

"might ornament the paradisaical garden of *Irem*"⁽⁴⁵⁾. We then read in plainer language that this place having become a favourite habitation of the monarch, "was now exalted from its original insignificance to the rank of a considerable town or city"⁽⁴⁶⁾. Yet four years after this account was written, Pietro della Valle described *Ashraf* as "an open tract whereon little had then been erected besides the king's palace at that time not complete; with its gardens and one street forming a *bázár*, and many houses irregularly scattered in the midst of trees;" and according to a former passage of the Italian traveller's letter, "SMA'N ABBA's had begun to build at *Ashraf* another new city"⁽⁴⁷⁾. Sir Thomas Herbert in 1627 (nine years after Della Valle's time) speaks of the palace as recently finished: "it is large, says he, and looks into very pleasant gardens; albeit, the building itself be not very regular, but rather confusedly divides itself into four *mohols* or banquetting houses, which be gorgeously painted." He then adds an opinion, totally different from mine, that "were these united they might better delight the eye. (Trav. p. 183, edit. of 1665). My ancient guide first led me to the *Emáret-i-Chashmeh* (عمارت چشمه) or "Edifice of the Fountain;" whence a stream of admirable water flows in successive falls along the half-ruined walks, shaded with lofty trees, and once bordered with innumerable flowers. Of this *emáret* I hastily made a sketch (Pl. LXXI), and then examined it, ascending to the third story through many spacious apartments, formerly ornamented with gilding, *Arabesque* devices, richly-carved wood-work, and mirrors, of which numerous fragments still

(45) *Irem* or *Arem*, a magnificent palace with delightful gardens, mentioned in the *Korau*, (chapter LXXXIX). I shall hereafter have occasion to notice it more particularly.

(46) حمام و بیوتات و تالار و باغات و بساتین جنت ایمن مشتمل بر عمارات و حوضخانهها در کمال زیبایی و دلکشایی ترتیب یافته آبهای خوشکوار از کوه بلند بحیاض کوثر ایمن و ریاض ارم تزئین آورده—و اکنون آن قصه نیز شهری بزرگست

(47) "E luogo aperto, cominciato adesso a fabricare, che infin' hora non vi è altro che la Casa Reale, non ancor fornita, con i suoi giardini; & una strada in *Bazar* con molte e molte altre case, sparse senza ordine quà e là per mezo a gli alberi."—"Sua Maesta ha cominciato a fabricare un'altra nuova città." *Viaggi, &c. Lettera 4 da Ferhabàd*, Tom. I. p. 248, 286, Ven. 1681.

remained in several *ták-ehs* (طاقه) "niches," or recesses. The walls of some chambers had been completely painted, and in three or four compartments I traced the vestiges of an European pencil. Diana with nymphs at a fountain; near her a large urn, and dogs; and some portraits, almost of the natural size. But from the admission of damp air, (all doors and windows having been broken or removed) and from the smoke of fires kindled on the floors of those sumptuous rooms, both the outlines and colours had suffered so considerably that it was difficult to ascertain the subjects designed. Those injuries also extended to some pictures of the best Persian school; in which had been delineated, (for they were discernible, though faintly) very graceful forms and handsome faces of women, besides various representations of men richly clothed as in illuminated Persian manuscripts of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. There were also fractured pieces of glazed tile-work, exhibiting painted scenes from favourite romances; but most of this had been lately transferred to the neighbouring villa of *Sefi-ábád*, which masons were now repairing by order of the king or prince. In other compartments the plaster had been totally or partially cut out from the wall; with a design, as it would seem, of removing certain groups, the least worthy of preservation; for, from imperfect figures still visible, the subjects were evidently most offensive to modesty, but therefore adapted to the corrupt taste of Persians; or as Hanway says of the paintings which he saw in another edifice here, "such as could please only a voluptuous Mahomedan." (Trav. Vol. I. p. 294). I next visited the *Sáheb-e-Zamán* (صاحب زمان), a large structure different in its plan but equally majestic in decay; and thence went on to a more extensive building, situate among lofty *chinárs* or planes, cypresses and orange trees; and explored the recesses of its deserted apartments, to enter which had been the exclusive privilege of one man; and even to look on which would once have cost any other man his life; for in this *harem* (حرم) had resided the beautiful wives of SHAH ABBA'S. I afterwards examined the *khatwet* (خلوت) or private chambers of that monarch, in an edifice falling to ruin, yet like those above noticed, exhibiting through every part, abundant proofs of former magnificence. In the modern *Chehl-sutún* where I was

lodged, some of the old paintings, neatly executed on tiles, which had ornamented the palace destroyed by fire, were still preserved in the pavement of door-ways and windows. According to the report of my venerable conductor, several hewn stones of the water-works belonging to the *Emáret-i chashmeh*, had been brought at considerable expense from *Astrakhan*; he said also, that one of the noblest trees, growing in these gardens, owed its origin to a shoot or seed, sent either from *Farangkistán* or *Hindústán* (Europe or India) to *SHÁH ABBA'S*; this was not mentioned until I had mounted my horse, and it was too late to ascertain the particular kind of tree. Leaving these delightful gardens and their princely ruins, we proceeded to the unfinished villa of *Sefi-ábád*, already delineated in Plate LXXI, which shows its exalted situation, on a mountain finely wooded in some places, and in others covered with grass beautifully verdant. It was about a mile from the *Chehl-sutún*, and very little out of our way towards *Farrakh-ábád*, which we proposed to be the *manzel* of this day. The former villa was most probably that noticed by Hanway, and described by an earlier traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, as having been denominated after its founder, *ABBA'S*⁽⁴⁸⁾; but since the embellishments and additions made by *SHÁH SEFI*, this monarch's name has been attached to it, although the present edifice, (of the *Kuláh Farangki* class, described in p. 20, and in Vol. II. p. 2), has been recently erected on the platform and lower walls of the older building. For the trouble of ascending several flights of steps, we were amply recompensed by a glorious prospect of the Caspian sea, which was, probably, six or eight miles distant; but from such an elevation appeared much nearer. Here a bay was formed by arms of the main land, widely extended, and seemingly, but as my guide declared, not really, insulated. Of many buildings that formerly crowned the summit of this hill and contributed to the delights of *ABBA'S*'s or *SEFI*'s villa, there now re-

(48) "At some distance from this, on an eminence, is a small building which seemed to be intended for an observatory. The whole commands a view of a very fine country, and the Caspian sea, &c." (Hanway's Travels, Vol. I. p. 294). "*Abbasbaud*" also is not above two miles hence; and far surpasses for a curious summer-house, excelling all his other for prospect, painting, humm-m, water works, and a fore t which "is stored with game of several sorts." (Herbert's Travels, third edit. 1685, p. 185).

mained only part of the bath and one end of the aqueduct, by means of which water had been most ingeniously conveyed upwards from a celebrated spring in the neighbouring mountain to a considerable height; this aqueduct was of the kind in Persian architecture styled *Shuter gulú* (شتر کلو) or "Camel's Throat;" having sketched the form of its remains (as in Plate LXXII), I visited the *hammám* or bath, where many painted tiles removed from the chief palace lay neglected on the floor; some still perfect, but a much greater number irreparably broken.

We descended from the eminence of *Sefi-ábád*, went on nearly a mile, and passed the *Deh-i-Zírván* (ده زیروان), a village dependent on *Ashraf*; and soon after entered the *jangal* (جنگل) or forest, through which, with much difficulty we forced our way, being often obliged, by stumps and branches of trees, to quit the rugged and narrow path, and ride in marshy grounds where sometimes our horses sunk in water to the saddle-girths. We had advanced between five and six miles, when a well-dressed chief at the head of twenty horsemen, armed with muskets and spears, received us very ceremoniously. This chief was KARI'M KHAN AFGHAN (کریم خان افغان); he escorted us to his own village, called from its situation on a tumular piece of ground, *Kará-Tapeh*, or *Tepeh* (قرا تپه), the "Black hillock;" distant from *Ashraf* about seven miles, and in the midst of an extensive level tract, of which the surface was now covered with water and moist clay to the depth of ten or twelve inches, but in summer formed a rich and very fertile plain. Rising above this, the *Tapeh* or "mount" appeared like an island, barely large enough to contain the houses that stood upon it; all slight structures of wood, reeds and straw, except one *emáret*, a mason-work edifice (of brick) which had been erected for the king's accommodation when engaged on a hunting party. As the name of this place, although Turkish, may have been the same, or partly the same, eighteen hundred years ago, I had entertained some hopes of being able, in this *Tapeh* or *Tepeh*, to ascertain the position of *Tapé*, which Strabo describes as the principal or royal city of Hyrcania; advantageously situate within a little distance of the sea, and according to report fourteen hundred stadia

from the Caspian straits⁽⁴⁹⁾. I thought it not impossible that the epithet *Kara* (black) might have been more recently prefixed; or that the Greek transcribers might have omitted it; thus *Carta* mentioned also in the same passage, as the name of another town in this province, appears to want the *Zadra* or *Zeudra* placed before it by Arrian⁽⁵⁰⁾. But I could not discover on the "Black Mount" any ruins favouring its claim either to antiquity or importance. In the time of Strabo, however, the houses of this country were most probably constructed of very perishable materials, as in the tenth century after, when EBN HAUKAL travelled, and as they are now, in the nineteenth⁽⁵¹⁾. On our approach to this extraordinary village, I sketched it as in Plate LXXII, and having breakfasted at the king's hunting-lodge, proceeded two miles when we crossed a river of such depth that those who rode on small horses were carried down the stream for many yards; and the legs of every man were wetted above his boot-tops. In consequence of instructions sent the day before by my *mehmân-dâr*, three or four branches of trees had been laid here so as to form a kind of bridge; but it yielded to the two first mules that were forced half-way over, and they fell into the water, with a man who drove them. We purchased fish apparently of the salmon kind, which some boys had just taken in one of their nets or baskets; all the adjacent morass was covered with snipes, wild ducks, gulls, and other birds. At the fifteenth

(⁴⁹) Among the chief cities he enumerates Ταλαβρόκη, και Σαμαριανή και Καρτα, and immediately adds, και το βασιλειον Τάπη ο φασι μικρόν υπερ της θαλάττης ιδρυμειον διαχειν τῶν Κασπιων πωλων σταδιους χιλίους τετρακοσίους. Strab. Geogr. Lib. XI.

(⁵⁰) See Arrian, (Lib. III.) before quoted p. 266. See also M. Barbié du Bocage (*Analyse de la carte, &c.* subjoined to Ste. Croix's *Examen Critique des historiens d'Alexandre* (2de edit.) p. 819; "Strabon fait mention d'une ville de *Carta* dans l'Hyr-canie qui doit être la même que *Zeudra Carta*." It is well known that *Carta*, softened by the Persians into *Garda* and *Gard*, signified a city or town; and occurs in a multiplicity of instances, added to another word; generally the name of some illustrious personage; if applied alone, as in the passage of Strabo, it must signify, κατ' ἐξοχην, "the city;" but from the next sentence we learn that *Carta* was not the capital. I suspect the omission of *Zadra*, *Zeudra*, or some other word; (See p. 267, note). The learned French geographer above quoted, (*Analyse de la Carte, &c.* p. 819) acknowledging the uncertainty attending *Tape*, supposes that *Amol* may be the place which now represents it.

(⁵¹) See the printed "Oriental Geography of EBN HAUKAL," and the corresponding passage in the manuscript, (*Sur al beldân*) quoted in p. 255.

mile (from *Ashraf*) we crossed, under similar circumstances, another river equally deep, then rode on the *Kheyábán* or paved causeway of SHÁH ABBA'S, but quitted it soon for the intricate *jangal* path, until, about the twentieth mile, according to my best calculation, we passed an old brick-built tower or *burge* (برج), called *Sepíd-dár-e-bun* "the root or stump of the poplar tree"⁽⁵²⁾; where, emerging from the thick forest, we suddenly found ourselves within fifty yards of the very sea; the intermediate space being a smooth expanse of sand so fine that after the difficult roads which we had just left, this shore seemed like the softest carpet⁽⁵³⁾. So many peculiarities in colour, taste and other circumstances, have been attributed to this sea by various writers, classical and oriental, that I had long been desirous of visiting it. My first observations naturally were made on its distant appearance; viewed from the hill at *Aliábád* (see p. 250), it resembled any other sea; but standing near its waves, I fancied that they looked more brown than the waters of the Atlantick or Indian ocean, or of the Persian gulf; this colour was evidently caused by the admixture of fine sand; each wave as it approached the shore

(52) سپید دار بن The word *dár*, according to the *Farhang Burhán Katea* signifies in its primary sense a tree; and we find *sepíd-dár* thus explained in the same excellent Dictionary; "it is a tree exceedingly graceful in its shape and well proportioned, with leaves growing in a pleasing manner, and it is one of the seven kinds of *bád* or willow; it does not yield fruit or any other product; and it is said that between this and the date tree, such an antipathy exists that it will not become green, nor flourish in the same place."

سپیددار درختی است بسیارخوش قد و قامت و موزن و خوش برگ و از جمله هفت بیدست میوه و ثمر ندارد و گویند میان این درخت و نخل خرما مخالفت است و در یک مکان سبز نشود

The name is also written سپیدار *Sepídár* and سفیدار *Sefidár*; and signifies the "white tree" or "poplar." It is the *gharab* غراب of the Arabians, or as some call it *isham* عشم, according to HAMDALLAH in that chapter of his *Nozhat al Colub* which relates to trees not bearing fruit. (See Vol. I. p. 43, note 57).

(53) As it would interrupt considerably this narrative of my journey, I shall place in the Appendix what was originally designed for insertion here, a section or chapter relating peculiarly to the great "Caspian Lake;" for so our Milton, (*Par. Reg.* III. 271) calls this extraordinary sea, and such Herodotus knew it to be; 'H'δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἐωσῆς οὐ συμμισγούσα τῇ ἑτερῇ θάλασσᾳ. (*Lib.* I. 203). In that section an original map of the Caspian sea furnished by a very ancient and valuable Persian manuscript, will enable me to form a kind of "Periplus," which it is my intention to illustrate with extracts from the works of Eastern authors.

seemed white from froth; this it deposited on the beach and retired apparently loaded with the sand which it had set in motion. I could not perceive, even when on its brink, that marine or saline smell which so sensibly indicates the ocean at a considerable distance. That the Caspian sea wanted this smell was often remarked, as we advanced towards it, by my servant ISMAAIL, whose life had been chiefly past on the shore of the Persian Gulf. The only shells which rewarded our search along the strand, so nearly resembled the common English cockle-shells that I should have hesitated to offer the engraved representation of two, (from twenty or thirty now before me) had not an ingenious conchologist pronounced them worthy of delineation. They appear in Misc. Pl. fig. 27, of the real size. No person with whom I conversed on the subject of these shells, had ever happened to see one containing the fish; we examined hundreds and all were empty⁽⁵⁴⁾. Among the wonders formerly attributed to this lake, were serpents of enormous magnitude⁽⁵⁵⁾; that such existed at any period, may well be doubted; for, although one Persian declared to me that he had heard from another, many surprising stories of snakes, vaguely described as two or three *gaz* long (eight or twelve feet), and thick as the calf of a man's leg, which had often shown themselves in this sea near *Asterábád*, yet the Armenians and others who had navigated it in every direction did not recount any marvellous anecdote on this subject; neither does Gmelin, nor Pallas enumerate any remarkable creatures of the snake or serpent kind among the natural productions of the Caspian lake; they found, however, like other travellers who had visited the bordering provinces of *Gílán* and *Mázenderán* during summer, that

(⁵⁴) Herbert enumerates *oysters* among the Caspian fish, (Travels, 3d edit. p. 196); and Gmelin informs us that the rocks and mountains near *Derbend* contain "un nombre prodigieux de coquillages," both petrified and calcined; Pallas also mentions the "coquilles appelées *Peignes*," found in the Caspian Sea, (Hist. des Decouv. faites par divers savans Voyageurs, &c. Tom. II. p. 56 and 191, Berne, 1779, oct.) Bell (of Antermoney) saw on the Russian side, as I on the Persian, "no shell-fish except a kind of cockle, the shells of which are very pretty." Travels from St. Petersburg, &c. Vol. I, p. 63, (Edinb. 1786, oct.) See also Hist. des Decouv. Tome III, p. 77, for names of some shells found in the Caspian by Gmelin and Pallas.

