and an inhabitant of it be called RA'ZI, in commemoration of the other.

(37) The MS. dictionary *Jehángíri* (in the word زاهمن *zahmen*) relates that a poor man who resided at *Rai* in a house called *Zahmen*, dreamed one night that he should find a treasure at Damascus; he immediately went to that city and wandered about for a considerable time; at length a person inquired his business there; and having heard of the dream, began to laugh and said, I also many years ago dreamed that a treasure was concealed in a certain house at *Rai* called *Zahmen*, but I placed no faith in such intimations; the poor Rázi immediately returned, dug up the ground in his

ful monarchs; and in the year 614 (A. D. 1217) some pits were opened which contained extraordinary *dinárs* (دينار عجميه) or golden coins, but of what ancient sovereigns could not be ascertained. This city has been repeatedly destroyed by war⁽⁵⁸⁾. It abounded with mulberries, figs and grapes, and yielded a kind of clay, exceedingly soft and pleasant, used in washing the head; (کلی که بان سرشویند و در غایت ملایمه باشد); and sent as a rarity to other places. The comb-makers of *Rai* excelled in their useful art; a particular sort of wood brought from *Tabristán* furnished them with materials. Two religious parties, both *Muselmán*, filled the city with discord, and sometimes quarrelled even to bloodshed.

The geographer HAMDALLAH relates that *Irák Aqjem* comprised forty cities and towns; four being preeminent; *Isfahán*, *Hamadán*, *Kum* and *Rai*. In praise of these he quotes some verses, concluding with an assertion that *Rai*

house, and found so much gold that he became an opulent citizen. ASJEDI (عسجدی) a poet of the eleventh century, thus alludes to this anecdote "I am going for a treasure from *Rai* to *Demeshk* like the proprietor of *Zahmen*."

من زری بهر کنجی سوی دہشک میروم همچو صاحب زہمن

(*) Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who flourished about 1160, (a century before ZACARIA), and visited Asia, informs us that "tis now about fifteen years since they (the northern Turks, or perhaps Calmucs) collected a most powerful army, and coming into Persia took the great city *Rai*, which they smote with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed, and carried back the spoil thereof with them to their deserts." (Gerrans's Translation of Rabbi Benjamin's Travels, p. 130, Lond. 1784).

was once unequalled throughout the whole world. A *tumán* (تومان) or district was denominated after it, and in this says he, there was not, formerly, any other city, but now (in the 14th century) *Rai* is ruined and *Verámín* (ورامین) represents it as the chief town. *Rai* has been styled from its antiquity the *Sheikh al belád* (شيخ البلاد) the venerable elder, or parent of cities; its air is warm, confined on the north side, and very impure; the water also is unwholesome; and the place has been afflicted with the plague. *Rai* was founded by the prophet Seth, augmented by king HU'SHANG, and repaired by MI'NU'CHHR. It was ruined, and again rebuilt; and became a city of great importance; in circumference its ramparts extend twelve thousand paces. "To
 " *Rai* belong many towns and territories; such as *Shahryár*,
 " *Sávek*h-belágh, the district of *Ghár* and of *Feshábúiah*, and
 " *Shahnám*, and *Siürkerrah*; all places well inhabited and
 " flourishing; *Rúdibár* of *Kesrán* also appertains to *Rai*; in
 " the time of *Gházán Khán* it was attached to *Rustumdár*.
 " The work entitled *Maajem al beldán* describes *Rai* as so extensive and populous during the reign of BAHRA'M GU'R, that it
 " was connected with *Isfahán* by the meeting of their respective
 " live gardens" (39). HAMDALLAH, after some particulars of

(39) و شهری ولایت و شهر بسیار در تحت دارد مثل شیرینار و ساوخ و بلاغ و ناحیه
 غار و ولایت فشابویه و شهرنم و صدیوقج همه معمور و آبادان و رودبار قصران نیز
 از توابع ری است و در عهد غزن خان تعلق به مستمدار گرفت در معجم البلدان آمده
 که ری در زمان بهرام گور چنان آبادان بود که باغستان ری و اصفهان بهم پیوسته بود

little interest, notices the two streams which supplied *Rai* with water; one on the western side from the district of *Tangjeh* (تنججه); the other running northward of the castle; he states that the inhabitants were a wine drinking, worthless and faithless race; thinking contemptuously of all but themselves; at length the population decayed, and during the Moghul invasion *Rai* was completely ruined (بکلی خراب شد); he adds, however, that under GHĀ'ZĀ'N KHĀ'N it was partly rebuilt and re peopled.

I shall next select some passages from the account of *Rai*, given by AMĪ'N AHMED, surnamed *Rāzī* (being a native of that city) in his MS. *Haft Aklīm* or "Seven Climates." Having noticed different reports concerning its foundation by RA'Z, HU'SHANG and SETH, he enumerates as existing at *Rai* in the time of AL MAHADI BILLAH, colleges and schools, 6,400; baths, 1,360; mosques, 46,400; water mills, 1,200; caravanscras, 12,700; *mināreh*s, (steeple or towers), 15,035; ice-houses, 450; *canāts* or subterraneous conduits of water, 13,091; besides rivers and other streams; the *mehillah*s (مهله) or districts of the city were 96; each containing 46 *kúcheh*s (کوچه), and in each *kúcheh* were 40,000 houses, besides 1,000 mosques; in each mosque were 1,000 lamps, of gold, silver,

.....

