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II.—*Notes on a March from Zoháb, at the foot of Zagros, along the mountains to Khúzistán (Susiana), and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmánsháh, in the year 1836.*

By Major RAWLINSON, of the Bombay Army, serving in Persia. Communicated by Viscount PALMERSTON.

[Read the 14th and 28th January, 1838.]

PASHALIK OF ZOHAB.—Zoháb is a district of considerable extent, lying at the foot of the ancient Zagros. It is bounded on the N.W. by the course of the river Diyálah, on the E. by the mountains, and on the S. by the stream of Holwán. It formed one of the ten páshálikis dependent upon Baghdád, until about thirty years ago, when Moḥammed 'Alí Mírzá, prince of Kirmánsháh,* annexed it to the crown of Persia. At the treaty concluded between Persia and the Porte, in 1823, it was stipulated that the districts acquired by either party during the war should be respectively surrendered, and that the ancient frontier-line should be restored, which had been established in the time of the Šafaví monarchs. According to a subsequent treaty, Zoháb ought certainly to have been given up to the Turkish authorities, but Persia had neither the will to render this act of justice, nor had the páshá of Baghdád the power to enforce it; and Zoháb, although still claimed by the Porte, has thus remained to the present day in possession of the government of Kirmánsháh.

Zoháb, having been acquired in war, is khálishah, or crown land. It has been usually farmed by the government of Kirmánsháh, at an annual rent of 8000 tó máns (4000*l.*), to the chief of the Gúrán tribe, whose hardy I'liyát inhabit the adjoining mountains, and are thus at all times ready to repel an attack of the 'Osmánlís. The amount of its revenues must depend, in a great measure, upon the value of rice and corn, its staple articles of produce; but in years of plenty, when the price of these commodities is at the lowest possible rate, a considerable surplus will still remain in the hands of the lessee. The revenue system in this district is simple, and more favourable to the cultivators than in most parts of Persia. It is thought derogatory to the chief to take any part of the cultivation into his own immediate hands. He distributes grain to his dependents, and at the harvest receives as his share of the produce—of rice, two-thirds; of corn, one-half. A greater share is always demanded from the cultivators of rice than of corn, in consequence of the water consumed in its irrigation, which is the property of the landlord or of government, and is rarely to be obtained without considerable expense and labour.

The rice-grounds of Zoháb are chiefly irrigated by an artificial

* More commonly Kirmán Sháhán.

canal, brought from the Holwán river, a distance of about 10 miles. The canal is said to have been an ancient work ; but was repaired and rendered available to its present purposes only about a hundred years ago, by the same páshá who subsequently built the town of Zoháb.

I was present for three years at Zoháb, in the time of harvest, and the revenues accruing to the chief averaged 10,000* tómáns annually, of which the following is a rough statement :—

From produce of rice, 2000 kharwárs,† at 2 tómáns per khr.	4000
Do. wheat and barley, 2500 kharwárs, at 1 tómán per khr.	2500
Rent of the káravánsērāi of Sar Púl, which includes the transit-duty upon merchandise, and the profits arising from a monopoly of the sale of grain to the Kerbelái pilgrims	1000
Rent of the káravánsērāi of Kāşri-Shírín	200
Contract for the dáróghah-garí ‡ of Zoháb ; the emoluments of this arising from the rent of shops in the Zoháb bázár, and several petty items of taxation	800
Fees exacted from the I'liyát of Kurdistán, for permission to pasture their flocks during the winter in the grazing-grounds of Zoháb	1000
Growth of cotton, rent of mills, orchards, and melon-grounds, value of pasturage, &c. &c.	500
Total, tómáns,	10,000

Under the Turkish rule Zoháb yielded, with its dependencies, an annual sum of 30,000 tómáns ; but it then included several fertile and extensive districts, which are now detached from it ; and there were also above 2000 Ra'yats § resident upon the lands ; whereas at present this number is reduced to about 300 families ; and the great proportion of the cultivation is in the hands of the Gúrán I'liyát, who, after sowing their grain in the spring, move up to their summer pastures among the mountains, and leave only a few labourers in the plains to get in the crops. The soil of Zoháb is naturally very rich ; but owing to the little care bestowed on its cultivation, a tenfold return is considered as good. Manure is never employed to fertilise the lands. After the production of a rice-crop the soil is allowed to lie fallow for several years, in order to recover its strength, or is only sown with a light grain. The interval between two rice-crops upon the same ground is never less than seven years ; but even this is said to exhaust the soil. Wherever the extent of the lands will admit of it, an interval of fifteen years is allowed.

The grain of Zoháb is principally disposed of to Arab and

* The tómán now current in Persia is equal to 10s. of English money.

† The kharwár (literally the load for an ass) is equivalent to 653 lbs.

‡ The dáróghah-garí is the office of dáróghah, or police-master.

§ Properly ri'yyaṭ, i. e., non-muselmán subjects ; pronounced ra'yáh in Turkey.

Turkish traders from Baghdád. They buy it as it lies stacked upon the ground, and, conveying it to Baghdád upon mules and camels, without paying any export duty, realise a considerable profit. Scarcely a fifth part of the arable land in this district is now under cultivation; and certainly the revenues might be raised, with proper care, to ten times their present amount.

The town of Zoháb was built about a hundred years ago by a Turkish páshá, and the government continued to be hereditary in his family till the conquest of the páshálik by the Persians. The capital was surrounded by a mud wall, and may have at first contained about 1000 houses. From its frontier position, however, it has been exposed to constant spoliation in the wars between Turkey and Persia, and is now a mass of ruins, with scarcely 200 inhabited houses. There are about twenty families of Jews here, and the remainder are Kurds of the Sunní sect.

The geography of the district of Zoháb will be best understood by a reference to the accompanying map. At the northern extremity of the district of Zoháb is the little plain of Semírám, a natural fastness of the most extraordinary strength, which is formed by a range of lofty and precipitous mountains, extending in a semicircle from the river Diyálah, here called the A'bi-Shírwán, and enclosing an area of about 8 miles in length, and 4 in breadth. The A'bi-Shírwán is only fordable in this part of its course for a few months in the year; and the passes of the mountain-barrier of Semírám may be defended by a handful of men against any numbers that can be brought against them. Semírám is inhabited by detached tribes of Sharaf-Báyínís, Yezdán-Bakhshís,* and Arabs, who yield allegiance to Suleimáníyah, or Zoháb, as the chief of either place is for the time enabled to enforce his authority. The proper boundary, however, between Suleimáníyah and Zoháb is the Shírwán river. The early part of the course of this river has been laid down most incorrectly in the maps hitherto published. It is usually believed to take its rise at Suleimáníyah, but this is erroneous. The real source of the Diyálah is at Sangur nearly 2 degrees of longitude E. of Suleimáníyah: it is crossed on the road between Kirmánsháh and Síhnah, and, receiving afterwards numerous petty streams from the mountains of Sháhú and A'vrommán,† it becomes a considerable river. Its direction is here W., inclining to the N. Forcing its way among the mountains, it reaches the remarkable defile of Darnah, where are the ruins of a town and castle, which, on account of their very advantageous position, seem to have acquired some consequence as the stronghold of the rulers of the surrounding country. Darnah is men-

* Given by God.

† Pomegranate-water.

tioned in the history of the Kurds* as one of the chief districts of Holwán; and the páshás of Zoháb retained up to the period of their extinction the title of Darnah beígí, or lord of Darnah. We may thus, with tolerable certainty, assign the Darna of Ptolemy† to this position; and if the Diyálah represents the ancient Gyndes, which, after much reflection, I am inclined to believe, then the *διὰ Δαρνέων* of Herodotus ‡ will refer to the same place. Before it enters the plain of Semírám the A'bi-Shírwán receives, at Gúndár, a considerable stream called the Chami zamakán, which rises near Gahwárah, in the heart of the Gúrán country, and above the junction the Shírwán river is at all times fordable. It enters into the plain of Semírám by a tremendous gorge in the mountains, where there is no possibility of passing along its banks. In this plain it is joined from the right by the united streams of Zalm and Táj-rúd, the former flowing from Suleimáníyah, and the latter from the plain of Shahri-zúr. The confluence of these two streams takes place at a few miles' distance from the A'bi-Shírwán; but the united arms do not equal the main river by one-half. One of the few passes into the fastness of Semírám is along the banks of the river, where it emerges from the plain. The pathway, however, is in the bluff face of a precipice, and is only 2 or 3 feet in width, so that a loaded mule cannot pass it. Below this is the ford of Bánah-khílán, on the high-road between Suleimáníyah and Kirmánsháh. When I was there, at the end of May, the river had a breadth of about 120 yards, and the ford was not practicable: during the summer and autumn, however, it can be crossed without much difficulty. The A'bi-Shírwán now flows in a south-westerly direction through an open country, receiving various petty streams, both from the right and left to Bín-ḡudrah, where it was crossed by Rich; § and the lower part of its course to the Tigris is well known. It seems to have derived its title of Shírwán from a city of that name upon its banks, at the spot in the vicinity of Bín-ḡudrah, where Rich met with a remarkable *dapah*, || or mound, still called Shírwánah. It only retains this title to the point of its junction with the Holwán river, near Kháníkín. Below that it is called the Diyálah. The eastern branch of the river was named the Shírwán as long ago as the fourteenth century. ¶ Below the junction of the Holwán river it was at that time entitled the Támarrá; farther down it was called the Nahrawán; ** and at the point of its confluence with the Tigris, the Diyálí.

* Sharaf Námah, or Táríkhí-Akrád.—Pers. MS.

† Ptol. lib. vi. chap. 1, p. 146 (39° 10' N. 86° E.).

‡ Lib. i. c. 189. [*Δαρνέων* is a conjectural emendation for *Δαρδανέων*.]

§ Rich's Kurdistan, vol. ii. p. 273.

|| Pronounced *tapáh* or *tepéh*.

¶ See *Nuz-hatú-l Kulúb*.—Pers. MS.

** The real *Nahrawán* (the *Ναῦβαῖον* of the campaigns of Heraclius) was the great

But to return to Semírám. The name could not fail to call to my recollection the Assyrian queen, Semiramis, whom the ancients believed to have adorned Persia with many magnificent works of art. I therefore searched eagerly for ancient monuments; and though I failed to discover any in the plain itself, yet across the river, at the distance of about 3 farsakhs, on the road to Suleimáníyah, I heard of sculptures and statues which would well merit the attention of any future travellers in this country. The place is called Páí K'al'ah, the foot of the castle, or But Khánah, the idol temple. From the hills above Semírám, the plain of Shahri-zúr, with its numerous villages, is distinctly visible, and on a clear day the town of Suleimáníyah may be seen bearing N.W., at the distance of about 50 miles.

The western boundary of Semírám is formed by a prolongation of the chain called Kará-tágh,* through which the river forces its way by a narrow and precipitous cleft; to the south of the river the mountains rise up most abruptly and to a very considerable elevation, probably about 5000 feet above the plain, and from hence the range stretches in a succession of rocky heights for about 50 miles in a southerly direction till it is lost in the sand-hills to the west of Zoháb. These heights compose detached hill-forts of great strength: the three most considerable are named Sar-Khushk (the dry peak), Sar-Tak (the single or detached peak), and Bamú.† There are two roads from Semírám to Zoháb; the direct road leads across the range from the plain of Semírám into a hilly and richly-wooded valley named Pushti-kúh, which runs along upon the eastern face of Sar-Khushk, Sar-Tak, and Bamú, till it opens into the plain of Zoháb: it is difficult, and measures 45 miles: the other, ascending the Semírám mountains by the same pass, diverges at the summit to the right, and descends by a defile named the Tangi Mil‡ into the plain of Hershel, at the foot of Sar Khushk, upon its western face, and it here joins the high road from Suleimáníyah to Kirmánsháh. Hershel is a well-watered plain, but it is little cultivated, as it is exposed to constant forays from the Jáf I'liyát of Suleimáníyah, who have it in their power, at any time during the summer, to cross the river by the ford of Bánah-khilán, destroy the crops, and carry off the cattle of the Persian

canal derived from the Tigris at Sámará; but after this was destroyed, the Diyálah seems for a short time to have assumed the name. See Yákútí, Abú'lfedá, and Hámdu-llah Mustáúfí, author of the *Nuz-haṭu-l-ḳulúb*.

