

accompanied by several peasants and dogs; having alighted from his horse, he stood before the chief in a respectful attitude, placed his hands across his breast, and made a low bow, but did not presume to speak. The uncle welcomed him with a gracious inclination of the head, and desired that whatever game he had brought home might be immediately delivered to me. The young sportsman retired with the same respectful silence, and in a few minutes, several partridges, and an antelope, were laid on the floor of my chamber by his attendants. The *Khán* sent to me with these, a tray of excellent fruit. But his highland hospitality did not end here; lamenting that earlier notice of my coming had not been communicated, which would have enabled him to provide more ample entertainment, he overwhelmed me with a variety of dainties, prepared in the best style of Persian cookery; lamb, fowls, *pilaw*, *chilaw*, exquisite sherbet and admirable grapes. I was lodged in a neat and commodious room of the new castle, near which were some ruined houses; and a few cottages lately built, and chiefly occupied by the tenants and farmers of ABDILLAH KHA'N. The night being exceedingly cold, fires were kindled to warm us; but as the wood was not perfectly dry, my companions and myself, who had travelled all day in the glare of snow, felt our eyes most unpleasantly affected by the smoke.

From *Delichai* we set out on the 23d, at seven o'clock, having waited some time ready to mount our horses, in ex-

pectation that the morning might prove fair; but there was incessant rain or snow during our ride of two hours, by a very bad road to (حبله رود) *Hablahrúd*, or *Hælahrúd*, distant about seven miles in a north-eastern course. Here a river, now considerable, though not quarter full, divided the town, or large village, into two parts. The castle finely placed on a hill, and many extensive gardens, among which the river winded in various inflexions, must render this place beautiful during summer; but so unfavourable was the weather, that I could scarcely view, much less delineate, any object; my innerclothes were wetted through a thick *bárâni* (باراني) or "rain-coat;" and as the snow and sleet threatened to fall still more abundantly, it was unnecessary to dry them. We halted however, in a mean house, glad even of temporary shelter, and breakfasted most uncomfortably and scantily on cold boiled rice, bread and bad coffee; after which we proceeded in the direction, chiefly, of north-east. I saw on the right, at one mile and a half from *Hablahrúd*, a village of which the name is obliterated in my journal; and another called *Manún*, on the same side, about six miles before we alighted at *Firúzkúh*, or as the inhabitants pronounced its name, *Pírúzkúh*; reckoned four farsangs distant from *Hablahrúd*, and six from *Delíchái*; in all about twenty, or one and twenty miles; but if measured by our fatigue, appetite and impatience, more than three ordinary stages. For we suffered not only from snow and hail constantly succeeding each other in alternate showers, but from a piercing wind; and our path was generally, either

on the steep sides and very edges of hills, and not above thirteen or fourteen inches wide; or else it led us along a narrow valley between stupendous rocks and mountains. The remarkable appearance of one *tang* or narrow defile through which we rode (about five miles from *Firúzkuh*), induced me to undertake a view; but the cold which almost disabled my hands from holding a pencil, and the wet which fell upon my paper, barely allowed me to make even the little sketch given in Pl. LXVII^(*). During most part of this day's journey the river was on our right; and at a better season must have contributed to embellish the scenery, which even now, afforded many views of much grandeur and sublimity.

Having arrived at *Firúzkuh*, I was conducted to a good room of moderate dimensions; it was perfectly unornamented and unfurnished, and being adapted rather for summer than for winter, received through its various doors and windows more cool air than was necessary or desirable, and I found it difficult to counteract the freezing ventilation by kindling an ample fire. My dinner consisted of *cabáb* (كباب) small roasted slices) of mutton; exceedingly good, although

(*) This shows the chasm between two mountains, which, nearly meeting at the bottom, form a channel for the river, while in the back ground some lofty hills, not very remote, so fill the intermediate space, that the prospect seems closed, and a traveller might almost doubt the possibility of advancing, did not the precipice on one side exhibit a dangerous path; rugged, and in breadth not capable of admitting two horses abreast. This sketch was taken after we had passed the *tang* and descended by the path which I have just described.

it had been preserved for several months. The sheep in winter or spring being very lean, few are killed but at the end of autumn; and of these, the flesh, it is said, lasts a considerable time, laid on the roofs of houses and covered with ice or snow, found here at all times. After dinner the *zábet* (ضابط) or chief, his brother and many other inhabitants of the place, favoured me with a long visit. We had perceived, on entering the town, a large wolf thrown on some rubbish in the street and still bleeding; it had been shot within half an hour and looked horribly ferocious even in death: this circumstance gave me occasion to make inquiries respecting wild beats; and I learned that we might expect to see frequently during our progress through *Mázenderán*, a *babr* (ببر) or tiger, a *guráz* (گراز) or boar, and a *gurg* (گرب) or wolf; besides *rúbáh* (روباه) or foxes, and the *sheghál* (شغال) or jackals, which abound all over Persia. From scorpions (سزدم *cazhdum*), it was said, little danger occurred at such a cold season; in summer, however, they were formidable; and snakes (مار *már*) so numerous and so fearless that several might be found on the path of a traveller, scarcely moving at his approach. The *pashehs* (پشه) or mosquitoes closed this catalogue of the living Hyrcanian plagues; for those (دیو *Díves* or *Díbs*), the gigantick Dæmons who in ancient times infested *Mázenderán*, had either been extirpated, as every body supposed, by the mighty Rŭ's-TAM; or if any had escaped his scymetar, their malignant powers had, without doubt, been miraculously annulled on the introduction of *Islám*, or the Muhammedan religion.

But of their former existence sufficient proofs remained ; as, on the road of *Sári*, *A'mul*, and other towns which I proposed to visit, their dwelling places were still visible among the rocks and mountains ; and this was the very course that *RUSTAM* went when pursuing the *DI'V-I-SIFI'D* or "White Giant." One evil, however, was mentioned, of a very different nature, and to me more immediately important. The roads were represented as being so bad, that in some places to travel three farsangs constituted the laborious journey of an entire day^(*). Time had nearly ruined the great causeway or *kheyábán* (خیابان) constructed by *SHAH ABBA'S*, and it had not been repaired. But for all these disadvantages a thousand local blessings amply compensated ; of many noble rivers in *Mázenderán*, such as the *Rúd-i-Harhaz*, the *Rúd-i-Tejin*, the *Rúd-i-Bahbul*, the *Síah-rúd* and others hereafter noticed, it was said that each, like the Caspian sea into which they flowed, might be considered a *maaden-i-máhi*, an inexhaustible nursery or literally (See Vol. I. p. 187) a *mine* of fish ; and the silk, the rice, the sugar and honey of that country, were celebrated throughout the world : as to its trees, fruits, herbs, and flowers, their variety was infinite, and the praises lavished on them re-

(*) Pietro della Valle, on his approach towards *Sári*, was one day unable to advance more than two leagues (by which he always means the Persian farsang or parasang), and night had already come on before he could emerge from the forest and the marsh. "Andammo dunque con gran fatica superando quei fanghi, ed il fastidio fù tale che "in tutto quel giorno non potevammo caminar più che due leghe, e prima di uscir "della selva ci si fece notte." (Viaggi, &c. Lettera 4 da Ferhabad, 1618).

minded me of FIRDAUSI'S lines, which, in another place, I shall take an opportunity of quoting. A different subject of conversation was the dreadful *búd i Firúzkuh*, or "wind of *Firúzkuh*," which many old persons here, conversant with the stars, clouds and other signs, had prognosticated would blow the two next days. Should this happen, (the chief declared), any attempt to cross the *Sahrá-i-Gadúk*, or "plain of *Gadúk*," although not much more than three farsangs broad, would expose myself and my companions, our horses and mules, to the utmost danger. He then related many alarming anecdotes, and they were loudly confirmed by the other visitors, concerning this formidable "*Wind of Firúzkuh*," which either buried unfortunate travellers in mountains of snow, or by its excessive coldness deprived them of existence; for, as one man affirmed with an oath, "*jigger páreh kerd*," (جگر پاره كرد) "it cut the liver in pieces." On this account, added he, the illustrious SHA'H ABBA'S, careful of his subject's lives, caused to be erected on the dreary plain, several *caravanse-rás*, at regular intervals, that those surprised by the wind or suddenly benumbed, might have an opportunity of saving themselves; but so violent often was its effect, that three years ago, a wretched *káterji* or muleteer, who, when stricken by the blast, had through great exertions arrived within a few yards of the principal *caravansera* door, fell down exhausted, and never rose⁽¹⁰⁾. Other stories as little exhilarating were

⁽¹⁰⁾ But a whole company was not less liable to destruction on this fatal plain, than a solitary wanderer. Many persons now residing at *Firúzkuh* remembered a troop of

told and attested, by the chief and his friends, who took their leave, consoling me, however, with a reflection in the truth of which I readily acquiesced, "that the fate of man is in the hands of God." I had heard at *Tehrán* that the "wind of *Firúzkuh*" sometimes proved destructive both to human creatures and to beasts; but the same was related of the *Shahryár* blast, (already mentioned), and other local winds in different parts of Persia. I allowed, also, as usual, something for exaggeration in the reports; and had dismissed all apprehensions on the subject, when a messenger arrived from the considerate chief, informing me that one very sagacious star-gazer had pronounced the appearances of this evening auspicious to my next day's journey. Not wholly disregarding this assurance, warmed by a good fire, and refreshed by tea, a beverage which most Englishmen, (and according to the extent of my observation, most other men) find grateful and salutary after fatigue, I arranged the sketches and transcribed into my journal various loose notes taken during the last three stages; connecting also the tracks of each day's course into a regular form. Then spreading before me several maps of various merits and degrees of authority, I endeavoured by their means, and by some passages extracted from

fifty *Turcománs*, all young and active, in high spirits and mounted on excellent horses; braving rashly every danger forboded by the observers of celestial signs, they attempted, one boisterous morning, to pass over from this town into *Mázenderán*; but all perished in the snow except three or four; and these lived only to reach the farthest *caravan-sera*, and there expired.

the works of many celebrated geographers, compared with the result of my own personal observations and verbal information communicated by intelligent persons, to fix the site of that extraordinary chasm or valley which ancient writers denominated the "Caspian Gates," and used as a central point in their Asiatick itinerary measures. Though a geographical object of such importance, the particular spot on which an ancient geographer, measuring from those "Caspian Gates," would place the foot of his compass, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. It is, however, generally supposed, that a narrow pass near *Khuár* (خوار) formed the southern extremity of that valley or defile called the "*Pylæ Caspiæ*;" and this, according to some, terminated northwards at *Firúzkuh*, where I undertook an enquiry of which the result shall be given in the Appendix. Meanwhile I shall here remark, that placing the lower or southern entrance of the Caspian Strait near *Khuár* or *Mahillabágh*, and the northern at *Firúzkuh* (as the ingenious and learned Baron de Ste. Croix seems perfectly justified in supposing it) we describe a valley corresponding sufficiently to the extent allowed by Pliny, and to the direction given by Dionysius, with as much accuracy as can reasonably be expected from a poetical geographer: and if Herbert, erroneously quoting (no doubt from memory) that expression by which Pliny represents the *Caucasian* gates or pass, ("*ingens naturæ opus*,") has applied it with justice to the southern portion of our *Caspian* Strait, I scarcely hesitate to borrow

those words, and entitle the vast mountain or rock that so magnificently terminates this valley at its northern extremity, "a stupendous work of nature." The view which I made (See plate LXVIII) on my return from the *Mázenderán* side, gives, however accurate, but a faint idea of its majestick sublimity. It is unnecessary to anticipate further the subject of those *Pylæ Caspiæ*; but again referring my reader to the Appendix, I shall state respecting *Firúzkh*, all that the snow and rain, the violent wind and excessive cold which alternately prevailed there, both during my first and second visit, would allow me to observe.