(MS. *Nuzhat al' Culúb*, Geogr. Sect. ch. 2). To confirm this most extravagant statement respecting the extent of *Rai* in BAHRA'M's time, our author might have quoted the verses of NĪZĀ'MĪ, already printed in this Volume, p. 114.

or other valuable materials; and these were lighted every night. Of inhabited houses "the aggregate number amounted to eight thousand thousand three hundred and ninety-six." و مجموع خانهای هشت بار هزار هزار و سیصد و نود و شش که مردم می نشستند

Our author notices the frequent depopulation and ruin of this city by the sword and by earthquakes, (ان شهر بقتل عام و زلزله ویران شده) and its restoration and flourishing state until the time of CHENGIZ KHA'N "when seven hundred thousand respectable persons suffered martyrdom there"^(*). He then celebrates the fertility of soil, and luxuriant crops, and admirable fruit with which God has favoured the land of *Rai*; but he abstains from further praises, fearing the charge of partiality towards his native city; but as good and evil may be found in all places, he acknowledges that the air and water of *Rai* were not reckoned salubrious; and that feverish agues prevailed there, but in a slight degree; he quotes some verses of KHA'KA'NI, and an anecdote relative to the unwholesomeness of *Rai*, borrowed from HAMDALLAH; and he defends the character of his compatriots from the accusations of that geographer and of others; and he concludes by informing us that his birth place having never recovered from the ruinous

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 (*) هفتصد هزار نفر از مردم صاحب اعتبار بدرجه شهادت رسیده اند The author probably exaggerates a massacre which deprived *Rai* of half its inhabitants in the year 1221, when the city was delivered up to CHENGIZ KHA'N's general by the *Shafei* sect; and he put to death almost every person professing the *Hanifi* doctrine, regarded by the other party as heretical.

visitation of CHENGIZ KHA'N's army, its rank as chief seat of government, had been divided between *Tehrán* and *Verámin*.

MI'RZA' SA'LEH in his brief MS. Journal, confesses that respecting the population of *Rai* much "has been said and "written not wholly free from the marvellous style; this place "was frequently thinned of its people by massacres and "overwhelmed by earthquakes, and became a scene of de- "solation, although it once contained sixty thousand thous- "and, six hundred and ninety-six inhabited houses"⁽⁴¹⁾.

But for allowing to this city a very ancient origin, the geo- graphers can adduce most respectable authority. TABRI informs us that king JEMSHÍ'D having fled from the usurper ZOHA'K was concealed at *Rai*; where also king MI'NU'CHEHR was born, as we learn from the same historian; these circum- stances refer us to the eighth century before Christ. In the seventh we find AFRA'SIA'B with his Scythian or *Turanian* warriors invading Persia; and of various memorable tran- sactions that occurred at this time, the scene is laid by FIR- DAUS at or near *Rai*. In this city AFRA'SIA'B triumphant first assumed the imperial crown of Persia (كلاه کیانی بسر برنیاد) as that poet says; and there he put to death his brother

.....
⁽⁴¹⁾ و آبادی ری حزنها گفته و نوشته اند که خالی از غرابتی نیست و ولایت مزبور چندی بار بقتل عام و زلزله خراب شده شصت هزار هزار و شش صد بود و شش خانه مسکون داشته

IGHRI'RETH (اغريرث) who had set at liberty some illustrious Persian captives, as we read in the MS. *Jamiau al hekáyât*. The works of FAZLALLAH CAZVI'NI', MI'RKHOND, his son KHONDEMI'R, SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI and other historians make frequent mention of *Rai* in the accounts of this period. To trace through a long succession of ages all the events for which it has been remarkable would dilate this chapter to a disproportionate extent. It must, however, be observed, that of Alexander's visit to Rhages (commemorated by a Greek writer quoted in p. 176) the Persians have an ancient tradition, rendered imperishable by their famous poet NIZA'MI, who in the twelfth century composed his extraordinary *Secander námeh* or history of the Macedonian conqueror.

Some of the preceding pages have shown that whether denominated Arsacia, Europus, Rageia or *Rai*, this city was a favourite residence of the Parthian kings, and may have been considered as their capital. Here, according to TABRI (the oldest Persian historian whom I can quote), ASHAK, (اشك) or Arsaces, a descendant from Darius, collected an army, and assisted by those petty princes (above mentioned p. 179, note 28), who had started into power on the death of Alexander, turned his arms successfully against ANTAKHASH (انطخاش) or Antiochus; and (about 256 years before Christ) was acknowledged by his numerous coadjutors, as their chief or sovereign, although each retained, independently, his territory and power with the title and semblance of royalty

This recognition of supremacy justified the Parthian monarchs in assuming or reviving the lofty title "king of kings," which appears on pieces of money stamped for the Macedonian colonies of their empire, with Greek inscriptions, many being coined at Arsacia or *Rai*; from the mint of which city probably issued other pieces, better adapted, in their legends and symbolical devices, to circulate among the Persians; there are now in my collection some silver coins of this class found near the ruins of *Rai* whilst I resided in their vicinity⁽⁴²⁾.