* The black mountains.

† All these names of hills in Kurdistán ending in *u* are contractions for *kúh*, "a hill,"—thus *Sháḥḥú*, *Dáláhú*, *Darú*, and *Bamú*, should be *Sháh-kúh*, *Dáláh-kúh*, *Dará-kúh*, and *Bamú-kúh*.

‡ *Mil*, in Kurd, signifies a defile; *Tangi Mil*, therefore, is "the pass of the defile."

ra'yats. Adjoining to the plain of Hershel, at the foot of Sar-Tak, is the plain of Húrín. At this place are found the ruins of a city of great extent and apparently of the most remote antiquity: the foundations of the buildings are now alone visible, composed of huge unhewn masses of stone, and exhibiting walls of the most extraordinary thickness. I have never seen a similar style of building in Persia; and connecting it with another circumstance, which I shall presently explain, I am inclined to believe Húrín to be a ruin of the Babylonian ages. The ignorant Kurds call the place *Shahri-Fadak*,* believing it to be the town of that name captured by Mohammed and bestowed upon Fátimah, and they attribute its demolition to 'Alí.† Behind the town, in a gorge of the mountains under the peak of Sar-Tak, is an old ruined fort, which must have been of great strength; it is built on a detached mass of rock, and could only have been ascended by ropes or ladders: it is called *Kal'ahi Gabr* (the Gabr castle), and, apparently, is a work of a much later age than the town in the plain.

To the S. of Húrín, at the distance of 2 farsakhs,‡ is the village of Sheikhán, so called from certain Sunní dervishes here interred, whose tombs, surmounted with their white cupolas, and embosomed in orchards, form a very picturesque and agreeable object. In the mountain gorge which contains the village is a tablet sculptured upon the face of the rock, exhibiting the same device as is often seen on the Babylonian cylinders. A figure, clothed in a short tunic and armed with a strung bow in his left hand, a dagger in his right, and an axe in his girdle, tramples upon a prostrate foe of pigmy dimensions, whilst another diminutive figure kneels behind with his hands clasped, as if supplicating for mercy; a quiver of arrows placed erect stands by the side of the victor king, and the tablet is closed with a cuneiform inscription, divided into three compartments of four lines each, and written perpendicularly in the complicated Babylonian character, which I had never before seen, except upon bricks and cylinders. The tablet is of miniature dimensions, being only 2 feet in height and 5 in breadth; the execution is also rude, and the inscription, of which I have a copy, appears to be unfinished. I believe there is no relic of a similar nature existing in Persia, but it is chiefly interesting as tending to fix the era of the neighbouring town of Húrín, the identification of which, however, I confess myself quite at a loss to determine. From Sheikhán to

* The real *Shahri-Fadak* was in Arabia, two days' journey from Medfnah.

† Kurdistan is full of traditions regarding 'Alí, but we know from history that he never crossed the Tigris but once to fight the battle of *Nahráwán*.

‡ The farsakh is a very uncertain measurement, but in this part of Persia it may be valued at $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

Zoháb the distance is 6 farsakhs; the road recrosses the range by a very easy pass called Sar-Kal'ah, and from thence traverses an open country to Zoháb. The distance from Semírám to Zoháb by this route, through Hershel, Húrín, and Sheikhán, is about 60 miles.

Immediately overhanging the town of Zoháb to the east is the fortress of Bán Zardah,* or, as it is sometimes called, Kalahi-Yezdijird. This is the stronghold of Holwán, to which Yezdijird, the last of the Sasanian kings, retreated after the capture of Ctesiphon by the Arabs, and it is a noble specimen of the labour which the monarchs of those ages bestowed upon their royal buildings. It is formed by a shoulder projecting westward from the mountain of Dáláhú, girt upon three sides by an inaccessible scarp, and defended upon the other, where alone it admits of attack, by a wall and dry ditch of colossal dimensions, drawn right across from one scarp to the other, a distance of above 2 miles: the wall is now in ruins, and the debris have fallen down into the ditch at its foot, but it still presents a line of defence of no ordinary description. The wall is flanked by bastions at regular intervals, and if an estimate may be formed from a part of it, which still preserves something of its original character, it would seem to have been about 50 feet in height and 20 in thickness; the edge of the scarp has also been faced all round with a wall of less dimensions. The hill itself is elevated very considerably above the plain of Zoháb, perhaps 2000 feet; the slope from the plain is most abrupt, and it is everywhere crowned by a scarp varying from 300 to 500 feet: the northern side of the hill is higher than the southern, and the table-land therefore of the fort, containing about 10 square miles, presents an inclined surface throughout. At the N.E. angle, where the scarp rises in a rocky ridge to its highest point and joins the mountain of Dáláhú, there is a pass which conducts into the fort, the ascent rising gradually along the shoulder; the whole way from the town of Zoháb is easy enough, but the descent on the other side into the table-land of the fort is by a most precipitous and difficult gorge. A wall has been thrown across the jaws of the pass; towers have been erected on either side to support it, and somewhat lower down the defile, where the jutting rocks nearly meet, two strong castles have been built opposite each other, which command the narrow entrance, and render it quite secure against attack. Altogether, this fortress may be considered to have been perfectly impregnable in an age when artillery was unknown. In the midst of the gorge is the tomb of Bábá Yádgár, the most holy

* *Bán*, in Kurdish, signifies "above," and is very commonly applied to hills; it is, perhaps, the same word as the Scotch *Ben*.

place among the Kurd mountains, to which I shall presently have again occasion to allude. Lower down there is a natural double cave in the rock, very difficult of access, which is called the *Harem-khánah* of *Shahr-bánú*, the daughter of *Yezdjird*, who afterwards became the wife of the *Imám Hasan*: it is a curious place, and looks like the grotto of a hermit. At the foot of the pass, where it opens upon the fort, is the little village of *Zardah*, surrounded by gardens which are watered by a delicious stream descending from the gorge. Near this there are the remains of two contiguous palaces, named the *Díván-khánah* and *Harem khánah** of *Yezdjird*: the one is a quadrangular building of about 100 yards square, of which the foundations alone remain, and these are now nearly hidden by the gardens of the village of *Zardah*; the other is an enclosure of 350 paces in length by 150 in breadth; it contains the remains of numerous buildings, the principal of which is a low circular tower of solid masonry, which would seem as though intended for the base of a pavilion or some other temporary superstructure. The architecture of these buildings is in the same rude though massive style which has been described by *Rich* in his account of the ruins of *Kaşri-Shírín* and *Haúsh Kerek*,† and which, indeed, characterises all the *Sásánian* edifices in this part of *Persia*. The wall of *Bán-Zardah* seems alone to have had more than ordinary pains bestowed on it.

To the *W.* of *Zoháb*, and intervening between that plain and the *A'bi-Shírwán*, there is no inhabited place but the little hamlet of *Kaşri-Shírín*. The country is broken into a sea of sand-hills, and there is very little ground that would admit of cultivation; it affords winter pasturage, however, to the *Gúrán* and *Sinjábí* tribes, and the *I'liyát* from *Suleimáníyah*, and *Kurdistán* also, bring down their cattle to graze here. *Bín-ḡudrah*, although on the left bank of the *Shírwán*, and thus properly belonging to *Zoháb*, is considered a *Turkish* town, and pays its revenue to *Baghdád*. To the *E.*, between *Zoháb* and the mountains, the country is more fertile. The *Holwán* river rises in the gorge of *Ríjáb*, on the western face of *Zagros*, about 20 miles *E.* of the town of *Zoháb*. It bursts in a full stream from its source, and is swollen by many copious springs as it pursues its way for 8 miles down this romantic glen. The defile of *Ríjáb* is one of the most beautiful spots that I have seen in the *East*; it is in general very narrow, scarcely 60 yards in width, closed in on either side by a line of tremendous precipices, and filled from one end to the other with gardens and orchards, through which the

* The *Díván-khánah* is the outer palace or hall of audience; the *Harem-khánah* is the seraglio.

† *Rich's Kurdistan*, vol. ii, p. 264.

stream tears its foaming way with the most impetuous force until it emerges into the plain below at the foot of the fort of Bân Zardah; the village of Rîjáb, containing about 100 houses, is situated in a little nook above the stream, where the glen widens into something like a bay: the inhabitants are all Sunnis, and they have a very holy and ancient mosque, supposed to have been built by 'Abdullah, the son of 'Omar. Rîjáb is, from its situation, a place of great strength; it formerly was included in Zoháb, but now belongs, as private property, to the Gúrán chief. The peaches and figs which the gardens of Rîjáb produce are celebrated throughout Persia; and it is to the latter that Yá-kút* alludes when he says, "the figs of Holwán are not to be equalled in the whole world."† The Holwán river, after it reaches the plain, is only fordable in the autumn months. On its right bank is the plain of Zoháb, upon its left the rich district of Bîshíwah, which stretches about 2 farsakhs in extent to the foot of the gates of Zagros, and is also the private property of the Gúrán chief. There are three roads conducting from Zoháb to Kirmánsháh, the one across the plain of Bîshíwah to the gates of Zagros, where it joins the high road from Baghdád, and ascends the pass of Táki-Gírráh to the plain of Kirrind. This pass, the great thoroughfare of communication in all ages between Media and Babylonia, is named in the maps Tac Ayacgui, or Lesotver. I am quite ignorant from whence such titles have been borrowed, for they are certainly neither known in the country nor have I met with them in any oriental author. By the geographers the pass is called 'Akabah-i-Holwán (the defile of Holwán), and among the Kurds, Gardanahi-Táki-Gírráh (the pass of Táki-Gírráh). The Táki-Gírráh, which signifies "the arch holding the road," is a solitary arch of solid masonry, built of immense blocks of white marble which is met with on the ascent of the mountain; it is apparently very ancient, and the name and position suggest the idea of a toll-house for the transit-duty upon merchandise crossing the Median frontier; it nearly assimilates, however, in situation to Mádaristán, which is described by the orientals as one of the palaces of Bahráh Gúr,‡ and it may possibly therefore have formed a part of it: it would also seem to denote the spot where Antiochus erected the body of the rebel Molon upon a cross.§

The second road from Zoháb conducts across the hill of

* But Yá-kút is not the author of the *Murásidu-l-ittílá'*.

† See *Murásidu-l-ittílá'*.—Arab MS.

‡ See *Murásidu-l-ittílá'* and *A'tháru-l-Balád*.—Arab MSS. This is the name that is given in the '*Geographia Nubiensis*,' p. 205, Madar and Asian (by an error of transcription for Máderástan, *i* being put for *t*).

§ Polyb. lib. v. c. 5.

Zardah to Rijáb, up the defile to Bíwanj, a plain on the high table-land of Zagros, and from thence by Gahwárah, the residence of the Gúrán chief, and Máyidasht, to Kirmánsháh. The third, more northerly, crosses the mountains behind Dáláhú, and descends into the plain of Máyidasht by Bíyáma, Shámúr, and Takhti-Gáh. I have travelled all the three routes, and laid them down accordingly in my map—the two last, however, are very difficult, and could never have been lines of general communication.

The climate of Zoháb is most unhealthy, particularly in the autumn, after the rice-crops have been gathered in, and the noxious gases, which were exhausted in the vegetation, diffuse themselves in the surrounding atmosphere. The soil is everywhere volcanic, and, as in the case of all the districts lying along the foot of this whole range of mountains, the waters appear to be either sulphureous or chalybeate. A spring in the gorge of Zardah affords the only good water in the neighbourhood, and whilst resident at Zoháb I always had a load of this water brought daily for my use.