Of the town, which did not appear very large, some houses were situate below the mountain; others covering its steep side to a considerable height, rising one above another. The castle, in former times reputed exceedingly strong, had already fallen to decay early in the seventeenth century, and has not, as I understood, been ever since repaired. The house allotted for my accommodation was apparently the best that *Firúzkh* afforded, and perhaps the only *emâret* (عمارة) or regular building; the others being small habitations mostly constructed of mud. The king on his hunting parties and excursions into *Mázenderán* had frequently occupied it. Although the principal room seemed to have been recently plastered, and covered with a ceiling of fresh poplar-trunks, stripped of the bark and laid close together, yet it probably was the same (noticed by Sir Thomas Herbert) in which

SHA'II ABBA's lodged occasionally about two hundred years ago. The windows overlooked a precipice, so nearly perpendicular, that a stone slightly projected from them, would, I think, have rolled into the river flowing at its base. Of this stream the banks exhibited a scanty row of willows and poplars, and the adjoining gardens contained some others; the only trees visible for many miles, yet not so numerous as to contradict materially the account of this place, written in the fourteenth century by HAMDALLAH; although in the seventeenth it appears to have been well wooded. That celebrated geographer notices *Firúzkuh*, which the inhabitants consider as the last town of Persian *Irák*, not in the second chapter of his *Nozhat al Culúb* which relates to that province, but in the nineteenth, among various cities and districts of *Kúmish* the ancient *Comisenc*, and *Tabristán*, the country of the *Tapuri*⁽¹¹⁾. He informs us that the climate of *Firúzkuh* is cold, and the place without trees; but that it yields to those who cultivate corn, very abundant and profitable harvests; and that the stream which waters *Khuár* flows from the castle and village of *Firúzkuh*. سردرست و دران درخت نمی باشد و غلات بسیار زراعت میکنند و حاصل نیکو دارد و آب خوار از ان قلعه و ده میگذرد
Close to the town are many natural caverns in the rock;

(11) The nine places described in this chapter (of *Kúmish* قومش and *Tabristán* طبرستان) are *Khuár* (خوار), *Dámghán* (دامغان), *Semnán* (سمنان), *Bestán* (بستام), *Gird Kúh* (گردکوه), *Firúzkuh* (فیرزوه), *Damivand* (د. اوند), *Kherím* (خریم or as in some copies, *Ferím* or *Perím*) and *Kharkán* (خرنان).

to these the inhabitants have affixed doors, and use them, during severe weather as stables for their cattle. In the sketch taken as I returned from *Mázenderán*, the houses appear chiefly built on that side of the rock which faces the north and north-east; and by which the road had led us from *Hablahrúd*. When going afterwards to *Damávand* we passed the mountain of *Firúzkuh* on the other side, in a direction which the map will best express⁽¹²⁾.

(12) Herbert, in 1627, came from *Halvary*, (as he erroneously writes the name of *Havlehrúd* or *Hablehrúd*) to this place which he styles "*Periscow*, i. e. a broken or divided mountain; and by the position thereof may probably be the issue of that which Ptolemy calls *Arsitis*. The town is sometimes honoured with the king's residence; not that the beauty of his house (which is but ordinary) allures him, but for that there is choice hawking, pheasants and other game, more abounding here than in most other parts of Parthia. The pole is here elevated six and thirty degrees. The town is refreshed with very sweet water; the situation is upon the brow of a high, well-wooded, but (agreeable to its name) divided hill, having on each side a steep access, whose top has been crowned with a large castle, which now by age or war, (the canker-worms of all temporaries) is moth eaten; her ribs only appear, expressing desolation;" (Trav. p. 181, 3d. edit.) I have copied this description that the reader may compare it with my sketch (Pl. LXVIII), and to correct Herbert's explanation of the name which is compounded of *Pirúz* (پیروز) now generally written *Firúz*, signifying prosperous, victorious, happy, &c. and *kúh* or *Cúh* (کوه) a mountain. * *Pirúz* is also a proper name; the Persian king *PEROZES* (Περόσης who reigned in the fifth century, is noticed by the Greek historians, Procopius, Agathias, &c. Some have imagined that this mountain derived its name from the turquoise, *Pirúzeh* or *Firúzeh*; but I could not learn that any had been found there. Della Valle adopting the epithet above-mentioned renders *Firúz cúh* "*Vittorioso Monte*," (Lett. 4, da Ferhabad); but some Persians trace its denomination to an ancient monarch or a hero, the son, as one person assured me, of Alexander. The castle of *Firúzkuh* was taken by *TAIMUR* in May, 1404; and the siege is described by *SHERIF AD'DIN A'LI* in the sixth book (ch. 20) of his *Tárikh* or chronicle which Petis de la Croix has translated under the title of "*Histoire de Timur Bec*;" to the excellence of this French version I can bear witness, having collated numerous passages with the original Persian text. Here the castle of *Firúzkuh* is represented as one of the strongest, most inac-

I now return to my chamber, where, soon after nightfall information was brought, that two *chárwúdárs*⁽¹³⁾ had just arrived: each conducting a *káfilah* of mules laden with goods on their way towards the north; that both those men were perfectly acquainted with the signs which indicated vicissitudes of weather, had often passed the dangerous plain of *Gadúk*; and that I might rely implicitly on their judgment, and regulate my plan next morning, according to their determination of halting or proceeding. The night was so intensely cold that I could scarcely sleep; water left in a tin kettle, and in a leathern *mattarreh* was frozen; and some tea-leaves in a basin were indurated into a concretion of ice. At day-break on the twenty-fourth my servant announced that the two *chárwúdárs* had declared the morning to be unfavourable, and that they would not venture to commence the journey for at least three or four hours. I indulged myself, mean time, with a luxurious breakfast; the old *Zábet* having furnished in great profusion fine bread, fresh eggs, and ex-

cessible and celebrated fortresses; constructed on the brow of a very lofty mountain; از تلاع که بمزید مناعت و محکمى مشهورست و وصف آن در کتب تواریخ مستاورست و مذکور قلعه فیروزکوهست که بر فراز کوهی عالی ساخته اند In the garrison were three hundred *Mázenderáni* soldiers resembling *Dives*, or gigantick daemons; but here we may translate *Dive*, a valiant warrior, as the MS. *Jchángíri*, the *Burhán Kátea* and other Dictionaries authorize.

(13) *Chárwá* (چاروا) is equivalent to *chárpu* (چارپا for *chchárpu* چهارپا) any thing four-footed; especially quadrupeds on which men ride, as the Dict *Burhán Kátea* explains it. *Dár* (دار) signifies a possessor, holder, &c. thus *chárwádár* is the person who owns or superintends the horses, camels, mules or asses of a *káfilah* or *caravan*.

cellent honey. Before nine o'clock a difference of opinion arose between the *chárwádárs*; one would not risque his own life nor the safety of his mules, and determined, therefore, to remain at *Fírúzkúh*. The other more bold, or perhaps, more experienced, discovered, notwithstanding the coldness and violence of the wind, such appearances among the clouds as encouraged him to proceed. Of his sincerity we could not possibly entertain a suspicion, for he immediately set out, having previously told me that no danger from the wind was to be apprehended but on the open plain; "which," added he, "extends only three farsangs; and if you follow my example "I can foretell that, (*inshá-allah* انشا الله), "should it please "God!") you'll arrive without injury at the first *jangal* or "forest of *Mázenderán*." But my companions were not easily persuaded to leave the *manzil*; and it was past ten o'clock before I had prevailed on them to mount their horses. A trifling incident, however, reconciled them to the undertaking; for one of our servants, as we entered on the plain, happened to espy a *rúbáh* or fox, and this, he said, as all the world knew, was considered an auspicious omen for persons beginning their day's journey.

Leaving our baggage to follow at leisure, and galloping with as much speed as clouds of the coldest sleet blown violently and directly into our faces, would permit, we soon overtook and passed the *chárwádár*, with his loaded mules, struggling through a wide expanse of deep snow, such as Pietro

della Valle had found in the same place; (*"Partiti da Firúz-kúh caminammo trè leghe per altissime nevi, Lett. 4"*). About the fifth mile we halted a few minutes under the dreary vaults of a decayed *caravanserá*, where the half-putrid carcasses of three or four horses much gnawed by jackals, were most abominably offensive both from their smell and appearance; yet in a recess of this gloomy and filthy building, several of my party were much inclined to await a change of weather, depending on the precarious supply of food which our muleteers might bring from *Firúz-kúh*. I resolved however to go forward; disgusted with the *caravanserá* and not exactly knowing the real extent of our danger; for it is certain, as many have since assured me, that in consequence of even a slight deviation from the proper course, we might have plunged without any probability of extrication, into hollows filled with snow; and this was a hazard independent of the cutting wind. After another wearisome gallop, yet very slow progress of five or six miles, we arrived at the *Caravanserá-i-Gadúk*, of which, notwithstanding the cold, I contrived to make a sketch (See Pl. LXIX); and visited the adjacent bath, said to have been frequently used by *SUA'U ABBA's*; here we rested half an hour, congratulating ourselves on having passed, safely, though unpleasantly, over the three farsangs of this plain, which seems a kind of neutral, unappropriated territory; for some reckoned it in *Irák*, and others in *Mázenderán*. The borders however, of this province, are, I think, ascertained by nature, which has marked them with a multiplicity of

trees, while on the bleak and naked plain adjoining towards the south, none probably have ever grown. We proceeded half a mile from the *caravanserá*, and by a slight descent, immediately entered the first *jangal* or forest of Hyrcania; for this name, has been applied to an extent of country far beyond the district called *Gurgán* or *Gurkán* (گورگان), whence, without doubt, the Greeks formed it as D'Anville has ingeniously suggested. Our road was now over steep mountains, or in the very bed of a river flowing between them, and often so filled with the stones rolled down by torrents that it proved extremely difficult for a horse to proceed, and for the rider to prevent falling; with one hand managing the reins, whilst the other was engaged in guarding his face from the boughs of trees that hung across the path. On both sides the hills and rocks were magnificently wooded, and presented, even at this season, a beautiful appearance: for the snow resting lightly on myriads of branches seemed to have clothed the mountains, from the lowest valley to the skies, in plumage the most white, most pure and downy. After a toilsome ride of seven or eight miles we halted under some stupendous rocks to view the *Kháneh-i-Dív-i-Sefíd* (خانه دیو سفید), or favourite "residence of the White Giant;" for this celebrated Dæmon had other places of abode in *Mázenderán*; it was evidently a natural cavern high upon the mountain. "From this spot," said our guide, "the Giant having heard of Ru'stam's approach, fled towards the Caspian Sea." Near the father's den was another, called the *Kháneh-i-dukhter-i-Dív* (خانه دختر دیو)

or the “mansion of the Dæmon’s daughter:” this appeared smaller, and at the entrance some rude whitish stones projected on which, “as persons of well-established veracity declared,” the *dukhter* had been seen, within a few years, sitting in an attitude of sorrow, or amusing herself with a distaff and the various implements of spinning. A fastidious critick versed in the chronology of Eastern Romance, might perhaps object to the great age of this lady; as the barbarian chief, whom we may suppose disguised under the name of a White Giant or Dæmon, was killed by the Persian general of CAI CA’US, (or Darius the Mede), two thousand four hundred years ago. But so secure is her mansion, near the summit of an almost perpendicular rock, that she may protract longevity into immortality without fear of any hostile invasion from the sons of man; for none, unless elevated on artificial wings, or assisted by machinery of equivalent powers, could possibly reach her abode⁽¹⁴⁾.