An extraordinary numismatical anecdote is involved in the history of this place and of a celebrated hero whom it produced; *BAHRA'M* (بهرام), called on account of his surprising strength, and the uprightness and *dryness* (or hardness) of his person, *chúbín* (چوبین), as if "formed of wood." He was descended, says *TABRÍ* "from the royal princes and chiefs of *Rai*, "and no man of his own time surpassed him in valour." The important services which as a general, he had rendered

(42) See two of these coins noticed in Vol. I. pp. 117, 285, 439; and delineated in the Misc. Pl. nos. 35 and 36. Two bronze coins, also of this class, from other collections, I have endeavoured to explain in a little essay before quoted, "Observations on some medals and gems," &c (Sect. VII). Respecting the Arsacidan coins bearing Greek legends, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ*, "king of kings," &c. See Vaillant's "*Arsacidarum Imperium sive Regum Parthorum Historia ad fidem numismatum accommodata*," &c. In saying that the Parthian monarchs revived a lofty title, I am authorized by Strabo (Lib. XV), who, describing the tomb of Cyrus, informs us that according to Onesicritus, it exhibited two inscriptions, one Greek the other Persian; both signifying "I, Cyrus, the king of kings, lie here;" *Ενθάδ' ἐγὼ κείμαι Κύρος βασιλεὺς βασιλεων*.

(in the sixth century of our era) to his sovereign HORMUZ (or Hormizdas) having been requited by insult, every soldier of his army felt and resented the injustice, and renounced their allegiance to the king, who resolved to send against them his son KHUSRAU (surnamed PARVIZ or APARVIZ). But the wily BAHRA'M contrived to set the prince at variance with his father; for having caused to be coined at *Rai* an hundred thousand *direms* (درهم) or pieces of silver money, bearing the image and superscription of KHUSRAU, he gave them to some merchants, that they might be circulated at *Madaïen* (or *Ctesiphon*) where HORMUZ then resided, declaring that they had been struck by order of the young prince. This circumstance excited violently the rage of HORMUZ; as among royal privileges the right of coinage was guarded with most vigilant jealousy; and his son, although innocent, fled into *Azerbaiján*, and there took refuge in the great Fire-Temple. The money struck by BAHRA'M is very particularly described in some copies of TABRI'S chronicle. Two, of the four which I possess, contain the following passage; "and BAHRA'M commanded that an
 " hundred thousand *direms* should be coined at *Rai*, stamped
 " with the figure of PARVIZ; and in the time of the ancient
 " Persian kings, it was usual to inscribe on one side of a *dirhem*,
 " the king's name; as now, (among Mohammedans) the name of
 " God, or of the prophet, is written on one side; and on the
 " other, the title of the *Khalifah* or prince of the country;
 " thus, among the heathen Persians, both faces of a coin ex-
 " hibited the king's resemblance; one representing him seated

“on a throne, with the crown on his head; and he appeared
 “on the other, mounted on horseback, holding a spear in his
 “hand”(43). From the first sentence of a chapter relating
 the history of BAHRA'M, we are justified in ascribing this
 passage, not to TABRI himself, but to the learned *Vazir*, nearly
 contemporary, by whom his chronicle was, fortunately, trans-
 lated into Persian, the original Arabick being now supposed
 to exist only in fragments(44); yet the description, although
 seemingly very accurate, is in my opinion extremely doubt-
 ful; as no coins of the Sassanian family have hitherto been
 discovered to which we can by any means apply it. Few

(43) و بفرمود تا بری اندر صد هزار درم بزدند و برینرا نقش برانجا کردند و
 بوقت ملوک عجم رسم چنان بودی که بر یک روی درم نام ملک کردندی چنانکه
 اکنون بر روی درم نام نویسند و بر یک سوی نام خدای و دیگر نام پیغمبر و یک سو
 نام خلیفه و امیران شهر بوقت عجم هر دوروی درم ملکا را بکاشته بودندی از یک
 طرف ملک بر تخت نشسته و تاج بر سر نهاده و از یک طرف ملک بر اسب
 نشسته و نیزه بدسب گرفته
 MS. *Tarikh-i Tabri*.

This coinage of silver money in the prince's name, while his father was still living, is
 noticed by NIZA'MI, (درم را سکه زد بر نام پرویز) in his poem on the story of KHUSRAU
 and SHIRIN.

(44) The chapter to which an allusion is here made, begins thus; “and MOHAMMED
 “IEN JARI'R (surnamed TABRI) has not detailed the entire history of BAHRA'M
 “CHU'BI'N; but I have found it completely written in the chronicles of the ancient
 “Persians, and shall here relate it accordingly.”

و محمد بن جریر حدیث بهرام چوبین تمام نگفته است و من بکتاب اخبار عجم
 تمام یافتم بگویم

Numerous additions of this kind which occur in various parts of the work, give consi-
 derable value to the Persian translation of TABRI's chronicle; yet a perfect copy of
 the Arabick original would be a most important acquisition. BAHARA'M is called
 Varamus by our historians.