(⁵⁵) Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit. Q. Curt. vi. 4.

snakes were very numerous on the coast⁽⁵⁶⁾; and a passage in the Appendix, quoted from the great Persian geographer HAMDALLAH, mentions the *Jezíreh-i-márán-bí-zaher* (جزیره ماران بی‌زهر), or "Island of Serpents without venom."

The beach has been already described as composed of fine sand, over which we rode as on a carpet. It yielded neither pebbles, nor, I may say, stones of any kind, for the few that lay on its surface appeared to have been thrown, or brought as ballast for boats, from the wooded grounds adjoining. We sought also in vain for sea-weed; with which and Caspian shells, I was willing to enrich the cabinet of a friend in Europe. But on the subject of shells and sea-weeds, of the water and its dark colour; and the want of smell in this great lake, the reader must recollect that my observations were confined to an inconsiderable portion of the southern coast; which, perhaps, differs in some respects from the parts distant many hundred miles. There is, however, one circumstance of this sea, which has been remarked, I believe, in every direction; this is the freshness of its water near the shore. Strabo, on the authority of Polycletus, mentions that it was sweetish; Curtius describes it as sweeter than other seas; and that Alexander found it so, we learn from Pliny; his copyist, Solinus; and from Plutarch⁽⁵⁷⁾. Its partial freshness is noticed by EBN HAUKAL, and by European travellers⁽⁵⁸⁾. I was extremely de-

(⁵⁶) "And when we came near the sea we were no less troubled with snakes; for if so be we left the road, and rid through the green pastures, then they would wind about our horses' legs without other harm than affrighting, and serving to persuade us into the common path again." Sir Th. Herbert's Travels, p. 182, (third edit. 1665). See also p. 193. "Nos voyageurs ne croient pas surtout qu'il y ait un pays dans l'univers plus infecté de crapauds, de grenouilles, de lézards, de serpents, &c. que le Ghilan et le Masanderan." Hist. des Decouv. &c. Tome II. p. 438.

(⁵⁷) Ὑπογλυκύν εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ. (Strab. Geogr. Lib. xi). "Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris." "dulcior sit quam cetera maria" Quint. Curt. Lib. vi. iv. 18. "Haustum ipsius maris dulce esse et Alexander magnus prodidit; et M. Varro talem perlatum Pompeio, juxta res gerenti Mithridatico bello, magnitudine haud dubie influentium amnium victo sale." (Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. vi. 17). "Esse in Asiatica plaga dulce haustum Alexandro Magno probatum est, mox Pompeio Magno qui bello Mithridatico, sicut committito ejus Varro tradit, ipsis haustibus periclitari filem voluit. Id evenire produnt è numero fluminum quorum tanta copia ibi confluit ut naturam maris vertant." Solin. Polyhist. cap. XIX. "Γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάσσης." Plut. in Alexandro.

(⁵⁸) See EBN HAUKAL from the MS. *Súr al belldán* quoted in the Appendix, (Article on Caspian Sea), also Jenkinson, Olearius, Pere Avril, Le Brun, &c.

sirous of ascertaining this point, and immediately on my arrival at the sea from *Ashraf*, lost not a moment in gratifying at once my curiosity on this subject, and my thirst after a fatiguing ride. The water was so slightly brackish that it afforded me a draught, not by any means unpleasant; thinking, however, that thirst had probably recommended its flavour on this first trial, I tasted and found it the same, not only soon after, but several times during my journey of two days along the shore. Among the ancient writers and European travellers (Pliny, Solinus, Olearius, &c.) who notice this freshness, some have ascribed it, and without doubt, most justly, to the numerous rivers that flow into the sea, each for a certain distance according to its size or force, resisting an union with the salt water; but this invariably predominates, and in some places within one mile of the shore, in others within two or three miles; where, as *AGNATU'S* and *MOSE'*, Armenian traders, whom I shall have occasion to mention, and several Persians who had often navigated it, assured me, the Caspian "is as salt as our "great ocean"⁽⁵⁹⁾. They further said, that between *Mashehdi-Sar* and *Langarud*, (a space of ninety or perhaps an hundred miles) above three hundred rivers of various sizes, contributed to fill this extraordinary lake; and a Persian declared it a matter well known, that they exactly equalled in number the days of the year. This report, although probably much exaggerated, must be founded on the actual and wonderful multiplicity of streams; and is, in some measure, confirmed by Olearius, a writer of undoubted credit, in the account of his own journey along a part of the South Western coast⁽⁶⁰⁾; and

(*) I use the words of Anthony Jenkinson; "This sea is fresh water in many places, "and in other places as salt as our great ocean." Hakluyt's Coll. of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 334. And Olearius having observed that the "water is neither salt nor fresh," on the coast of Hyrcania which, he says, is now called *Kilan*, (for *Gilan*), accounts for it "by reason of the mixture of divers rivers, which fall into the said sea on that side; for "in the sea itself the water is as salt as any other that ever I could taste of." *Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors, &c.* English Translation, Lond. 1662, p. 182.

(60) "But what on the other side is much to be wondered at, is that though so great "a number of rivers incessantly pay the tribute of their waters into it, yet can it not "be said what becomes thereof." We at first could hardly be induced to believe what "was told us concerning all those rivers; but when at our return out of Persia, between "*Rescht* and *Schamachy*, which was twenty daies journey, we took notice that we had "crossed above fourscore, great and small rivers, we made no difficulty then to acquiesce in the relations we had before received thereof." *Ambass. Trav.* p. 121.

still more strongly by the testimony of M. Gmelin, the celebrated Russian naturalist⁽⁶¹⁾. A gradual rise in this sea has been frequently noticed; not partial, as in the Mediterranean and other branches connected with the ocean, where the water encroaches on the land at one side and recedes from it on the other; but general, as we learn from a Persian geographer quoted in the Appendix, the Russian observations⁽⁶²⁾ and the testimony of English navigators⁽⁶³⁾. This rise, however, seems so inadequate to the vast and constant influx of rivers, that it is found difficult to account, why the Caspian sea has not long since overflowed its basin, or risen to a much higher degree. "This," says the Baron de Ste. Croix, "may be explained on the principles of evaporation, which carries off a quantity of water equal to that admitted"⁽⁶⁴⁾; and he cites the opinion of Dr. Halley, and Perry's calculation of the water which this sea may be supposed to receive every minute from the river Wolga⁽⁶⁵⁾; after all, he acknowledges his own belief "that the Caspian sea is a reservoir of which the waters go to form the sources of those rivers that issue from the mountains of *Cashmîr*"⁽⁶⁶⁾; thus corroborating, although he

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(61) In the space of about eight miles, on the way between *Resht* and *Amul* are counted, he says, two hundred and fifty rivers, running into the sea, many exceedingly broad and deep, which render the passage across at some times impracticable for weeks together, and others of them torrents almost dry in summer, but liable to excessive floods. "On compte deux cens cinquante rivières grandes et petites qui vont se jeter dans cette même mer, sur le chemin de *Rudîzar* à *Masanderan* (he travelled in 1771) et rendent souvent la communication très difficile. Il est vrai que l'on comprend dans le nombre beaucoup de torrens qui sont tellement à sec pendant l'été, qu'on a peine à trouver quelque trace de leur embouchure; mais il y en a d'autres d'une largeur et d'une profondeur considérable qui se gonflent tellement au printemps de même que tous ces petits torrens, que les routes en sont quelque fois impraticables des semaines entières." See the account of M. Gmelin's travels, published in the "Histoire des Découvertes faites par divers savans Voyageurs," &c. oct. Berne, 1779, Tome II. p. 443.

(62) Mentioned by Hanway, (See his Travels, &c. Vol. I. ch. XXIV. p. 156).

(63) Capt. Woodrooffe, Hanway, &c. Hanway's Travels, Vol. I. ch. XXIV.

(64) "Ce phénomène peut s'expliquer par l'évaporation; qui enlève une quantité d'eau égale à celle que reçoit cette mer." Exam. Crit. des His. d'Alex. 2de edit. p. 704.

(65) Philosophical Transactions, 1687; State of Russia, &c.

(66) "Au reste, je crois que la Mer Caspienne est un reservoir dont les eaux vont former les sources des fleuves qui sortent des montagnes du Cachemire" Exam. Crit. (2de. edit.) p. 704.

but partially quotes, the opinion long ~~before~~ expressed by Olearius⁽⁶⁷⁾.

From that spot near the ruined tower (mentioned in p. 277) where I had alighted to taste the sea-water, we rode most pleasantly on the soft sand four or five miles, the trees of a thick *jungal* being on our left within fifty yards, and the waves, on our right, gently curling every minute about the horses feet; during these four or five miles we crossed as many rivers; some of which, very broad and deep, it was not reckoned safe to enter on horseback without a guide; and from delays in procuring one and various difficulties in passing over, the evening became extremely dark before we had quitted the sea side and turned towards the left into an intricate forest path. Here SHERI'F KHA'N caused lighted candles to be carried before us; at length we reached the river *Tejin* (or *Tejneh*), over which we were ferried in a large flat-bottomed boat; and I was immediately conducted to a spacious and magnificent tent; this the worthy *Vazir*, MI'RZA' REZA', had sent for my accommodation from *Sári*; it was pitched within a few yards of the river (here very large, muddy and full of fish), and not much farther from the royal palace of *Farahh-ábád* (فرج آباد), now falling to decay. Of this day's journey, the greater part had been so fatiguing and disagreeable, that I perhaps over-rated the distance; it seemed to me, however, twenty-six or twenty-seven miles; but Sir Thomas Herbert, or the printer of his book, must have omitted the important word *twenty*, when he informs us that *Farahh-ábád* is *five miles* from *Ashraf*⁽⁶⁸⁾. My statement will much better

(67) "Besides the mists which are very frequent there, and consequently consume "a great part thereof, the rest is returned by secret channels to the sources of the "fountains and rivers, according to the wise man's saying "that all rivers come out "of the sea and return thither again." *Travels of the Ambassadors*, Eng. edit. 1662, p. 191. Of this passage, notwithstanding the coincidence of opinions respecting the sources, M. de Ste. Croix alludes only to the first part; "Olearius prétend que les "eaux de cette mer sont pompées par beaucoup de brouillards." *Examen Critique*, &c. (2de edit.) p. 704, note.

(68) "*Farrabaut*, the Hyrcan metropolis, but five miles west removed thence, where "the seat royal in that country has been kept for some generations." "The first "night after we left *Asharaff* we lodged in *Ferrabaut*, which is five miles from "Asharaff." *Herb. Trav.* pp. 183, 193, (3d. edit. 1665). Perhaps he wrote five leagues.

correspond to ~~Pietro~~ della Valle's account; for in travelling between these places, even at a season when the marshes were becoming dry and the road was already excellent, he employed all the day, except two hours, from an early time of morning until the sun had nearly set⁽⁶⁹⁾; and the distance, he tells us, was "about six leagues"⁽⁷⁰⁾; which if he meant the Persian leagues or farsangs (as in other passages), would amount to nearly two and twenty miles⁽⁷¹⁾. Our general course had fluctuated between west-north-west and west.

Although the best spot of ground had been chosen for my tent, yet its extreme dampness was almost immediately perceptible through the straw and a new carpet that covered the floor; there, however, I passed the night without any inconvenience or unpleasant consequence; and on the fourth rose before six o'clock, being desirous of visiting the palace called *Jehân-nemá*, and various remains of other edifices which had rendered *Farahh-ábád* an object of admiration in the seventeenth century. That valuable MS. history of the Abbasides, entitled *Tárikh-Aulum-A'rái* describes the building of this city before the foundation of *Ashraf*; yet enumerates both circumstances as events of nearly the same period; the Muhammedan year 1021, or of the Christian era 1612; after a preamble which serves rather to display the beauties of florid language than to

(69) "A i due di Maggio (1618) la mattina per tempo, partii da *Ferhabad*"—sempre verso Levante e sempre per piano, e perche i fanghi erano già cominciati a seccare, trovammo buonissima e gustosissima strada—ad hora di desinare ci fermammo a riposare un paio di hore—Ricavalcando poi caminammo fin 'ad un 'hora innanzi al tramontar del sole—finalmente arrivammo in *Escrèf*." Viaggi, Lettera 4 da *Ferhabad*; Tom. I. pp. 285, 286; Ven. 1681.

(70) *Escrèf*, luogo lontano da *Ferhabad* intorno a sei leghe." ib. p. 248.

(71) Thus he reckons "four leagues of road," *quattro leghe di strada*, from *Sari* to *Farhabad*; this the Persians at present always compute to be four farsangs, and in the manuscript *Tárikh Aulum A'rái*, hereafter quoted, we find it so described; also in the *Takwím* of SA'DEK IS'FAHANI, who informs us that *فرج آباد از مازندران چهار فرسخی ساری*, "*Farahh ábád* is a town of *Mázenderán* four farsangs distant from *Sári*;" and he adds that (from the Fortunate Isles) its longitude is $88^{\circ} 0'$ *فرج*; and latitude (from the equinoctial line) $36^{\circ} 10'$ *لوی*. Notwithstanding the respectable authorities just cited, for the distance between *Sári* and *Farahábád*, I am inclined to think it one mile and a half or two miles more. The Persians both in conversation and in books, compute by round numbers, and scarcely ever condescend to notice quarters or even halves of farsangs.

communicate interesting particulars, We learn that SHA'H ABBA'S "cast the anchor of residence in that spot resembling "the enchanted garden of *Irem*; *Farakh-ábád*, situate on the "shore of the sea of *Khozar*, and hitherto denominated *Táhán*, "through which flows a great river bearing the name of *Tejt-neh-rúd*." On the bank of this, the king caused lofty and splendid mansions to be constructed; "and as his mind was "always occupied, whilst he resided here, in promoting mirth, "the place which afforded him so much delight was called "*Farakh-ábád*, or the Seat of Pleasure; and every year he improved and augmented the gardens and edifices, and built "market-places, and baths, and *masjeds* or mosques, and *caravánseras*, all of which he prosperously finished; and between "this city and *Sári* a distance of four farsangs, he laid the "foundation of a *kheyábán* or causeway; and on account of "the frequent rain, and abundance of clay and mud for "which the places bordering on the sea coast in this province (*Dár al marz* or *Mázenderán*, *Gilán*, &c.) are so peculiarly remarkable, the causeway was rendered permanent by a "firm pavement of stone." I omit several lines to notice the consequence of SHA'H ABBA'S's improvements; "at no "former time," says the historian, "had camels been seen "in this country, going and coming; such were the difficulties and inequalities of the roads, and so numerous were "the thickets and forests; nor had the inhabitants ever beheld "the form of those creatures; but now (A. D. 1616) camels, "string after string, are by night and day passing along "these roads" (72). The same author informs us that when

(72) در خط ارم بنیاد فرج آباد که در ساحل دریای خزر واقع و قبل از این بطاهان موسوم بود لکن اقامت انداخته—رودخانه عظیمی موسوم به تعجینه رود—و چون در مدت اقامت همیشه فرج و سرور در خاطر نزدیک و دور افزایش داشت آن خط فرج بخش را بفرج آباد موسوم گردانیدند و هر سال در باغات و عمارات افزوده بازارگاه و حمامات و مساجد و کاروانسراها بنا نموده باتمام آن موفق گشتند و از بلده مذکور تا خط ساری که چهار فرسخست خیابانی طرح انداخته بنابر کثرت بارندگی و کل و لای که از خواص امکنه دریا کنار بتخصیص ولایات دارالمرزست خیابان مذکور را سنگ بست فرار دادند—و در هیچ زمان بلاد دارالمرز از ضیق طرق و ناهمواری شوارع و ابنوهی بیشه و جنگل شتر آمد و شد ننموده—الیوم از آن شوارع شتران قطار شبانروز در رفتارند

SHA'H ABBA'S had fixed his court at *Farahhábád*, the chief officers and nobles of the empire immediately erected houses in its vicinity; and so early as the year 1618 it had already equalled in compass or perhaps exceeded, according to the opinion of Pietro della Valle, a most competent judge, the cities of Rome or Constantinople⁽⁷³⁾. It was probably well peopled also at that time, for the king when inducements of advantageous establishments failed to attract, never hesitated to crowd a newly founded city with inhabitants, by forcibly removing hundreds of families from distant provinces; thus, says Herbert, (*Trav.* p. 183, ed. 1665), "this monarch wherever he stays long, makes cities of small villages." When that ingenious traveller visited *Farahhábád* (in 1627) the town contained about three thousand families, (*ib.* p. 194); from the highest part, however, of the palace, I could not discern much above three hundred houses, or rather hovels; and these were of wood thatched with straw, and situate near the river among gardens and trees, by which others may have been concealed from view. Of the royal habitation I examined and delineated (as in Plate LXXI) the principal *emáret* or edifice called *Jehán numá*. Although in a state of ruin, this bears evident marks of former splendour; the fine baths and some of its apartments might be repaired, even now, at a trifling expense: on the richly varnished walls of two or three chambers, notwithstanding the effects of smoke and dirt, there still remained vestiges of several portraits, and of those pictures so justly and so quaintly reprobated by Herbert for the scandalous indecency of their subjects⁽⁷⁴⁾. Adjacent to this palace were the *bázárs*, or rows of shops, now completely abandoned; extensive brick buildings of excellent architecture, forming a noble square in some respects resembling the *Meidán Ali Cápi* at *Isfahán*. I next explored the *Caravanserá*, the Ma-

(73) "Il circuito che abbraccia la città è grandissimo, come quel di Roma o di Constantinopoli e forse più." But the houses of this town, he adds, were all structures of *cáh gil* (كاه گل) *terra e paglia*, clay mixed with straw. The *Casa Reale* or royal palace was the only edifice of brick; but not then finished (1618), *ma non ancor finita*. Viaggi, Lettera 4 da Ferhabad.