It was our intention to have remained all night at *Surkhr-abád*, (سرخر'باد) as some called it, or *Surkh-rebát*, (سرخ رباط) as

(14) In the vicinity of this place, Pietro della Valle describes a cavern having certain walls of mason work; the residence of a gigantic damsel, situate on a pathless mountain so lofty and steep that no one could ascend to it without the utmost difficulty. Besides this damsel, who had rendered herself formidable in the adjacent country, many other giants were, he says, the subject of romantick stories; and he heard that their enormous graves had been discovered in the neighbourhood. But these he did not see, and treats the account of them as an idle fiction. “*Trovammo ancora nella costa di un alto e ripido monte, che fa sponda alla medesima angusta valle, una grotta, con certi muri di fabbrica alle quali con grandissima difficoltà si può ascender, &c.*” (Viaggi. Lett. 4 da Ferhabad, 1618).

others), a place near the caves above mentioned, and about six farsangs distant from *Firúzkúh*; but the best building of several scattered hovels which we examined, was in such a state of delapidation, though dignified with the title of *Caravansera*, that we proceeded on our course, and at one farsang beyond it passed by *Dúáb* (دواب), a place so named from some junction of "two streams," or rather a ramification of the river: here we saw a wooden *emúret* or edifice designed for the king's summer habitation; then going on another farsang we arrived soon after seven o'clock, the evening being very dark, at *Táleh Rúdbár* (تله رودبار), having fatigued our horses and ourselves by a journey of eight and twenty or nine and twenty miles; of which the first ten or eleven were through deep snow; and the remainder on a very rugged and difficult path, but in such a country, as would, at a favourable season, present to a landscape painter, during every mile, the most admirable subjects for delineation; views of sublime, romantick and beautiful scenery. Though not far advanced into *Mázenderán*, we had already passed through some *tangs* or narrow chasms between rocks and mountains, of extraordinary appearance; one I hastily sketched in my journal (See Misc. Pl. fig. 22), where also I find pencilled the simple outlines of those houses which we had hitherto seen, (fig. 23); and plans of different rice-fields, here very numerous and abundantly watered; some being laid out in lines of a horse-shoe form, one within and below another, resembling the benches of an ancient amphitheatre. (Misc. Pl. fig. 24)..

Our halting place was distinguished from a hamlet called also *Táleh*, (both in the district of *Suvád Kúh* مراد كو), by adding to its name *Rúdbár*; one of the various words employed to express a river, or a place through which flow copious streams. It comprised but three or four dwellings and they were of the meanest kind. To the structure denominated a *caráván-será*, I know not what degree of fatigue could possibly have reconciled an European; its walls were barely four feet and a half high; rudely constructed of stones and clay; and admitting the wind at various crevices; the snow and rain had lately fallen through some considerable apertures in the flat roof, and the earthen floor was covered with wet mud to the depth of several inches; some large stones, however, were brought, and for about ten minutes served me as a seat; but I found it as impossible to sit here with comfort as to stand; and declared aloud that my situation had become intolerably irksome. The *Mehmándár* soon after conducted me to a habitation comparatively excellent; for a man of moderate height, wearing his Persian cap, might move in it upright; and the floor was dry; this mansion belonged to the *naal-band* (نعلبند) or farrier, who, though a native of *Dámghán*, had resided many years at *Táleh*, supplying shoes for mules and horses; he had cleared and swept for me the best corner of his house (for it formed but one room and in this was the forge); he then spread a mat and half-worn carpet near the fire; and seeing me contentedly seated and pleased with his civility, the poor man repeated two or three times the *manzil mubárek*, or felicitation

on arriving at a new lodging; he requested that I should consider myself master of the house, of the forge, and of himself; and he despatched in search of provisions, some young men who appeared from the indication of a sable tinge to have assisted in his evening labours at the anvil. Eggs, bread and rice were soon procured, and greedily devoured; but I lay down to sleep lamenting that my baggage had not yet overtaken us, as much from the desire of refreshing myself with wine or tea, as from a wish to exchange my wet clothes for dry. Having slept two or three hours I was awakened by the loud snoring of several men, who, although they had not encroached on my carpet were stretched close to it near the hearth, each wrapped in a *pústín* (پوستین), or great-coat made of skins; which from the warmth, began now to fill the place with a rank and sickening smell. The *naal-band* had just heaped on fresh fuel and the wood being moist nearly blinded and half-suffocated me with its smoke; the fleas, too, of which there seemed to be thousands, tormented me incessantly, and banished all hopes of further repose. Thus circumstanced I lay till morning; having by the fire-light, observed among the various articles that furnished this Hyrcanian abode, three long match-lock muskets, hung up against the wall; with powder-horns and parcels of bullets; whole rows of different-sized horse shoes; the hammers, pincers and other tools necessary to a farrier; many large bags of rice; a cock with some hens; and a playful kitten that often frolicked about my head, and seated herself on my legs or shoulders.

When day appeared through an hole in the ill-thatched roof, serving both as chimney and window, I arose and had the satisfaction to find my clothes perfectly dried. Soon after I received a visit from MÍRZA' A'LÍ MUHAMMED (میرزا علی محمد), a chief of the *Suvád Kúh* (سواد كوه) district, which begins at the first *jangal* or forest near the *Gadúk* caravansera, and extends in a northern direction beyond *Zíráb*. He brought with him a *píshkash* or present consisting of grapes and pomegranates; a lamb, five or six *cabks* or partridges, and a pheasant; besides an ample and well dressed dish of *pilaw*.

Having waited (on the 25th) until nine o'clock in expectation of the muleteers, and beginning to apprehend that some accident had befallen them and our baggage on the plain of *Gadúk*, we prepared to mount our horses just as they arrived. We heard of their miraculous escapes in the snow; of their losing themselves in the forest; and above all of their excessive hunger; this I enabled them to satisfy through the bounty of my new acquaintance the *Mázenderáni* chief, who afterwards accompanied us on the road, not only acting as our guide, where without one equally experienced it would have been impossible to find the way, but evincing on every occasion the most polite attention. Before we left *Táleh Rúlbár* I sketched the forge; the smaller hovel adjoining, used as a stable; the fertile valley wherein are seen two buildings or frames constructed of wood, on which rice-straw is stacked and preserved; with the magnificently wooded mountains that enclose the valley (See Plate LXX).

From *Táleh* we proceeded six or seven miles; then forded the river just below a bridge, part of which having fallen, had never been repaired; this is called *Púl-i-sefid* (پل سفید) or “the white bridge.” From a hovel formed of branches and mud, covered with leaves and straw, and styled a *cáravánsará*, I made the view engraved in Plate LXVIII, representing the bridge; the road leading towards it from *Táleh* and those lofty, wooded hills among which the river beautifully winds. We advanced from this spot about one mile and a half, when I turned off the path three or four hundred yards to view the *Tárikh sang* (تاریخ سنگ), or “stone of the epoch or date;” a sculptured monument of which some peasants had given me an account. It stands on the *kheyábán* (خیابان) or causeway, once a broad and excellently paved road leading to *Sári* in a straight a direction as the inflexions of the river and natural asperities and inequalities of the country would admit; but now so ruined that a traveller can derive from it but little benefit. This *Tárikh Sang* is a natural rock, sixteen or seventeen feet high, smoothed on the outer face, and rudely carved in lines and squares as I have delineated in Plate LXVII. It contained a short inscription nearly obliterated; said to commemorate SHAH ABBA'S construction of the causeway; and the word *sench* سنه or year, forming part of the date, seemed to confirm this report; and, at least, by its *taalík* form (تالیک) to prove the sculpture of no very remote antiquity. We descended into the flat grounds, riding across the river in many of its windings; forcing our way through the forest,

or scrambling over hills by most steep and rugged paths; at four miles beyond the sculptured stone, MI'RZA' A'LI MUHAMMED pointed out a mountain on the left, where, according to popular tradition, RUSTAM first encountered the DR'V-I-SIFI'D, who having been defeated, fled towards *Amul*. MI'RZA' ALI took this opportunity of explaining what he himself thought respecting the *Dives*, and the opinion of all intelligent persons with whom he had spoken on that subject⁽¹⁵⁾. During the pleasant and instructive conversation of MI'RZA' A'LI, I felt but slightly the fatigues of our morning's ride, which terminated at *Ziráb* (زیراب), after a stage generally reckoned of four farsangs; but it almost baffled my calculation by the intricacies and difficulties of the rugged path which led us

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(15) Under various names, such as *Div-i-Sefid*, the "white giant or dæmon;" *Div-i-Surkh*, the "red Div;" *Div-i-Aulád*, *Div-i-Arzhenk* and others, were designated certain powerful chieftains, *Marzebáns* or "lords of the marches" in this province, who long refused to acknowledge themselves the subjects of any Persian monarch, but were after many combats overpowered by a general called RUSTAM. From the colour of their hair, or complexion, or some other personal circumstance, they derived the titles or epithets serving to distinguish them; and from the skins of wild beasts in which they were clothed, and their excessive cruelty towards invaders, these described them, as monsters having tails, and armed with horns, fangs and talons; thus we find them now represented in the pictures that ornament romances. It is, however, most probable, that those chiefs occasionally dwelt in caverns among the rocks as places of security; and that battles had been fought on those spots still indicated by tradition. I shall, in the course of this volume endeavour to prove, (if such a matter be capable of proof) that although *Mázenderán* was not perhaps the peculiar country, yet it appears to have been a favourite and original residence, of the *Dives*; and that two very ingenious European travellers must have been deceived by the name of *Kalaa Sefid* or the "white castle" in *Fárs*, when they supposed it to have been an ancient habitation of the "White Giant." See a note on *Marzebán* in the Appendix, last Article.

up and down steep hills; through chasms between rocks, across the river *Tálár*, (now broad and rapid, but often very considerable) at least twenty times; among trees where a passage could seldom be found for two persons abreast; and frequently in morasses where our horses sunk to the saddle-girths at every step.

Having alighted at *Ziráb* I was conducted to a wooden *emáret* or structure, situate on a rising ground, but by no means the more reconcileable with my notions of comfort, because the king had occupied it on his summer excursions; for the trunks of trees which formed the walls of its only room, did not meet each other at any part within a hand's breadth; and the roof made of leaves laid on branches (both now almost rotten) was so open that the rain and snow had rendered the floor a puddle three inches deep. From this I looked with longing eyes on a neat and compact edifice among some trees below me; and hinted at the superior accommodation which, apparently, it might afford; but I relinquished all hopes of lodging there when my servants informed me that the building had been lately erected in honour of A'BU' TA'LEB (ابو طالب), a holy *Imámzádeh*; the ancient tomb of this venerable saint having, within a few years, been destroyed by an earthquake. Meanwhile I received a visit from MIRZA' ALI MUHAMMED, who perceiving the damp and airy state of my habitation, declared that to remain in such a place during the whole night, at this sea-

son of the year, would probably occasion a *tab-u-larz* (تب ولرز) or "fever and ague," from which I might never recover; and this, he said, besides exposing him to the anger of his sovereign, (whose guest I was), would, from considerations of private and personal regard, be a source of considerable regret. Resolving, therefore, to ameliorate if possible, my situation, the *MI'RZA'* left me; but I doubted much whether in this instance his endeavours could be rendered effectual; from the first day of our journey the best quarters in every stage had been, invariably, assigned to me; and this whole place, which I had hastily examined, seemed to offer but two or three sheds and stables, in which *MI'RZA' SA'DEK*, *MU'LA' ABBA's*, all our servants, the muleteers, horses and mules were crowded together. My kind friend, however, soon returned, and conducted me to a dwelling from which he had just dislodged a poor old man, the keeper of the *Imám zádeh's* tomb. This new abode was a room of thirteen feet long, and nine broad, without chimney or window; the side walls were five feet high; formed of boards and slightly plastered on the inside with clay; the roof was of rice-straw and decayed leaves, loosely thrown on branches; and that they might not be blown away, some boughs had been laid over all. This room or house was attached to the inclosed area of the tomb, near which grew some noble trees, evidently of great age. These, the tomb, and my chamber I sketched, as in Plate LXVII; with the wooded hills on both sides, and the river *Tálár* running in the valley, which its stream often completely

inundates; thence, probably, the name of *Zíráb* (زیراب) “under water” has been given to this place. A carpet was spread, a charcoal fire kindled, and I soon found myself well established in the lodging; but could not without difficulty fix, on its uneven floor, the feet of my *palang* (پلنگ) or bedstead. The original proprietor of this room, (whose flowing beard might have demanded veneration, had he not, through some religious vow, as I understood, tinged it with a bright orange dye) paid me the usual congratulatory compliments; and brought as a *pishkash* or present, some fine *benafshehs* (بنفشه), violets white and blue; of which thousands were growing beneath the snow. He requested money to purchase, or to supply with oil, a lamp for the holy tomb; and swore that he would offer up a thousand prayers for my prosperity at the shrine of his favourite saint. But from *MI'RZA' A'LI* I received a more substantial return for an inconsiderable gift; he sent to me (on a tray) two pieces, each containing several yards of a coarse but serviceable stuff called *chúkhá* (چوخا), manufactured and much worn in this country; it is generally of a yellowish-brown colour.