The town of Zoháb has been usually considered the representative of the city of Holwán—but this is incorrect. The real site of Holwán, one of the eight primeval cities of the world, was at Sar-Púli-Zoháb, distant about 8 miles south of the modern town, and situated on the high road conducting from Baghdád to Kirmánsháh. This is the Calah of Asshur,* and the Halah of the Israelitish captivity.† It gave to the surrounding district the name of Chalonitis, which we meet with in most of the ancient geographers.‡ Isidore of Charax particularises the city, under the name of Chala,§ and the Emperor Heraclius appears to allude to the same place as Kalchas.||

By the Syrians, who established a metropolitan see at this place soon after the institution of the Nestorian hierarchy of Assyria, in the third century of Christ, it was named indifferently Calah—Halah—and Holwán;¶ to the Arabs and Persians it was alone known under the latter title. The etymological identity is, I believe, the best claim which Holwán possesses to be considered the representative of the Calah of Asshur; but, for its verification as the scene of the Samaritan captivity, there are many other curious and powerful reasons. We find in Strabo that this region along the skirts of Zagros was sometimes adjudged

* Gen. x. 11.

† 2 Kings xviii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 26.

‡ Strabo, lib. xvi. c. 1; Plin. lib. vi. c. 27; Polyb. lib. v. c. 5; Dionys. Per. v. 1014.

§ Geograph. Vet. Min. p. 5.

|| Pasch. Chron. ed. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 730; Tacitus (Ann. lib. vi. c. 41) alludes to the same place under the name of *Halus*.

¶ See Asseman, Bib. Orient. tom. iii. p. 346; tom. iv. p. 753.

to Media, and sometimes to Assyria,* and we are thus able to explain the dominion of Shalmaneser, the Assyrian king, over the cities of Media. Some of the Christian Arabs, in their histories, directly translate the Halah of the captivity by Ḥolwán.† Jewish traditions abound in this part of the country, and David is still regarded by the tribes as their great tutelar prophet. If the Samaritan captives can be supposed to have retained to the present day any distinct individuality of character, perhaps the Kalhur tribe has the best claim to be regarded as their descendants. The Kalhurs, who are believed to have inhabited, from the remotest antiquity, these regions around Mount Zagros, preserve in their name the title of Calah. They state themselves to be descended from Rohám,‡ or Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews; perhaps an obscure tradition of their real origin. They have many Jewish names amongst them, and, above all, their general physiognomy is strongly indicative of an Israelitish descent. The Iliyát of this tribe now mostly profess Mohammedanism; but a part of them, together with the Gúrâns, who acknowledge themselves to be an offset of the Kalhurs, and most of the other tribes of the neighbourhood, are still of the 'Alí-Iláhí persuasion—a faith which bears evident marks of Judaism, singularly amalgamated with Sabæan, Christian, and Mohammedan legends. The tomb of Bába Yádgár, in the pass of Zardah, is their holy place; and this, at the time of the Arab invasion of Persia, was regarded as the abode of Elias.§ The 'Alí-Iláhís believe in a series of successive incarnations of the godhead, amounting to a thousand and one—Benjamin, Moses, Elias, David, Jesus Christ, 'Alí, and his tutor Salmán, a joint development, the Imám Husein, and the Haft-tan (the seven bodies), are considered the chief of these incarnations: the Haft-tan were seven Pírs, or spiritual guides, who lived in the early ages of Islám, and each, worshipped as the Deity, is an object of adoration in some particular part of Kurdistán—Bába Yádgár was one of these. The whole of the incarnations are thus regarded as one and the same person, the bodily form of the Divine manifestation being alone changed; but the most perfect development is supposed to have taken place in the persons of Benjamin, David, and 'Alí.

The Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, seems to have considered the whole of these 'Alí-Iláhís as Jews, and it is possible that in his time their faith may have been less corrupted. His

* Strabo, pp. 524, 736, 745.

† See Chron. Orient. translated by Abr. Echell, p. 25.

‡ Rohám, who is considered by most oriental writers identical with Bukhtu-n-Nasr, was the son of Gudarz, and brother of Giv. He is sometimes, however, confounded with Gudarz himself. See D'Herbelot in the titles Rohám and Gudarz.

§ See D'Herbelot in the titles Ḥolwán and Zerib Bar Elia.

mountains of Hhuphthon, where he places a hundred synagogues, are evidently Zagros; the name being borrowed from the Haft-tan of the 'Alí-Iláhís; and he states himself to have found some 50,000 families of Jews in the neighbourhood. Amaria, also, where the false Messias, David Elroi, appeared, with whose story the English reader is now familiar, was certainly in the district of Holwán. I am not quite sure from whence Benjamin derived this name Amaria; but there are some circumstances which lead me to believe the district of Holwán to have been called at one time 'Amráníyah; and the geographical indications will suit no other place. I must suppress, however, any further remarks on this very interesting subject of the identification of Holwán with the Halah of the captivity, and proceed to give some account of the antiquities which still exist there.

A long, narrow, rocky ridge extends from the mountain of Zagros westerly into the plain, bounding the district of Bishíwah to the S. Towards its western extremity, and 10 miles distant from the foot of Zagros, it is cleft by two narrow gorges about 2 miles asunder; the most westerly of these, through which flows the river of Holwán, forms a sort of gigantic portal to the city. Here, upon either side of the river, are tablets sculptured on the rock, two on the right bank and one on the left; the execution is most rude, and they are now nearly obliterated, yet sufficient is still visible of their design to denote with certainty a Sásánian origin. Upon rounding the gorge to the left, two other tablets are discovered, sculptured one over the other upon the face of the rock, which has been smoothed with the chisel for the purpose, to the height of about 50 feet. The lower is of the rudest possible description, and represents two figures, one on horseback and the other on foot, with a few lines of inscription on either side, in a character which is certainly Pehleví, but which is so different from any of the other various alphabets of that language that I am acquainted with, and is, at the same time, so very nearly obliterated, that I have failed to decipher the name of the king in whose honour it doubtless was executed.

The bas-relief above this Sásánian tablet is in a bold and well-executed style, and is immediately recognised, by one conversant with Persian antiquities, as a work of the Kayánian monarchs. It represents a figure in a short tunic and round cap, armed, with a shield upon his left arm, and a club resting upon the ground in his right, who tramples with his left foot upon a prostrate enemy; a prisoner with his hands bound behind him, equal in stature to the victor king, stands in front of him, and in the background are four naked figures kneeling in a suppliant posture, and of a less size, to represent the followers of the captive monarch; the platform upon which this group is disposed is sup-

ported on the heads and hands of a row of pigmy figures, in the same manner as we see at the royal tombs of Persepolis. The face of the tablet has been much injured by the oozing of water from the rock, but the execution is good, and evidently of the same age as the sculptures of Bísutún and Persepolis.

The river issuing from the gorge appears to have bisected the town. On the right bank, at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the gorge, a wall has been thrown across to the rocky ridge, which on the northern side of the town forms a natural barrier of stupendous strength. This wall appears now only as a line of broken mounds, like the buildings of Nineveh and Babylon, and I conclude it, therefore, to have been a work of the Chaldean ages. Just beyond the wall, at the north-western angle of the city, and situated above a fountain which issues from the foot of the rocky ridge, are the remains of a Sásánian building, which may have been a palace, or a fire-temple: the place is called *Kará Bolák** (the black spring), from the sulphureous spring issuing at its foot. On the left bank of the river the wall is not to be traced; but there are a vast assemblage of mounds which appear to mark the site of the principal edifices of the city. One of these is full 50 feet in height, and in several places around it brickwork is exposed to view, of the peculiar character of the Babylonian building. About 1 mile to the S.E. of this tapah,† and apparently beyond the limits of the city, are the remains of an edifice which I believe to have been a fire-temple of the Magi: the place is called *Bághi-Mínijah*,‡ and a hot spring issues from the foot of a mound adjoining it. But the most curious monument of *Hólwán* is found at the corner of the upper gorge, about 2 miles distant from the sculptures that I have already described—this is a royal sepulchre excavated in the rock, precisely similar in character to the tombs of Persepolis. The face of the rock has been artificially scarped to the height of 70 feet, and at that elevation has been excavated a quadrangular recess, 6 feet deep, 8 feet high, and 30 wide; in the centre of the recess is the opening into the tomb, which, as in the case of the sepulchres of Persepolis, appears to have been forcibly broken in;—the interior is rude, containing on the left-hand side the place for the deposit of the dead, being a section of the cave divided off by a low partition about 2 feet high;—there are niches, as usual, for lights, but no sculpture nor ornament of any kind. Outside are the remains

* *Bolák* (thus spelt for *Búlák*, as in the name of Old Caïro, is probably the right spelling), though not in *Meninski*, is a *Turkí* or *Chaghatái* word, as appears from *Eversmann's Tátár Vocabulary*, p. 12. F.S.

† A *Turkish* word, "a mound or tumulus," written *depeh* and pronounced *tepeh* at *Constantinople*. F.S.

‡ The garden of *Mínijah*. *Mínijah* is one of the fabulous heroines of the *Sháh-námah*.

of two broken pillars, which have been formed out of the solid rock on either side of the entrance; the base and a small piece of either shaft appear below, and the capitals adhere to the roof of the recess, the centre part of each column having been destroyed. Upon the smooth face of the rock, below the cave, is an unfinished tablet. The figure of a Múbid, or high-priest of the Magi, appears standing with one hand raised, in the act of benediction, and the other grasping a scroll, which I conclude to represent the sacred leaves of the Zand-A'vestá; he is clothed in his pontifical robes, and wears the square pointed cap, and lappets covering his mouth, which are described by Hyde as the most ancient dress of the priests of Zoroaster.* There is a vacant space in the tablet, apparently intended for the fire-altar, which we usually see sculptured, before the priest. This tomb is named the Dukkáni-Dáúđ, or David's shop; for the Jewish monarch is believed by the 'Alí-Iláhís to follow the calling of a smith: the broken shafts are called his anvils, and the part of the tomb which is divided off, as I have mentioned, by the low partition, is supposed to be a reservoir to contain the water which he uses to temper his metal. David is really believed by the 'Alí-Iláhís to dwell here, although invisible, and the smithy is consequently regarded by them as a place of extreme sanctity. I never passed by the tomb without seeing the remains of a bleeding sacrifice, and the 'Alí-Iláhís, who come here on pilgrimage from all parts of Kurdistán, will prostrate themselves on the ground, and make the most profound reverence immediately that they come in sight of the holy spot. In connexion with the Samaritan captivity, I regard this superstitious veneration for David, and the offering of Kurbáns, or sacrifices, at his supposed shrine, as a very curious subject.

There are several other Sásánian ruins in this neighbourhood, but they do not merit particular attention. The Kál'ahi-Kuhnah, or old fort, about 2 miles S.E. of the Dukkáni-Dáúđ, resembles a large caravanserai, with a fortalice in the centre; and about a farsakh beyond this, in the same direction, is a high mound called Tapahi Anúshiraván, where the Kalhur chiefs have erected a modern fort, named Kál'ah Sháhín, † which has now given its title to the entire district.

The high-road from Baghdád to Kirmánsháh passes through the gorge which contains the sculptured tablets, and subsequently traverses the whole extent of the ruins—so that they must have already been subjected to the observation of many travellers; and it is thus most extraordinary that Zoháb should have been allowed to the present day to disfigure our maps as the representative of Holwán. The bridge across the river, and the two caravanserais,

* See Hyde de Rel, Vet. Pers, p, 369.

† The royal fort.

which form the halting-place for travellers by this route, are in the middle of the ruins. The river is now generally named by the ignorant Kurds A'bi-Elwand, the Elwan of Rich; but this is a mere corruption from Ḥolwán, and I have ventured, therefore, to restore the true orthography. There can be no question, I must observe, at the same time, about Sar-Púli-Zoháb being the real site of Ḥolwán. The oriental itineraries and geographical notices are quite decisive upon this point, the ruins themselves bear certain evidence, and the spot is still known to some of the Kurds by the very title of Shahri-Ḥolwán.* Ḥolwán continued a great and populous town long after the Arab invasion of Persia. It was often partially destroyed in the conflicts of the Abbaside Khaliphate; but it again rose from its ruins, and it was not until the visit of the desolating hordes of Hulákú, in their descent upon Baghdád in A. D. 1258, that it received its final blow, and sank before the exterminating hand of war, never to be again inhabited.

Having now given a description of Zoháb, and the adjacent district, I proceed with a journal of my route from that place to Susiana.