(74) In the third edition of his *Travels* (printed 1665), p. 94; and still more quaintly in one of the former editions.

drasseh or college, the *Masjed* or mosque, the *Dár al Sheffá* (دارالشفاء) or *Tabíb Kháneh* (طبيب خانه), a kind of infirmary; all handsome structures now deserted, yet so little impaired that they might easily be restored to their original state. At eight o'clock we set out, and following in a N. W. direction, the rivers winding course along its left bank for about one mile and a half, arrived at the sea. We then turned towards the W. S. W. Two Russian vessels lay at anchor nearly a league from the coast; they were small, but each two-masted: we met the captain of one, with four or five of his men coming up the river in a boat, to purchase meat and bread at the market of *Farahhábad*; he paid us the compliment of taking off his hat as we passed by, and his companions did the same. I learned that although the vessels belonged to Russians the crew were composed of Armenians; and notwithstanding the war, a commercial intercourse was allowed between Astrakhan and the Persian sea-ports. This captain, named AGNATU'S, had traded here for many years. We proceeded along the *kenár-i-deryái* (کنار دریای) or sea shore, riding on the fine soft sand, until wetted through all our clothes by heavy rain, we halted, at the sixth or seventh mile, and took shelter in the thatched hut of some poor fishermen, whose little *naw* (نار) or canoe was drawn up on the beach; their nets extending far out in the water, fastened with ropes to stakes driven at certain intervals into the bottom, and supported between the stakes by floats on the surface. They had just taken some fish of three or four different kinds, but chiefly what they called *máhi sefid* (ماهی سفید) "white fish;" which seemed most abundant, and was found in all the great rivers of this country near the sea; for several days it had furnished the principal dish of my dinners and often of my breakfasts. We had scarcely alighted at the hut when the hospitable proprietors heaped fresh wood on their fire, and with dexterity peculiar to persons of their vocation, seizing a fish almost three feet long, and still palpitating with life, instantly split it into two parts, and having rubbed these well over with salt and pinned them, with skewers of reed, to a stick nearly equal in thickness to a man's wrist, held this close to the brisk fire, and soon toasted thoroughly the *máhi sefid*, which thus simply cooked, I much preferred to *pilaws* of fowl and lamb, brought by my

servants from the last *manzel*; these, however, proved a most welcome and extraordinary luxury to our hosts. As the rain increased we thought all further precaution against wet unnecessary; and mounted our horses during a severe shower, but remained some minutes to see the fishermen embark in their canoe, which was hollowed out of a large tree, and about twelve feet long, and fifteen or sixteen inches wide; as they paddled on towards their nets, although the sea to a considerable distance is but a few feet deep, the waves which beat violently against the shore, lifted them up and down and sometimes for a moment almost concealed them totally from our view. Some of my party who had never seen a boat until the day before, were exceedingly alarmed and repeatedly exclaiming *Yá Ali! Yá Ali!* (يا علي), called on that holy personage to assist the fishermen. We continued our course on the sand until stopped by the *Síáh rúd* (سياه رود) or "black river;" which it was here necessary to cross at the very mouth; a circumstance not effected without much difficulty and some danger; for having waited above an hour in vain, for a sloop which we expected to find ready, in consequence of previous orders sent to *Mashehd i sar*; *SHERIF KHA'N*, *MULA' ABBA'S* and I, crossed the river on horseback, although the sea often struck us with such force as nearly to lift us from the saddles. Soon after we had crossed, the sloop arrived from *Mashehd-i-sar*, and at the same time some little canoes came down the *Síáh rúd*; on these the baggage was placed; none of them exceeded twenty inches in breadth, and it required considerable steadiness, patience and activity, to convey in each a single mule-load without oversetting; one man kept the baggage firm while another paddled and held a rope to which was attached the first horse or mule; to the tail of this was fastened another; and thus a string of five or six swam after the canoe, their heads just appearing above the water; many mules, however, went across voluntarily, following quietly their old companions, and landing exactly on the spot where these had emerged from the river. Between two and three hours were consumed in the operations here; during which time I gratified my curiosity by going on board the sloop and sailing in it about half a mile; I then returned to the shore in one of those canoes before-mentioned: the sloop was a small

vessel (of perhaps five and twenty or thirty tons); appeared ill-built and clumsy, and sailed badly; each side was defended and heightened two or three feet above the gunwale, by thick bundles of reeds. Here, at the mouth of the *Síah rúd*, although there was but little wind, the Caspian waves produced a loud, hollow, thundering sound; they looked white with foam as they advanced, and brown with sand as they retreated. From this spot *Farahh-ábád* was reckoned distant two farsangs; and we proceeded two more to the mouth of the *Tálár*, across which we were carried in canoes, the mules and horses swimming after us; this river was very broad and deep, and with boatmen less skilful or experienced than those who managed the canoes, our passage would have been exceedingly dangerous. From an adjoining village situate on the *Tálár*, this ferry is denominated *Chapacur rúd* (چپکورد), as the name was written by SHERIF KHA'N. It is the *Chacoporo* which Herbert places a little nearer to *Farahh-ábád* than either the local computation or mine⁽⁷⁵⁾. At one farsang beyond this, we crossed in like manner the *Mír e rúd* (میر رود), and leaving the baggage to be sent on at leisure, quitted the sandy beach on which we had hitherto ridden, and proceeded through fields and *jangals* (nearly parallel, however, with the line of sea coast) untill we arrived at the noble river *Bahbul*, and soon after, among clusters of trees, we discerned the *Gumbed* or *Imámzádeh's Tomb* at our halting-place *Mashehd-i-sar*; near which we were received by the chief, MÍRZA HASSAN (میرزا حسن), with several of the inhabitants, who conducted me to an excellent house. Here I gladly ended the journey of this day, which had been performed during incessant rain. From the last ferry (of *Mír-e-rúd*) to *Mashehd-i-sar* was computed a space of one farsang, so that with the distance already enumerated, we had travelled about twenty-two or twenty-three miles, almost wholly in the direction of West South West. Close to the house where I

(75) "We travelled along the sea-side and came the first night to *Chacoporo*, which is about twelve English miles west from *Ferrabaut*. The way we rode was close by the shore. This town lies open to the sea, which beats oft so outrageously against her banks, that the inhabitants are oft put to charge in maintaining them. Here we crossed over a fresh water that was about a stone's cast over; one moneth in the year 'tis salt, as the inhabitants told us, but not the reason of it." Herbert's Travels, p. 108, third edit. 1805.

lodged, were many orange-trees loaded with fruit apparently ripe; spring, indeed, seemed very forward in the neighbourhood of this place; leaves mostly green; innumerable blossoms of various kinds, and flowers in abundance, appeared on every side. My room was well furnished with mats and carpets, and warmed by means of a charcoal fire; as the baggage did not arrive for two hours after we had alighted, this served to dry my clothes of which not even the smallest part had escaped a thorough wetting; all my companions were in a similar state, and many of them, especially MULA' ABBA'S, felt for several days, the bad effects of this expedition. From some loud conversation in the court, after our arrival, MI'RZA' HASSAN the principal householder of this town, seemed to have incurred the anger of my *Mehmándár*, who accused him of neglect and inattention respecting the sloop which, according to instructions sent from *Farahh-ábád*, he should have prepared for our accommodation at the sea side two or three hours sooner. What the MI'RZA' said in his defence I could not hear; but as he went away, my friends vented their indignation in words not merely directed against him, but, in the usual unjust manner, against the unoffending women of his family; one prayed that his favourite wife might have, for a second husband, an ass; another wished that his wives, sons and daughters might be carried off by the ferocious *Turkománs*; and a third dignified him with a title equally new and extraordinary, styling him the grand *Kurmsák Páshí* (ترمساق باشي) or chief of all *Kurmsáks*, a word which has been explained in Vol. II. p. 543. To MI'RZA' HASSAN, however, I was indebted for a present of two bottles containing very good wine, and one bottle of strong spirits resembling white brandy; this was called *maskú* by the Persian servants, having been brought with the wine, as they said, from Moscow.

Early on the fifth I walked about *Mashehd-i-sar*; it is situated near the sea, on the banks of a most delightful and considerable river, the *Bahbul*. To me the town, though not decorated with the remains of magnificent palaces, seemed larger and in every other respect better than either *Farahh-ábád* or *Ashraf*, for it comprised many good houses of brick, and a great number well built of wood; some, even the meanest,

were inclosed within neat fences of sugar-canes. In the river was a sloop of about fifty tons, which several men were busily repairing. Sugar forms an important article in the commerce of this place; MÍRZA' HASSAN sent some to me at breakfast; it was liquid as honey and brownish, but well flavoured. Of *Mashehd-i-sar* the name is modern, and I do not recollect its occurrence in any geographical or historical manuscript: it is here spelt in our letters, according to the general pronunciation; and a Persian to whom I had applied respecting its orthography, wrote مشهد سر *Mashehd-i sar*, and informed me that the town was so denominated from the saint's or *Imám-zádeh's* tomb, before mentioned; as *mashehd* or *meshehd* is used to express a spot rendered sacred by the martyrdom or the interment of personages held in religious veneration by the Muhammedans. We commenced our morning's ride at half past eight o'clock, and traced the winding river *Bahbul* which ran on our right, in a contrary direction, through a country even now smiling and beautiful. At five miles we halted a few minutes to view the pleasant hamlet of *Pázavár*, (پازار) and soon after *Hamzah Kelá* (حمزه كلا), a name implying the village of *Hamzah*; both these places had good *bázárs*. As most parts of the country from *Farahh-ábád* to *Bárfurúsh* were under the superintendence of MÍRZA' REZA' the *Vazír*; his son, my *Mehmándár*, was received wheresoever we passed, by hundreds of the inhabitants with many congratulations and compliments. He led me to a handsome house which the *Vazír* had lately built; and here I was sumptuously feasted with an ample collation, and entertained with the vocal performance of a boy whose musical powers placed him above all competitors in this country, remarkable for its numerous and excellent singers; his voice was indeed wonderfully clear and soft; and my ear being perfectly reconciled to the Persian style of singing, I was much delighted by his sweet and plaintive melody. From the *Vazír's* house we went on, after a halt of two hours, about one mile and a quarter to *Bárfurúsh* (بارفروش) or as it is commonly called *Bátfurúsh*⁽⁷⁶⁾, passed

(76) The name compounded of two words, *bár* (بار) a load, and *furúsh* (فروش) selling, apparently alludes to the mercantile origin of this place; yet I have heard a

through the long and crowded *bázár* and proceeded a mile beyond the town, to a villa not yet quite finished, which the Prince designed for his summer residence; situate in an island of the great river *Bahbul*, and denominated *Bahr-al-Arem*, or *Irem*⁽⁷⁷⁾; as we approached I sketched this beautiful spot, which had been originally peninsular, but rendered by art an island. (See Pl. LXXII). The Prince's new villa appears at one extremity, with a magnificent cypress; in the middle is seen an *emáret* or edifice erected by SHÁ'H ABBA'S, which was now almost in a state of ruin; and on the right a bridge constructed of boards and beams, supported on pillars of brick, but without any rails or battlements; this connects the island with the main land, on the *Bárfurush* side. The general course of our day's journey had been chiefly in a Southern direction,

well informed Persian declare that he considered *Bál furúsh* as the *asl* (اصل) or original orthography; and the vulgar pronunciation, it must be acknowledged, tends to confirm his opinion: this pronunciation, however, may arise from the perverse and common inclination towards an interchange of the letters L and R, already noticed in the course of these volumes, and evinced by my *Búshehri* servant and another stranger at our last stage *Mashehd-i-sar*, which they persisted in calling *Mashehd-i-sal*, although in this instance the inhabitants had not set them an example, and the nature of their mistake had been repeatedly explained to them.

(⁷⁷) *Bahr* (بحر) the sea or ocean; *Arem* or *Irem*, a terrestrial paradise; this name is first mentioned in the *Koran*, chapl. lxxxix. (see verse 6, 7 and 8).