On the 26th at half past seven o'clock we set out from *Zíráb* (where I took leave of the worthy *Mázenderáni* chief) and proceeded as before, through forests and over mountains, or in the river *Tálár*, which we frequently crossed; after two hours wearisome ride *MU'LA' ABBA*'s surprised me by a proposal of breakfasting; we alighted, and his black servant, a

Habshi (حبشي) or Abyssinian, produced two *laggans*, or basins of copper tinned (such as have been already described and delineated) tied up in a large but not very clean handkerchief, which however, on this occasion served as a table-cloth; the *laggans* contained fowls, concealed in masses of cold boiled rice. Having finished our repast and refreshed ourselves with a draught from the neighbouring stream, we went on, struggling at one time, through mire of so tenacious a consistence, that our horses could scarcely extricate their legs from the sloughs; at another time fording the river where it was between three and four feet deep; and often endeavouring to discover an easier or safer path among the trees; "a traveller finds here," said the facetious MU'LA', "such an admirable variety of roads as must embarrass him in his choice; for besides the *Khey-ábán* (خیابان), or causeway, which, it must be acknowledged "is a little *kheráb* (خراب) or damaged, there are, the *ráh-jangali* (راه جنگلی) or "forest-road," the *ráh-ábi* (راه آبی) or "water-road," "and the *ráh-gili* (راه کلی) or "mud-road." At length, having tried all, we emerged, about seven miles from *Ziráb*, out of a morass, and arrived at the bottom of a high hill, which seemed to form an insuperable barrier against our further progress; the side being almost perpendicularly steep, and the path a mere succession of large stones, thrown one above another on the soft clay, but at such a distance that between each there was a pool or mire three feet deep, into which horses, mules and even the men who had dismounted, could not save themselves from sinking. I know not how we should have overcome the

difficulties of this ascent, had not the provident MI'RZA' ALI, anticipated our distress, and kindly stationed several soldiers, hardy and active woodmen, to assist us in climbing the *Ser-i-Kellá*, or *Kelá*, for so this acclivity was called⁽¹⁶⁾. We ascended, at last, to the ruined causeway, each horse and mule having been dragged up by some men, while others shoved them on from behind; both men, horses and mules often falling when near the summit, and in their retrograde motion overthrowing those who scrambled after them. About a mile beyond this was the *Mián-i-kelá*, and a little farther, the *Bun-i-kelá*, two passes, much resembling in badness of road, that which I have above described. In these names the word *kelá* (which I saw thus written كلاً) signifies, according to the dialect of *Mázenderán*, (as a native, but by no means of infallible authority, informed me), some kind of house, or rather houses in the aggregate; and alluded probably to the series of dwellings or small villages mentioned by Pietro della Valle as having been constructed here a little before his time (the year 1618); but of which no vestiges now remain; and therefore, *Ser-i-Kelá* (سر كلا) would be, “the place where those buildings first began;” *Mián-i-Kelá* (میان كلا), the “middle,” and *Bun-i-Kelá* (بن كلا), “the lowest part of them,” or “the spot where they termin-

(16) It might have surprised a stranger not acquainted with the political relations subsisting between England and Persia, to find these Hyrcanians armed, in the midst of their own forests, with muskets almost new, bearing the name of London, and the Tower-mark. They wore the bayonets in their *camr-bads* (کمر بند) or girdles.

ated"(17). We rode on the causeway, in such parts of it as were still unimpaired, turning off frequently to right or left, where the stones of its pavement long since displaced by torrents, were deeply bedded in moist clay. It did not appear that any attempts had lately been made toward reparation, and some immense trees fallen across the road, (their aged roots seeming totally decayed) obstructed it in a very considerable degree; for such branches only had been removed as left a passage in width barely sufficient to admit a loaded mule, and in height for a man on horseback to go through, not without stooping. Of those trees and of hundreds on every side, the trunks would have furnished excellent planks twenty-five or thirty inches broad, and from twenty

(17) Yet Della Valle rendered *Mián-i Kelá* by "the middle of the scull;" his words are "Ce ne andammo la sera ad alloggiar in una di quelle piccole ville, nuovamente fabricate sù la strada, che si chiama *Mioni Kielle*, in lingua nostra, *Mezo del Teschio*." (Viaggi, Lett. 4, da Ferhabad). I had written in my journal *Kelleh* or *Kalleh* (كله) for *Kela*, and, like the Italian traveller, should perhaps have translated it a "scull;" although unable to assign any reason for its entering into the composition of those names. But *Kelá* appears to be pure Persian according to the best manuscript dictionaries, which indicate its different meanings; at present it is only necessary for me to notice one, its primary signification, a "frog;" as I strongly suspect from Herbert's quaint description, that this was the village of which he had forgotten the name, although he may have recollected something of its import; the place that he styles a "town of frogs" from the multiplicity of those croaking animals which there annoyed him (in May, 1627); and the distance of twenty one miles from *Aliábád*, assigned to it by him sufficiently agrees with my calculation. His words are "a small village whose name I have forgot; but remember very well that the frogs, (the Bul-bulls, or Philomels of this marish place) assembled in such numbers and chirped such loathsome tunes, that we wished Homer would have given them another king: for as one writes, *Garrula limosis Rana coaxat aquis*, &c. "To *Ahiavarr*, one and twenty miles from the Town of Frogs, we rode next night," &c. (Herbert's Travels, p. 182, Edit. of 1665).

to thirty feet long. Six or seven miles beyond the middle *Kelá*, near a ruined bridge, situate in a most romantick spot, amidst scenery which to a more accomplished landscape painter than myself, would have afforded an admirable subject, we met a lady of high rank, the wife of some *Khán*, proceeding to join her husband at *Tehrán*. She was mounted on a fine tall mule; over her face hung a veil of cross-barred linen; the stripes being red, blue and brown, and between them various small openings through which she saw and breathed; her *chakmah* (چکمه) or boots were of the red *Bulgár* (بلغار) or Russia leather; and like all the females of this country, she rode astride; her attendants were two women, muffled in white *cháders* (چادر) or sheets; and four men, of whom one was on foot, carrying a long Persian matchlock gun, a sword, a dagger or large knife, and a shield fastened at his back, besides seven or eight powder-horns and shot pouches. From the ruined bridge we went on about half a farsang to another not yet so much delapidated, over which we passed with some difficulty and danger. Near this, the ground had been partially cleared of trees; but a great number still remained, and those of vast bulk and majestick height; from their rich and noble appearance, the cawing of rooks that occupied their branches, the fine outline of wooded hills and the ample expanse of level tracts, I almost fancied myself riding through the ancient and neglected demesne or park of some Norman seigneur or English gentleman; but no venerable chateau or manor-house was to be discerned among the lofty trees; nor

could the illusive idea of such mansions, their comforts and their elegancies, be more strongly contrasted than with the actual state of those hovels at *Shírgáh* (شیرگاه) where we closed the journey of this day; having travelled (from *Zíráb*) seventeen or eighteen miles. I was here received by nine or ten horsemen, and observed, as we entered the place, some fellows amusing themselves on the road side, by tormenting a large *Khúg*, (خوک) "a wild boar or hog," (called also *Guráz* گراز) which had been slightly wounded, and though bleeding, and tied with a rope, still defended itself against several dogs, with much ferocity. One of the horsemen perceiving that this exhibition did not afford me pleasure, relieved the creature from all pain by cutting it nearly in two, with a single blow of his sharp and crooked sword, penetrating through the thickest vertebral bones.

Almost two hundred years ago, Della Valle (Lett. 4.) described this place as *una villa cattiva detta Scirgah*; to me it seemed not worthy of being entitled a *village*; although the epithet *bad* was still more applicable than any other that could possibly have been used in the description of it. The houses, were not, however, worse than those which we had hitherto seen in *Mázenderán*; the walls being constructed chiefly of rude boughs or trunks of trees, sometimes six or eight feet high, often not more than five, placed perpendicularly in the ground at equal intervals; attached to them horizontally, were twigs, small branches, or laths, covered on the outside

with a coat of mud ; the roofs were of rice-straw or leaves, spread on branches ; but seldom so perfectly as to exclude heavy rain ; nor had I yet seen one of these habitations into which a person could enter without wetting his feet at the very threshold, in mire or filth up to his ankles. Of the edifices that constituted this *villa cattiva*, the reader may form a just estimate from the sketch given in Pl. LXIX, most accurately representing what was regarded as the best, and consequently, allotted as usual to me: this view I took from the back whence the structure appeared to greatest advantage. The little wooden door, three feet three inches high, and two feet wide, was, with the point on which it turned, all of one solid piece, like the stone doors before noticed (p. 45). The other, or front door, immediately on the road, was five feet high. Various accidental apertures in the roof and walls, (where the clay had fallen off), served as outlets for the smoke, which proceeded from a wood fire kindled in a hollow of the earthen floor ; they supplied also the place of a window, admitting sufficient light for the purposes of reading or writing. My "chamber" was separated on one side by a very thin partition of twigs plastered with mud, from a stable which afforded but imperfect shelter to fourteen or fifteen horses and mules. One of these surprised me ridiculously by thrusting his head often through an opening in the partition just over the bed on which I sat. At the other side was a similar stable, into which, on this occasion, most of our grooms and muleteers, two black servants, and other fellows had crowded.

There the most eloquent among them related wonderful tales of giants and fairies, adventures of celebrated heroes, and illustrious princesses, and the combats of *RUSTAM* with one of the *Mázanderáni Dives*, "a story, said the narrator, doubly interesting to us here, since all the world knows that they fought on this very spot." Thus during three or four hours after night-fall they entertained themselves and me; for through the slight partition, every word was most distinctly heard; but towards midnight some began to snore aloud, while others quarrelled respecting the duty of supplying wood for the fire round which they had been assembled; from this dispute I learned that if the Persian language abounds in flattering and delicate expressions of compliment, it is not less copious and energetick in the gross phraseology of objugation.

Nearly resembling the structure just described were almost all the habitations which we had hitherto found in this region of forests; but it must be observed that they are merely the temporary dwellings of a few men, who attend at these *cáranserús* and *dúkáns* (دكان) or "shops," to furnish travellers with rice, eggs, and fowls, shoes for horses and mules, and other necessary articles; whilst the women and children live in more commodious houses, situate among the woods and hills, at such a distance from the road as to secure their tenants against the brutality and insolence of the great lords, the soldiers, and others who attend them on their journeys.

The only females whom I had seen since we entered this province were the lady and her two maids already mentioned; and I doubt whether any families of *Mazanderán* confine themselves in small villages surrounded with walls, like those of the southern provinces. But however mean may be the accommodations of its scattered houses, however different or perilous the roads that lead to them, a stranger who passes through this country is amply indemnified for privations and inconveniencies by the opportunity of contemplating nature's beauties under various forms; hills and dales, rocks and mountains, thick forests and stately groves, considerable rivers, shallow brooks, water-falls, all that admirers of "picturesque" scenery could desire to combine; and I forgot the nuisances of my hovel at *Shirgáh*, while gazing on the adjacent dingle, the violets that clothed its banks, and the winding stream that murmured through it; but of these the principal charm consisted, perhaps, in a resemblance (whether real or imaginary) which they bore to a favourite dingle and stream in Wales; thereby exciting a train of delightful ideas, ever associated with the recollection of home⁽¹⁸⁾.