Mohammedans, perhaps few Asiaticks, have ever devoted their attention to the minute ramifications of antiquarian research ; and I think that this passage betrays a confusion of different medals belonging to the earlier dynasties. There is, however, a certain class of Persian *dirëms* more common than any other and very rudely executed, on one side exhibiting the head and name of KHUSRAU, (if many years ago in the Essay entitled "Observations on some Medals and Gems, &c. Sect. VI;" I deciphered their inscriptions rightly); and on the reverse a fire-altar with two human figures as supporters; the device generally adopted by his ancestors. Several of these *dirëms*, procured in various towns of Persia, are now before me ; and it is possible that one of two, (see Pl. LIX, figs. 1 and 2) found near *Baghdád* (not far from *Ctesiphon* or *Madaïen*), and representing KHUSRAU as a young man, was among the hundred thousand spurious pieces struck at *Rai* ; although it is probable that, as the prince ascended his father's throne soon after, he would be delineated with an appearance equally juvenile, on his own legitimate coin.

I return from this digression to observe, that *Rai* produced before the Arabian conquest, as we may reasonably believe (for it was long a royal residence) many celebrated kings and warriors besides MINUCHEHER and BAHRA'M, above mentioned ; and among several districts in Persia claiming the honour of ZERA'TUSHT's or Zoroaster's birth, (more nume-

rous than those which in Greece contended for Homer's) *Rai* supports its pretensions on no feeble authority⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Even in the degenerate herd of its *Muselmán* citizens, some ingenious men have appeared whose names deserve a more particular notice than the extent or nature of this work will allow me to bestow; lawyers, poets, alchymists, astronomers, and physicians. I omit the whole mob of its *Mohammedan* saints, as they contributed little to the promotion either of literature or of science.

This place and its inhabitants have been by various writers made the subject of encomium and of satire, in prose and verse. The *Diván* of KHA'KA'NI (composed in the twelfth century) alludes to them very frequently; and contains one poem of more than twenty couplets, each ending with the name of this city. But the ancient celebrity of *Rai* has induced me to protract this chapter far beyond the limits originally prescribed.

(45) Anquetil du Perron declares that "twenty different places contended for this glory;" "vingt endroits differens se disputent cette gloire," (Vie de Zoroastre, p. 5, in *Zendavesta* Tome 1. part. 2de). "ZERA'TUSHT was born, according to MOHSAN, "in the district of *Rai*;"—"the ritual introduced by ZERA'TUSHT a native of *Rai* in "Persia." See Sir William Jones's fifth and sixth anniversary discourses in the *Asiatick Researches*. MOHSAN, whom he quotes, (surnamed FA'NI فانی the evanescent or perishable) is generally regarded as author of that extraordinary work the *Dabistân*, (دبستان), printed in the original Persian some years ago at Calcutta.

CHAPTER XVII.

Excursion to the Caspian Sea, through the province of Mázerán; and return to Tehrán.

THE narrative of my travels must now be resumed ; and I shall describe the particulars of a journey from *Tehrán* to the Caspian Sea. This was performed in the months of February and March, 1812, when I passed through *Fírúzkúh* and the forests of Hyrcania, to *Sári*, once the capital of that province and called by Arrian *Zadracarta*; thence to *A'mul*, an ancient city of the *Tabri* or *Tabari*, a people whom we find mentioned by the Greek and Latin writers under the name of *Ταπυροί* and *Tapyri*; and returned to *Tehrán* by a road as different from that by which I had gone, as the season and local circumstances would admit. One motive for undertaking this expedition was to procure for the Ambassador some information relative to certain matters connected with the objects of his mission; another was the prosecution of my own geographical and antiquarian researches. The *Mehmándár* appointed to accompany me on this occasion

was MI'RZA' SA'DEK (میرزا صادق), a young man of excellent character, very pleasing manners, and highly respectable rank; his father being *Vazir* to the prince MOHAMMED KULI MI'RZA' (محمد قلی میرزا) who governs *Mázenderán* (مازندران) the province through which I had long desired to travel. With him was associated in the appointment of *Mehmándár*, a king's officer named MU'LA' ABBA'S (مولا عباس), who, although advanced in years beyond the meridian of life, retained all the vivacity of youth; he was extremely facetious, yet regarded as a person of considerable sanctity; perfectly conversant with the *Korán* and (as the title *Mulá* generally signifies in Persia) capable of reading and speaking the original language of that sacred volume. But he possessed an accomplishment that promised to be, at least on this excursion, much more useful; a knowledge of the dialect most common in *Mázenderán*; this country he had before visited and was acquainted with many of the principal inhabitants of its different towns.

On the 19th of February, I set out about ten o'clock, and joined MI'RZA' SA'DEK and MU'LA' ABBA'S near the city gate called *Dervázeh-Sháh-Abd al Aazím*, the road through it leading directly to that place, which, as the last chapter has shown, is the only peopled remnant of ancient *Rai*. My servants were three in number, besides a muleteer; and nearly as many attended each of my two companions; so that our party consisted altogether of fourteen men, among whom several were well armed. and. (as on my journey from *Shiráz*

to *Dárábgird*) I was the only European. For the direction of our march not only during this first stage, but also throughout the remainder of our expedition, my reader is, generally, referred to the map; constructed faithfully from the sketches and notes which I made each day as we rode along by means of a watch and pocket-compass; and accurately copied every night at the halting-place, adding such authentick information as could be obtained from natives.