الم تركيف فعل ربك بعد ارم ذات العماد التي لم يخلق مثلها في البلاد

A passage differently translated by those two learned orientalists, Maracci and Sale; the former rendering it thus: "Non ne animadvertisti quomodo se gesserit Dominus tuus cum *Adæis*; *Erameis* habentibus columnas; quibus non fuit creatum simile ipsis in regionibus;" (*Alcor*. Vol. I. p. 799); the latter interpreting it in this manner, "Hast thou not considered how thy LORD dealt with AD, the people of IREM, adorned with lofty buildings, the like whereof hath not been erected in the land" (*Sale's Koran*; Vol. II. p. 494; Bath, 1795). From the notes of Maracci we may perceive that he adopts the explanation of an Arabian commentator respecting the words ذات العماد "præditi columnis," or "habentes columnas;" which he supposes to be used in allusion to the gigantick stature of those *Adeans* or *Adites*, the people of *Irem* or *Erameans*; whilst Sale believes, with those whom he considers as better authority, that they relate to the palace and gardens made in the deserts of ADEN by SHEDDAD, the son of AD. This opinion seems confirmed by the innumerable passages of Eastern writers, referring to that magnificent structure, with which they compare whatever is most beautiful, sumptuous or delightful, in architecture or landscape. A description of this celebrated spot, literally translated from a rare Persian work, by Dr. Jonathan Scott, has been published in the "Oriental Collections," (Vol. III. No. I. p. 32), and several MS. accounts equally wonderful are now before me; that will convey, however, to the reader an idea sufficiently accurate of this fabulous paradise to which the Asiatics so frequently allude.

but winded variously according to the inflexions of the river: it was not quite three farsangs from *Mashehd i sar* to *Bárfurúsh*; and the Persians who seldom notice fractions in itinerary measurements, described the distance to be three *light* farsangs, *seh farsang-i-sabk*⁽⁷⁸⁾. We may compute it between nine and ten miles; during which space I observed a fuller population and a greater appearance of industry, opulence and comfort, than had been exhibited in any other part of the country for thirty miles; the pasture fields were covered with fine verdure; the other grounds highly cultivated; the farm-houses scattered on every side, were most neat and commodious buildings, each with a good garden and orangery; there were numerous plantations of sugar-canes. The *tút* (توت) or mulberry-trees also abounded here; and as their leaves serve to nourish the silk-worm, were styled by many, *dirakht-i-ábreshim* (درخت ابرشیم) or “the silk-tree.” Of the Prince’s villa there was not any chamber in a finished state; that assigned to me wanted yet the wooden doors and glass windows, of which some carpenters were now preparing the frames; but its floor was soon covered with a handsome carpet; the hearth glowed with a charcoal fire; and having set up my little camp-bed, I resolved to halt during the sixth, in this garden of *Irem* or “Terrestrial Paradise;” as some of the horses had suffered from our journey on the fourth, and required rest; MU’LA’ ABBA’S, too, had felt strong symptoms of rheumatick fever, since our wetting on that day, and would have been unable to proceed before the seventh. I also wished to employ some hours in arranging and transcribing several notes hastily made on the road, since our departure from *Sárí*; and in fixing with ink or colours, the sketches hitherto only traced with a black-lead pencil. These tasks and an excursion to *Bárfurúsh* I deferred as business for the next day; and explored meanwhile the remains of SHA’H ABBA’S’s old palace, and from the new building, in company with SHERIF KHA’N, shot wild ducks and other aquatick birds

(78) مه فرسنگ سبك. Thus when a journey exceeded in some trifling degree five farsangs, I have heard them describe the distance as *panje farsang i sangin* (پنج فرسنگ سنگین), five heavy farsangs.

swimming within thirty or forty yards of our windows, close under which the river majestically flowed. In the evening I received a visit and a present from YU'SUF BEIG (يوسف بيگ) the *Zábet* (ضابط) or chief magistrate of *Bárfurush*; on whom some bestowed the higher title of *Hákem* (حاكم) or governor; the present consisted of sweetmeats, oranges, lemons and pears, with a high square-shaped Russian bottle of red wine brought by the *Zábet's* son. At five o'clock Fahrenheit's Thermometer was at 48, in the open air; but two or three hours earlier, the day had been warm and some slight showers of rain had fallen.

On the sixth of March according to the established *destúr* (دستور) or forms of politeness, I went with my *Mehmándár* at one o'clock, to return the visit of YU'SUF BEIG whom we found at *Bárfurush*, in a balcony open on three sides, to which the ascent was by very steep and inconvenient stairs. Here many of the chief inhabitants had assembled; and we were entertained with the customary refreshments of *Kalcáns*, or pipes, coffee, sweetmeats, fruit and sherbet. The governor's son alone partook not of this treat; for, though seemingly arrived at the age of eighteen or twenty years, he stood during the whole interview, in a most respectful manner before his father, and observed a profound silence. After half an hour I took my leave, and rode through different quarters of the town which seemed to extend above a mile in most directions; it was very populous; the houses, although many were composed of wood, had the appearance of being comfortable habitations; and the shops were well-furnished and numerous; especially in the *bázár* which constituted a street, probably three quarters of a mile long; and exhibited all the bustle of commercial activity. To this place the Russians send cloth, paper, thread, iron, steel, gunpowder, locks of various sizes, *senúber* (صنوبر) or deal-wood, and *Bulghári*, that which we call "Russia leather"⁽⁷⁹⁾. They take back in

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(79) بلغاری Of this leather the consumption is very considerable, as the Persians make of it not only their boots, or *chakmehs* (چکمه), but notwithstanding its strong smell, their *matahrchs* (مطهره) and other vessels for carrying water on a journey.

return silk, cotton, rice, fish, wood to be consumed as fuel (or *himeh* هیمه) and for different purposes; also shawls and other articles of Eastern manufacture. I have sought some account of *Bárfurúsh* in the old manuscripts both historical and geographical, but without much expectation of finding any; for the *Haft Aklám* describes this town as one of recent foundation. Having mentioned *Sári* among the chief places of *Mázenderán*, this modern work continues thus; “and another “is *Bárfurúsh*, a very delightful town or city which has been “erected in these (our own) times”⁽⁸⁰⁾. Herbert informs us that (about 1627) he “rode to *Barfrushdea*, a large town, “pretty well built and no less well peopled”⁽⁸¹⁾: yet the word *dea* which he attaches to the name (for *deh* ده) or *dehy* دهی) restricts it to the rank of a village; and according to all the information that I obtained, its present importance has been chiefly acquired within the last hundred years. Some people of the place assured me that their governor could, at a short notice, assemble here eight thousand *tufangchi* (تفنگچی) or soldiers armed with muskets, to repel (what they seemed much to apprehend) any invasion or attack that might be attempted by the Russians. The country near *Bárfurúsh* is flat, but beautifully wooded, rich and verdant; the nearest mountains appeared at this time covered with snow.

On the seventh, *MÍRZA’ SA’DEK* being desirous of passing a few days with his father the *Vazír* at *Sári*, set out at an early hour, promising to overtake me at *Shírgáh* on my way back to *Tehrán*; and soon after eight o’clock, leaving most of my baggage, horses and servants at *Bárfurúsh*, I proceeded with *SHERIF KHA’N* and *MU’LA’ ABBA’S* on the road to *A’mul* (امل); winding, after we had left the island, for about

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 (80) و دیگری بارفروش که شهری نزهت و با طراوت است و بنای آن درین روزی
 MS. *Haft Aklám*—Fourth Climate. شده

(81) *Travels*, p. 198, (third edition, 1865); he subjoins “but the sea does not so much “advantage them as the land, by reason of that plenty of silk worms they nourish; “and indeed the place appeared to us the pleasanter by reason of that plenty of wood “and water which was as good as plentiful.” He places it at twelve long miles from *Chacoporo* (*Chapacur rúd* above-mentioned), and might, I think, have added two more.

one mile and a quarter, along the river's right bank, according to a sketch made as we went on, and copied in Pl. LXXII. We then passed over a handsome bridge (of brick) constructed by an ancestor of the reigning monarch; here we lost sight of the river *Bahbul*, and continued our journey in nearly a straight line, and the direction chiefly of west-south-west; riding for several miles on the paved *kheyábán* or causeway; which, however, was in some parts so decayed and injured, that we were obliged to turn off into fields and marshes. At six miles we came to a stream over which were two small brick buildings; and we halted to refresh the horses at *Kásem Beigy* (كاسم بيگي), a hamlet of four or five scattered houses, reckoned two farsangs and a half distant from *Bárfurúsh*, or half-way between that town and *A'mul*. On our approach within two miles of this city, about forty *Ked khudás* or householders, on foot, received us with an irregular volley of fire-arms; a *Lúti*, or buffoon, then entertained us with various tricks, dancing in a ridiculous manner to the sound of his *tambúk*, or more correctly *tambik* (تنبیک), a drum which he carried under the left arm, slung by a strap from his neck. I sketched the form of this instrument, as represented in the Misc. Pl. (fig. 28); it was made of wood, open at the narrow end and covered at the other with parchment, very tightly stretched, as the sound indicated; on this he tapped with the fingers of his right hand. We met, soon after, the *Zábet* or chief, with twenty or thirty men of respectable appearance, who attended us on horseback across the river *Harhaz* (هرهز), a little below the bridge of *A'mul*, which had been shattered by the late earthquake; the stream, where we rode over it, although very broad, was not at this time much above two feet deep. I alighted at the governor's house, having travelled five farsangs or about eighteen miles; through a country almost uniformly flat, finely watered and highly cultivated; in which the exuberance of *jangals* or forests had been reduced, yet a sufficiency of beautiful trees remained for every purpose of ornament; several villages with their flourishing gardens and verdant fields appeared in different directions at a little distance from the road; and the brick cottages with their red-tiled roofs, gave to these rural scenes an air of neatness and comfort that strongly reminded me of England. The day

being cloudy we could not discern Mount *Damávand*; but the great ridge of *Alburz* to which it belongs, was partly visible with its covering of snow. The house in which I was lodged had once been exceedingly handsome, large and as convenient in the distribution of apartments as the general plan of Persian habitations would admit. But it had been more than half ruined by the earthquake; and one wall of the chamber allotted to me was cracked from the ceiling to the floor, and a considerable fissure newly stopped with dry bricks; the other walls had also, though less materially, suffered; and in many spots the fine old gilding and rich varnish (seldom equalled in the decorations of modern buildings) had been effaced or injured. Some Persian verses beautifully written in the *tálik* hand, filled a tablet in one of the recesses or *tákcheh*, over the fire-place, five or six feet high, and above three feet wide; these I copied, but have lost the paper which contained them. The *Zábet* declared that this house had been built one hundred and sixty years; the poetical lines, if I remember rightly, comprised a date which confirmed this account. But an inscription of a very different kind attracted my notice; it had been scratched, on the lower part of the wall, by a person sitting probably on the floor close to the fire-place; and exhibited, in large and very excellent characters, a violent imprecation against "*tous les habitans d'Amol*," whom, without exception, it consigned most unmercifully to "*Le Grand Diable d'Enfer*," with "*Amen!*" the date of 1808, and a capital *J* as the initial letter of some name, inclosed within a wreath. I now learned that two gentlemen of the French Embassy under General de Gardane had, on their tour through *Mázenderán*, occupied this room; but by what offence "all the inhabitants of *Amul*" had incurred their indignation, was not explained.

In the evening of this day, and early the next morning, I explored the remains of a city once regarded as the capital of *Tabristán*, and celebrated for its beauty, extent and numerous population; but now fallen much below its original importance, and wearing an air of poverty, gloom and progressive decay; yet several good shops still remained, and the *bázár* seemed crowded with people; most of the inhabited houses

were, like the *bázár*, constructed of wood, and either roofed with boards or thatched with straw; but the vestiges of ample foundations, and the ruined walls of large and excellent brick edifices, scattered over a considerable space of ground, sufficiently bespoke the former size and opulence of this place; and excited an idea of antiquity although nothing really ancient appeared among them, at least to me. In the vicinity, however, were some monuments to which the inhabitants assigned a date so very remote, that all my antiquarian curiosity was fully awakened. I therefore hastened to examine ten or twelve small towers, situate at the distance of a few hundred yards one from another; these were as usual, considered by my Persian guides as having belonged to the *Gabrs* or fire-worshippers, (*mál-i-gabrán* مال گبران); their forms were various; chiefly square and octagonal, with high pyramidical roofs, like the spires of our churches. The late earthquake had totally overthrown one and much damaged others; but it was manifest from the appearance of two or three that they had been in a state of ruin fifty years before. The reader may form some notion of these buildings from the subjoined little sketches of the two most perfect, (See Pl. LXXIII); and of another that stands on the bank of a very clear and murmuring stream, in a romantick spot, shaded with trees. This *gumbed* was distinguished by the name of *Shams-ar'-resúl* (شمس الرسول), one of the *Musulmán* saints; a numerous race for which *A'mul* was (and I believe is still) remarkable. That these towers, all composed of brick, were only works of a Muhammedan age, I had suspected from their style of architecture, and ornaments of painted and lackered tiles; and it was evident that they had been erected as sepulchral monuments, not merely from their bearing the names of holy personages, but from the actual grave of the saint above mentioned; this was covered with a wooden frame and occupied the floor of an arched or covered chamber, formed by the four walls and elevated roof of that *gumbed* delineated with the other two in Pl. LXXIII. My guides next led me to a spacious *Masjed* or mosque, founded as some relate by *SHA'U ABBA'S* or his daughter; to me it appeared much more ancient, and wore an aspect of decay almost as melancholy as the tombs above described; its dome or vaulted roof was mouldering into a rude

mass of brick and mortar; and its walls had fallen in many places, and appeared much injured in others, (See Pl. LX XIII). This state of ruin was attributed chiefly to the earthquake; and after a lapse of four years the effects of its violence were here seemingly recent; but a tree of no inconsiderable size which had forced its way through some breaches of the wall proved that, at least twenty years before, this building had been much neglected. Yet it was said that an establishment, coeval with its foundation, still existed, for occasional repairs and for the maintenance of a pious elder attached to it, as a sexton or guardian; in such a character, I heard, some *seyed* (سید or reputed descendant of the prophet's family) now occupied one of the wings. A profusion of glazed and painted tile-work, was visible on different parts; and the open court, in front, contained an ample *hawz* or reservoir of water, for the religious ablutions of true-believers. From this we proceeded to the castle of HU'SHANG (*Kalau'i Húshang* قلعه هوشنگ), which to me, judging merely from its foundations and deep square ditch (for little more remains), appeared extremely ancient; but, whether authorized to claim as founder, HU'SHANG, the second monarch recorded in Persian annals, and consequently an antiquity of two thousand seven hundred years, it is, perhaps at this time not possibly to ascertain. "Here," exclaimed one of my guides, "the great SECANDER resided during his stay at A'mul."—"It is very probable," said an old man who had accompanied us from the mosque, "that SECANDER occasionally visited this fortress; but all the world knows that his Grecian troops were encamped on yonder *sahhrá* (صحرا);" and he pointed to the open plain about a mile distant, over which we had ridden on our way from *Bárfurúsh*. That any local tradition respecting Alexander, should thus spontaneously offer itself, was highly grateful to one who had been long employed on the history of that conqueror, and more particularly of his marches in the East; for though Hanway had given me reason to expect some reports concerning the Grecian camp near A'mul, I had not yet commenced my inquiries on that subject⁽⁸²⁾. Adjoining the

(82) "As we approached towards AMUL (says Mr. Hanway) the country appeared still more pleasant; this city is situated in a plain at the foot of that part of Mount

remains of this castle was a wall or embankment strongly built of stone, and washed by the river when more full than at present; a *burge* (برج) or tower standing on it, seemed still nearly perfect. Of this embankment I have introduced one end into the view (Pl. LXXIII) which represents all of the handsome bridge and its twelve arches that the earthquake left; and as much of the city as could be comprehended in the sketch. It must however, be remarked, that the very flat situation of *A'mul* is unfavourable to its appearance on paper, as little more is visible than a few trees and some thatched houses; but one direction offers a fine back ground of distant mountains; and in another, within seven or eight miles, are seen many beautifully wooded hills. In the year 1627, Herbert computed the inhabitants of this place to be "not less than three thousand families," (*Trav.* p. 198); and from the widely scattered vestiges of ancient buildings it is probable that in former ages the population had been much more numerous. Borrowing the words of that ingenious traveller (p. 199), as applicable now as when he described this city, we may speak of "her visible ruins making good the report, "that once it was this countrey's metropolis." He also notices (p. 199) the strong and handsome castle, and the cathedral or principal mosque; in which, as he heard, were entombed "four hundred and forty-four princes and prophets"⁽⁸³⁾; and in recounting his adventure near the bridge he mentions a race of beauties, not yet, perhaps, extinct: for accident favoured me with an opportunity (although momentary) of seeing

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"TAURUS where the PERSIANS say ALEXANDER encamped and refreshed his army." *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 286. He alludes, without doubt, to the *Castle of Húshang* in the following passage—"Here we found the ruins of an old fortress which had been very strong and regular beyond any I saw in PERSIA; the walls were of brick and of great thickness; they say it has been repaired every two hundred years since the time of the original foundation, said to be four thousand years ago; but this unluckily happens to be before the deluge according to our accounts." *Travels*, ib. I shall here add two or three lines from Sir Thomas Herbert; "the next town of note that we came to was *Omoal*, which some take for *Zarama*; others for that *Zadracarta* where Alexander refreshed his army in that pursuit he made after Bessus, that infamous *Bactrian*," &c. *Travels*, Third Edit. p. 198.

⁽⁸³⁾ The reader may recollect in my account of *Kum* (pp. 102, and 104) how the soil of that city was said to be enriched or sanctified by the remains of *four hundred and forty four* Muhammedan saints.

without their veils, three or four young girls, whose pretty faces might have attracted notice even in England⁽⁸⁴⁾.