On the 27th at an early hour a messenger sent by the *Vazir* of *Mazanderán*, brought me two hampers containing nine or ten large Russian bottles, full of red wine; procured, it was said, from some Armenians of *Bálfurúsh* (or *Bárfurúsh*), who traded with the Russians of *Astrakhán*. At seven o'clock we set out and proceeded by a very bad road through a most beautiful country, the river *Tálár* being on our left during the first three miles; we then crossed it; at the fourth and fifth mile we could discern occasionally through openings of the forest, Mount *Damávand's* lofty summit, bearing from us nearly W. S. W. We rode over one bridge built of stone and brick, and over two or three others constructed of large beams and boards; at the seventh mile we ascended a hill admirably wooded, when a prospect unfolded itself to our view, far exceeding all my powers of description with the

(18) From the bulk of manuscript materials yet before me, I am here induced to adopt a closely-printed page, that this work, even at the expense of synographical beauty and uniformity, may be comprehended within the limits of three volumes.

pen, or of delineation with the pencil. Near us was the sweet village of *Aliábád* (علياباد), with its neat farm-houses and cottages, grouped among orange trees now loaded with fruit; and beyond it, though distant several farsangs, over a tract of forests and richly cultivated ground, the Caspian Sea was visible with a heavy brownish cloud resting on its horizon as far as the eye could reach. Having enjoyed this magnificent and unbounded prospect for half an hour, we advanced about two miles, and met MUHAMMED SHERÍF KHA'N, an officer of high rank, belonging to the prince of *Sári's* court, and a man of the most pleasing manners; he was attended by many horsemen; some of whom discharged their muskets, and threw the *jerid* (چريد), galloping about as usual on such occasions; soon afterwards came an *istikbál* from *Aliábád*; the principal inhabitants led by a very lean *kedkhudá* (or chief householder) and a very fat *háji* (or one who had made the religious pilgrimage to *Mecca*): here also a *lúti* or buffoon, having presented me some violets in a ceremonious and not ungraceful manner, immediately began to strike with his fingers a small drum which he held under his left arm, and to dance with uncouth and vehement gesticulations. SHERÍF KHA'N informed me that his Prince would consider as a favour my halting this day at *Aliábád*; that he had sent fifty men to repair the road between that place and *Sári*, in parts that had been undermined and injured by the water; that he had postponed a journey to *Asterábád*, solely for the purpose of receiving in his capital the English Ambassador's brother; and that I should be welcomed next day on my approach to the city, by an *istikbál* of two hundred horsemen, conducted by HUSSEIN KHA'N, a nobleman of distinction. I alighted consequently at a house prepared for my accommodation in the village, having travelled but three farsangs, or about eleven miles; from *Shírgáh* to *Aliábád*. This is the spot described by Sir Thomas Herbert with much accuracy in a few words⁽¹⁹⁾; although he has written the name erroneously; deceived by the substitution of *v* for *b*, (of which an hundred

(19) "To *Aliavarr*, one and twenty miles from the Town of *Frogs* (see p. 244) we "rode next night; a very pleasant place for earth, water and wood, and where we found "store of pheasants; a bird abounding in these Hyrcanian towns," &c. (Herbert's *Travels*, p. 182, Edit. of 1665).

examples might be every day remarked), and the lisp with which many Persians affect to speak. *Aliábád*, (in respect at least to *Sári* and *Bárfurúsh*), is more correctly placed by Hanway in his map, than most of the other towns of this country (Trav. Vol. I. p. 345). Forster, the third and perhaps the last European traveller who, before myself, has noticed this place, describes it as the "small village of *Alhabad*;" and he mentions its well-supplied daily market. My computation supposes it a little farther from *Barfurúsh* than his; but it would be unreasonable to expect minute accuracy of mensuration from those who on horseback and with much difficulty, cross during winter the intermediate tract of country, by such a road as he found there on the 29th of January 1784, and I on the 10th of March 1812. His account, given in the note may without any alteration be applied to its present state⁽²⁰⁾.

At *Aliábád* the accommodations were excellent; many houses reminded me of some in Brabant and Flanders; several were roofed with very good red tiles, each about thirteen inches long, and resembling a half cylinder (See Misc. Pl. fig. 25). Two handsome rooms were assigned to me by the *Ked Khudá*, at his own mansion; but this arrangement probably caused much inconvenience to the females of his household, who on my arrival had removed to the *Harem* of a neighbour; whence, with twenty other women, some wrapped in white sheets, many in a striped or cross-barred stuff like our Scotch *plaid*, they amused themselves from the walls, and among the orange trees, by staring at a *Farangki* whenever I walked out;

(20) "The road this day was *the worst I ever had travelled on*, and required in the winter season continued labour to make it passable. Though deep ditches are extended on each side, and drains cut across to carry off the extraordinary moisture of the soil, we proceeded with much difficulty and hazard" (Forster's journey from Bengal to England, &c. Vol. II. p. 203, 4to edit.) It is probable that he only visited the few hovels of *Aliábád* adjoining that part called the *Bázár*; and calculated the distance accordingly; this may be inferred from his particular notice of the market, and his silence respecting the large and handsome farm houses and other buildings which constitute what I have denominated the village; and which are scattered at a distance of almost two miles from the *Bázár*, in a direction nearly south-eastern, and therefore, by so much the more remote from *Bárfurúsh*, the object of Mr. Forster's journey. So observant and ingenious a traveller would scarcely have omitted to mention a spot of such striking beauty. His measurement from the *Bázár*, and mine from the village, will thus reduce the difference of our respective calculations, almost to nothing.

two or three, neither the youngest nor the prettiest, came frequently to whichever of my rooms I did not actually occupy at the moment, in search of slippers, coffee-cups, a spoon, a china bowl, or some other trifling article which they had left behind them. This place abounds in provisions of every kind; I was feasted off six or seven ample dishes, (among which one contained pheasant) with three porcelain bowls of different sherbets; besides *mást* (ماست or sour-milk), sweet-meats, pomegranates and oranges; there was bread, also, but it had been brought from *Sári*, as all made at *Ali-ábád* (if local report may be credited) invariably proved unwholesome, and in some instances had occasioned death. In the evening I received a visit from MUHAMMED SHERI'F KHA'N, whom the Prince had appointed to accompany me as an additional *Mehmándar*; soon after came the principal *Ked Khudá* and other house-holders of the village; they asked many questions about *Yangiduníá* or America, a subject respecting which they evinced as much inquisitiveness and ignorance as had often been displayed by men of higher rank in the south of Persia. They assured me that the *pash-ehs*, "gnats or mosquitoes," had not yet appeared though my legs were smarting, at the same time, from some flies so much resembling them, and so numerous that in the night I found it necessary to spread the gauze curtains over my bed. The weather was delightfully mild during the day; at three o'clock (without any fire in the room, all doors and windows being open), the quicksilver in Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 54; the evening was cold and rendered a bright charcoal fire agreeable. It was here customary, as I understood, for many persons to assemble in the winter nights about a wooden frame, nearly four feet square and seventeen or eighteen inches high, placed over a hole dug in the earthen floor and filled with burning charcoal; each person applies his feet to the frame, lays his head on a pillow or cushion, and one great *leháf* (لحاف) (a quilted sheet, or stuffed counterpane) is thrown over all who are thus kept warm during a sleep of several hours. In my room was one of those wooden frames, which the servants called a *kursi* (کرسی); this name is given also to a chair, a throne, or any raised and moveable seat.

Soon after seven o'clock on the 28th of February, we set out from *Aliábád*; and having proceeded half a farsang in the direction of N. N. W. (Mount *Damávand* bearing nearly S. W.) we halted some time at the *Bázár* belonging to that village, and caused the feet of our horses to be carefully examined, new shoes applied, or nails driven, a duty which the roads of *Mázanderán* render indispensable every day and almost every hour; indeed there is scarcely a farsang without a *naalband* or farrier. This بازار *Bázár* (as the word imports) is a market-place, and not only supplies the village of which it bears the name, but all the surrounding country to a distance of twelve or fourteen miles; the inhabitants chiefly frequent it on Wednesdays; and I heard that above one hundred cows, sheep, calves and lambs are killed in it for the consumption of each week. Beef was said to be here a much more common article of food than in the southern provinces. About four miles farther we alighted to breakfast under some trees of immense size close to the *Siáh-rúd* (سیاه رود) or "Black River;" here I sketched a bridge forming part of SHA' H ABBA'S's causeway or *Kheyabán* (See Pl. LXIX); on which we now proceeded with considerable difficulty at the rate of two miles an hour, so ineffectually had several men been recently employed in repairing its innumerable defects. This road, as was still evident, must have once been a most magnificent avenue; being of great breadth, straight for many farsangs, and beautifully bordered on each side with large and stately trees.

At four miles from *Sári* I found HUSEIN KHA'N (حسین خان) (the prince's master of ceremonies) waiting to receive me; and with him a *Mastowfi* or secretary, and a boy of twelve or thirteen years, brother of MÍRZA' SA'DEK, my *Mehmándár*. The *istikhál* accompanying them consisted of about an hundred and sixty horsemen, armed with muskets, and lances. Having exchanged compliments, and conversed during a few minutes, we all rode on to *Sári*; and after a journey of fifteen or sixteen miles, I entered that city through a crowd of at least three thousand persons, and alighted at the house of MÍRZA' REZA' (میرزا رضا), *Vazír* or chief minister to the prince who governs in *Mázanderán*. He had provided for

me a spacious chamber, handsomely gilt and painted, and furnished with a magnificent carpet. The usual refreshments, coffee and *caleáns*, were immediately presented by his servants, who afterwards placed before me two trays containing various preserved fruits, and many sweetmeats; cold pheasant, lamb, and sherbet of different kinds; all these were offered merely as a breakfast, and ISMAAIL hinted that the *Vazírs* cooks were already engaged in preparing a sumptuous *shámi* (شامی), the dinner or evening meal.

During breakfast several large Russian bottles of red wine were sent by my kind host, although much of that which I had before received from him, yet remained. At four o'clock this minister honoured me with a visit; he had just returned from the prince's palace, and wore his full court dress, of stiff gold brocade, with fur. His son, my *Mehmándár*, (a man about twenty-three years old) accompanied him; but stood, in a respectful manner, during three quarters of an hour, whilst the *Vazír* continued with me; it was well known, however, that the strongest affection subsisted between them; yet according to the custom of Persia, filial reverence prohibited his sitting in the presence of his father; at least among strangers or on ceremonious occasions. I remarked also, that although perfectly well qualified, and before others always ready, to converse agreeably; he now only spoke in answer to questions. The *Vazír* and I sat on one *nammed*, and by his invitation, MU'LA' ABBA's, after a few minutes seated himself in an opposite corner of the room. Having officially presented many compliments of congratulation on my arrival, from the prince, and less formally from himself, the minister fixed an hour for introducing me at court the next day. We then talked on various subjects; he enumerated the towns in this country most worthy of inspection, and calculated the intermediate distances; endeavouring to prove that I might remain his guest at *Sári* five or six days, visit all those places, yet be at home in *Tehrán* on the feast of *Naurúz*, according to my declared wish and intention. Conversing on various kinds of fruits, he made a sign to his servants who crowded about the doors and windows, (as usual during the visit of a Persian nobleman); they soon brought a large tray of oran-

ges and lemons, which had grown in the gardens of the *Vazír's* house; indeed the court before my chamber contained several orange trees, loaded with fruit apparently ripe. Of local antiquities I could not obtain much information, and began to apprehend that many venerable monuments which some of my manuscripts described as visible here, no longer existed, or that at least their names had been forgotten. On this subject, indeed, any very confident expectations might have been repressed by a passage in the MS. *Tarikh i Tabristán*, which, relating various events of the Muhammedan year 325, (or of our era 936) mentions that "in this year an inundation occurred at *Sári*, which totally destroyed that city; and of its former buildings left none remaining; and all the inhabitants of *Sári* retired to the hilly country, until God had reduced the water"⁽²¹⁾. It will appear, however, from other extracts of the same work, that some mounds of earth or tumular monuments extremely ancient, must have resisted the violence of this flood which easily swept away the houses, at that time here and throughout *Tabristán*, very frail structures, as we learn from EBN HAUKAL⁽²²⁾. The *Vazír* left me extremely pleased with the affability and politeness of his manners; and I soon received further proofs of his hospitality; several trays containing a dinner in quantity sufficient for eight or ten hungry travellers, and in delicacy suited to palates much more nice than mine; his servants also illuminated my room most brilliantly with many thick candles each about four feet long, in large and very handsome silver *shamaadans* or candlesticks, placed on the floor at regular intervals; some *cherághdúns* or oil-lamps being interspersed.