Having passed through the gate before mentioned, we proceeded nearly two miles and a half, to the village of *Dúláb*; and advancing almost as much farther, passed the ruined castle of *Rai*, leaving it about a mile from us, on the right⁽¹⁾. Half an hour after, or when two farsangs from *Tehrán*, we ascended a slight eminence, and enjoyed an extensive view over the *Sahra* (صحرا) or plain, comprising various districts which constitute the *belúkât* (بلوكات) of *Verámín* (ورامين); and at

(1) It is probable that this village, *Dúláb* (دولاب), once formed part of the great metropolis *Rai*; but nearly eight hundred years ago it was regarded as distinct from that city. BAIHAKKI informs us that when the two *Emírs*, MASAUD and MAHMUD "arrived at *Rai*, MAHMUD halted at *Dúláb*, on the road leading to *Tabristán*, "near the city (of *Rai*)."

و چون بری رسیدند امیر محمود بدولاب فرود آمد بر راه طبرستان نزدیک شهر
This circumstance may be dated A. H. 418, A. D. 1024. See the MS. *Tárikh* or chronicle of ABUL FAZL MOHAMMED IBN AL HUSEIN ابوالفضل محمد بن الحسین surnamed BAIHAKKI (بیہقی) from BAIHAK (بیہق) a district of *Khurásán*. His work is rare and valuable, affording many interesting anecdotes of SULTAN MAHMUD, with whom the author was contemporary early in the eleventh century, and much curious geographical and miscellaneous information.

the distance of eight or ten miles the town itself, or seemingly a cluster of villages, so called. This name expresses something of plurality, and appears to have originally been *Verám*^(*). Our road was now within four or five hundred yards of rocky mountains. At fifteen miles, I saw on the right some small villages; one, with a few trees, bore the name of *Máder-i Sháh Abbás* (مادر شاه عباس), or "the mother of king Abbas." At four o'clock we reached the *manzel*, a place called *Kebúd gumbed* (کبود گنبد or *gumbez* as generally pronounced), having travelled six farsangs in as many hours; during which we crossed several cuts and streams of water. Beyond the hills, (not very lofty), that after the first three or four miles bordered our path towards the left, we could discern the more remote and immense range of *Alburz* covered with snow; this we had daily seen from *Tehrán*; it now appeared boundless and *MU'LA' ABBA'S* (who did not, I must remark, speak from his own observation) informed me that its chain was continued almost to *Bokhárá*. Our road was for the

(*) The MS. Dictionary *Jehángírí* (in voce) informs us that "*Verám*, according to the author of a work entitled *Maagem*, is the name of a town belonging to the territory of *Rai*; its inhabitants are of the *Shiah* sect: and it is most commonly denominated "*Verámín*."

ورام—صاحب معجم گفته که نام بلده ایست از ملک ری و اهالی انجا شیعه
مذهب باشند و آن بورامین اشتهار دارد

HAMDALLAH (in MS. *Nuzhat culúb*) places *Verámín* in long. 86, 25; lat. 36, 29. SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI (in his MS. *Takwím al beldán*) places it in long. 86, 40; and lat. 35, 30. Some persons from whom I inquired at *Tehrán*, considered *Verámín* as distant from that city, between five and six farsangs; and HAMDALLAH (a sabove quoted in his chapter of roads and stages) places it at six farsangs from *Rai*.

greater part good and level, the last mile through the pebbly bed of the river *Jájerúd* (جاجرود); the country stony and barren; but according to report, the *belúkát* of *Verámin* comprehends many tracts valuable for richness and fertility of soil; and close to our halting-place were some large fields of young corn that promised well.

I was lodged in a clean and commodious room of the best house in *Kebúl gumbed*; near it was the "Blue Tower," from which this place derived its name, traditionally said to be one of the seven villas erected by *BAHRA'M GU'R*: but the verses of *NIZA'MI*, who celebrated those beautiful edifices, have not been able to save them from destruction; and of this, the *Azure Villa* or Blue Tower, as of the red and others already noticed, a few ruined walls, chiefly constructed of brick and clay, are now the only vestiges. Some old persons here who confidently described the building as *Mál-i-Gabrán* (مال كبرن), or appertaining to the Fire-worshippers, recollected inscriptions visible thirty or forty years ago at that part which they distinguished by the title of *Kerenâi Kháneh*, the (کرنّا خانه) "Trumpet House," or station of musicians; but from their account I had reason to suspect that those inscriptions were only Arabick in *Cúfi* letters, painted on tiles; other circumstances also, induced me to regard these walls as the remains of a structure perhaps not exceeding four or five centuries in antiquity. Out of respect, however, for local tradition, I sketched the ruins, as they are represented in Pl.

LXV (no 3), where the *Kerenái Kháneh* occupies the middle; some rude masses, composed of mud and bricks, remains probably of a castle, are situate on the right; and above them are seen two ranges of mountains; the more distant being covered with snow. On the left, the great plain of *Verámín*, bounds the horizon. I made this sketch from a spot near the *Caravanserá*, which is of stone, founded by SHA'H ABBA's, but now falling to decay^(*).