This account of *A'mul* shall be closed with a few anecdotes extracted from the rare or celebrated works of eastern writers, and arranged, according to the system which I have generally observed on similar occasions, as nearly in chronological order, as the uncertain age of some books and authors will allow; and it happens, that he whom I must here first quote as the oldest, and who is likewise the most celebrated as an historian, MUHAMMED EBN JARI'R, surnamed AL-TABARI or TABRI, was born in this very city, the subject of our present inquiry, in the year 224 of the *Hejirah*, or of our era, 838; and with respect to it, we may perhaps, suspect that he was not wholly free from the partiality of a native. His *Táríkh Kebír* (or "Great Chronicle") informs us that the Scythians or *Turánians* under AFRA'SIA'B, having (in the eighth century before Christ) defeated several times the Persians or *Iranians*, their king "MINU'CHEHR took refuge in "*Tabristán*, and shut himself up in the fortress of *A'mul*; and "this is a place surrounded with numerous thorny brambles; "and here the *Turkás* and strangers were unable to act, whilst "*A'mul* abounded with provisions of every kind; considerable "quantities of fruit; different herbs, grain, pulse, and sugar variously prepared (*páníz*); there were stores of garments and "carpets for winter and summer; and whatsoever men could "possibly require, might be found at *A'mul*; neither was it "necessary to send elsewhere for any thing. Then king "AFRA'SIA'B with all his *Turkás* sat down before the gates

(84) "Thence passing," says Herbert, "to the river side, (over which upon a bridge "of stone we rode the night before) to refresh myself under some poplars; for, as says "a poet of another like place, this had "*beds of grass and walks in shady woods,* "and meadows ever green, with crystal floods." "seven or eight more beautifull than "bashfull damozels, (like so many nymphs sprang out of the water, as I suppose, to "admire my habit. But I no less admiring their confidence quickly left them; having "this in thought, *Quod non vetat lex, hoc vetat fieri pudor:*" for the truth is, I took "them for *Amarosa's*, and violators of the bounds of modesty, until from better satisfaction I was made to believe it was simplicity and the opportunity they took to see "a stranger; for when the sun mounts to his meridian, the men commonly go to sleep, "and the women then have the benefit of the river, where they use to swim and probably "cool their heat," &c. Sir T. Herbert's Travels, Third Edit. p. 100.

"of the city of *Amul*, and besieged it during ten years, whilst
 "king *MINU'CHEHR* remained in the castle, and was not once
 "obliged to procure either clothing or food from any other
 "place; for he possessed there such a superfluity of garments,
 "carpets, herbs and vegetables of every kind, that he occa-
 "sionally sent some as presents to *AFRA'SIA'B*; thus saying,
 "how long soever you may continue before the gates of this
 "city, I cannot suffer any injury, defended by so strong a
 "castle; and to what distress can you possibly reduce me
 "who here enjoy all that the whole world affords? It is not
 "necessary for me to seek any thing beyond this place, and
 "here are various commodities that cannot be found else-
 "where; and accordingly he sent some of them all to *AFRA'SIA'B*.
 "It is said, that during these ten years neither *MINU'*-
 "*CHEHR* nor his army wanted any thing from without the
 "city, except pepper, used in the cooking vessels; for it
 "prevents the bad effects of damp or moisture; and this
 "country being situate near the sea coast, its air is affected
 "by humidity; and this pepper is brought from the land of
 "*Hindústán*, to this place and to every other part of the
 "world. Then king *MINU'CHEHR* assembled all his wise
 "men and said, "what means can we devise to supply the
 "deficiency of pepper, so indispensably necessary in this
 "climate?" They replied "in this place is a certain plant
 "called *Zinjibíl* (ginger); command the people to use it in
 "their *diks* or vessels, for culinary purposes, as it will serve
 "instead of pepper." *MINU'CHEHR* gladly adopted their
 "advice, and the *Zinjibíl* was substituted⁽⁸⁵⁾; and when ten
 "years had elapsed, *AFRA'SIA'B* being tired of remaining
 "before the gates, and all his army of *Turkâns* weary and
 "hopeless, a peace was concluded with *MINU'CHEHR*, and
 "they retreated"⁽⁸⁶⁾.

(⁸⁵) One copy of *TABRI* (my MS. no. 3) adds here *و تا امروزان تره انجا هست* "and that plant continues there (at *Amul*) to this day."

(⁸⁶) *و مذوچهر در طبرستان بشیر امل در حصار بود و کردا کرد طبرستان همه خوارست و ترکان و غریبان هیچ از نتوانند کرد و همه چیز از خوردنی در آن شهر امل باشد و میوه بسیار و دیگر افزای و دانهها از نخود و شکر و پانید انجا باشد و از جامهای پوشیدنی و فرش تابستانی و زمستانی باشد انجا و هیچ چیز نیست که مردم را بپایند*

We find *A'mul* often mentioned (incidentally) in the tenth century, by *EBN HAUKAL*, according to the printed translation of his geographical work. It appears, however, from the MS. *Sûr al-beldân* to have been at that time the capital of this province; as we learn in the following passage—"But the most considerable city of *Tabristân* is *A'mul*, which has been in our days the residence of the governors, chiefs and magistrates of that country"⁽⁸⁷⁾. We then read, in words already quoted (p. 262), that *Sârî* had been formerly the seat of government. In the *Shâh námeh* of *FIRDAUSI*, *A'mul* is frequently noticed, but without any circumstances particularly descriptive; first as the place from which *FERÎ'DU'N* went to *Temísheh*. Its name then occurs in the history of *MINU'CHEHR*, and of *NAUDAR*. Again in the account of *IGHRI'RATH* and the Persian nobles taken prisoners with their king (*NAUDAR*), whom *AFRA'SIAB* had slain; an anecdote to which I have before alluded (pp. 194, 262). All these notices relate to events that happened (as we may suppose) between six and eight hun-

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الا که همه در آن شهر امل باشد و از بیرون آن شهر طلب باید کردن پس ملک
افراسیاب با همه ترکان بر در شهر امل ده سال بنشست و ملک منوچهر بختار
بنشست و منوچهر با سپاه خویش ده سال بدان شهر اندر بود که هیچ چیز از خوردنی و
پوشیدنی از بیرون آن شهر نیایست آورد و اندران شهر چیزهای بود از جامهای و کلبهها و
اسپرغمها و ریاحین که وقتی افراسیاب را هدیه دادی و او را آیدون گفت که چند توانی
بر در این شهر نشستن و مرا این حصار هیچ زبان ندارد و بر من چه تنگی بود که
هرچه بجهان اندرست همه بدین شهر اندرست و مرا از بیرون شهر هیچ چیز حاجت
نیست و بدین شهر اندر بسیار چیزهاست که در دیگر شهر نیست و هدیه از آن
فرستادی با افراسیاب و چنان گویند که آن ده سال منوچهر با لشکر هیچ از بیرون
شهر نیایست مگر پیل که اندر دیکهای کردی که پیل مرطوبت را ببرد و این شهر بر
لب دریاست و هواس با رطوبتست و این پیل از زمین هندوستان برند اینجا و بیه
جهان پس ملک منوچهر همه حکما را جمع کرد و گفت این پیل را چه حیلست کنیم
که بدین هوا از آن هدیه چاره نیست آن حکما منوچهر را گفتند آیدریگی تده است که
انرا زنجبیل خوانند بفرمای تا انرا در دیکهای کنند که بجای پیل کار کند منوچهر
شاد شد و زنجبیل را بجای پیل کار بست و چون ده سال برآمد افراسیاب بر در آن
شهر بستوه شد و سپاه ترکان همه ستوه شدند و افراسیاب با منوچهر صلح کرد و باز کشت

⁽⁸⁷⁾ اما بزرگتر شهرهای طبرستان امل است و آن در ایام ما مقرو موضع حکام
و ولاه و قصه آن دیار بوده است

dred years before the time of Christ⁽⁸⁸⁾. After a long interval we find *A'mul* enumerated as one of the stages on BAHARA'M's march (in the fourth century of our era) from *A'zergushasp* to *Marv*⁽⁸⁹⁾. It subsequently appears that NU'SHI'RAVA'N with his army "went from *Gurgán* to *Sári* and *A'mul*." Finally, it is again named with *Sári* in FIRDAUSI's history of KHUSRA'U PARVI'Z.

I shall now seek some account of *A'mul* in that curious, interesting and entertaining work, the MS. *Tárikh*, or as we may style it, the memoirs of his own time, written by ABU'L FAZL, surnamed BAIHAKKI⁽⁹⁰⁾; who informs us that in the year 421 (of the Hejirah, or 1030 of our era) he accompanied the EMI'R MASA'UD with his army, from *Sári* (by a road of which he very forcibly describes the difficulties) to *A'mul*, "whence," says he, "came forth above five hundred thousand and or six hundred thousand men, persons of respectable appearance"⁽⁹¹⁾. He then relates, that the EMI'R having passed on with a select body of his guards and servants, alighted at the tents pitched for him about half a farsang beyond the city, through which the main body of soldiers marched to their camp; but from the attention of officers previously appointed, not one of the citizens suffered any injury or loss even to the value of a *direh*; and the peasants

⁽⁸⁸⁾ I might have noticed *A'mul* as the scene of CALCAUS's disgrace and punishment, according to some copies of the *Sháhnámeh*; these relate that he there fell to earth from a throne or chair to which several eagles were harnessed; the monarch, impiously hoping that by their means he might have ascended to heaven. But from other copies it would appear that he fell near the borders of *Chín* or *Tartary*. Yet the ancient MS. *Mújmel al Tuárikh*, assigns this event to a place not very distant from *A'mul*, "the land of *Sári*." (از بالا بزومین ساری فروافتاد).

⁽⁸⁹⁾ The places mentioned are *A'zergushasp* اندرکشسپ, *Ardebil* اردبیل, *A'mul* آمد, *Gurgán* گرگان the city of *Nesá* نسا and *Marv* مرو.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ His name appears to have been ABU'L FAZL MUHAMMED EBN AL HUSSEIN ابوالفضل محمد بن الحسين, he derived his surname from *Baihak* or *Bíhak* بیهق, a territory of *Khurasán*, where he was born; and he began the composition of his *Tárikh* in the year 455, as we learn from himself; a date equivalent to A. D. 1063.

⁽⁹¹⁾ و افزون پانصد و شصت هزار مرد بیرون آمده بودند مردمان پاکیزه روی و نیکو

declared their admiration of those troops and of the discipline by which they were regulated; "and I, who am A'BU'L-FAZL," continues our author, "before the army was drawn up, had gone into the city, and found it to be very handsome and excellent; the doors of all the shops were open and the inhabitants seemed cheerful and contented; and I shall hereafter relate their change of condition, and in what manner by the misconduct of wicked men, this paradise of A'mul became a hell"⁽⁹²⁾. In a subsequent part of his work, he mentions that according to one statement (made about the year 1034 of Christ), A'mul contained "a million of men,"
 . . . به اهل هزار هزار مردست . . .

NIZA'MI, in his romance the *Haft Paigar* (هفت پیکر), says that BAHARA'M (the monarch whom our writers call VARA'NES, and VARARA'NES, and whose name in pure *Pahlavi* was VARHARA'N), rewarded with the city of A'mul that celebrated architect SHEIDEN⁽⁹³⁾, who had constructed for him, as dwelling-places for his favourite princesses, the seven villas or towers, (*Haft Gumbad*) some of which, now ruined, (as they all are) I have described in different chapters of these volumes. An author who appears to have flourished early in the thirteenth century, informs us that having explored the library of a college at Rai, and visited Hamadán, he proceeded to A'mul and resided there five years; when, says he, "accidentally passing by the row of book-binder's shops, I procured in one of them a certain volume containing some miscellaneous essays"⁽⁹⁴⁾; and among these he found many ancient and interesting materials for his *Tárikh* or history of *Tabristán*. We

(92) و من که بو الفضلم پیش از تعبیه لشکر در شهر رفته بودم سخت نیکو شهری دیدم همه دوکانهای درکشاده و مردم شادکام و پس ازین بگویم که حال چون شد و بد آموزان چه باز نمودند تا بهشت امل دوزخی شد
 MS. *Tárikh Bihakkí*.

(93) تاشود شاد شیده از بهرام شهر امل بشیده داد تمام
 The extraordinary alliteration in the first line of this distich may offend our European taste, but is considered a beauty by the Persians

(94) برسته صحافان کز افتاد از دکانی کتابی برداشتم درو اند رسالت بود
 He describes the most curious; of which, in another place, I shall give an account

must not suppose him unacquainted with the tradition (above given from TABRÍ) concerning the ten (or twelve) years siege of *A'mul*; for he traces MINU'CHEHR from the castle of *Tabarek* to *Rai*; "and his nocturnal flight from that city, by way of *Láreján* to *Tabristán*; while his indefatigable pursuer AFRA'SIA'B rendered the wide expanse of this world "as narrow to him as the eye of a needle"⁽⁹⁵⁾. His enemies the *Turániáns* (*Turkáns* or *Scythians*) occupied "*Khusrau-ábád*, a village in the territory of *A'mul*; and until the time "of VASHMEGÍ'R, (about A. D. 934), son of ZI'A'R, the father "of K'ABÚ'S, the buildings of this village might be seen; and "above it was a certain tree which the people called *Shátí-múzi-bun*; under this tree the tent of AFRA'SIA'B was pitched; there he remained twelve years, and during this time "MINU'CHEHR found it not necessary to send elsewhere for "any thing except pepper; instead of which a plant or herb "called *kaliehh* was substituted"⁽⁹⁶⁾.

After this our author devotes sixteen or seventeen pages to the (ذكر بنياد امل) "account of the foundation of *A'mul*;" from which, (in some places very flowery and prolix) I shall extract the principal circumstances, and endeavour to compress them within a moderate compass; retaining the outlines of a love-story; which, though romantick and improbable, is the vehicle of particulars that seem authentick, and to some readers may prove not uninteresting.

.....

(95) بشب بگریخت و بطریق لرجان بطبرستان رسید افراسیاب جهانی بسیط و عریض چون سوراخ سوزن برو تنک کرد This expression, which I quote from the MS. *Táríkh i Tabristán*, reminds us of passages in the Gospels of Saint Matthew, Mark and Luke, and shall be again noticed in the last section of the Appendix.

(96) خسروآباد—از دهها امل— و تا بعهد وشمگیر بن زیار پدر قابوس این دیهرا عمارت پیدا بود و بالای این دیه درختی بود که شاتی موزی بن گفتندی خیمه افراسیاب زیر آن درخت زده بودند دوازده سال آنجا بماند که منوچهر را بهیچ چیز حاجت نبود که بولایتی دیگر فرستند و آورند الا فلغل بعوض آن گیاهی که کلیم گویند ایشان MS. *Táríkh i Tabristán*. The plant mentioned in the last sentence appears to be *kaliehh*, as written کلیم; but I suspect an error in the MS.