Early on the 29th, MI'RZA' SA'DEK came by the *Vazír's* desire to ask how I had passed the night; he brought with

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 (21) و در این سال اب در ساری افتاد و جمله ساری را خراب کرد و بنیادی که پیش از آن بود هیچ بر قرار ن گذاشت و مردم ساری جمله بیایان کوهستان شدند تا خدای تعالی اب باقرار آورد.

(22) Orient. Geogr. p. 172; and the manuscript *Sún al beldán*, which tells us that "the materials with which their houses are built, consist chiefly in wood and reeds." These words of one who travelled in the tenth century, are now, in the eighteenth, equally applicable.

him his favourite brother, several years younger than himself; and this boy observed towards the *MI'RZA'* as much respect as a son towards his father. Notwithstanding my invitation, he would not presume to sit until authorized by a look of permission from the elder. In whatever degree of domestick familiarity they may privately indulge, this deference is paid to seniority among Persian brethren before strangers and servants. My *nahár* (نهار) or morning repast comprised various dishes of meat and rice, with fruit and sherbet, besides some excellent fish from the Caspian sea; soon after this breakfast, I prepared for introduction at court; drew on my *chákshúrs* (چاکشور), (crimson cloth boots or stockings) and at half past eleven, with *MI'RZA' SA'DEK* and an officer sent for the purpose of escorting me, I proceeded on horseback to the *Arg* or citadel, where the prince resided. We were received by *HUSEIN KHA'N*, master of the ceremonies, in a small room; and sat there some minutes in high-backed chairs resembling those of old-fashioned European construction; and such as are found in the ante-chambers or waiting-rooms at all the royal courts or palaces of Persia; here we were treated with *kalcáns* and coffee; and then advanced, making bows at stated distances, until we had arrived opposite the *tálár* or open-fronted hall in which the prince was seated. *HUSEIN KHA'N* next proclaimed that *Ser Villam Vezli, bráder i-ilchi-Ingiliz*, "the English ambassador's brother was desirous of "paying homage to his royal highness, the *Sháhzádeh*," or "offspring of the king," and for this purpose had come from *Tehrán*. The prince replied, as usual on similar occasions, *Khúshámed*, "he is welcome." Having been conducted to the hall of audience, I seated myself where, by a nod, he seemed to direct; for during two or three minutes not one word was spoken; at length he repeated the welcome with a loud voice; expressed the pain he had suffered on hearing of the Ambassador's illness; made numerous inquiries concerning the King of England, whom he styled his uncle; the number of his sons; of his troops and ships; the size and population of "*Landán*" our great metropolis. The "*new world*," *Yangi-dunia* or America, was not forgotten. He lamented that the roads of *Mázenderán* were so bad, and mentioned the snow and wind of *Firúzkuh*. I took an opportunity of

declaring that my reception and entertainment at his capital had completely effaced every recollection of fatigue or danger; and, after an interview of about half an hour, I retired with the customary ceremonies, and returned to my apartment at the *Vazirs*. Prince MUHAMMED KULI MI'RZA' (محمد قلي ميرزا) appeared to be in his twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth year, and of a slender form; his face seemed a little marked by the small-pox; and his beard in length almost equalled the king's; his manner, which at first might have been reckoned formal and cold, after a few minutes relaxed into a pleasing graciousness⁽²³⁾. His mother is of an illustrious *Mázenderáni* tribe, and many persons consider him as possessing strong claims to the future inheritance of the crown; he has ten or twelve children, one of whom, a boy about eight years old, has lately been appointed governor of *Asterábád* (استراباد). On my first visit, the prince's dress was extremely rich, of a dark green colour; he wore *bázú-bands* of jewels on his arms; diamonds, pearls, and emeralds decorated his *camr-band* or girdle, and his dagger, and were profusely scattered in his lap, and on the carpet near him. But this display, however brilliant, could not much dazzle one who had lately seen the full lustre of his royal father on the throne. The same ceremonies were observed here as at the other Persian courts. The *Vazir* stood, during the time of my audience, at one end of the room; near him was a row of other ministers, *mastoufs*, secretaries and ushers; several officers of state in furred dresses remained outside in the open space before the palace; and a large passage leading to it was filled with *tufangchis* or musketeers, sitting on benches. I remarked many workmen employed here, in repairing old rooms, or constructing new, for the last earthquake (three or four years ago) had done considerable damage to the *arg* and to most of the other edifices at *Sári*. The principal *Diván Kháneh* (ديوان خانه) or hall of audience, had suffered from it; and the chamber in which the prince received me belonged to his *khalwet* (خلوت) or private apartments; it was handsome

(²³) The prince was described by some of his courtiers, as an admirable horseman, and no less excellent as a poet; of his verses *SHERI'F KHA'N* transcribed for me several pages; which furnish a very favourable specimen; the poetical surname assumed by the prince in these compositions is *KHUSRAVI* (خسروي).

and of good size; the ceiling coved and lined entirely with looking-glass, in thousands of small pieces; the walls were nearly covered with pictures of gaudy colours, but most inaccurate as to their perspective and proportions. An immense battle-piece was particularly conspicuous; and next, the representation of an extraordinary group, expressing the power of beauty in a manner highly ridiculous; the principal personage being SHEIKH SENAAN (شیخ سنان), a grey-bearded Musulman, who, though he had attained the reputation of sanctity, became so fascinated by the charms of a fair Christian, that he was induced not only to drink wine like an infidel, but to contaminate himself and scandalize all true believers by eating pork⁽²⁴⁾.

When it was known that the *Vazír* had returned from court I hastened to pay him my respects. He mentioned that the late earthquake had not only injured several, and totally destroyed some houses at *Sári*, but had also killed many of the inhabitants; that it had pervaded a great portion of *Mázenderán*, and that at *A'mul* particularly, its violence had been most severely felt. I expressed my apprehensions of having wearied the prince with too long a visit, adding that his affability and politeness had caused me to forget the lapse of time. "I perceived," says the *Vazír* "that during this day's audience, you seemed to me twice, as if desirous of going away; but his Royal Highness's looks at the same moments, expressed a wish that the interview should not terminate so soon." The course of conversation proved that the *Vazír* was eminently accomplished as a linguist; and from subsequent information communicated by different persons, it appeared that besides his mother-tongue, he understood the Arabick; Turkish as spoken in the East and West; the Georgian

(24) In this picture, the *dukhter* or "damsel," approaching the saint, is attended by an ill looking fellow habited in such clothes as were worn in France or England about an hundred years ago; these shew him to be a *Farangki* or European; and a black pig which he carries under his arm sufficiently proves him, in this country, to be a Christian. The story of SHEIKH SENAAN is a favourite subject among the Persians; and this pig scene expresses, to their gross perceptions, the influence of love, much more forcibly than "Cupid taming a Lion," or the most refined and beautiful allegory of classical antiquity.

and Armenian languages; the *Mázenderáni* and other provincial dialects. On philology, a subject at all times most interesting to me, our discourse was now insensibly protracted to so late an hour that I necessarily postponed, until the next day, my intended examination of those structures which Hanway (Vol. I. p. 292) has described as ancient Fire-Temples. During my visit at the minister's, his son, *Mi'RZA' SA'DEK*, whom he both loved and admired, stood in the open court outside the window, but near enough to hear our conversation; with him was a crowd of servants and towns people, from whom he was only distinguished by the rich dress which he had worn at the palace; neither on him nor on them, did the *Vázir* twice condescend to cast his eyes. In the evening my room was illuminated as on the night preceding, and its floor displayed three or four large silver trays, on each of which were several dishes and bowls with high conical-shaped covers, all likewise of solid silver and of handsome workmanship. In these were contained *pilaw* and *chilaw* or rice under different forms; chickens, pheasants, lamb, fish, and the usual varieties of *shírini* or sweetmeats, besides fruit and sherbet. An officer attended by eight or nine servants had brought this dinner from the palace; it had been prepared by the prince's own cooks, one of whom, as *ISMAAIL* informed me, had inquired of him in the morning, what meat I particularly liked. When these circumstances were, some weeks afterwards, mentioned to a *Káim* of my acquaintance at *Tehrán*, he declared that such a favour conferred on any Persian nobleman must have cost him, in sums to be distributed among those who brought the dinner, at least one hundred guineas or *tumáns*; on this occasion they had been commanded not to accept any remuneration for their trouble.

Next day, (March the first) the prince gave an additional proof of his wish to compliment the English ambassador in my person, by sending me at an early hour a *Khelaat* or "dress of honour," comprising a magnificent *kabba* (كبا) of gold embroidery on flowered silk; an outside coat with fur; a splendid *camrband* (كمر بند) or girdle, of gold brocade, and a fine *Cashmerian* shawl; there was also a very handsome white *Turcománi* horse with a silver leading-chain. I had originally

intended to explore, this morning, whatever remains of ancient monuments were visible near *Sári*, and immediately after commence my journey towards *Ashraf*; but the prince's valuable gift merited something more than thanks expressed to the officer who brought it; and indeed, the usage of Persian courts required that one who had been honoured with a robe of state should present himself, clothed in it, before the illustrious donor. Accordingly at noon, fully invested with this gorgeous dress, and mounted on the white charger, I proceeded about three quarters of a mile from the city, to a kind of summer house, which the prince was building in the middle of a very large new garden. SHERIF KHA'N accompanied me, and after ceremonies nearly similar to those observed on my introduction at the *Arg*, I was led up some very steep and bad wooden stairs to the room where MUHAMMED KULI MI'RZA' sat, wrapped in furs, the day being very cold, and the *emáret* or edifice open to the wind; a large cushion supported his back, and he was without jewels or any other mark of distinction. He had come out to the *hammám* or bath, and was engaged in superintending the plantation of trees and flowers in this new garden, which he had undertaken to make in hopes of pleasing the king; he therefore begged that I would walk through it, and report to his majesty its flourishing condition; and particularly the forwardness of some fine orange and cypress trees, lately transplanted. I had seated myself near the door; after a few minutes the prince desired me to come nearer, and we conversed almost half an hour; he regretted that my time for seeing the country was so limited "*wakt tang shud*" (وقت تنگ شد), he ordered SHERIF KHA'N to attend me wheresoever I might wish to go in *Mázenderán*. He again spoke of America and its mines, and seemed struck by the account of the regent of Portugal's grand diamond; he hoped that the king and the ambassador would come from *Tehrán* in the course of another year, when his palace and this new garden might be in a more perfect state. Having taken leave of the prince I walked with SHERIF KHA'N and MI'RZA' SA'DEK through most parts of the garden⁽²⁵⁾; and

.....
 (*) It was equally divided at right angles by two principal walks, and at the point where they crossed each other, stood the summer-house, or *emáret* (عمارت), in which

returned to my *manzel* (منزل) or lodging at half past one; then gladly divested myself of the cumbrous finery, gold brocade, furs and shawls; and still more gladly, of the *kafsh* (كفش) or loose slippers with wooden heels two inches high, in which I had contrived, not without much pain and difficulty, to walk above a mile in the prince's gardens. The day was now gloomy, and rain began to fall. Fahrenheit's Thermometer stood at 53 in the room not warmed by a fire.