Feb. 14th, 1836.—I left the caravanserai of Sar-Púli-Zoháb, or simply Sar-Púl, as it is often called, and marched with the Gúrán regiment 10 miles to Deirá, in a general direction of due S. Leaving the plain of Ḥolwán, the road winds round the foot of a range of hills called Danáwish, into a little valley watered by the Deirá river, and from thence follows the right bank of the stream into the Şahrái-Deirá (plain of Deirá). This stream, in general a mere brawling rivulet, had been swollen by the recent rains to a furious and rapid torrent. The bridges of woven boughs, which had been thrown across in several places, from bank to bank, to afford a passage in case the fords should be impracticable, had been all swept away by the rise of the waters, and I was obliged, therefore, to encamp the troops on the right bank of the river. The A'bi-Deirá joins the Ḥolwán river at a place called Mullá Ya'kúb, about midway between Sar-Púl and Kaşri-Shírín, and it is said to be spanned near this spot by a natural arch of rock, which is called Púli-Khudá, or God's bridge. In the narrow valley which opens into the plain of Deirá are the winter pasture-grounds of the Kirmánsháh stud. The spot was selected by Moḥammed 'Alí Mírzá, as well on account of its excellent herbage as for the security of the position shut in between the hills on one side, and the river on the other. In his time there were 500 brood mares kept in the Deirá valley; and the Kirmánsháh horses were renowned through Persia. When I passed there were scarcely a hundred mares, and they were all of a very inferior description. The plain of

* The city of Ḥolwán.

Deirá is about 4 miles in length, and 2 in breadth. It was formerly included in the páshálik of Zoháb; but after the conquest of that district by the Persians it was purchased, together with the rich territory of Qal'ah Sháhín by the Kalhur chiefs, from the Turkish owners, for a sum scarcely exceeding a single year's produce of the lands. There are 150 resident Kalhur families at Deirá, Dih-Nishíns (sitters in villages), as they are called; and it also affords kishlak, or winter quarters for 400 more, who are nomadic. Near the place of our encampment, along the skirts of the range of Danáwish, were the ruins of an ancient town of considerable extent. The style of building, as far as it was visible in the foundations of the walls, appeared superior to the rude architecture of the Sásánian ages. Indeed there was so much of regularity in the construction of the buildings that I could not help fancying the ruins might possibly represent one of the towns which Alexander built in this vicinity, to command the passes, after he had succeeded in reducing the Cossæan mountaineers; especially as Deirá stands upon one of the great lines of migration of the I'liyát; and in the hands of a conqueror must therefore have held them in complete subjection.* I am not aware, however, that it has been thought worthy of a place either in classical or oriental geography.

February 15th.—The river being still impassable, I was obliged to quit the high-road and follow up its right bank to the head of the Deirá plain, where with some difficulty I at length brought the troops across. At this point there is a recess excavated in the face of the rock, which is called by the Kurds, U'táki-Ferhád (the chamber of Ferhád †). It would appear as though intended for the outer chamber of a tomb, like the Dukkáni-Dáúd; but it has been left in such an unfinished state that one cannot be positive as to its purpose.

From above Deirá I traversed by a difficult pass, called Surkhah Mil (the red pass), the lofty and abrupt range of Sunbulah, ‡ which bounds the plain of Gílán to the N.E. This is a very remarkable ridge of mountains, far exceeding in height all the other ranges, at the foot of the Zagros, in this vicinity, and exhibiting the same line of naked and precipitous crags, which appears with such imposing effect in the magnificent chain of Bísutún. The high-road from Zoháb to Gílán conducts across these hills by a more open pass, called the Tangi-Shishráh (the six-road-defile), from its branching into a number of parallel pathways, about a farsakh to the N. of Surkhah Mil; but even

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. c. 11.

† Most of the architectural curiosities in this part of the country are ascribed to Ferhád, the famous stone-cutter of Persian romance, who was enamoured of the beautiful Shírín.

‡ Pronounced Sumbulah; *n* becoming *m* before *b*.—F. S.

this track is not practicable to artillery; and I suspect therefore that the ancient royal route, which led along the line that I am now describing, must have rounded the extreme point of Sunbulah to the N. On the summit of the range there is a fine table-land, wooded with the dwarf oak, and bounded on either side with a barrier of rocky precipices, which is celebrated throughout the province for the abundance of wild animals that frequent it. This mountain, therefore, I have no scruple in identifying with the Sambulos of Tacitus,* near which, when Meherdates, under the auspices of Rome, invaded the Parthian kingdom, Gotarzes the Great was employed in offering sacrifices to the local deities, and among others to Hercules.

The classical reader will remember the story of the temple of Hercules in this vicinity, when the god was wont, like the wild huntsman of the Hartz, to scour the hills and forests with an invisible band, during the silent hours of night, and the priests, sallying forth at morn, collected the victims of the nocturnal chase. I doubt I must confess the application of the story to Hercules, as he was never regarded as a patron of the chase; and the evidence, moreover, of his ever having been worshipped in Persia is most meagre and unsatisfactory; but to whomever the tradition may belong, there is every reason for believing Sunbulah to be the scene referred to.

Gotarzes, we are told by Tacitus, retreated from mount Sambulos, behind the river Corma, to collect his forces, and there await the attack of his enemy. Meherdates was in Adiabene, and I suspect, therefore, that Gotarzes moved along the high Median road to the *Ḳarású*,† the original name of which was preserved in the town of *Ḳirmesín*,‡ afterwards built upon its banks. In this view, the engagement must have taken place in the plain between *Kirmánsháh* and *Bísutún*; and I shall subsequently show the probability that Gotarzes immediately after the battle engraved a tablet and inscription at the latter place to commemorate his victory, of which the imperfect traces are still visible.

Descending from the heights of Sunbulah, the road conducts for 10 miles in a south-easterly direction, along the plain of *Gílán*, to a ruined village of the same name. The plain of *Gílán* is situated between the hills of Sunbulah and *A'nárish*. It is watered by a considerable stream, which joins the *Ḥolwán* river, between *Ḳaşri-Shírín* and *Khánikín*. There is much rice cultivated in this plain; and in the winter season it is covered over its whole extent with encampments of the *Kalhur Iliyát*. The village of

* Ann. Lib. xii. c. 13.

† Black-water.

‡ A city upon the banks of the *Ḳarású*, from the ruins of which arose *Kirmánsháh*. This was not, however, another name for *Kirmánsháh*, as is sometimes stated, but a distinct city.

Gílán, which is situated at the southern extremity of the plain, on the lower road, conducting from Kirmánsháh to Baghdád, is now in ruins; the Kalhur chiefs, who usually pass the winter in this district, residing in black goats'-hair tents, which differ only in size from the abodes of the other I'liyát.

There are the remains of a considerable town at Gílán, similar in appearance to the ruins of Deirá, and probably, therefore, of the same age. A very remarkable tapah is also found here, about 80 feet in height, and 300 paces in circumference. It is now crowned by a quadrangular fortification, with bastions at the corners, and at the foot of it is a large irregular fort; both of which defences are the modern works of the Kalhur rulers. The large sun-dried bricks of the Babylonian building are found in numbers at the tapah of Gílán, an unquestionable evidence of its antiquity; and I suspect it, therefore, to represent the site of a magnificent fire-temple of the magi, which, in the corrupted faith of the Arsacidan ages, being dedicated to some particular local divinity who was supposed to preside over the pleasures of the chase, became connected with the traditions that Tacitus improperly ascribed to Hercules.

I must observe that there are several circumstances referring to this temple and its vicinity which have an evident reference to the ancient superstitions of the country. The name of Sunbulah, which is applied to the mountains of the supposed scene of the nocturnal chase, signifies an ear of wheat; and this was the symbol of the female principle of the earth's fecundity, which, together with the male generative power of the sun, formed the two great objects of adoration among the early nations of the East. In after-ages the worship of the two principles, under the names of Mithra, or the Sun, and Anáitis, or Venus, having undergone a great modification in its connexion with the theism of Zoroaster, became sometimes confounded; but still the Sunbulah, or ear of corn, continued the peculiar characteristic of Venus, in her personification of the fecundity of the earth; and thus we see it depicted on the coins of Nannaia (the mere Syrian translation of the Persian Anáhíd, or Venus*), which the labours of our countrymen in Bactria have lately brought to light.†

There is also a spring at the foot of the tapah surrounded with myrtle-bushes, which is held in great veneration. The sacred character of the myrtle (múrt, as it is called in Persia, from which was borrowed the Greek *μύρτος*) I believe to have originated in the East. Its connexion with the worship of Venus is well known; and it is a curious relic of the ancient observances,

* Nánf is the Syriac name for Venus.—See Hyde, p. 92.

† See Journ. of the As. Soc. of Calcutta, vol. iii. p. 451.

that at the present day, wherever the myrtle-bush is found among the Kurdish mountains (and it is very rare), a sort of mystic reverence is attached to the spot, which the people are altogether unable to explain.

From the name of Sunbulah and the myrtle-spring, one would be inclined to believe this to have been a fire-temple, peculiarly dedicated to Anáhíd, or Venus; and at the same time, perhaps, the stories of the nocturnal chase may be explained, when we consider that the Grecian Diana, to whom the tradition will more properly apply, has been almost invariably confounded with the Persian Anáitis, apparently from some resemblance between the Persian rites in their worship of the principle of fecundity, and the Grecian adoration of Diana in her character of Ilithyia, presiding over the labours of women.

I was met by the chief of the Kalhur tribe at some distance from Gilán, and conducted to his camp, where, surrounded by his relatives and followers, he held his little feudal court, in true I'liyát fashion. The Kalhurs are acknowledged to be one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient, of the tribes of Kurdistán. They number about 20,000 families, of which one-half are scattered over different parts of Persia, and the remainder still retain their ancient seats around Mount Zagros. These Kirmánsháh Kalhurs are again divided into two great branches, the Sháh-bázis and Mansúris, the former numbering 8000, and the latter 2000 families.

The Sháh-bází Kalhurs possess the whole extent of country from Máhidasht, near Kirmánsháh, to the Turkish frontier at Mendállí.* The Mansúri have rather a limited country, south of Gilán, which I shall presently describe.

Gilán has been laid down by Major Rennell, as the representative of the Bœotian colony of Celonæ, and has been adopted as such without farther discussion, in all subsequent maps; but this I believe to be incorrect; for the march of Alexander on Ecbatana, which suggested the verification, should be drawn from Susa instead of from Opis, as Major Rennell supposed; and it will be found upon this line that Celonæ was much too near to Susa to coincide with the position of Gilán. Neither does the route across Mount Zagros by Gilán appear ever to have been generally followed. The passes between Gilán and Hárún-ábád are very difficult; and the intervening country is very sparingly furnished with supplies; so that, had the march of Alexander commenced from Opis, he would certainly have followed the high-road by the gates of Zagros rather than this difficult and barren track. I find a solitary mention of Gilán

* Mendelí-Khánah in the 'Jihán-numá,' p. 466. F.S.

in oriental geography* as the source of the left branch of the Holwán river; and I conclude it, therefore, to have been a place of no consequence, since the establishment of Mohammedanism.

February 16th.—I left the Kalhur head-quarters, and made a long march of 8 farsakhs to Zarnah. The direct road from Gílán to the Luristán frontier passes over some high table-land, called Chillah; but, as this line was reported to be blocked up by the snow, I took the more circuitous route of the plain of I'wán. The road which I followed led from Gílán into a narrow valley between the mountains, called Miyán-dar (or mid-vale), which it pursued for 20 miles into the plain of I'wán. This glen was thickly wooded with the bellút, or dwarf-oak; and I found the trees here of a larger size than I have met with in any part of Persia. The herbage beneath them was of the richest and most plentiful description; and from this circumstance, together with its warm and sheltered position, the vale of Miyán-dar forms a favourite winter residence for the Kalhur I'liyát. Every little glade in the oak-forest was filled with their black tents; and their herds and flocks were grazing almost from one extremity of the valley to the other. The direction of the road through the valley was nearly S. On emerging into the plain of I'wán, the road struck across a barren track for 10 miles S. 20° E., to the village of Zarnah.