We learn that in the land of *Dílem* two brothers formerly resided, one named *A'SHTA'D* (اشتاد), the other *YEZDA'N* (یزدان); who having killed a powerful chief of that country fled with their families, and settled in the district of *A'mul*; where they built those villages which are still called after them, *Yezdán-ábád* (یزدان آباد) and *A'shtád-Resták* (اشتاد رستاق). The daughter of *A'SHTA'D* was exquisitely beautiful; and *FR'RU'Z* (فیروز), who reigned at *Balkh*, having dreamed of her charms, became so enamoured that, notwithstanding the sage advice of his *Múbéd Múbédán* (موبد موبدان) or high priest⁽⁹⁷⁾, he sent many faithful and active servants into various parts of the world, hoping that they might discover, from the description of her whom he had beheld in the dream, a damsel of beauty corresponding to his idea; after a fruitless search throughout various regions, those men returned; and *MIHR-FR'RU'Z* (مهر فیروز), the king's favourite and kinsman, set out for *Tabristán*, the only province which they had not explored. On his arrival at *Túsán*, (طوسان which appears to be represented by the modern *Sári*, see p. 264), the governor of that city united with him in seeking the lovely daughter of *A'SHTA'D*, but without success, although during a whole year they had expended considerable sums of money in every quarter of *Tabristán*. It happened, however, that riding one day on the sea shore, *MIHR FR'RU'Z* crossed a river, where his servants were unable to follow him, and soon after he arrived at the stream of *Alehm* (الهم), into which his horse plunged and was drowned, whilst he with much difficulty saved himself and his sword. He then wandered on the bank of a clear and delightful brook that murmured through the forest, until he perceived a damsel of such perfect beauty that he exclaimed, "if this be an evil spirit I shall slay her; if she prove a human creature it must be the object of my search;" (اگر جنیة باشد بکشم و اگر آدمیست مطلوب منسوبت); after many expressions of mutual astonishment and explanation, she led him to her father's house, where he was hospitably received and treated with much kindness and attention for

(97) The "Priest of Priests," *kar' éloxh*, a title given by *TABRÍ*, *FIRDAUSÍ*, and other old writers to the chief priest of the Fire-worshippers.

three days; as according to the custom observed in *Dilem* towards strangers, during that space of time the host abstains from asking a guest any questions⁽⁹⁸⁾. After the third day they inquired what chance had conducted a person of such courtly manners and princely appearance to their sequestered habitation. *MIHR FI'RÚ'Z* replied that he was a cousin of the great king, and had come to *Túsán* that he might enjoy the pleasures of hunting, which, it was said, that place afforded beyond all others in the world; and that having outstripped his companions in the chase and lost his horse, he had wandered through the forest until good fortune brought him into the presence of the beautiful damsel; whom he then demanded of her father. *A'SHTA'D* declared that before he could bestow his daughter on any person, however well disposed towards him, it was necessary that he should consult his brother; they proceeded therefore to *YEZDA'N*'s dwelling, and as he expressed some doubts respecting the stranger's story, it was agreed, that a letter should be written to the governor of *Túsán* whose answer would confirm what *MIHR FI'RÚ'Z* had said, or prove him to be an impostor. *A'SHTA'D* immediately despatched one of his sons to *Túsán*, and the governor, hearing of the fortunate event, transmitted intelligence to the king, who convinced by *MIHR FI'RÚ'Z*'s description of the damsel that it was she who had appeared to him in his sleep, commanded that various articles of great value, splendid clothes and costly jewels, should be sent to her as a present. The servants of *MIHR FI'RÚ'Z* having now joined him, with those who brought the royal gifts; his kind hosts fell on their knees before him, and he then informed them of the king's dream, of the violent passion which it had excited, and of the honour which awaited the damsel, whom her sovereign intended to espouse. The king soon after arrived at *A'shtád-Reshták* and his happiness was complete. Our author next relates that the king one day inquired of his fair bride, how it happened that the women in her country were remarkable for the excellence of their eyes, their softness of skin, and sweetness of

.....
 (98) و برسم دینم تاسه روز از و هیچ سوال نکردند The ancient Greeks, according to Eustathius, (on *Iliad* VI, v. 174) allowed a stranger nine days before they made inquiries.

breath. Her answer, which is so written as to imitate the provincial idiom and manner of pronunciation used in *Dilem*, expresses, (if I have rightly understood its meaning), that the excellence of their eyes proceeded from early rising; the softness of skin from wearing linen in summer and silk in winter; and the sweetness of breath, from using milk and honey as food⁽⁹⁹⁾. The queen, as we may now entitle A'SH-TAD's daughter, requested that a city might be founded on a spot which she indicated, near the river *Harhaz*, and that it might be distinguished by her own name, *A'mul*. The king immediately employed expert architects in erecting a building on that place which his wife had called *Paï-desht*, "the foot" or lower part of the plain; and the remains of that building are still visible and denominated *Paï-desht* (پای دشت), now, says the author, in my own time⁽¹⁰⁰⁾; and a neighbouring spot, in which edifices had been erected to gratify the queen, is styled, adds he, the *Sháristáneh-i-marz* (شارستان مرز). Soon after the commencement of these works, a prince was born whom

(99) The lady's answer appears in the Manuscript thus—

اچ بامدادان سفردین چشم افروج اچ تاوستان کتان و زمستان پرنیان پوشین تن
افروج اچ سیر و انکسم خورن دمش افروج

here we find the letter *z* changed into *ج* and *adje* written for *az*, *afrúdje* for *afrúz*, and *s* for *sh* in *shir* (milk). The use of *r* for *b* in *tábistán* is not peculiar to *Dilem*; it may be remarked throughout every province in Persia; and is authorized in a multiplicity of words by the best dictionaries; thus the *Burhán Katea* explains *تاو* *tar* or *táu* as equivalent in signification to *تاب* *táb*, (heat, sunshine, &c.) hence *tábistán* (or *táristán*) summer. The *Ketán* or linen here mentioned, we learn from the same Dictionary, "is a kind of garment woven from a certain grass or plant of which the properties are coldness and dryness; and by wearing it, the body is preserved from the bad effects of moisture and perspiration. It is said also if any person desire to become lean, let him wear in winter a new garment of this linen, and in summer one that has been washed; but let him invert this rule, if he wish not to render himself lean." کتان—نوعي از جامه باشد که انرا از علف بافند طبیعت آن سرد و خشکست و پوشیدنش رطوبت و عرق از بدن میکند کوبند اگر کسی خواهد که بدن او لاغر شود در زمستان جامه کتان نو بپوشد و در تابستان جامه کتان شسته و اگر خواهد که لاغر نشود برعکس یعنی در زمستان جامه کتان شسته بپوشد و در تابستان نو

The author نام اودماند و آثار آن بنیاد تا بعهد ما باقی بید و بدید است (100) within a few pages, speaking of an ancient castle, says that it continued to be inhabited "until my own time, the year 613," (corresponding to the year 1216 of Christ).

تابعهد ما در سنه ثلاث عشر و ستمایه این قلعه معمور بود

the king named KHUSRAU خسرو, and considering this as an auspicious event, he resolved to establish his constant residence here. A town was then constructed where the present city stands, on the spot now called *A'sbānch Serāi* (اسبانه سراي) but formerly *Máteh* (ماته); here is now the *Masjed Jamea* or principal mosque. And fine water was conducted thither, from a spring in the mountain of *Vendámíd* (وندامید); and even in the time of YEZDA'DI a small remnant of that water yet existed. The city was at length finished, and fortified with a wall of burnt brick, so wide that three horsemen might ride on it abreast; and a ditch or moat thirty-three *arash* (ارش) or cubits deep, and in breadth one arrow-flight. In the wall were four gates, called according to their different directions, the *Derwāzeh* or *Báb-i-Gurgán*, *Báb-i-Gílan*, *Báb-al-Jebel* (the mountain gate), and *Báb-i-Bahr*, or "gate that leads to the sea;" and the city covered four hundred *jeríbs* (جریب) or acres of ground. In this state it continued several years, and "the *Kasr* or palace of A'MUL, the wife of king FÍRU'Z, was situate "on that spot at present called *Kúcheh-i-Kázerán*, the quarter "inhabited by those who bleach or wash linen, behind the *Res- "teh-i-bezáán*, or shop-keeper's row; and at the same place, in "the time of SAEÍD ARDASHÍR, (about A. D. 1205,) some "workmen preparing clay for building, having descended to "the depth of two spear-lengths under ground, discovered several remains of ancient edifices, with *dakhmeh*⁽¹⁰¹⁾, or sepulchral chambers and graves"⁽¹⁰²⁾. When KHUSRAU the son of FÍRU'Z became king, he augmented the city and erected mansions with gardens outside the moat; many persons also from distant countries having settled here, he founded another castle or fortress, and built it with clay; on the subject of these structures, our Persian author declares that he found

(¹⁰¹) *Dakhmeh* دخمه or دخم *Dakhm* according to the *Burhán Kátea*, signified the vault or place, in general, where dead bodies are deposited; but particularly among the *Gabrs* or Fireworshippers; کورخانه کبرائرا خصوصا (See Vol. II. pp. 370, 374, 390)

(¹⁰²) و قصر امل که زن فیروز بود اینجا که این ساعت کوچه کازران میگویند پس رسته بزازان بود و دخمه نیز همجا بعهد ملک سعید ارده شیر خاک شویان در نیزه بالایی آن زمین فرو رفتند و مارات بسیار ظاهر شده و دخمه و کور پدید آمد
The *Bezán* were, perhaps, more particularly those who sold clothes or linen.

many particulars in ancient writings. He then adds, that the "word *A'mul* (or *A'mal*) originally signified (in their *Dilemi* "dialect) the same as *A'húsh*⁽¹⁰³⁾; and both were used to express *marg* or "death," in this sense, "may death never "happen to thee!"⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. The *Masjed Jamea* or principal mosque, was founded in the time of *HA'RU'N AR'RASHÍ'D*, about the year 177," (or of our era 793), on a spot which cost eight thousand and thirty two *dínárs*; and the *Masjed* was in length ninety three *aresh*, and in width ten; on the construction of this edifice were expended forty seven thousand three hundred and forty *dínárs*. "And in the time of king "FI'RÚ'Z, who originally founded *A'mul*, a ditch or trench "was made along the sea coast, in a line drawn from the borders of *Gurgán* to *Gúlán* and *Maukán*; and the vestiges of "this trench may still be traced in several parts of *Tabristán*, "and are denominated *Fírúz-Kundeh*"⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. From the same

⁽¹⁰³⁾ *Húsh* دوش used by FIRDAUSI to express death or destruction, (and not yet, perhaps, in that sense wholly, although nearly obsolete) is, according to the *Burhán Katea* a word of the ancient Persian language; for, among other meanings, (sense, reason, cleverness, life, soul, mortal poison), this Dictionary informs us that in the *Pahlavi* dialect *hush* signifies death and destruction—

بلغت پهلوې بمعني مرگ و هلاك باشد

From a variety of examples that may be found in the *Zendavesta* of Anquetil du Perron, and in *Zend* and *Pahlavi* Manuscripts, it appears that the letter *a* possessed a negative or privative power (like the Greek *alpha*) when prefixed to certain words; thus *á-húsh* becomes "immortal;" and as the text informs us that *ámul* is synonymous with *húsh*, we ascertain the meaning of *mul* to be the same with *marg* and *húsh* (death); and I suspect that as one character served in the ancient *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, for R and L, some confusion may have happened in the word, *amul*, (as in many others), and that it was originally written with an R instead of L. My reasons for this conjecture would prolong this note to an unreasonable degree, and may be more properly discussed in a future work; meanwhile, respecting the privative or negative power of *alif* in *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, Monsieur De Sacy has collected a multiplicity of most satisfactory proofs from the *Zendavesta* of his illustrious countryman above quoted; and has strongly exemplified it himself in the words *APIANON* καὶ *ANAPIANON*, of a Greek inscription on a Persian monument See the "Memoires sur div. antiq. de la Perse," p. 60. "De *petiaré*, "mal," se forme *apetiaré*, "sans mal;" de *marg* "mort," *amarg* "immortel;" de *posan*, "enfants," *aposan*, "sans enfants," &c.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ و معني امل بلغت ايشان اهوش است و اهوش و امل مرگ را كويند و بدین كنايتست از آنكه ترا مرگ مباد هرگز
(MS. *Tár. Tabristán*).

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ و بوقت فیروز شاه كه باني امل بود از حد كرگان تابعد كيلان و موقان بر ساحل دریا خندقى كشیده بود و هنوز اثر آن خندق به بسيار مواضع طبرستان ظاهر است و فیروز كنده ميكويند

author we learn that *A'mul* became the mart where commodities were exchanged by merchants of every country; *Tabristán* furnished "fruits and reeds or sugar-canes, and medicinal productions both of the plain and mountain; and it was enriched "with mines of sulphur, copperas; the *sang-i-surmeh*, (or stone "which yields that substance used as a collyrium for the "eyes) iron and steel, and in many places mines of gold and "silver"—"also many beautiful articles of linen, cotton, silk "and wool; stuffs for dresses, interwoven with gold; all these "are exported thence to the eastern and western regions of "the earth; and YEZDA'DI relates that in his time, on account "of the precious satin, the fine brocade, the valuable scarlet "cloth; the stuffs called *yathreb* and *káfúri*⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, which were "not any where exceeded in beauty or in goodness, the silken "and woolen hangings, the carpets and mats, more excellent "than those manufactured at *Baghdád* or at *Abadán*; people "came to *Tabristán* and carried away those things as articles "of traffick, to other parts of the world, for no where else "could such be found; even in my own time," adds our author, "*A'mul* has been the *bázár* or place of sale for the "merchandize of *Saksín* and of *Bulghár*; in search of which "people come to *A'mul* from *Irák* and *Shám*, (Syria) and "*Khurasán*, and the borders of *Hindustán*; and the merchants "of *Tabristán* describe *Bulghár* and *Saksín* as situate on the "sea coast opposite to *A'mul*; and it is said that those who "go in a ship may arrive at *Saksín* in three months⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. And

(¹⁰⁶) So called, perhaps, from being whitish like camphor, or *káfúr* كافور; to which, says the *Burhán Katea*, all white things are usually compared. This Dictionary, however, explains the word *káfúri* كافوري as signifying (like *Bábunch* بابونه) a well known plant or herb, called by the Arabs *Babunedje* بابونج and *akhwan* اخوان. The smell of it induces sleep, and other properties are mentioned which it is not here necessary to describe.

(¹⁰⁷) The *Burhán Katea* having informed us that *Bulghár* بلغار signifies a certain kind of skin (which we call Russia leather) coloured and of a pleasant smell; and also called *tallátin* تلاتين, adds, "and it is also the name of a city near the land of Darkness, "founded in the time of Alexander; and its climate is extremely cold; and parrots "cannot remain alive there. Some say that *Bulghár* is the name of a whole country, "and of one of its cities."

و نام شهرست نزدیک بظلمات و آن در زمان سکندر بنا شده و هوايش بغایت

"there are women in *Tabristán* who by their own ingenuity and the labour of their hands, earn in one day fifty *dirhems*; nor is that appearance of extreme poverty ever seen in this province as in other countries"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. Such are the principal passages concerning *A'mul* in the MS. "History of *Tabristán*." It is unnecessary to quote a multiplicity of writers who either superficially or hyperbolically notice this ancient city, or merely repeat, on the subject of it, *TABRI*'s words above translated. Thus *MENHA'JE SERA'JE*⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ assures us that it was founded by king *TAHMU'RAS*, an account adopted by many subsequent historians of distinguished

سرد می باشد و طوطی در آن شهر زنده نمی ماند و بعضی گویند نام ولایتی که بلغار یکی از شهرهای آن ولایت است

According to this Dictionary "*Saksin* is the name of a region unknown."

سقسین — نام ولایتی است غیر معلوم

But in the Manuscript *Takwīm* or geographical tables of *SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI* we read that "*Saksin* belongs to Russia;" and they place it in longitude (from the fortunate islands) (فـزـل) 87-30; and in latitude (from the equinoctial line) (مـمـل) 48 30. This differs a little from the printed tables of *NASSIR ATTU'SI* and *ULUGH BEIG*, which describe *Saksin* to be situate in long. 86-30; lat. 43-0, according to Hudson's *Minor. Geogr.* Vol. III. (pp. 100, 132).