I then rode out to visit those monuments which Hanway dignified with the title of Fire-temples; but some, as my guide declared, had been destroyed by the late earthquake, and considerable heaps of ruins seemed to confirm his report; these heaps, however, were merely masses of brick masonry, and there is reason to believe not very ancient, for one *gumbed* yet remaining entire, and apparently corresponding in length and form to those described by Hanway, is evidently a building of Muhammedan ages, and exhibits in very distinct characters an Arabick inscription which the heavy rain prevented me from copying. This and the remains of similar structures, though probably not exceeding five, six or seven centuries in antiquity, bear the names of FERIDU'N SALM, TU'R and other illustrious personages whose celebrity was established near two thousand years before. One person mentioned the "*Tomb of Cáús*," and affected to suppose that it contained the ashes of that monarch or *Cai*, whom our writers call Darius the Mede, as we learn from Sir William Jones. It must be acknowledged that according to FIRDAUSI's historical poem, CAICAUS invaded *Mázenderán*, and was detained there as a captive by the inhabitants; but the same



the prince sat. On the right and left of this building the main walk terminated in small *emárets* or lodges for gardeners and labourers. The walk which intersected this, commenced at the entrance, under an *emáret*, serving as a guard house for twenty or thirty soldiers; and at its opposite extremity was a *hawz* (حوض) or reservoir of water, so considerable that some affected to call it the *deriáchéh* (دریاچه) or lake. Adjoining this I saw the bath, which some servants had just heated for the prince; they were then engaged in preparing his *rakhet i hammám* (رخت حمام) or "bathing clothes."

authority informs us that having been liberated through the bravery of his general RUSTAM, he returned to the south, which it does not appear that he again quitted⁽²⁶⁾; and this tomb was probably erected in honour of CA'U'S, (CA'VU'S or CA'BU'S, as the name is sometimes written) one of those princes or chiefs noticed in the history of *Mázenderán* as having flourished during the fourth century of the Muhammedan, or the tenth of our era. To whomsoever it appertained, the monument has been long since ruined. Yet this place might contain some vestiges of antiquity highly remote; as we are justified in believing by a passage of the *Sháhnúme*, (بفرمود شان تا بساري برند), according to which, AFRASIA'B having seized the nobles of *Irán* or Persia sent them as prisoners to *Sári*; this event may be dated almost seven hundred years before the Christian era, during the reign of NAUDAR; but we also find an earlier mention of *Sári* in the same work; and subsequent parts of that celebrated poem record its name five different times. That *Sári* was numerous peopled, abounded with provisions, and exceeded *Cazvin* in size, during the tenth century, we learn from EBN HAWKAL (p. 179) with whose account, as usual, the MS. *Súr al beldán* agrees; adding that although *A'mul* was then the principal city of *Tabristán*, "yet "in former ages those who governed the province resided at "*Sárieh*"⁽²⁷⁾.

HAMDALLAH briefly describes "*Sári*, belonging to the "fourth climate, and situate in long. (from the Fortunate "Islands) 88-0, and in lat. (from the Equinoctial line) 37-0." It is, he adds, a considerable city and the capital of *Mázenderán*. Its air is unwholesome; its products are rice, silk, grapes, and corn in great abundance⁽²⁸⁾.

(26) According to the MS. *Mujmel al Tuárikh*, "CAI CA'U'S died at *Istakhr* or Per-sepolis, and was there interred in the sepulchre of his father."

کیکاس با صطخر از دنیا یرفت و انجا بستودان پدرش نهادند

(27) اما در ایام قدیم حکام انجا بساریه ساکن و متوطن می بودند

(28) ساری از اقلیم چهارم است طولش از جزایر خالدات فح—ح و عرض از خط استوا ل—ح (MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*, ch. xviii). The Persian writer here quoted.

The MS. *Haft aklim* declares "that language is inadequate to the praises of *Sári*. The gales of Paradise derive sweetness from its air, and the flowers of Eden their fragrance from its soil. It was founded by SA'RU'IEH, the son of DA'BU'IEH, son of GAW PA'REH, and from ancient times until the present day has always continued to flourish; and on one side of this city is a most delightful plain or meadow, extending nearly two miles"⁽²⁹⁾. But we must not ascribe to SA'RU'IEH, mentioned in this extract, more than the augmentation, embellishment, or reparation of *Sári*; for it appears from the *Tárikh Jehán Ará* that he flourished in the first century of the *Hejra*, or during the seventh of our era. According to this manuscript, SA'R'UIEH, the son of FARKHA'N, succeeded his brother in the chief government; his uncle, after whose name he was called, built the city of *Sári*⁽³⁰⁾. Now we can scarcely suppose that FIRDAUSI, who lived within three centuries of this prince's time, could have been ignorant of *Sári*'s modern origin, or guilty of an anachronism by introducing its name (as in a line above quoted) into the history of kings who had reigned thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen hundred years before the city existed. These difficulties may perhaps be reconciled by a reference to the MS. *Tárikh*, or particular history of *Tábristán*, which informs us that "TUS, the son of NAUDAR, and general of the Persian armies laid the foundation of *Sári*, in that place which even at this day

.....
 accords, in the longitude and latitude of *Sari* with *Nassir addin Tusi*, and *Ulugh Beig*, whose tables are printed among the Minor Works of Geography, published by Hudson, Vol. III. p. 106, and 128. But the MS. *Takwim* of SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI, places *Sari* in longitude ۸۵-۸۷ (87-45), latitude ۳۰-۳۶ (36-30).

(²⁹) ساری که زبان از وصف او عاری است — فرد —

باد فردوس از آن هوایابند

کل جنت از آن زمین بویند

و ساری از ایندی مارویه بین دابویه بن کاویاره است و از زمان قدیم تا حال غایت آبادانی و نهایت معموری را داشته و بریک طرف شهر مرغزار است قریب بدو میل در نهایت خرمی
 MS. *Haft Aklim*. Fourth Climate.

(³⁰) مارویه بن فرخان پس از برادر حکومت یافته عمش که وی بنام اوست شهر ساری را بساخت
 Chapter of the Sovereigns of *Tábristán*, *Rustamdár* and *Mánderán*.

"is styled *Túsán*"⁽³¹⁾. Having after some lines, mentioned the *Kasr-i-Sheid* (قصر شهید), a villa or palace, and other edifices constructed by *Tū's*, the historian adds "and the remains of these are yet visible in the tumular heaps called *Lūmen-dūn*"⁽³²⁾. These passages refer to the seventh century before Christ. The author immediately proceeds thus: "and respecting this place now denominated *Sári*. The king of *Tabristán*⁽³³⁾, *FARKHA'N* the great, of whom an account shall be hereafter given, commanded *BA'V* or *BA'VER*, a distinguished personage of his court, to erect a city where the village of *Auher* stands; the ground being there elevated, the springs of water numerous, and the situation pleasant. But the people of *Auher*, by means of a bribe, induced *BA'VER* to build near that place; and he erected the city on that spot where now is *Sári*; when it was complete, the sovereign came to examine in what manner the city had been built; and having discovered the fraud of

(31) ساری را طوس نودر که سنیله دار ایران بود طرح افکند بموضعی که این ساعت نیز طوسان میگویند.
(MS. *Tārīkh i Tabristán*).

(32) هنوز توده آن بانیس ~~سین~~ ^{لومن} ~~سین~~ میگویند

(33) The Sovereigns of *Tabristán* were formerly styled *Ispahbad*; and this title like the Latin *Imperator*, seems derived from military power; for the dictionary *Burhan Kātea* thus explains it—

اسپهبد بفتح بای انجد اسمی است مخصوص ملوک طبرستان و بمعنی سپه سالار هم آمده است که سردار و خداوند لشکر باشد چه بد بمعنی خداوند و صاحب و اسپه سپاه و لشکر بود و بضم بای انجد هم گفته اند و معرب آن اصفهبد است

"*Ispahbad* having the accent *fatteh* on *b*, is a title particularly given to the kings of *Tabristán*; and it also is used in the sense of *general*, the chief or commander of an army, for *bad* signifies lord, master, or possessor, and *aspañ* or *ispeh*, an army; the word is sometimes expressed with the vowel accent *damma* on the *b* (*bud*); and according to the Arabick manner, *Isfahbad*." The historian *TABRI* relating various transactions which occurred in the year 22 (642 of our era), mentions the *Ispahbads* of *Tabristán*, who were all, he says, from *Gilán*; and adds—

و ایشانرا مهتری بود مردی بزرگوار نام او فرخان و کیل بود و اورا اسپهبد اسپهبدان خواندندی و ایشان همه بفرمان او بودند و اسپهبد بزرگان پارسی پهلوی سپاهبر گویند یعنی که سپاه برد از جای بجای

"And they had a certain chief, a very powerful man named *Farkhán*, and he was of *Gilán*, and entitled the *Ispahbad Isfahbadán*, or chief of the chiefs, (like "King of Kings,") and they were all under his control; and the word *Ispahbad*, expresses in the *Pārsi-Pahlavi* language, a leader of troops, that is, one who conducts an army "from place to place." This old title is also found in the *Shāhnámeh* of *FIRDAUSI*.

"BA'v, he imprisoned him and afterwards caused him to be hanged on the *A'mul* road, at the village of BA'VER-JEMA'N or BA'VER-A'VI'JA'N, as it was named from this circumstance; and the money which had been received as a bribe, FARKHA'N expended in building a village, which when finished he called *Dínár-Kafshán*; the village continues inhabited and the name exists at this day"⁽³⁴⁾. A confusion of locality, arising probably from some graphical mistake, renders the text a little obscure respecting the exact situation of *Sári*; and FARKHA'N is here described as its founder, whilst the works above quoted, assign its origin to his son SA'RU'IEH. But this difference cannot much affect the antiquity of *Sári*; the father and son may have united in building it. The name however, (generally written in old manuscripts *Sárieh*) seems derived from *Sáruieh*. By whomsoever this city was built, its *Masjed jamaa* or principal Mosque, is said to have been the first edifice that the Muhammedans erected in *Tábristán*⁽³⁵⁾

Among the ancient monuments for which I enquired without success, was the "*Tomb of Suhráb*;" this, according to FIRDAUSI, might be sought in a very distant province; but we learn from the MS. above quoted that it was actually situate at *Sári*; for RUSTAM having at *Belikesh* (بلیکش) in the territory of *Rután* (رویان), slain the young hero SU'RHA'B (or SURKHA'B) not knowing until too late that he was his own son, caused the body to be removed from the

(34) و اینموضع که این ساعت ساری محدثست فرخان بزرگ که ذکرش برود پادشاه طبرستان بود و باورا که از مشهور درگاه بود فرمود که اینجا که دیده اوهر است شهر بنیادنهند برای بلندی آن موضع و بسیاری جسمهای آب و نزهت جایگاهها و مردم اوهر باورا رشوت دادند تا بنزدیک آن بقعه کرد و اینجا که امروز ساری است بنیاد نهاد و چون اوهر عمارت تمام شد شاه بیامد تا مطالعه شهر کند که چون کردند معلوم شد که باوخیانت کرد معبود فرمود و بطریق امل بدیده بورجمان او را بیاوخت نام این ده باورا اوچان ازین سبب نهادند و از آن زر رشوت دیدی بنیاد افکند و چون تمام شد دینار کفشی نام نهاد تا این ساعت هم دیده معمور ماند و هم نام برقرار

MS. *Tarikh* و اول عمارتی که اهل اسلام فرمودند مسجد جمعه ساری است (35)
i Tabristán, which dates the construction of this Mosque in the year (of the Hejrah) 140, (of our era 757).

scene of fatal combat; "and took the coffin, that it might be conveyed to *Zavelistán*, as far on the way as *Sári*; there, at the spot called *Lúmen-dúin*, on which stood the *Kasr-i-Tús* or "Palace of Tús," the son of NAUDAR, he deposited the body, intending when the weather should become less warm, to carry it away; but (an accident hindering the accomplishment of this design) he himself did not happen to return; and it is said that the tumular heap of earth opposite *Tús's Villa* or Palace, contains the grave of *SUHRA'B*"⁽³⁶⁾.

Respecting the propriety with which a classical denomination has been bestowed on this city, I do not hesitate to acknowledge some doubts, since so ingenious a geographer as M. Barbié du Bocage has not been able to satisfy himself on that subject⁽³⁷⁾. Yet D'Anville (Geogr. Anc.) thought that in the modern *Sári* some vestiges might be discovered of *Zadra-carta*, the name, according to Arrian, of the Hyrcanian capital in Alexander's time⁽³⁸⁾; and De la Rochette's beautiful map⁽³⁹⁾, is in this instance conformable to the opinion of D'Anville. From manuscripts cited in the preceding pages, some inferences may be drawn to support the antiquity of *Sári* or *Sárieh*; but if we could ascertain that this city had been called after *SA'RÚ'IEH* in the seventh century of our era, (which as I have hinted, is not impossible), then the derivation of its name from *Zadra-carta* must be annulled, and its identity with the ancient metropolis of Hyrcania otherwise proved. Both for and against this point, I shall candidly state some arguments in another place, observing here, that Pietro della Valle, who describes this city as large

.....
 (36) تابوتش بر گرفت که با زاول برد چون بساری رسید انجا که قصر طوس نودر است که اومن دوین میخوانند فروهاد تا حرارت هوا کمتر شود بر کبر خود اتفاق نیفتاد می گویند که کورش در برابر قصر طوس پشته ایست قبر او انجااست

(37) See the "Analyse de la Carte des Marches et de l'Empire d'Alexandre le Grand," par M. Barbié du Bocage, annexed to the "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre," of Barou de Ste. Croix, second edition, p. 819, Paris, 1804.