At Zarnah are found the ruins of a large city. There is a tapah, which I conceive to mark the site of the citadel, little inferior in size to the one at Gílán; and the foundations of buildings, now nearly levelled with the surface of the ground, extend over a space of perhaps 5 miles in circumference. Three or four detached buildings, in a state of less complete ruin than the rest, are met with in the vicinity of the tapah. They consist of the mass of narrow-vaulted passages, which appear to have constituted the places of abode in the era of the Sásánian kings; and the style of building being identical with that of the ruins at Bán Zardah and Kaşri-Shírín, I have no hesitation in assigning them to the same epoch. The tapah, however, and the general mass of ruins, are certainly far more ancient. In the one are found the immense sun-dried bricks of the Kayánian age; and the massive character of the other indicates an era of the most remote antiquity. I'wán is distant 6 farsakhs S. 10° W. of Zarnah, at the extreme point of the plain; and the intervening country is rich and fertile, well watered, and almost entirely under cultivation. I'wán forms the head-quarters of the Mansúrí Kalhurs; but it is now only a small village; and, although the name signifies a palace, and would thus seem to denote an ancient

* See Nuz-haṭu-l-Kulúb.—Pers. MS.

site, it does not possess, as far as I can learn, any ruins or other indications of former consequence. The Kalhur I'liyát of the plain of I'wán are all nomadic, with the exception of a few families resident at Zarnah and I'wán. They pass the winter in the plain, and move up during the summer to the yeiláks (summer residences) of the surrounding mountains. A stream, named the Gangír, rises in the lofty mountain of Mánisht, behind I'wán, and, flowing past the village, plentifully irrigates the extensive plain. Zarnah is about 2 miles distant from its right bank. From this point it diverges to the W., and, passing between the ranges of Anárish and Sarázúr, it flows on in a rapid and impetuous torrent to Saúmár, and from thence to Mendállí, where it is divided into a multitude of petty streams, and is totally absorbed in the irrigation of the rice-fields and date-groves. This stream I was at one time inclined to believe the representative of the ancient Gyndes; but a stricter scrutiny has obliged me to concede the point in favour of the Diyálah. The circumstances which seemed to lend a colour to the identification were the similarity of the names of Gangír and Gyndes, the application of Mánisht to the Matienian mountains of Herodotus,* of the plain of Zarnah to the expression, διὰ Δαρυέων (the letters D and Z being used indifferently by the Kurds†), and finally the coincidence of its exhaustion at Mendállí with the labour of Cyrus, which divided it into 180 channels. The reasons that have induced me to decide against it are, that the Gangír could never have been a navigable stream; that its direction, to all appearance, would lead it to disembogue into the Diyálah, and not into the Tigris, if allowed to pursue its natural course; that it would not thus require to be crossed on the road from Sardis to Susa; that Cyrus would have had no occasion whatever to pass through Mendállí, in his transit from the Atropatenian Ecbatana to Babylon; and, lastly, that were the Gangír to be identified with the Gyndes, the broad and rapid stream of the Diyálah would be left without a representative.

The series of valleys which extend along the great chain of Zagros to the confines of Susiana, and are divided by a line of parallel ridges from the plains of Assyria, form one of the least-known, and at the same time one of the most interesting countries of the East. Here was the original seat of the Elamites, when they migrated from Babylon; and from hence they spread their conquests over Susiana, and the adjoining districts to the eastward, which thus assumed the title of Elymais. The Elymæans, are distinctly specified by Strabo, in numerous passages, as in-

* Book i. chap. 189.

† Probably *z* is substituted for *dh* by the Kurds, not for a radical *d*: *dhát* (*dh*) and *dhád* (*dh*) are pronounced by genuine Arabs as our *th* in *the, thou, that*.—F.S.

habiting along Mount Zagros, on the southern confines of Media, and overhanging Babylonia and Susiana. The most ancient name of the country appears to have been the plain of Arioch,* from whence the king of the Elymæans came to the assistance of the Assyrian monarch at Nineveh. His capital I believe to have been the very city of Zarnah, the ruins of which I have just described; for I have discovered that as late as the thirteenth century of Christ it actually retained the name of Ariyúhán.† I also suspect that this same place represents the Hara of the captivity,‡ which must certainly be looked for in this vicinity; and further, there can be no doubt that it is likewise identical with the Aarian of Benjamin of Tudela, where he states himself to have found 20,000 families of Jews.§ Before the age of Alexander the name of Arioch appears to have given way to that of Sabad, in the plural Sabadán; and with the territorial prefix of Máh, a country, Máh Sabad, and Máh-Sabadán. This, then, is the territory which is described by Strabo under the title of Massabatice, as one of the great divisions of Elymæa, intervening between Susiana and the districts around Mount Zagros.|| which is named by Pliny, Mesobatene, a district under Mount Cambalidos (probably the Sambulos of Tacitus), watered by the river Eulæus, before it descends into the plains of Susiana,¶ of which the inhabitants are called by Dionysius, Messabatæ,** and by Ptolemy, Sambatæ; †† and, lastly, which is referred to by Diodorus in his account of Alexander's march from Susa, under the designation of Sambana.‡‡ At the time of the conquest of Persia, by Ardeshír Bábegán, I find in a curious work a translation of a Pehleví chronicle,§§ that the province was called Máh Sabadán, the country of Sabadán, in the same way as are also mentioned Máh Niháwand and Máh Bastám, the countries of Niháwand and Bastám; and it is of much importance to be thus able to determine the true ancient signification, for the Arabs contracted the two words into Másabadhán (changing D into DH, according to the genius of the language), and pretended to refer the etymology to an epithet applying to the moon.¶¶ Bearing in mind that in the ancient language of Persia the *t* and *d* were used

* Judith, i. 6.

† See Mu'jamu-l-Buldán and Murásidu-l-Ittílá.—Arab. MSS.

‡ I Chron. v. 26.

§ The *Ariyúhán* of Yákút, from whence a river flowed to Mendállí, or *Bandi-Najín*, as it was anciently called, can only represent *Zarnah* or *Iwán*; and, as there are no ruins at the one, I conclude in favour of the other.

|| Strabo, pp. 524, 725.

** Dionys. Perieg. verse 1014.

¶ Pliny, book vi. c. 27.

†† Ptol. book vi. c. 1.

‡‡ Diod. Sic. book xvii. chap. 110.

§§ Translation of Ibn Mukáffa' in the *Táríkhí-Tabaristán*.—Pers. MS.

¶¶ Murásid-úl-Ittílá'.—Arab. MS. Máh in Persian signifies the moon as well as a country; and Yákút adopted the former meaning.

indifferently, that the addition of the cognate letter *m* before *b* is agreeable to the universal genius of orthography; and that the territorial prefix of *Máh* was sometimes employed and sometimes dropped, we shall be able to assure ourselves of the identity of all these names with as much satisfaction as we observe the exact accordance of their geographical indications.

The name of *Másabadhán** will be familiar to the orientalist, for it is of most frequent occurrence in all the Arabian historians and geographers, and though it is now lost, there can be no difficulty whatever in defining the exact territory to which it applied. The district of *Máh Sabadán* appears to have commenced from the plain of *Iwán*, and to have extended along the face of the great mountains to the confines of Susiana. The route which I am now describing through this country, I may also observe, was a great line of communication in antiquity. It is described by Diodorus as "a royal road, conducting from Susiana into Media along the mountains, exposed to the heat, so circuitous as to extend the journey to nearly 40 marches; but in excellent order and well supplied with provisions," † an account which is minutely correct and cannot possibly be mistaken: it is the route which the same author has laid down in detailing the march of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana, and his intermediate stations are all to be identified; it is again mentioned by Strabo as a great line of communication, traversing Massabaticæ, ‡ and leading into Susiana from the districts around Mount Zagros; and finally, Pliny also refers to it when he says, "that the most open and commodious passage from Susa, conducting into Bactria," (used in a general sense for the E. of Persia,) "lay through the province of Mesobatene." § And we are able without any difficulty to explain the reason of this circuitous line of communication; for although in modern days, when there is no incumbrance to an army but the artillery carriages, strongly and massively constructed, several of the direct passes of the mountain-barrier of Zagros are to be traversed with difficulty; yet it was very different in an age when chariots formed a necessary accompaniment to an army, both for the services of war and the peaceful pageant of the king. In marching from Susa with wheeled carriages of that description, the direct line to *Kirmánsháh*, up the valley of the *Kerkhah* river, or to *Khorram-ábád*, along the course of the *Káshghán*, || would have been both equally impracticable, and there would have been no shorter route conducting into Media

* There has been great confusion in the orthography of this word owing to the misplacing the diacritical points. See Reiske's *Abúlfedá*, vol. ii. p. 641. *Abúlfedá's* Geography determines the true orthography.

† Diod. Sic., book xix. chap. 2.

‡ Strabo, p. 725.

§ Book vi. c. 27.

|| The name of this river in the *Nuz-hatu-l-Kulúb* is written *Kazhgi*.

than the road along the plains of Máh Sabadán, at the foot of the great range to the gates of Zagros, where a single pass led across the mountain-barrier into the high table-land of Kirrind.

I now proceed with my route:—

February 17th.—I made to-day a very long and fatiguing march of 11 farsakhs from Zarnah to the plain of Chárdawer,* no single I'liyát encampment or other place from which supplies might be procured occurring between the two points. A lofty and extensive range of mountains, upon which the snow lay about a foot deep, intervenes between the plains of I'wán and A'smán-ábád. We crossed this from Zarnah in a direction nearly E., and on the descent of the mountains rejoined the high road from Gilán, which had traversed the elevated table-land of Chillah in a S.E. direction from that place: the Şahrâi-A'smánábád is about 10 miles in length and 4 in breadth. It belongs to the Mansúri Kalhur; but, as the plain of I'wán contains more arable land than the limited number of the tribe can cultivate, and A'smánábád, being more elevated, is less favourable to husbandry, it is made use of by them only as a Yeilák, or summer pasturage. From A'smánábád to Chárdawer there are two roads; the one following the course of a petty stream which waters both these plains, the other through a richly-wooded glade among the hills; the former, the high road, is the nearest and the best; I preferred, however, the latter, as I feared that the troops might not be able to reach Chárdawer before night; and, in case of being obliged to bivouac, the sheltered position of the wooded valley would be far preferable to the exposure of the snowy plain. It turned out as I had conjectured. I contrived myself with a few horsemen to reach Chárdawer as it was growing dark; the troops, being overtaken by night, encamped in the glade. The plains of A'smánábád and Chárdawer form the frontier districts of Kirmánsháh and Luristán.

Luristán is divided into two provinces, Luri-Buzurg and Luri-Kuchuk, the greater and the less Luristán; the former is the mountainous country of the Bakhtiyáris, stretching from the frontiers of Fárs, westward, to the river of Dizfúl; the latter is situated between that river and the plains of Assyria, being bounded to the N. and S. by Kirmánsháh and Susiana.

This province of Luri-Kuchuk is again divided into two districts, Pish-kúh and Pushti-kúh, the country before and behind the mountains, referring, of course, to the great chain of Zagros; and Pushti-kúh thus represents the Másabadán of the geographers,† except that perhaps at present its northern frontier is

* Properly *Chahár-daúr* (surrounded on four sides), but always pronounced Chárdawer.

† The name of Másabadán is now unknown in the country.

somewhat curtailed. I entered this territory of Pushti-kúh at Chárdawer, a plain stretching N.W. and S.E. to an extent of about 12 miles in length and 5 in breadth, and alighted at the tent of Jemshíd Beg, the head of a tribe of Khizil* Kurds, who have been long located at Chárdawer and incorporated into the extensive tribe of Failí. I was much pleased with the frank and open demeanour of my host, so strikingly at variance with the mean and cringing courtesy of the Persians, and even, though in a less degree, of the Kirmánsháh Kurds. He welcomed me to his tent with every evidence of disinterested kindness, and seemed to tax his powers to the utmost to do honour to his Firingí guest. These black goats'-hair tents are of all sizes, from the petty cabin of the ra'yat to the spacious and commodious abode of the Hákim. The size of the tent is computed according to the number of poles, which often extend to 10 or 12, at the distance of about 20 feet from each other. A large apartment is thus formed, which is divided into a number of different chambers by means of matting; and the Díván-Khánah, Anderún,† place for servants, kitchen, stable, and sheep-fold, are thus all included under the same roof. Around the Díván-Khánah are spread coarse carpets of I'liyát manufacture, and in the centre is dug a deep square hole for the fire; in the tent of Jemshíd Beg the hole was filled with chips and logs of wood, and above were piled huge branches of trees to the height of several feet, and the mass of combustibles, when ignited, threw out, as may be supposed, such a heat, that it was with difficulty I could remain in the tent.