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ از مبدوهای ونیا و ادویها دشت و کوه و کانها کوکد و زاج و سنگ سرمه و آهن و فولاد و به بسیار جایگاه معادن زر و سیم — و انواع ظرایف کنان و پنبه و قزو صوف و کوردیها بر اصناف مختلف زرین و یشمین که شرق و مغرب عالم از آنجا برند و یزدادی آورده است که در عهد او برای اطلس و پیش بها و انواع دیدیاج بهای و سقلاطون مرتفع و یثرب کران قیمت و کافوری که وری آن نباشد به نیکویی و خوبی و پردیهای ابریشمین و یشمین — و قالیهوا و محفوری بهتر از بغدادی و حصیرهای عبادانی بطبرستان آمدند و از آنجا باقصی بلاد دنیا جلب کرد که در همه افاق مثل آنکه آنجا یافتند نبود و بازار متاع سقسین و بلغار تابعه ما امل بود و مردم از عراق و شام و حراسان و حدود هندوستان بطلب متاع ایشان بامل آمدندی — و بازارکان مردم طبرستان بلغار و سقسین از آن لب دریا در مقابل امل نهاده است و چدن گویند که چون بسقسین کشتی رود بسه ماه برد — و زنان باشند در طبرستان که بروزی پنجاه درهم کسب کنند بحسب صنعت دست خود باشند و هرگز روی درویشی مدفع چنان که در سایر بلاد باشد یافته نشود

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Author of the *Tebkāt Nāseri* نامری, in which he often mentions his own name; and, on one occasion, introduces it in the same manner as *ABUL' FAZL*'s was announced in a former quotation (p. 304), "I have heard, I, who am *MENHAJE* "*SERA'GE*;" سراجم من که منهای سراجم He dates the conclusion of this valuable work in the Muhammedan year 658, or A. D. 1259.

eminence⁽¹¹⁰⁾; and that "in *A'mul* a city of *Mázenderán*, also "called *Tabristún*, was a certain fortress so abundantly supplied (during the reign of MINU'CHEHR) that its garrison "wanted not any thing"⁽¹¹¹⁾; and FAZLALLAH describes it as "a castle, from the battlements of which a person might grasp "the celestial ear of corn, (held by the Zodiacal virgin) "whilst from its chambers might be heard the singing of "angels"⁽¹¹²⁾. The ditch or moat, which, as I have mentioned, still appears very deep, was, according to this author, perfectly suited to the lofty battlements, for it equalled, says he, the "*Deryá-i-Omán*" or Arabian sea⁽¹¹³⁾. In the plainer language of geography, HAMDALLAH informs us that "*A'mul* belongs to the fourth climate, and is situate in longitude from the fortunate islands 87-20; and in latitude from "the equinoctial line 36-30. It was founded by TAHMU'RAS, "surnamed DÍV BEND (or the enslaver of Dæmons), and is "a considerable city. Its climate has a tendency to warmth, "and it produces together the fruits of cold and warm "regions; such as nuts, grapes, oranges, lemons and others, "in great profusion; and all kinds of provisions are there so "abundant and so good, that if the city were shut up or "besieged, it would not require any thing from without"⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

(¹¹⁰) Such as HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI in the *Tárikh Guzideh*; MÍRKHOND in the *Rauzet al Sefá*; his son KHONDEMI'R in the *Habib A'ssir*; MUHAMMED SA'DEK INFAHA'NI in the *Subeh Nádek*; MÍR YAHIA SEIFI CAZVI'NI in the *Leb al Tuárikh*; AHMED AL GHAFARI in the *Jehán Ará*; and others.

(¹¹¹) و در شهر امل مازندران که از اطلستان گویند حصاری شد و در آن مدت از کثرت نعمت آن شهر هیچ چیز محتاج نکشت (MS. *Tabkát Násri*).

(¹¹²) و آن قلعه ایست که از شرفات آن سنبله فلک توان چید و از غرفاتش زمزمه ملک توان شنید (MS. *Tárikh Maagem*).

(¹¹³) دریای عمان The "Sea of Oman," so called from a province of Arabia on the eastern coast. It is, according to the Geographical Manuscript *Ajáieb al Belddn*, the great Indian ocean, or *Bahr al Hind* بحر الهند extending from China to Abyssinia.

(¹¹⁴) امل او اقلیم چهارم است طویش از جزایر خالادات فزک و عرض از خط استوا اول طهمورث دیوبند ساخت شهری بزرگ است و هوایش بکرمی مایل و مجموع میوهای سرد سبزی و گرم سبزی از جوز و انکور و نارنج و لیمو و غیره فراوان باشد و مشهور است بغایت خوب و فراوان است چنانچه اگر شهر بند شود هیچ چیز از بیرون احتیاج نباشد (MS. *Tabkát al Culús*, chap. xviii, of *Mázenderán*).

The printed tables of NASSI'R AD DI'N TU'SI, and of ULUGH BEIG, place *A'mul* in longitude 87-20; latitude 36-35⁽¹¹⁵⁾; whilst according to the Manuscript *Takwīm al beldān* of SADE'K ISFAHA'NI, it is situate in longitude (فرک) 87-20; and latitude (ل-م) 36-40. Of this place the ingenious DOULET SHA'H has introduced a short account into his *Tezkerreh* or biographical history of the Persian poets. "*A'mul*," he informs us, "is "one of the ancient cities, and its foundation is by some "ascribed to JEMSHI'D, while others declare that it was erected "by FERI'DU'N; and for four farsangs, the vestiges of its "former extent may be still traced; and wheresoever the "inhabitants dig under ground, they discover burnt bricks "and stone or gravel used in building; and in this city is a "*Chār gumbed*, or edifice having four cupolas or domes, in "which was the tomb of FERI'DU'N. *A'mul* continued to be "the royal capital of the four quarters of the world until the "time of BAHARA'M. So it is related in the book entitled "*Memālek u Mesālek*, composed by ALI BEN ISA KEHAL"⁽¹¹⁶⁾. That *A'mul* was the chief residence or seat of government (*pāi-takht* (پای تخت) or foot of the throne) under ARDASHI'R (second sovereign of that name who ruled in *Tabristān*, and died A. H. 640, A. D. 1242), we learn from AL GHAFAR'I, who thus mentions also the grandson of that prince; "TA'JE "AD'DOULEH YEZDEJERD, son of SHA'HRYA'R, son of "ARDASHI'R, had been the viceroy or deputy of his uncle; "and *Māzendcrān* flourished so much in his time that at *A'mul* "there were seventy colleges well frequented; his death hap-

(¹¹⁵) The geographical syntax of Chrysococcas places *Αμουδ* (read *Αμουλ*) a city of *Ταυραριστάρ*, in long. *οζ* 77-10; and lat. *λε* 36-35; (See Huds. Min. Geogr. Vol. III).

(¹¹⁶) اما شهر امل از جمله بلاد قدیم است بنای آن کویند جمشید کرده و بعضی کویند افریدون ساخته حالا چهار فرسنگ علامت شهریت آن محسوس میشود و هر جا زمین را بکاوند خشت پخته و سنگ ریخته ظاهر میشود و چهار کنبد است در آن شهر که مقبره افریدون تا زمان بهرام تختگاه ربع مسکون امل بوده و در کتاب ممالک و مسالک علی بن عیسی کهال چنین آورده

See the MS. "*Tezkerret as'shaara*." (Account of *Múlana Hassan Káshí*). But I suspect that my copy of this work is defective in the passage respecting FERI'DUN's tomb: an extract from the MS. *Haft Aklim* (given in next page) will, perhaps, enable us to ascertain the true sense.

“pened in the year 698,” or 1298 of the Christian era⁽¹¹⁷⁾. In the MS *Ajáieb al Gheráieb* we read that “*A'mul*, a place “belonging to *Tabristán*, is situate in the fourth climate, and “among the surprising circumstances observed in this world, “may be reckoned, that sheep brought to the territory of “*A'mul* in a state of leanness, can never be there rendered “fat by any means, but die after six months, reduced to “mere skeletons”⁽¹¹⁸⁾. The last passage which I shall extract from Eastern writers concerning this city, is the following which AMÍN RA'ZI offers in his account of its origin; having alluded to some traditions above noticed, he adds “DOWLET “SHA'H quoting the *Mesálek u Memúlek*, a work of ALI BEN “ISA KEHA'L, relates that from the time of FERI'DU'N until “the reign of BAHARA'M GU'R, *A'mul* was the capital of the “four quarters of this world; and in this city is a certain “*gumbed*, an arched or vaulted edifice, on or over which grow “trees of various kinds; and this *gumbed* is said to be the “tomb of IREGE, the son of FERI'DU'N; and close to the city “flows a river named *Harzah* (properly *Harhaz*), from which “the people of *A'mul*, by means of channels, derive as much “water as they require for the irrigation of their grounds and “for domestick purposes; so that there is not any habitation “without running water at all times”⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

(117) تاج الدوله یزدجرد بن شهریار بن اردشیر قایم مقام عم شده مازندران در دوران او چندان آبادان کشت که هفتاد مدرسه در امل معمور گردید و فاش در سنه ثمان و تسعین و ستمایه (MS. *Jehún Ará*).

(118) امل از بلاد طبرستان و اراقلم چهارم است و از عجایب دنیا است که چون کوسفند آن با آن ولایت لاشرشوند هر چند او را تربیت کنند فربه نشود و بعد از شش ماه از استخوانی ماند (Section the third).

(119) دواتشاه از کتاب مسااک و مهااک علی بن عیسی کحال نقل میکند که از روزگار فریدون تا زمان پیرام کور تختگاه ربع مسکون امل بوده و در آن شهر کفیدیست که اقسام اشجار بر آن روینده کوبند که قبر ایرج بن فریدون است و مقصل شهر رودیست که آنرا هرزه خوانند و مردم امل بقدر احتیاج از آن رود نهزها ساخته بر زراعت و عمارت خود می برند هر آینه ازین سبب هیچ منزل امل بی آب روان خالی نیست (MS. *Haft Aklim*, clin. IV). Compare this with the passage above given from DOWLET SHA'H, (note 116).

Such are the principal notices that I have collected from oriental Manuscripts, on the subject of a city which has not yet been recognised in any of the names left us by classical writers, although from Strabo's description of *Tapè*, the Hyrcanian metropolis, or royal residence, in his time, an eminent French geographer, M. Barbiè du Bocage, supposes it to be at *A'mul*⁽¹²⁰⁾; but for this opinion assigns his reasons in a manner that leaves the subject open to the discussion of others: a manner always adopted in doubtful cases, by the most ingenious and accomplished writers. The passage of Strabo, on which he grounds his conjecture, I have already quoted in my account of the place now called *Cara-Tapeh*, (p. 276). Much seems depending on the latitude that may be given to those Greek words which express the city's proximity to the Caspian sea. Can we apply the "*μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἰδρυμένον*" to *A'mul*, a place not nearer, I believe, to the coast in any of its inflections than fourteen or fifteen miles? and it may, perhaps, have been by many leagues farther from it at the time when Strabo wrote, according to the reports which I heard in different parts of this country, and which Hanway mentions as worthy of credit, respecting the gradual encroachment of the water upon the land; so considerable in the neighbouring district of *Langarúd*, that a tract eight miles in extent, dry and well-peopled at the beginning of last century, was, when he travelled, (between forty and fifty years after), perfectly submersed⁽¹²¹⁾. It is easier however to excite

(120) "Cette ville (*Tape*) n'auroit elle pas été d'abord la capitale du pays des Tapyres "comme son nom paroît l'indiquer; et ensuite, à cause de son heureuse situation elle le "seroit devenue de toute l'Hyrcanie; lorsque les gouvernemens auroient été réunis? "Dans cette idée et d'après les indications de Strabon j'ai placé cette ville de *Tape* à "*Amol* Peut être *Tape* est elle encore la même ville que celle qui est appelée "*Tambraké* dans Polybe?" Analyse de la carte, &c. annexed to Baron de Ste Croix's "Exam. Crit. des historiens d'Alexandre;" p. 819, (Second edition; Paris, 1804).

(121) Jonas Hanway, well acquainted with the navigation of the Caspian sea and with the chief ports situate on its shores, mentions the "great inroads" made by it on the Russian side between the *Volga* and *Astrachan* within thirty years; (he wrote in 1743). "Nor has this sea been more indulgent," adds he, "to the Persians; for it is confidently "said, that in the beginning of this century the land, for about eight English miles on "the side of *Langarood* river, was dry and well inhabited. This I the more readily "believe as the tops of some houses are yet seen where the water is several feet deep. "The same thing is reported of *Astrabad*, where the inhabitants affirm that within these "fifty years the bay was fordable by asses, and now there is two fathom water Captain "Woodrooffe heard the same also at *Bulchen*." &c. Travels. Vol. I. p. 155.

doubts than to solve difficulties; and I shall reserve for some other occasion a conjecture on the subject of *A'mul*, suggested by Ptolemy; the arguments in favour of it would too much prolong this chapter, and, after all, might prove less satisfactory to the geographer than to the etymologist.

Having accomplished my original design of exploring the forests, and visiting, however hastily, the principal cities of *Mázenderán*, and having gratified my curiosity by a view of the Caspian sea, I now resolved on returning to the prince's villa near *Bárfurúsh*, and thence to *Tehrán* by such a road as might lead me through some places not seen probably, or at least not described, by any European traveller for nearly two hundred years. On the eighth of March, therefore, I left *A'mul* about noon, crossing on horseback the bed of the river *Harhaz* as at our entrance, and arrived after a ride of five hours, at the apartments which I had before occupied in the *Bahr al Irem*. On the ninth, in consequence of arrangements deemed necessary by the *Mehmándár*, we allowed our horses to rest, and made preparations for traversing the country to *Shírgáh* in a direction that threatened, according to every report, many obstacles and dangers from the overflowing of rivers, and the badness or total want of roads. This day's halt afforded me an opportunity of again visiting *Bárfurúsh*, and perambulating its *bázár*. In the evening I received two bottles of Russian wine from the governor, and a present of oranges and lemons from AGNATU'S, who commanded one of the vessels before mentioned, and he came soon after to my room, with MOSE', an Armenian likewise, and captain of the other. We conversed during half an hour in Persian; and I learned that they were *tájers* (تاجر) or merchants of *Astrakhán*; and had now come expressly from *Farahh-ábád* that they might pay their respects to the brother of an English, and a Christian Ambassador; they would send me next day, could I be induced to defer my departure, some arrack, tea and *Shamákhí* wine, of which they highly extolled the flavour and the strength. They had been, during many years, well acquainted with the neighbouring ports, as with those on the opposite coast; but feared that the rapacity and extortions practised by the Persians would always check commercial

intercourse. They described the flourishing state of *Astrakhán*, and the encouragement there given to industrious settlers, by which within a short time, two thousand Armenian families had been induced to leave Persia, and establish themselves in that city and other places under the mild government of the Emperor Alexander. What they mentioned concerning the Caspian sea has been already noticed (p. 280); their small two masted vessels were flat bottomed; but “the Russian ships of war,” said they, “have keels;” “*kashti jang kíl*” “*dárend*” (کشتی جنگ کیل دارند); using this English word, and explaining afterwards, that in their lowest part, those large ships were constructed like our frigates. The Armenians spoke with great, and I believe, just contempt of the Persians as sailors; and confirmed the accounts, allowed indeed to be true by many inhabitants, respecting the unwholesome air of *Bárfurúsh* during summer, which generally proves fatal to numbers of the natives, and almost without exception to strangers. The plague of gnats, (or *pashels* پشه) proceeding in myriads from the thick herbage on a rich soil, and the luxuriant foliage of innumerable trees, they represented as intolerable; *SHERIF KHAN* and others had informed me that the prince was every year obliged to seek a place less infested by these troublesome flies, and of a purer air than *Sári*; and in the warm season, it was acknowledged, that most towns were deserted by all who could afford the luxury of temporary wooden dwellings on high mountains, with *bádgir* (بادگیر) wind-catchers, or contrivances for intercepting every breath of air.