(38) *Zadrákarta*, or *Zeudrákarta*, which Arrian styles τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας. De Exped. Alex. Lib. III. Edit. Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1704, pp. 138 and 140.

(39) *Indiæ Veteris, &c. necnon Alexandri Itinera, &c.* Apud Faden, Lond. 1797.

and populous in his time (1618), invariably writes the name *Sarú*; and as this word, says he, "signifies *yellow*, the place "has perhaps been so denominated from the oranges and "other sorts of fruits, abounding there"⁽⁴⁰⁾. For this I know not his authority; but if we suppose that the ancient name related to *yellow*, an etymologist might derive it from a Persian word, which, by merely reading *dr* for *rd* (a transposition of letters very frequent) he could reconcile sufficiently to the *Zadra* (*carta*) of Arrian⁽⁴¹⁾.

Concerning the actual state of *Sári* I must observe that though populous in proportion to its size, it does not cover much ground, nor did the number of large and handsome houses comprised within it, exceed probably ten or twelve; and of these many had suffered considerably from the earthquake three or four years ago: the *bázár* seemed crowded with people and amply stocked with provisions; but the streets were beyond all description dirty; and even those leading from the *Vazír's* to the Prince's palace so badly paved, that it was extremely difficult to guide a horse with safety over the large loose stones and between the deep holes filled with water and filth, which arrested his progress at every third step. The time of my visit was not the season when those "gales of Paradise," mentioned in the *Haft Aklim*, breathed gently here; I remarked that every night during my residence at *Sári*, a violent wind began to blow about nine or ten o'clock,

(40) "Sarù che è un luogo grande e popolato.—Si chiama questo luogo *Sarù* che significa *giallo*, forse per l'abbondanza, che vi è, degli Arauci e d'ogni altra sorte di "frutti." Lettera IV. da Ferhabad, Mag. 1613.—Viaggi, &c. p. 232, Ven. 1681.

(41) *Carta* or *Kerta* (softened into *Gard*) is the local adjunct, expressing a city, place, or habitation, as may be demonstrated in a hundred instances; *Tigrano-kerta*, *Dáráb-gard*, the residence of Tigranes, Darius, &c. (See Vol. II, p. 317). Added to *sard* or *zard* (زر) this would form *Zard carta*, the "yellow city," and in conversation *Zarda carta*; we have already found towns and villages called from colours, green, blue, &c. as *Sayz-vár*, *Kebúd gumbéd*, &c. The Greek transcribers of Arrian's work, not attaching (most probably) any meaning to the words, placed *d* before *r* and wrote *Zadracarta* in one passage, while in the next they render it *Zeudra-carta*; in this unsettled state of the orthography, it is allowable to suspect another error; and *Zarda carta* may perhaps have been the original name. Every reader of classical history and geography will recollect numerous examples of letters transposed and confounded by the Greek copyists in transcribing barbarous or foreign names, as *Pasargardæ*, *Pasagardæ*, *Per-sargard*, *Passargadæ*, &c. (See Vol. II, p. 318).

loudly shaking the windows of my chamber, and rustling among the orange trees that grew before it. In the mornings also, there were strong gusts, but of short continuance, and rain fell abundantly both night and day.

The broad accent was here very striking in words where the letter *a* comes before *n*, such as *nán* نان (bread), which among the southern Persians had always been pronounced like our English *noon*; improperly, without doubt, but to their ears, and I must acknowledge to mine, very elegantly. The *Tabri* or *Mázenderáni* dialect was, of course, most generally used by the inhabitants; many of them, however, seemed acquainted equally with Persian and Turkish.

Early on the second day of March, preparing to continue my journey, I received from MİRZA' REZA' the *Vazír*, a brown *yábú* (یارو) or excellent hackney of the Turkish breed; he was, said the person who brought him, not sufficiently valuable to be regarded as constituting a *pishkash* or present; but better suited to the bad roads of this province than horses brought from *Ispahán* or *Shíráz*. Thus from the first moment of my arrival at *Sári* until my departure, incessant proofs of kindness and attention evinced the respect in which our embassy was held by the Prince and his *Vazír*. At half past eight o'clock having taken leave of this hospitable minister, I set out from his mansion; our party being augmented by MUHAMMED SHERI'F KHA'N and his servants⁽⁴²⁾. We rode through a considerable part of the city; and at length passed

(42) Among the servants of MUHAMMED SHERI'F KHA'N was a *jilúdár* or groom remarkable for great sweetness of voice, which he sometimes exerted with such effect that his melancholy songs moved almost to tears several of my companions, even those whose rough aspect indicated the least sensibility; and at the close of any cadence unusually pathetick, they expressed their applause, exclaiming *bah! bah!* or *wah! wah!* to which some added the Arabick interjection *barek allah!* برك الله —وهـ به — which is all equivalent to good! admirable! excellent! Richardson's dictionary (at least the first edition) informs us that *wah* وهـ signifies (in Arabick) "ah! alas! or (*wehh*) grief, sadness;" but the manuscript *Farhangs* explain it as a Persian word used to express approbation and praise; کلمه ایست که در محل تحسین گویند (*Jehangiri*) بطریق تحسین گویند (*Berhán Katea*). *Wah* وهـ thus appears as a distinct word, although from the frequent change of *b* into *w* (or *v*), it might be supposed the same with *bah* or *beh* به good, excellent.

a gate where fifteen or sixteen musketeers were stationed as a guard. Near this, I endeavoured to sketch that tall *gumbed* with a pointed steeple, and to copy the Arabick inscription before mentioned; but the rain obliterated each letter as I traced it; and we proceeded by a marshy road about one mile and a half, when we rode over the *Pul-i-áb-i-Tejin* (پل اب تجين), a very handsome, strong and spacious bridge, erected by the present king; as one, built in the time of SHA'H ABBAS, had been destroyed by the river *Tejin*, or rather *Tejineh*, here exceedingly wide and rapid⁽⁴⁵⁾. Of the old bridge, some remains near the new were still visible. At ten miles we halted a few minutes on the road-side; and here, during a conversation with different peasants, I contrived to delineate the head of one, at the same time representing the manner in which many carry the *tabr* (تبر) or axe for cutting wood, and the form of this instrument. It is headed with iron, the wooden handle being generally about three feet long. Here I may take an opportunity of remarking that throughout most parts of this province, nearly all the men, several women, and even little children carried *tabrs* of this kind, either in their hands, like walking-sticks, or resting by the curve on their shoulders, as in Miscell. Pl. fig. 26. About thirteen miles from *Sári* the cessation of rain enabled me to sketch a little *tupch* (تپه) or mount, on the summit of which was a large rude flat stone called *Takht-i-Rustam*, the "Throne or Seat of RUSTAM;" for here, as tradition relates, that illustrious warrior alighted one morning and snatched a hasty breakfast, in his pursuit of the *DI'V-I-SEPI'D*, or "White Giant;" the forest in the back ground intercepted a prospect of the Caspian sea; this stone was on the left of our road, (Pl. LXIX). At four farsangs, or between fourteen and fifteen miles, we went over the *Pul-i-áb-i-Neka*, a high bridge, crossing the deep, rapid, and muddy river *Neka*; this bridge is said to be equally distant from *Sári* and from *Ashraf* (اشرف), which was to be our *manzel* for the night. When we had arrived within five miles

(45) *Rúd i Tejin* رود تجين or رود تچينه *Tejineh rúd*, as I find it in a manuscript of good authority, the *Tárikh Aulum Arái*; and as Pietro della Valle writes the name which he says signifies the "swift river;"—"Chiamano il fiume *Teggine rud* che vuol dir Veloce Fiume." Lettera 4, da Ferhabad, 1618.

of this place, a small party of men on horseback met us; and half a mile after, an *istikbál* of about fifty; we rode together during an hour, and I then made a view of the small palace or villa of *Sefi-ábád* (سفی آباد) which is perched on a very lofty hill, and ornamented with cypress trees. It was built by SHA'H ABBA'S, and improved or enlarged by SHA'H SEFI, whose name it still bears; and, having fallen to decay, many workmen are now employed in repairing it (See Pl. LXXI). Near this, about eighty foot-soldiers, clothed without any regard of uniformity, and having muskets of various sizes, joined our party and attended us for half a mile over ground which, they said, had once been covered with the houses of *Ashraf*; the first destruction of these they imputed to NA'DIR SHA'H; and what he had spared, the late earthquake ruined. These two scourges were, unquestionably, dreadful; yet I have reason to suspect that the accounts of ravages effected by the earthquake, have been, in some instances, much exaggerated. It was now six o'clock, and the evening almost dark; we passed through the *Bázár*; this and the adjacent houses (not very numerous), seemed to be slight wooden structures, covered with reeds and rice straw. We were admitted into the royal garden, a spacious extent of ground, exhibiting many noble cypresses, and other trees of considerable size and beauty. Our horses climbed up some sloping terraces of brick five or six feet high, over these a fine stream of water descended from the *chashmeh* or fountain, and intermediate reservoirs near the palace, where at length we alighted, after a journey of about thirty miles; during which we had, at different times, seen the Caspian sea on our left, distant three or four farsangs. I was conducted to a good room, and learned from an intelligent old *ked khudá* or householder, that *Ashraf*, a town, which in Sir Thomas Herbert's time was peopled, as he conjectured, by two thousand families, had gradually been reduced to the condition of a mean *deh* or village. SHA'H ABBA'S's palace, described by that ingenious traveller (in 1627) as "pretty large and but newly finished," had been burnt accidentally; and the present edifice was erected by NA'DIR SHA'H. It bears, like other royal habitations in Persia, the name of *Chehf-sutún* (چهل ستون) or the "Forty columns," although not comprising uall that num-

ber. Its plan, like the style of its architecture, seemed very simple; a roof supported merely on two rows of wooden pillars served to connect the wings, if so may be styled those brick buildings at each end, containing a few chambers. On the third of March, soon after sunrise, I sketched the appearance of this modern palace and the wooded hills behind it (as in Plate LXXI); and then walked through all the adjacent grounds, attended by the venerable *bághbân* (باغبان) or gardener, a tall old man whose beard was white as snow; he had offered me for a *pishkash*, some small red roses, the first of this year, and related many circumstances relative to the palace, and several extraordinary anecdotes of NA'DIR SHA'H, whom he (when a boy or child, for the tyrant was assassinated in 1747) had seen here, and still perfectly remembered. It now appeared that these gardens comprehended, at intervals of several hundred yards, some magnificent structures, each of which might even now, if repaired, be considered as a palace; but with the *emâret* or edifice destroyed by fire, originally the chief of all, must have constituted a residence of truly oriental and imperial splendour. But through neglect rather than time these memorials of SHA'H ABBA'S glory are mouldering to decay. That they were founded in the Muhammedan year 1021 (of our era 1612) we learn from a chapter in the MS. *Tarikh Aulum A'râi*; an historical work composed nearly at the same time; this account, however flowery, affords little more than the date, and the praises usually bestowed by the author on all his royal master's undertakings. It mentions in general terms the "baths, mansions and *tálârs*;" and the formation of "orchards and gardens resembling Eden, and comprising those various edifices and reservoirs of perfect beauty, filled with pleasant and salubrious water, ingeniously conveyed from the lofty mountain adjoining into those *hawz* or cisterns which are like the celestial fountain of *Cawzar*⁽⁴⁾; and those bowers that

(4) Or as the Arabians pronounce it *Cawthar*. This is a river in Muhammed's Paradise; "sweeter than honey, whiter than milk, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream; its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereout of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst." See "*Sal's Koran*," note on chapter CVIII, entitled *Al-Cawthar*.