We set out on the 20th, from *Kebúd Gumbád*, at seven o'clock; and near it crossed many winding branches of the river *Jájerúd*, now an inconsiderable stream, and drains cut from it, both for the purposes of irrigation and of weakening its torrent, which is said, at some seasons, to overflow its usual limits and rush with dangerous impetuosity. Our road was without variation flat and dreary, bordered on the left hand by a series of rugged hills moderately high; over the summit of which we could in different places discern the majestick *Darávand*: on our right hand extended, as far as the sight could reach in a southern direction, the great *Sahrá* or plain of *Verámín*, presenting only the appearance of a few

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(*) Mr. Van Mierop, about the year 1743, halted "at the great caravanserai *Kebúd Humbed*, near which is a lofty turret covered with glazed tiles." See the extracts from his journal in Hanway's Travels, Vol. I. p. 357. I do not recollect any other European traveler who has visited this place. He describes it as *thirty five* miles from *Tachiran* (the number being printed in figures, probably mistaken for *twenty five*); and he only adds respecting it, that "the soil is indifferently fertile but not sufficiently watered."

poor scattered vilages at several miles distance : it seemed to be closed in and terminated eastward, by mountains which from both sides nearly join at *Aiwán-i-Keif* (ایوان کیف), where we alighted, after a ride of five farsangs, according to some, or as others reckoned it, six ; the journey of this morning was probably from twenty to one and twenty miles.

We met, about half way, thirteen or fourteen men and one woman, all on horseback returning from a religious visit to the tomb of IMA'M RIZA' at *Meshehd*; they seemed gay and loquacious ; after some conversation my companions took leave of them with the benediction *ziâret-i-shumâ mubârek bâshed* (زیارت شما مبارک باشد) "may your pilgrimage prove auspicious!" On the road side was a large iron bomb-shell, said to have lain there since the time of NA'DIR SHA'H.

I was received near *Aiwán-i-Keif*, by the chief *Ked-Khudâ* (كدخدا) or householder, and conducted to a room in the new castle ; where he and many other of the inhabitants very liberally bestowed on me as a *pishkash* or offering, not only their own habitations and families, but the whole village, and even the *belúkât* or district of *Verámin* ; they supplied me, meanwhile, very abundantly with eggs, milk, butter and excellent bread ; so that, having my own tea and sugar, I fared most sumptuously at breakfast. For dinner, also, they sent me a fine lamb, and two roasted fowls, covered with a pyramid of rice ; over this *pillaw* was spread some *rob-i-ánár*.

or inspissated juice of pomegranates⁽⁴⁾. I was feasted too with delicious figs, and thoroughly warmed with a good fire, although fuel is here exceedingly scarce; the gardens which have all been recently planted, affording but few trees; and the country adjacent being altogether without wood.

This village is said to contain one hundred houses, and derives its name, according to the old *Ked Khudá*'s account, from the *aiwan* (ایوان) or vaulted palace of KEIF (کیف), a hero who flourished during the *Caianian* dynasty; after a lapse of a thousand years this residence was converted into a strongly fortified castle, which after another thousand years yielded to the injuries of time, and now exhibits only ruined walls of brick and clay. The modern castle, of which I occupied a room, is small, and constructed chiefly of mud; in its inner court the *Ked Khudá*, at night-fall inclosed several cows and a great number of ewes with their young lambs; the joint property, I believe, of all the villagers. Those ewes were generally whitish or brownish, but almost every lamb was black; and within twenty or thirty years, since the *Kájar* family, (now royal) introduced the fashion of black *kuláhs* or caps, it has been an object to the shepherds and farmers

(4) رب نار. From other fruits, from herbs, berries and flowers, the Persians compose by decoction various kinds of *shráb*, syrop, or *rob*; as appears from the *Pharmacopeia Persica* of the ingenious Father Angelo. See his prescriptions from no. 448 to 503, under the word *Scharab* شراب which signifies wine, a draught, a julep, or syrop; thus he explains *Scharab Ribas* by *Rob oxypalati Persici* (no. 480). *Rob* is used in our own culinary and medicinal preparations.

that this colour should predominate among their flocks. From my chamber-door I sketched a part of the court, some walls and a *burge* or tower of this new castle; see Pl. LXV. The people here seemed to speak a kind of *Turki* or *Turcomán* dialect in preference to pure Persian; several, both men and women were wrapped in cloaks, chequered or cross-barred, with stripes, red, blue and green; such as resembled the *plaids* worn in Scotland; some young fellows during the warm hours of day, carried these garments twisted and carelessly thrown over their shoulders.

I now found it necessary for the conveyance of my *yekhdáns* (یخدان) or boxes, my bed and canteens, to hire two fresh mules; one of those which had attended me from *Tehrán* being unable to proceed on account of lameness; and the other evincing symptoms of weakness that proved it unfit for such an arduous undertaking as a journey through the forests of *Mázenderán* or Hyrcania. All here agreed in prognosticating various difficulties and even dangers which I should encounter on my expedition; they talked of the badness, and in some places the absolute want of roads: and one man eloquently concluded a long catalogue of obstacles by swearing, that he had seen when travelling the same course, nothing but “rocks and narrow passes, thick woods, rivers and mountains, “snow and rain;” *sang u tang, u jungal, u áb u kúh, u barf u bārán* (سنگ و تنگ و جنگل و آب و کوه و برف و باران); “then the *bád* “i *Fírúzkúh* (باد فیروزکوه) or “wind of *Fírúzkúh*” which is worse

“than all,” said another, “must not be forgotten; it has, this “very winter destroyed eleven persons.” So unfavourable a statement I attributed partly to the spirit of exaggeration universally prevalent among Persians; but there was reason to believe it, in many respects, too true. All apprehensions, however, of trouble or fatigue were lost in the pleasing consideration that I should most probably trace Alexander through *Sari*, *Amul* and many other places; and that I had, perhaps, already advanced considerably on the same road by which Darius fled to the Caspian Straits, and Alexander marched, a few days after, when he pitched his camp in the vicinity of that celebrated pass; which as Arrian in a passage above quoted, (p. 176 n 24), places so far from Rhages (or *Rai*) that to travel the intermediate space in one day, required more than ordinary expedition⁽⁵⁾.