We did not set out from *Bahr al Irem* on the tenth of March, until eleven o'clock; when, after several hours of incessant and heavy rain, we were tempted by some appearances of fine weather and commenced our journey; the governor of *Bárfurúsh* having sent his son to accompany us the first stage. At two miles and a quarter we passed through the village of *Kúshen-ábád* (کوشن آباد); at three and four miles the river *Bahbul* was on our right; its bed in some places, though not by any means full of water, appeared half a mile in width. The flattering indications of fair weather which had lured us from the paradise of *Irem*, soon proved fallacious; and the rain descended in such showers, that those who had guarded them-

selves against it with the utmost precaution, were in less than two hours completely wetted, notwithstanding all their *bárá-nis* (بارانی) or great coats. Thus circumstanced, we persevered until night in one of the most dreary, fatiguing and unpleasant rides imaginable; going through streams which almost perceptibly increased, as we passed them, from the mountain torrents; or slowly tracing an indistinct path through entangled branches of trees in the *jungal*; which frequently recalled to my mind the words of that entertaining writer БАИНАККИ, who, describing a wearisome night-march, performed by him in this country, near eight hundred years ago, says, "we penetrated forests through which even the creeping snakes could scarcely find their way"⁽¹²²⁾. The country however, in many parts afforded prospects extremely beautiful, though much obscured by clouds and rain. We passed at eight or nine miles a second village of which I committed the name to paper, but it has been obliterated by the wet; we saw afterwards some large and well-built farm houses. In the evening we met three travellers from *Tehrán*, who seemed eager to communicate the intelligence of an important victory obtained, as they declared, over the Russians, by LINJI SA'HEB (Captain Lindesay), which cost the enemy four hundred men killed, and five hundred taken prisoners; with the loss of eighty Persians, and two of their English allies. The king, they said, had caused his *Nakkáreh Kháneh* (نقاره خانه), or band of military musicians, to celebrate this event in the capital; and the prince royal, ABBA'S MI'RZA', had rewarded Captain Lindesay with the sword worn by himself during the battle; besides two Georgian girls, each of whom must have cost, (two suits of handsome clothes being included in the calculation) from ninety to one hundred *tumáns* or pounds. They added, that the *Ilchi Inglázi* or English Ambassador had bestowed on the person who brought from *Tabriz* this *mazhdeh* (مزده) or "good news," a splendid (*Khelaat*) robe of honour,

⁽¹²²⁾ It was on the road between *A'mul* and *Nátel*, in the Muhamedan year 422, (of our era, 1030).

که چون ما از امل حرکت کردیم و همه شب برانندیم و بیشه‌های بریده آمد که مار درو
بدشواری توانست خزید

and forty *tumáns*. The night became dark before we reached the spot where only it was reckoned safe, or indeed practicable, to cross on horseback the broad and rapid river *Tálár*. Here fortunately were two men of *Shírgáh*, who in consequence of orders sent early this morning by *SHERIF KHA'N*, had expected our arrival; and now assisted us to reach the other side by wading in the stream, and leading our horses so as to avoid the most deep and dangerous places. I found myself at last, after a journey of eight hours, and perhaps five *far-sangs*, in *Shírgáh*, and again occupied the same hovel that had on our way to *Sári* afforded me a lodging; this structure has been already described (p. 247) and delineated, (Pl. LXIX); but all its former inconveniences were now aggravated by the want of dry clothes; for my servant *ISMAAIL*, the muleteers with our baggage, and others of the party, had not yet arrived; and after some anxious expectation we began to entertain apprehensions for their safety, as the night was unusually dark; the forest road most intricate, and the river swelling every moment. To assist them in coming over it, several peasants were stationed on the bank, and instructed to make signals with a lantern, and to shout at certain intervals for three or four hours. Meanwhile I endeavoured to dry my clothes before a wood fire which filled with smoke every corner of the hovel. A dinner consisting of eggs, rice, and a tough old fowl, prepared by the man whom *SHERIF KHA'N* had sent forward in the morning, (and who did not evince much skill in the art of cookery) was now served without knife, fork or spoon; yet hunger rendered it most delicious, and when I had uttered the *al'hhamd' al' illah* as thanks to God for such an indulgence as this feast and the shelter of a warm hovel, and was raising to my lips a cup of very muddy water, *DERVISH MUHAMMED*, the groom, surprised me by offering one of the long Russian bottles of wine (holding at least two quarts) which I had left in my room at *Bahr al Irem*, and he had carried the entire day in a pocket of his immense *Shetwár* (شلوار) or loose trowsers. These serve a Persian of his class as two portmanteaus; and from the extraordinary protuberance sometimes occasioned by a full package between the hip and the knee or boot-top, the wearer acquires an appearance exceedingly awkward and ridiculous. An ample *nammed*


was now spread for me on the floor; and a neighbouring farrier having lent a pillow and *leháf* (لحاف) or thickly stuffed counterpane, forming the usual *rakhet-i-kháb* (رخت خواب), "the "bed (or sleeping) furniture;" I lay down; but a thousand fleas seemed to have conspired against my repose.

On the eleventh, MÍ'RZA' SA'DEK arrived from *Sári* at nine o'clock in the morning, having encountered many difficulties on his journey from floods and torrents. We all hastened to inform him of the victory, and he resolved to announce it immediately, by a courier, to his father the *Vazír*; but he must have been perplexed by the variations in our respective accounts, though all derived from the same source; for whilst I reported every circumstance exactly as the travellers had described them, one of my companions liberally added *two hundred* to the slaughtered Russians, and *three hundred* to the prisoners; another doubled the original amount of both; and swore that the irresistible Persians had taken six pieces of cannon; and a third related how the *Sháhzádeh* or prince (ABBA'S MÍ'RZA'), had killed three Russians with his own hand. Our servants and baggage did not arrive until one o'clock; the *chárwádár* (See p. 228, n. 13) had been benighted, lost his way in the forest, and suffered many alarms from horrible noises, which he solemnly averred, (and we did not dispute), must have proceeded either from wild-beasts, or the sylvan dæmons called *ghúles* (غول). It was now too late for any further progress, and from every account it would have been impossible to reach *Zíráb* until the river *Tálár*, increased to a certain degree by this day's rain, should have discharged its redundant water into a second channel, by which its present force and depth might be reduced. I therefore set up my camp-bedstead, dried the mattress which had been soaked in wet, and after a night of most refreshing sleep, left *Shírgáh* on the twelfth, at seven o'clock, during a heavy shower of snow; having taken leave of SHERIF KHA'N who set out for *Sári*, and of the young *Bárfurúshí*, who would gladly have proceeded with us to *Tehrán*; but he dreaded the anger of his father. We found that through the attention of MÍ'RZA' ALÍ MUHAMMED of *Suvád kúh*, (to whom I have already expressed my obligations p. 236), our passage over the *Bun-i-Kelá*, *Mián-i-Kelá* and

Ser-i-Kelâ (See p. 243), was much facilitated; as he had employed above twenty men in repairing the roads, and removing stumps of trees and other obstacles. That worthy chief himself met us within three miles of *Zirâb*; where, having crossed the river *Tâlar* eight or ten times, I again established my lodging in the same wooden habitation, of which a sketch has been given; (Pl. LXVII). Here the old proprietor whose orange-coloured beard, had since my first visit assumed a pink, or rather a purple tinge, welcomed me and declared that he had not forgotten to mention my name in his devotions at the tomb of his village saint; such efficacy had a piece of silver coin. The great depth of excellent soil, general throughout the province, was during this day's ride conspicuous, particularly in the vicinity of *Zirâb*; where the decayed leaves, blended with moist clay formed a rich compost, or manure. At an earlier hour of the evening than usual, innumerable jackals began to howl, and this circumstance, it was said, prognosticated a favourable change of weather; we had not beheld the sun for two or three days. Here I first remarked the chirping of crickets in the hearth.

On the thirteenth, before we mounted our horses at seven o'clock, I sketched the figure of a *Mázenderâni* minstrel whose musick, simple as it was, had pleased me extremely at different hours of the night; for several men who occupied the hovel entitled a *caravansera* (not thirty yards distant from my room) had employed this poor fellow to entertain such of them as happened to be awake, by singing and playing until break of day. The instrument which he used was of the *kamâncheh* kind (See Vol. I. p. 238); but had only two strings, both made of black hair from a horse's tail; and the bow, (merely a short bent switch) was furnished with similar hair; he fingered only one string; the other, occasionally touched by the bow, produced a bass sound, which sometimes, (I believe accidentally) combined in good harmony with his voice and the notes of the higher string. In dress and attitude he nearly resembled the musician represented in Vol. I. Mis. Pl. fig. 7. We now proceeded to *Tâleh* by the road which eighteen days before had led us from that place; and having halted there an hour, went on two farsangs, to *Surkhr-âbâd* (سرخرآباد). This

name is vaguely given to some mean houses and hovels called *caravanserai*s, irregularly scattered along a tract extending two or three miles. The walls of my chamber were about six feet high, formed of stones very rudely put together; the roof however, almost flat, was of good rice straw, laid on branches of trees; light entered at the door alone; up to which and for twenty yards in every direction, the wet clay was more than a foot deep, as its marks on our boots sufficiently ascertained; this day according to the prognostication of the last evening proved fair, and we enjoyed some hours of sunshine.

Early on the fourteenth, I examined the remains of an edifice, situate on the sloping ground just above my *manzel*; its immediate foundation being an extraordinary insulated rock, of which the chasms and inequalities were filled with masonwork. This is the *Kalaa-i-dukhter-i-Div-e-Awlád* (قلعه دختر دیو اولاد), or "Castle of the Daughter of DIV' AWLAD," a giant, or rather a chieftain of *Mázenderán*, celebrated by FIRDÁUSI. I have included it in the view (Pl. LXXIV), representing the subjacent valley and winding stream; the road by which some of our party were proceeding towards *Firúz-kúh*; and, on the summit of a distant mountain the *Kalaa-e-Div-e-Awlád*, or fortress of the giant AWLA'D himself; near which, a peasant informed me, are other ruins entitled *Kalaa i-Dúz*, or the "Castle of DÚ'Z (دژ)." The damsel's habitation appeared modern; to whatever ancient structure it may have succeeded; and (with the rock) was from forty to five and forty feet high, on the side which faced the river. Its roof had totally disappeared; the building was partly of stone and brick; some beams of wood still remained; the plan was octagonal, and inside there had been seven *tákcheh* (طاقچه), niches or recesses, (besides the door-way) of this form . About three miles beyond this, we passed the remains of a similar tower, erected on a little *tapeh* (تپه) or insulated eminence; this, according to one of our muleteers, who affected to know the country, had been AWLA'D's dwelling place; and the more distant castle, (seen in the view, Pl. LXXIV) should be ascribed, he said, to DÚ'Z. Having at last emerged from the clay and forests of *Mázenderán*, we breakfasted in the *Caravanserá-i-Gadúk*, notwithstanding the offensive smell.

proceeding from dead mules and horses, half-eaten by jackals. This building has already been delineated (in Pl. LXIX). The wind, though extremely cold, was fortunately not very violent; and we eluded its bad effects by galloping, as before, across the dreary plain of snow, and having halted some minutes to sketch the extraordinary appearance of *Firúzkuh*, (as in Pl. LXVIII), I once more occupied my apartments in the royal *emúret* of that town.

On the fifteenth of March, at seven o'clock in the morning, we mounted our horses, and winding about the rock near its base, turned off on its western side in the direction of *Damávand*; whilst on its eastern, lay the road of *Hablahrúd* and the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, by which we had come from *Tehrán*. Very heavy clouds obscured the view of Mount *Damávand*, but according to the best observation that I could make with a pocket-compass, its summit bore from *Firúzkuh* nearly west-north-west. The country appeared most naked and barren, scarcely one bush was visible in the course of a farsang. We were much surprised at the fourth or fifth mile, on finding my spare horses, (the gifts which I had received from the Prince and *Vazír* at *Sári*) standing near the road and fastened to a large stone; the men engaged to lead them, having abandoned their charge and fled over the mountains, where some of our servants pursued them in vain. We found, however, that their assistance was not necessary, as the social quadrupeds trotted along in company during the whole day, without either rider or leader. We crossed a small stream three or four times; then, about the sixth mile, a river called *Námru* (نامرو), of which, though not containing much water at present, the bed seemed wide. From this we immediately ascended a hill, and here begins the territory of *Serbendán* (سرېندان). We rode for above an hour on the highest part of very elevated ground, covered with snow, and suffered much from a bleak, cold wind. About the fourteenth or fifteenth mile we came to the river of *Deli-chái*; running in a deep and narrow dingle; its stream not considerable now, and beautifully clear, and its banks furnished with many willow trees; at seventeen miles we halted near a mean but well thatched building, denominated from the river which flows beside it, the *Caravanserá-i-*

Delichái. This is reckoned five farsangs distant from *Firúzkúh*; four (but as some said, five) from *A'ien e werzán* (عین وزان), and three farsangs from the house of *ABDALLAH KHA'N*, where I had passed one night on my way between *Tehrán* and *Sári*. Some cold rice and fowl, brought by ourselves, served for a slight refreshment at this *caravánsará*; having crossed the river and proceeded two farsangs over hills and rocks covered with snow, we passed on the left a walled plantation of poplar and other trees, called the *Bágh-i-Sháh* (باغ شاه) or "king's garden;" and near it, on our right, the village of *Serbendán*. At length, about six o'clock, we reached *A'ien-e-werzán* after a fatiguing journey of thirty-two or perhaps thirty-four miles; reckoned by some nine farsangs, and by others ten. The room allotted to me, in a good house, was well furnished with carpets, and thoroughly warmed with a brisk fire; which, the night being extremely cold, I should have much enjoyed, but that every quarter or half hour, the wind blew with loud and violent gusts down the chimney, so as to scatter the ashes all about my room, and fill it with volumes of smoke. This was the "wind of *Shahriár*," (*Bád-i-Shahriári*) and concerning its fatal effects on the lives of unfortunate travellers wandering by night in the snow, we heard almost as many alarming anecdotes as had been related of the kindred blast so prevalent at *Firúzkúh*. Although a man had been sent forward, as usual, to announce our approach and prepare the *siúrsát* or necessary allowance of provisions, yet considerable difficulties occurred in obtaining any article of food either for ourselves or the horses; and it was ten o'clock before my scanty supper had been extorted from the people of *A'ien-a-werzán*, who being all saints, or at least the descendants of a saint or prophet, conceived that they were exempt from the laws of hospitality towards strangers, and from the necessity of obeying the *rukṁ* (رقم) or written order with which my *Mehmándár* was furnished; and some of them declared that, from their extreme sanctity, the king himself could not, or rather would not, have enforced the supply of *siúrsát*. This insolence of the Muhammedan saints might give a traveller occasion to quote the punning expression of Sir Thomas Herbert, who, describing a village near *Shíráz*, in which he had passed a night, says it consisted of thirty

families, most of them prophets, or prophet's children. But, adds he, "we still found least *profit* where such *prophets* dwelt," (Trav. p. 160, third edit).

On the sixteenth I rose at a very early hour, it having been our design to proceed this day through *Damávand* as far as *Jájerúd* (جارجرد), a computed distance of eight farsangs; but on consultation our plan was changed, for the inhabitants of *Jájerúd* being equal in sanctity to those of *A'ien e werzán*, we apprehended that they might also prove as inhospitable, and resolved to halt at an intermediate stage. I therefore delayed awhile to examine at leisure the village, which in summer must be beautiful, and derives its name from an extraordinary *áien* (عين), or fountain of most beautiful water that gushes from a rock near the summit of a high mountain, and descends among the houses by a natural channel which I have expressed in the view, (Pl. LXXIII) as it appears from the road of *Fírúzkúh*; almost adjoining the fountain are some remains of an old castle. Many houses in the village were at this time unoccupied; as in winter the proprietors remove to *Tehrán* or other places, but return during the spring to cultivate their fields and gardens. At nine o'clock we left *A'ien e werzán*, and after a ride of two hours and a half, (though the distance did not much exceed eight miles) over hills deeply covered with snow, we alighted at *Damávand*, a very ancient and celebrated city. As we approached, our guide showed, within five or six hundred yards, a *tapeh* or rising ground, on the highest part of which, according to tradition, had stood the *Naḳkáreh Kháneh* of *ZOHÁ'K*, or the edifice wherein that tyrant had stationed his trumpeters and drummers. Some stones are shewn as vestiges of it; and others lower down, are said to indicate the situation of *ZOHÁ'K*'s palace. In the sketch (Pl. LXXIV) taken a little beyond the *tapeh*, I have endeavoured to represent the town with the adjacent plain, and as much as could be comprehended of those lofty mountains which inclose it, nearly in the form of an amphitheatre, watered by a winding river bordered with willows and poplars, and fertilizing numerous meadows and gardens. For the purpose of irrigation a *nahr* (نهر) or embanked channel has been formed, which derives its water from the river, and the inha-