February 18th.—I halted to-day at Chárdawer, to enable the troops to come up and rest, after their very fatiguing march. I was in some apprehension at first; for there was blood between the Gúrás and the followers of Jemshíd Beg, the latter having joined the Kalhur tribe in their last foray on the Gúrán lands, and having lost several men in the skirmish which ensued. "Had they slain, however, a hundred of my men," said Jemshíd Beg, "they are your sacrifice; the Gúrán having come here under your shadow, they are all my guests;" and he insisted, accordingly, in furnishing the regiment with supplies, as a part of my own entertainment. Neither could I prevail on him to accept of any remuneration; he only requested that, in time of need, I would permit him to take *bast*‡ in my tent.

February 19th.—From the óbás§ of Jemshíd Beg I marched four farsakhs to Zangawán, where A'hmed Khán, one of the joint Wális of Pushti-kúh, held his temporary camp. The road led, for 12 miles, down the plain of Chárdawer, through an open

* A corruption, I fancy, from Khizr, the Muselmán name of Elias.

† The inner apartments for the women.

‡ Sanctuary.

§ An I'liyát encampment.

and well-cultivated country, to the Chármín Kúh (the white hills). At the foot of the hills we crossed the stream which waters the plains of A'smánábád and Chárdawer; and, at a short distance to our left, we saw it unite with a deep and rapid river, which here debouches from Zagros by a tremendous gorge, called the Tangi-Bábá Gíriyyá. This was the river of Kirrind, which flows from that place to the plain of Hárúnábád, and there entering among the mountains, receives in its onward course the A'bi-Harásam and several other petty streams, until, swollen to a river of great force and rapidity, it bursts in a succession of terrific cataracts through the mountain of Wardalán, and emerges into the low country at the foot of the range. The ascent of the Chármín hills was most abrupt: at the summit was some extent of table-land, and the descent on the other side into the plain of Zangawán was equally precipitous. I heard of another route, at a short distance to the right, conducting over the hills by a very easy pass into the plain of Kárazán, and thence, following down a stream to Zangawán, which doubtless marks the line of the ancient road. Immediately on pitching my camp in the plain of Zangawán, A'hmed Khán, the joint Wálí of Pushti-kúh, came to call on me.

Between the 12th and the 17th centuries the province of Luri-Kuchuk was governed by a race of independent princes, who were named A'tábegs. The last prince of this royal race, Sháh-verdí Khán, was removed by Sháh 'Abbás the Great, and the government was granted to the chief of a rival tribe, Husein Khán, with almost unlimited authority, and with the title of Wálí in exchange for that of A'tábeg; his descendants have retained the title, which in Persia is almost equivalent to royalty,* and, though their power is now greatly weakened, they still affect a royal style in their manners and establishment. Owing to the intestine divisions of the family, Písh-kúh, which is by far the fairest portion of Luri-Kuchuk, has been wrested from them, and placed under the direct control of the Kirmánsháh government. Pushti-kúh, however, still acknowledges the sway of the Wálí; and, since the death of Moħammed 'Alí Mirzá, Ĥasan Khán, who had enjoyed this dignity, had yielded a mere nominal allegiance to the crown of Persia. Shortly before my visit, however, a breach had taken place in the family between Ĥasan Khán and his two eldest sons, the tribes being divided, the Kirmánsháh government had taken advantage of the moment to interfere, by supporting the sons against the father, and thus to establish a partial influence over the country. Ĥasan Khán therefore had been formally

* The title of Sháhinsháh, or king of kings, was assumed by the Persian monarch as lord paramount over four tributary princes, the Wálís of Gurjistán (Georgia), Ardelán, Luristán, and Ĥawízah.

deposed, and 'Alí Khán and A'hmed Khán appointed joint Wálís in his place. The old man, for he is now upwards of ninety years of age, took refuge with a small body of adherents among the Arabs of the Assyrian plains, where, for some time, he baffled all the attacks of his enemies; and lately the I'liyát, finding that they alone were the party likely to suffer in the struggle between their rulers, and the consequent extension of the Persian authority over them, have obliged the father and sons to be reconciled; and Hasan Khán now again governs the territory of Púsh-ti-kúh with the power and energy of an independent prince. When the whole of Luri-Kuchuk was under the dominion of the Wálís, all the tribes were included, under the general denomination of Fáilí, the peculiar title of Husein Khán's clan. At present, however, the inhabitants of Púsh-kúh do not acknowledge the name in any way; they have a distinct classification of their own, and the title of Fáilí is applied alone to the tribes of Pushti-kúh, who are under the sway of the Wálí. The maps therefore are incorrect when they describe the whole of Luri-Kuchuk as "a mountainous country, inhabited by the Fáilí tribes."

I found A'hmed Khán a man of agreeable manners, and far better acquainted with the general state of eastern politics than I could possibly have expected. There was a tincture of bigotry, however, in his conversation, which forcibly reminded me of his being the representative, both in family and station, of the infamous Kalb 'Alí Khán, who murdered, for a conscientious refusal to pronounce the kálemah of Islám,* my unfortunate countrymen, Captains Grant and Fotheringham.† The family of the Wálí, indeed, are notorious for their intolerant spirit; and I should recommend any European traveller visiting the province of Pushti-kúh, in order to examine its remarkable antiquities, to appear in the meanest guise, and live entirely among the wandering I'liyát, who are mostly 'Alí Iláhís, and are equally ignorant and indifferent on all matters of religion. In my own case, of course, I had nothing to apprehend, as I was marching at the head of a regiment, and the rulers of the province were anxious to propitiate the favour of the prince of Kirmánsháh, in whose service I was known to be; but I saw enough on this journey, and upon subsequent occasions, of the extreme jealousy and intolerance of the Wálí's family, to feel assured that the attempt of an European to explore the country in an open and undisguised character, with any less efficient support, would be attended with the greatest danger.

A small stream at Zangawán forces its way through a chasm in the Chármín hills, and falls into the river which I have already

* "There is no God but God, and Mohámmad is his prophet."

† See Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. ii. p. 438.

described, and which is here called the *Abi-Sírwán*. The chasm is named the *Bandi-Shamsháb*; and in its precipitous face is a cavern only accessible by a ladder of ropes, in which are usually deposited the arms, stores, and treasures of the *Fáilí* tribe. *Zangawán* is, in consequence of this natural stronghold, and the fruitful and abundant character of the country around it, a favourite station for the encampment of the chieftain of *Pushti-kúh*.

February 20th.—This was a day of particular interest. My chief object in selecting this route had been to visit the far-famed ruins of the city of *Sírwán*; and to-day were my wishes gratified. I had been informed that the ruins lay upon the direct road, and did not think it worth while therefore to take a guide with me from *Zangawán*. After riding 10 miles, however, I learnt that the object of my search was a considerable distance to the right hand; and, the day being now far advanced, I had no alternative but to send on the troops to their place of encampment, and gallop across the country with a few horsemen to the ruins. I regretted this much afterwards, as I was prevented, by the smallness of my party, from examining the place with as much minuteness as I could have wished.

After crossing a range of low sand-hills, I reached a plain of limited extent, but excellently watered, and in the highest possible state of cultivation, which was called the *Sahrai-Sírwán*—every little eminence round the plain was crowned with ruins, whose rude though massive character bespoke the architecture of the *Sásánian* ages, and indicated the former populousness of the district. Whitewashed obelisks of brick-work, varying from 10 to 15 feet in height, were also to be seen in all directions upon the skirts of the hills, the sepulchral monuments of the *Lurish* chiefs. I inquired of a peasant the story of one of these, which, from its tall graceful form and recent erection, particularly attracted my notice. “A chief from *Písh-kúh* was betrothed,” he said, “to the daughter of one of our *Tushmáls*;* he came to celebrate his nuptials, but sickened upon the road, and died before he reached the encampment of his bride. The maiden raised this pillar to his memory, and, shaving her long tresses, hung them round the obelisk in token of her grief.” I found indeed most of the pillars thus decked with a coronal of woman’s tresses, and learnt that it was a custom among the *Lurish I’liyát*, on the death of a chieftain, for all his female relations to cut off their hair, and hang their locks, woven into a funeral wreath, upon the tomb of their departed lord.

A narrow valley runs out westerly from the plain of *Sírwán*,

* *Tushmál*, in *Lurish*, signifies, like *Kedkhudá* in *Persian*, “the master of a house.” The petty chiefs of *Lúristán* are all called *Tushmáls*.

piercing the hill of Kálarag, which forms a sort of outer barrier to the great chain of Milá-gáwan, and in this valley, upon the northern acclivity, are the ruins of the city.

The ruins of Sírwán are the most perfect remains of a Sásánian city in Persia. The buildings are uniformly composed of massive stone walls, cemented with a plaster of lime from the neighbouring hills, of the most extraordinary hardness and tenacity; a foundation of arched subterranean vaults appears universal, above which the usual construction seems to have been a single arched passage, divided into a number of apartments surrounding a quadrangular court; but, in other instances, the superstructure consists of a whole labyrinth of these vaulted passages, communicating with each other, the centre apartments being thus necessarily in a state of complete darkness, unless, indeed, of which I could perceive no trace, light was admitted from above. In a few cases, there were the remains of a second story, also arched, so that it would appear as if beams of wood were never made use of in these Sásánian buildings. Some of the houses were in a state of perfect preservation, the flowers and rude patterns upon the cement coating of the interior of the vaults appearing as fresh as if stamped but a few years ago. In the generality, however, the ends of the vaults had been broken in, which gave a most singular appearance to the side of the hill at a little distance, presenting to view nothing but lines of arched passages, as though the mountain itself were perforated with vaults.

One unusually extensive mass of ruins, overgrown with weeds and grass, was called the K̄asr, or place of Anúshiraván; a hole in this mound, just large enough to admit of a man's body, which led into the labyrinth of subterranean vaults, was named the Dakhmah,* or grave of Anúshiraván, and was supposed to conduct to the place where that monarch's body was deposited † amid heaps of countless treasures. A talismanic tablet, engraven with unknown characters, was said to guard the entrance to the tomb, beyond which, if any one attempted to penetrate, he inevitably perished. Isma'il Khán, a Fáilí chief, I was told by some of the peasantry who had joined my party, had come to the spot a few years before, determined to penetrate into the vaults; but the first man whom he sent into the Dakhmah had never returned, and the rest of the party were so alarmed at his fate that they could not be induced to creep in above a few yards from the entrance. From what I had seen of the intricate ramifications of the vaults exposed to view, in several of the other ruined buildings of far less extent, I could easily believe, without the intervention

* Dakhmah is the place where the Gebrs or Pársís exposed the corpses of their dead.

† Anúshiraván, we know, was in reality interred at Tús.

of a miracle, that the unfortunate man had been unable to regain the narrow aperture by which he entered, and had thus perished miserably in the subterranean labyrinth. The account, however, of the tablet engraved with unknown characters appeared so authentic, many of the peasants declaring that they had reached it, and describing exactly a large hewn stone covered with a long inscription, that I was very anxious, if possible, to examine it. Accordingly I was joining together ropes, bridle-reins, &c., to form a long line, when I heard an old white-beard behind me say—"I have not seen a Firingí since Kalb 'Alí Khán caught those two káfirs thirty years ago, and, sending them to Jahannam, divided their spoil among the tribe;" and, looking round, I saw that about 200 of as savage-looking beings as I ever beheld had swarmed out of the vaults, which they use as places of abode, and, having surrounded my little party, were evidently discussing the propriety of an attack. It would have been madness to have prolonged my stay among these ruffians, who make no more account of cutting a man's throat than a sheep's; so, pretending that I had not breakfasted, I directed them to prepare torches and a long rope, and told them I would take my breakfast on the banks of the little stream below the ruins, and return afterwards to penetrate into the Dakhmah. They appeared to believe me, and let me ride quietly down to the banks of the stream, from whence I trotted at a brisk pace out of the gorge, glad enough to be well quit of the neighbourhood, even at the price of being disappointed in seeing the talismanic tablet. I conceive the inscription, if it does exist, to be probably in the Pehleví language, as the ruins around are certainly Sásánian. The circumstance, however, which particularly excited my interest about it was the possibility of its being Greek, a relic of the Bœotian colony whom Xerxes transported to this spot;* for the town of Sírwán is now generally known among the Lurs by the title of Shahri-Keílún; and, with this similitude of name, and the indication of 3 marches' distance from Sambana (Seimarráh, the capital of Sabadán), there can be no difficulty in identifying it with the Celonæ of Diodorus, which Alexander visited in his march through this district, on his route from Susa to Ecbatana. Sírwán is also named by the Lúrs Shahri-Anúshíraván, that monarch being its reputed founder; and, indeed, as the present ruins are Sasanian, it would appear probable that Anúshíraván did really build Sírwán on the site of the old Grecian town.