Leaving *Aiwán-i-Keif* at half past seven o'clock on the 21st, we found the water frozen in many places : the nights and mornings being still exceedingly cold, although the sun had acquired considerable power during four or five hours of each day. We crossed the deep river-bed near the town-walls and gardens, and at one mile ascended a high hill, winding by a very narrow and dangerous path, (resembling the sheep-walks on our Welsh mountains) half way up its

(5) So little is this tract of country known, yet so much of it may be considered as almost classic ground, that I am purposely minute in my account : and have given some delineations otherwise uninteresting.


steep side, from which we looked almost perpendicularly on the river below us on our left; until we descended, and again crossed it, after another mile. During the next farsang our road lay over hills and through chasms between mountains; at five miles we passed some fragments of a brick tower on our left; and at eight miles again crossed the river; we soon after discerned the old castle of *Zerabád* (زرآباد); having sketched it (See Plate LXV), I went on to a verdant spot just beyond the ruins, where we halted half an hour and breakfasted under the only tree that this place afforded, and close to the castle-walls. Here I made a second sketch of its appearance, (Plate LXV). This edifice although not large was once probably strong, being situate on an abrupt and almost insulated rock; half of which is defended by the river winding at its foot; and from the other side, a wall, of which there are yet many vestiges, connected it with the adjacent hills; and thus formed a barrier across the intermediate pass. For two miles the river continued on our right; at the 12th we rode through it once more, and frequently after.

About fifteen or sixteen miles from *Aiwán-i-Keif* we came to *Sarúm* or *Sahrúm*, as the name was variously pronounced^(*). This place offered an extraordinary and most beautiful land-

(*) Or perhaps *Salrun* as many called it; but none of my companions on this journey could undertake to spell the name; and a paper on which one of my Persian friends at *Tehrán* wrote it, I believe, correctly, has been rendered useless by an accidental stain. On this account, also, the name of *Keilún* or *Keilum* (my next stage) remains doubtfully expressed in our characters.

scape, of which the annexed view (See Pl. LXVI), although I sketched it with much accuracy, conveys but an inadequate idea: for it cannot do justice to the verdure and richness of the gardens, low grounds and fertile valley, that even at this unfavourable season presented a smiling prospect; and with the river gracefully winding through them and thickly planted on one bank with willows, poplars and others trees, formed an admirable contrast to the neighbouring and almost impending mountains, of which the barren sides appeared yellow and brownish, whilst their summits were white with snow. This village is situate on the slope of a hill, and its flat-roofed houses, at a distance seemed steps rising one above another. As we rode by, the chief, with several of his people came down from their exalted habitations, and welcomed me with a tray of fine apples as a *pishkash* or gift, besides an offer of the whole territory; notwithstanding this generosity, they were, I thought, rather pleased when the *mehmándár* declared his intention of conducting me a little further. We accordingly proceeded, about two miles and three quarters, among excellent gardens, crossing the river on horseback, during that short space, at least twenty times; and reached the *manzil* or halting-place, called *Keilún*, (See Plate LXVI), at half past one o'clock; our whole day's journey having been six *arsangs*. Near this village we were received by the principal householders, and other inhabitants, who led me to a good room furnished with a handsome carpet.

Within a mile of *Keilun* we first found snow actually on our path; the winding stream, of which we had scarcely lost sight this day, ran towards *Aiwán-i-Keif*, and as usual in Persia, bore the name of those places through which it flowed; thus we heard it called the *rúd kháneh* (رودخانه) or river of *Zerábád*; afterwards of *Sarúm*, and here it was the *rúdkháneh-Keilún*. From our last *manzil* until close to *Sarúm*, a distance of fifteen or sixteen miles we saw not one inhabited house; nor any appearance of vegetation except at the green spot near *Zerábád* already mentioned; where also was the only tree visible during that space: after the first three miles our road was mostly good; but at some places lay through narrow gaps or passes between mountains. During the last ten or eleven miles the hills presented a succession of small pointed summits, yellow, and nearly equal in size; the general outline of their appearance is sketched in the Miscellaneous Plate, fig. 21. Among these hills and on our road we saw great numbers of *cabk* (کبک) or partridges. *Keilún*, like the neighbouring village, comprises many rows of houses, built on a rocky eminence, one above another; but in some points of view, the town, especially, when first seen from the southern road, resembles a fortress; as the sketch which I made in that direction will sufficiently show; expressing, however, but faintly, the natural beauties of this scene; its wooded valley; the river winding through it, and the lofty mountains on either side (Pl. LXVI). Many houses here seemed little more than excavations in the rock; their low small fronts only ap-

pearing; built up with brick or mud in a very simple fashion, thus . But several other habitations were much more spacious and externally more handsome; with flat roofs, over the mud of which was spread a coat of *gíl-i-sefíd* (گل سفید) or “white clay” found near the town, and capable, as the inhabitants assured me, of keeping out rain or snow for a hundred years; this substance is very different from the *gatch* (گچ or pulverized alabaster) that has been already noticed. Of many houses the flat roofs served as terraces to those immediately above them; thus one projected several feet in front of my lodging on a level with the floor; and below it were two other rows of similar buildings; whilst I was disturbed at night, by various noises of little children crying, mothers or nurses soothing them to sleep, and dogs barking, all in a house of the row over that which I occupied. This place is remarkable for fine honey; the cows here appeared to me equally large as any that I had seen in England; and the cloaks resembling Scotch *plaid*s were no less common at *Keilun* than at *Aixán-i-Keif*, especially among the women.

Soon after our arrival I received a polite message from the two sons of *ASHREF KHA'N* (آشرف خان), governor of *Damávand* (a city four farsangs distant); expressing their intention of paying me a visit in the evening; they sent, meanwhile, as a present, some partridges and a fine *ahú* or antelope, killed during their morning's chase. About six o'clock those young men, *AGHA' BUZURG* (آغا بزرگ or آقا) and *AGHA' KHA'N* (آغا خان),

attended by many servants, came to my room, and remained half an hour,* conversing very agreeably and giving me information respecting *Damávánd*, which made me resolve, if possible, to visit it on my return.

Although we left *Keilun* early on the 22d, great crowds of the inhabitants assembled to see a *Farangki*, and it is probable that no European had before travelled through this place; yet they offered no incivility, but gratified their curiosity with less rudeness than one of them, perhaps, would have experienced in passing through some of our country towns. Neither *MI'RZA' SA'DEK*, *MU'LA' ABBA'S*, nor any of their servants, nor of mine, had ever been here; we found it necessary therefore, (as at *Aiwan-i-Keif*) to hire a guide; and if my account of the last day's stage, of the present, and the next, should abound more in minute detail than in amusing anecdotes, the reader will excuse me as describing what I conceive to be new ground; and much of it interesting, at least to geographers and antiquaries, as connected with those remarkable straits or defiles, called by Greek and Latin writers the "Caspian gates;" and perhaps forming part of them.

Setting out from *Keilun* we went back one mile of our last day's journey; then observing a course nearly eastern, proceeded along a valley between two ranges of hills; at five miles we advanced towards the north east; at seven miles eastward, and crossed a river-bed several times; this ride was

wearisome beyond all description; the road rough and bad, wet from snow lately dissolved; and very narrow, being confined by barren mountains, except at the fourteenth mile where the valley widened a little, and at the sixteenth where it expanded into a plain of half a farsang in diameter. Going still eastward we were surprised by the appearance of mountains both on right and left of which the summits and sides naturally of a sandy clay, were corroded and indented by time and the weather into various forms of decayed buildings; and without actual examination I should have doubted whether they were not real towers, battlements, pinnacles, gateways and other parts of a strongly fortified castle. As we rode through the valley among them I made one sketch; but having passed the imaginary ruin situate on our left (see pl. LXVII) we turned suddenly, at the seventeenth mile (according to my calculation) towards the north; and soon after towards the north-east. Still the mountain exhibited an appearance of edifices, even to its foundation in the river bed, which here contained a rapid and copious stream. But the prospect was altogether so complicated and extraordinary, and my hands so benumbed with cold, that I endeavoured in vain to delineate it; and the reader must fancy those steep mountains, with their architectural forms, rising from each side of the river to the sky; and in some points of view, looking as if they had closed every outlet except the river-bed, which, from the body of water violently running in it, threatened to obstruct our farther progress. A path however there

was, which led us northward, and another apparently narrower and worse, branched off in the opposite direction as far as rocks and mountains would allow me to see. This, I thought it possible, may have been the way by which Pietro della Valle and his fair companion, Signora Maani, almost two centuries ago, emerged from their difficulties in the *profonda & angustissima valle*, perhaps unconscious that they had passed through one extremity, at least, of the *Pyle Caspiæ*; or as Sir Thomas Herbert, who travelled the same stage a few years after, confidently styles it, the *Caspian Strait*(⁷). We proceeded five or six miles and terminated our most dreary march at *Delichâi* (دلی جای); a small castle newly erected, and so called (in the *Turki* dialect) from “the mad or furious stream,” that rushes near it; the distance from *Keilûn* may be estimated at twenty-four or twenty-five miles; and in this space between one *manzil* and the other, we saw neither a tree, nor a house, not a beast except the mules and horses belonging to ourselves; nor a human being besides the men of our own company.

I was most kindly received by the lord of this castle, a highland chief, named ABDILLAH KHÂN (عبدالله خان) whose wife's sister had been married to MĪRZA' SHERIF the prime minister. ABDILLAH was conversing with me at the door, when a young man, his nephew, returned from a hunting-party,

(⁷) See the “*Viaggi di P. della Valle*,” (lettera 4 da Ferhabad, 1618); and Herbert's *Travels*, p. 180, (3d. edit. 1665).