The ruins within the gorge are of very limited extent, scarcely perhaps a mile in length; but the buildings are crowded together, more after the fashion of a European than an Oriental

* Diod. Sic., book xvii. c. 11.

town. Abú-l-fedá assimilates the situation of Sírwán to that of Mecca; being shut in between a hill and a river; and, from what I have read of the latter, I should think the resemblance correct. Quoting from another author, he also says that "there is a tomb here more holy than all others in the world, excepting that of Mohammed;" this I conceive to be the spot near Sírwán, which is now called, by the Lurs, the tomb of 'Abbás 'Alí, the brother of the Imáms Ḥasan and Ḥusein, who in reality was interred at Kerbela; it is a place of great sanctity, and pilgrimages are made to it from all parts of Lúristán; 'Abbás 'Alí being regarded by the 'Alí Iláhis as the joint successor with his brothers of the incarnation of the divine principle, after the murder of his father. Sírwán is well described by all the Oriental geographers; and I cannot help regarding it as the river Vaanath of Benjamin of Tudela, distant two days' journey from Robadbar, and in which he found 4000 families of Jews; Nahrawán being a mistake of the Hebrew copyist for Sírwán, which was originally written.

I reached the place of encampment, distant 4 farsakhs from the ruins of Sírwán, soon after sunset; the tents were pitched on the banks of the broad and deep stream of the Abi-Sírwán, at the head of the district of Rúdbár,* which extends from hence along the valley of the river, a distance of about 6 farsakhs, to the point of its confluence with the Kerkhah. I heard at that spot of the ruins of a very considerable town, similar in appearance to Sírwán, which was called the Shahri-Rúdbár: † this would appear to be the Robadbar of Benjamin of Tudela, where he found 20,000 families of Jews; for the names are too nearly similar to allow us to attach much weight to his measurement (perhaps incorrect in the numbers) of 3 days' march from Susa. There is also a city mentioned in Oriental history under the name of el Rúd, ‡ situated in this province of Másabadán, which was celebrated as the place of sepulture of the Khaliph Mehdí, one of the most magnificent of the house of 'Abbás; § and although the only measurement which I can find, referring to this place, does not exactly coincide with the position of Rúdbár, || yet, from the similarity of name, and as I can hear of no other ruin in the district which may possibly apply, I am still inclined in favour of the identification. There are several stories related by the historians regarding the death of the Khaliph Mehdí, but the most probable seems to be, that he broke his back in pursuing an antelope

* Rúdbár is a name applied to many districts in Persia which lie along the banks of a river.

† City of Rúdbár. ‡ See Ibn Kuteibah Yákút, &c. § He died A.D. 784.

|| In the Murásid-u-l-Iḥḥilá, the interval between Ariyúhán or Zarnḥaand el Rúd is stated at 10 farsakhs; perhaps this may be an error for 20, the words being nearly similar in Arabic.

through the low door-way of a ruin whilst hunting in this district.* Of the site of the village of Rafáz, where the Khaliph had his summer hunting-place,† I have no indication. At the time when Yákút compiled his geographical lexicon,‡ about A.D. 1200, the traces of this tomb were hardly visible; and it is not surprising, therefore, that in the present day not only should the place of interment be unknown, but that the very legend of the illustrious dead should have altogether vanished.

February 21st.—From Rúdbár I marched 22 miles to the Şahrái-Lort. The road rising from the bed of the Sírwán river traversed a range of hills, thickly wooded with the Belút, which divided the plain of Sírwán from the little valley of Bádrái. From the summit of these hills the magnificent range of Kebír-kúh first bursts upon the view, a sublime spectacle; the mountains, at this their north-western extremity, soaring up almost perpendicularly to a height which I suspect to be unequalled in the entire range. The peak of the hill, upon its northern face, was stated to be covered with perpetual snow; and this I do not believe to be the case with any other mountain, except the Kúhi-Mungasht, in the whole chain of Zagros, south of Zoháb. Two valleys, divided by a narrow range, and each watered by a petty stream, which falls into the Sírwán river, are successively passed on descending from the oak-wooded hills; they are named Bádrái and Káká-gáwan. Another little chain is crossed beyond the stream of Káká-gáwan, and the road from thence descends into the plain of Lort. I consider this space, intervening between Sírwán and Lort, to be the most difficult of transit upon the entire line between Zagros and Susiana; but still it is perfectly practicable to wheeled carriages. At the entrance of the plain of Lort is passed a spacious building, which is said to contain the body of Jábir Anşár, one of the Aş-háb, or companions of the prophet;§ though how this holy personage should have found his way into the centre of Lúristán is not attempted to be explained. The Şahrái-Lort is covered with the cemeteries of Lúrish I'liyát, where I had occasion to observe the custom, which prevails throughout Persia, of representing symbolically upon the gravestone the sex, character, and occupation of the deceased, but nowhere so curiously and elaborately expressed as in these rude monuments of the Lúrish tribes. Thus, upon one tombstone, I remarked the following

* See D'Herbelot, in the title Mahadi.

† See Tárikhi-Tabarí, Pers. MS.

‡ The Mu'jamu-l-Buldán. He afterwards condensed his great lexicon into a smaller compass, adding many particulars regarding the territory of Baghdád, and gave it the name of Murásidu-l-Ittilá. My copy of the MS. states positively that the epitome, with its additions, was composed by Yákút himself. In Europe it is generally supposed to have been the work of Ibn 'Abdi-l-Ḥaḡk.

§ See D'Herbelot, in the title Giaber.

designs, all very rudely engraven, but still sufficiently marked to denote their true signification. First—a chief, attended by a few followers, shooting a lion that had fastened on the haunches of a deer; secondly—hounds pursuing in full chase a herd of antelopes; thirdly—a falconer flying his hawk at a partridge; fourthly—a company of horsemen, armed as if for a foray; fifthly—a band of women dancing the *chupí*;* and the elegy of glyphs was closed by a ring, a rosary, and a comb, toothed upon one side, such as is used by men in Persia; this last being the distinctive mark of the male sex; as the double-toothed comb is of the female. There were a multitude of other devices among the tombstones, some of them very curious, all of which I carefully noted, but have not time here to enumerate. The obelisks, and domes also, were uniformly decked with a wreath of woman's tresses, which, waving in the breeze, appeared to me a far more pleasing record of funereal grief than the fanciful devices of the sculptured slabs. The plain of Lort is of great extent, sloping down gradually to the valley of the Kerkhah river, but it is badly supplied with water, and therefore thinly inhabited by the Fáiílí tribes.

February 22nd.—I moved on 20 miles, in a S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction, along the Sahráí-Lort, gradually descending all the way to the camp of Mírzá Buzurg, the governor of Písh-kúh, which was pitched in the plain of Şeimarrah, on the banks of the Kerkhah river. The plain of Şeimarrah is of great extent, stretching N.W. and S.E. about 40 miles, and varying from 5 to 10 miles in breadth, between Kebír-kúh and the Kerkhah. Geographically considered, it is included in Pushti-kúh; but Mohammed 'Alí Mírzá annexed it to Písh-kúh, and the Wálís have never since been able to recover it. Lort and Şeimarrah now form the frontier districts. Şeimarrah is cultivated by about 300 families of the Amalah division of Písh-kúh; and it also affords winter pasturage to at least 1000 families from the other tribes of Lúristán. Mírzá Buzurg had left his camp to meet the prince at Jáídár, whom I was also proceeding to join, but I was very hospitably entertained by his people.

February 23rd.—Sending on the troops to the bridge of Gámáshán, a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs, I rode across the plain, with a guide, in a S.W. direction, to the ruined city of Şeimarrah, which is usually called, by the Lúrs, Darah Shahr, the city of the vale; or Shahri-Khusraú, the city of Khusraú† Parvíz. Şeimarrah is situated at the distance of about 8 miles in a direct line from the right bank of the Kerkhah, in a gorge of the mountains of Sheikh Mákán, which form an outer rampart to Kebír Kúh; as, in the

* For a description of this dance see Rich's 'Kurdistan,' vol. i. p. 282.

† Chosroës of the Greeks. F. S.

case of Sírwán, Kálarag does to Milá-Gáwan. The locality of these two cities of Sírwán and Şeimarrah is, indeed, singularly identical; and so precisely similar in character also are the ruins, that any description would be but a repetition of my former remarks. At Şeimarrah, however, the ruins are somewhat more extensive, giving the idea of a city of greater consequence; and the direction of the streets and bazars, and the position of the káraván-seráis and principal edifices can be traced with greater accuracy than amid the ruins of Sírwán, where the buildings are so heaped together into a dense and confused mass, that a perception of their general design is unattainable. A fortress (of which the superstructure appears to be the work of later times), a large quadrangular enclosure (the Maidán, probably, of the city), and a mass of building known by the name of Takhti-Khusraú (Khusraú's throne), are the principal ruins which attract observation. A massive wall, also, has been thrown across the jaws of the gorge, which must have rendered the position of the city, shut in on all other sides by natural defences of an almost insurmountable character, one of extreme strength and security. The reputed founder of Şeimarrah, among the Lúrs, is Khusraú Parvız. Innumerable traditions are current regarding the adventures of Shírín and Ferhád at this Kishlák, or winter residence of the Sásánian monarch; and a ruin is pointed out, among the rugged precipices south of the city, where Khusraú is said to have placed his queen, in jealous fear of the enamoured boldness of Ferhád, and the spot is still called Kasri-Shírín. Şeimarrah appears to have been for a time the capital of the province of Másabadán. I regard it as the Sambana (a corruption of Sabadán) of Diodorus,* which Alexander passed on his route from Susa, three marches before reaching the Bæotian colony of Celônæ (Sírwán or Keílún). It would also appear to represent the strong fastness in the hills east of Ctesiphon to which Khusraú Parvız sent his wives and children when the emperor Heraclius threatened his capital.† At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia it seems to have been named, indifferently, Şeimarrah and Máh Sabadán; at least, the capture of the fort of Máh Sabadán, described by Tabarí, will only suit this place; and, in the other historians, the victory is usually denominated the conquest of Şeimarrah. In the eighth or ninth century of Christ, Şeimarrah sank before the rising greatness of Mihrgán Kudağ; and, though it continues to be mentioned by all the Arabian geographers, it does not appear ever to have recovered much importance. At the commencement of the fourteenth century it was in ruins.‡

* Diód. Sic., book xvii. chap. 110.

† Theophanes, p. 269.

‡ See Nuzhat-u-l-Kulúb.

In a gorge of the hills, distant scarcely 2 miles south of Şeimarrah, are the remains of another city, precisely similar in appearance, as I have heard, to those of Şeimarrah: the place is called Tangi-Sikán; but I did not learn of the existence of the ruins until it was too late to visit them. Although I have no positive evidence upon the subject, I cannot doubt that these ruins represent the site of Mihrgán Kudak, the see, in the ninth century, of a Christian bishop, under the Nestorian metropolitan of Susiana.* The Arabians wrote the name Mihrján Kudhak; and seem to refer to the place as immediately contiguous to Şeimarrah, an indication which will suit no other spot but Tangi-Sikán. This is the town which, in our translation of Idrísí,† is named Mahargiafendec.

The bridge over the Kerkhah, named the Púli-Gámáshán, bears nearly E. of Şeimarrah, at the distance of 8 miles. An ancient bridge formerly existed here, called Púli-Khusraú; the remains of two buttresses are still visible, and I should regard them, from their appearance, as coeval with the building of the Sásánian cities of Sírwán and Şeimarrah. The bridge which at present crosses the river is one of the best I have seen in Persia. It was built by Huseín Kháni-Buzurg, the famous Wálí of Lúristán, in A.H. 1008, as is commemorated upon a small tablet built into the parapet. The river is here much contracted, and a single arch is thrown across the bed of the stream of about 80 feet in width. An arch of almost an equal span is necessary, however, to connect this with the right-hand bank; and, on the other side, a long line of smaller arches forms a sort of causeway along the shelving ground. The entire length of the bridge is 165 paces; and spacious rooms are constructed in all the buttresses, where, without much difficulty, I could have quartered the Gúrán regiment. The name of Gámáshán is a mere corruption of the title of the river in the early part of its course, where it is called Gámás, or Gámásh-áb, from the pretended representation of a cow (gá) and a fish (más) on the rock of Chihil-Nábálighán, above the spring of Chashmi-Kázim,‡ the real source of the Kerkhah.

February 24th.—From the Púli-Gámáshán I marched 4 farsakhs to Jáidar: the direct road to Dizfúl, from the bridge, follows down the course of the Kerkhah to A'bi-Garm, distant 6 farsakhs; but I was obliged to deviate to Jáidar, to join the prince's camp, and take command of the assembled troops. The Káshghán river joins the Kerkhah, or, as it is called in this

* See Assemanni, *Bib. Orient.*, vol. ii. p. 460. † Idrísí, p. 199. A.D. 1600.

‡ In the *Mu'jamu-l-Buldán* it is stated that these figures are actually carved in the rock near Niháwand; but I cannot discover that any such sculptures exist at the present day, though the story is still current. It is curious that many old coins should be found in Persia with this device of a bull and fish.

part of its course, the A'bi-Seimarrah, and corruptedly Sad-marrah, about one mile above the Púli-Gámáshán; and the road runs along parallel to its course the whole way to Jáidar; the track is extremely difficult, ascending, for about 2 farsakhs, a steep and rocky pass, which is barely practicable to loaded mules. From the summit of the mountains, which form the outer rampart of the chain of Zagros, the Káshghán river, on the left-hand, is seen at the depth of some thousand feet, foaming and struggling amid the most tremendous precipices, as it forces its way through the range, and descends in a succession of magnificent cataracts into the valley of the Kerkhah. The crown of the hill has been enclosed with a double line of wall, to command the pass; and were these old walls, although in ruins, to be defended with any firmness, at the present day, I consider that the pass is not to be forced. On descending gradually from the range, the open country of Jáidar is entered—a plain, considerably elevated above the valley of the Kerkhah, but still much lower than the high table-land beyond the ridges to the eastward. A considerable hamlet, called 'Amárat, is here passed; and, a short distance farther on, I reached the meadow-land along the banks of the river, where the Kirmánsháh troops were encamped.

The situation of the camp was very striking, the tents being pitched along the left bank of the Káshghán, where the river debouches through a chasm in the hills into the plain of Jáidar. The remains of a bridge are visible at this place, one of the most massive I have seen in Persia. It was situated in the very jaws of the gorge, and consisted of a single arch thrown across from rock to rock; the two buttresses now alone remain, jutting out into the water, and formed of such tremendous blocks of hewn stone, that, although exposed to the whole force of the current for perhaps fifteen centuries, not one has been removed from its place. It is called the Púli-Shápúr, or Púli-Dukhtar; and is ascribed to Shápúr, the second king of the Sásánian dynasty, although the Lúrs have also a love-story to explain its appellation of the Maiden's Bridge. I conceive it to be a work of the Sásánians, forming the thoroughfare from Bísutún and Kermánsháh to their favoured cities of Susiana. The Káshghán river spreads itself out immediately below the gorge, and, dividing into two arms, thus admits of being forded, except during a few months in the spring, when its waters are unusually swollen by the melting of the snows. At this time the stream, though very rapid, was not more than three feet deep; and the passage, therefore, of the troops and artillery, from Kermánsháh, was effected with some delay, but without any accident. The plain of Jáidar is stated to be a perfect paradise in the spring, as well from its verdant herbage as from the quantities of wild flowers that enamel its

surface. It is cultivated by some 300 families of Deh-Nishíns of the 'Amalah division of Písh-kúh; and also affords winter pasture to the great tribe of Hasanáwand.

February 28th.—After halting three days at Jáidar we struck our camp and marched 4 farsakhs to A'bi-Garm; the first 2 farsakhs were along the table-land at the top of the hills, through an open country, which is all included under the name of Jáidar. At the pass which conducts down the hills into the valley of the Kerkhah we joined the high-road conducting from Dizfúl to Khorram-ábád. From this point to the plain of Khorram-ábád, a distance of about 20 farsakhs, the country is very mountainous and difficult; but still it is practicable to artillery, and forms the usual route by which the governor of Kirmánsháh marches upon Khúzistán. The tract of country at the top of the hills is very desolate and barren, and is therefore called the Chul, or desert of Jáidar: and a spot is also shown which is believed by the Lúrs to mark the site of Sodom, being called Shahri-Lút* (Lot's city). We now began to descend the range which I had already crossed between the Kerkhah and Jáidar; and though the pass of Chuli-Jáidar is considered to be easiest in the entire chain, which, as may be seen on a reference to the map, extends from Sunbulah to Dizfúl, yet it was not without great delay and difficulty that we succeeded in getting down the guns. A company of pioneers, however, might make a good road of the pass in a few days. From the foot of the hills, another farsakh brought us across an undulating plain to our encamping-place, on the banks of the little stream of A'bi-Garm, near the point of its confluence with the Kerkhah. The direction of our march from the camp at Jáidar was due S.

February 29th.—We this day marched 7 farsakhs, along the banks of the Kerkhah, to Púli-tang, the great range of Káilún running parallel to our route, upon the left hand, and throwing out detached branches into the plain, at some points to the very banks of the river. The ancient high-road from Susa, through Máh Sabadán, led along the right bank of the Kerkhah, between Kebír-kúh and the river; and though the road we were now pursuing was far from difficult, yet the track upon the other bank seemed more open and commodious. The Púli-tang, or "Bridge of the Chasm," is a most remarkable spot; the broad stream of the Kerkhah, in general about 80 or 100 yards in width, here, for the space of 300 paces, forces its way through a narrow chasm, which a bold cragsman may spring across with ease; indeed I saw a young Kurd, on this occasion, leap across the river, to prove, as he said, that the feat was practicable; though it was

* A number of desert places in Persia are thus named Shahri-Lút.

rather nervous to look at him, for the crags were very slippery, and had he missed his footing he must have been dashed to pieces. The cleft is now about 150 feet in depth; the sides are honeycombed in the most fantastic manner, as though the chasm had been gradually worn down in the rock by the action of the water; and the river boils and foams below, in its narrow bed, as we might fancy of Styx or Phlegethon. A little arch has been thrown across the cleft, which forms the great thoroughfare for the Lúrish I'liyát, in their passage between their summer pastures, near Khorram-ábád, and the warm plains beyond the Kerkhah, where they encamp in winter. It was by this bridge, I believe, that Antigonus passed the Kerkhah in his memorable retreat from Badaca across the mountains into Media. The short road, which is described by Diodorus as conducting from Susa into Media, through the mountains of the Cossæans, "difficult, narrow, precipitous, through a hostile tract, badly furnished with necessaries, but short and cool,"* was of course the route up the valley of the Kerkhah to A'bi-Garm, and from thence across the mountains to Khorram-ábád; and this is also the track across Mount Charban, which measured, according to Pliny, between Susa and Ecbatana, 380 Roman miles,† a statement that is strictly accurate; but I doubt if Antigonus pursued this exact route in his retreat from Badaca, for, in the face of an enemy, he could scarcely have traversed, in nine days, the space of about 180 miles, intervening by the high-road between the ruins which I suppose to represent Badaca and the first inhabited region of Media, at Khorram-ábád. As he appears to have altogether slighted the power of the mountaineers, and the reported difficulties of the country, I conclude that he took the most direct route that would conduct him therefore from the Púli-tang to the pass of Káilún, and so on, through the heart of the mountains, along the road which I have laid down in my map; and which is still sometimes followed by travellers with light baggage. The distance along this road will correspond with his nine marches; and the place where he was in danger of losing his whole army will thus fall in with the position of the steep and precipitous defile of Káilún, which exactly answers to the description of Diodorus.

March 1st.—From Púli-tang to Kal'ahi-Rizá there are two roads, the one along the banks of the Kerkhah, and across a most precipitous range of low gypsum hills, which are impracticable even to a loaded mule; and the other making a considerable detour to the left, to cross the hills by an easy pass, and rejoining the other road at the ford of the A'bi-Zál. The A'bi-Zál is dis-

* Diod. Sic., book xix. chap. 19.

† Pliny, book vi. chap. 27.

tant 8 miles from the Púli-tang by the near road, and 15 by the circuitous track round the hills. It is an impetuous mountain-torrent, which rises high up in the fastnesses of Kali-Asped and Anárah-rúd, and, after a course of perhaps 50 miles, falls into the Kerkhah 3 miles below the point where it is here crossed, on the road to Dizfúl. I have collected all my memoranda regarding the Kerkhah, which some late geographers have doubted to be identical with the river of Kermánsháh, into a separate paper, and this must excuse the hasty notice which I give its tributaries; but still I cannot pass over the A'bi-Zál without endeavouring to rectify an error of nomenclature which has crept into all our maps, and thereby created the greatest confusion. The river of Dizfúl is now invariably called by our geographers the A'bi-Zál, but this is certainly incorrect; neither in any Oriental author nor among the inhabitants of Susiana do I find that such a title ever has been or is applied to it; and, what is not a little curious, I cannot help suspecting that the error, which has now grown universal, has arisen from a faulty passage in Petit de la Croix's translation of the History of Tímúr, where, in describing the march of the Tátár army from Khorram-ábád, he says, "Tímúr, in 11 days, arrived at the bridge over the river A'bi-Zál: *the town at the bridge is called Dizfúl.*" Not having Sharafu-d-dín at hand to refer to, I cannot say whether this clause, "*the town at the bridge is called Dizfúl,*" is a wrong translation, an interpolation in the text, which the learned Frenchman copied, or an error of the original historian. Khwándemír, however, who evidently drew his materials from Sharhud-dín, has no such statement; and the A'bi-Zál, to which he alludes in describing this march of Tímúr, is certainly the river of that name, which I passed between Jáidar and Dizfúl. Mr. Long, in his 'Memoir on the Site of Susa,'* states that Colonel Chesney believed the A'bi-Zál to join the Kerkhah at Hawízah; and the instructions of that distinguished traveller to Major Estcourt, published in the Euphrates-papers, appear to imply the same opinion. But this idea, I cannot help thinking, has also arisen from the mistake regarding the name of A'bi-Zál. Colonel Chesney was doubtless informed in Susiana that the A'bi-Zál disembogues itself into the Kerkhah, as it really does; but the river to which his informant alluded, under this name, was quite distinct from the A'bi-Dizfúl, which Colonel Chesney intended to imply. The bridge over the A'bi-Zál, which Tímúr crossed, still exists; but the pathway along its banks to the bridge we found to be impassable to guns, and our artillery therefore was transported across the river, by a very difficult and dangerous ford, about

* Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 265.

1½ mile lower down. The bed of this stream is filled with immense masses of rock, brought down by the strength of the current from the neighbouring mountains; and the force of the water is at the same time so excessive that accidents frequently occur in crossing it. The water is salt, from the bed of gypsum, I suppose, which it traverses; it is, however, of the most pellucid clearness, from which it is said to derive its name of Zál, a contraction of the Arabic Zalál, signifying "pure."

Our place of encampment at Kal'ahi-Rizá, in a spacious plain of the same name, was distant one farsakh from the ford of the A'bi-Zál; and we had now bid adieu to the Kerkhah, which, from the point of confluence with that stream, pursues a direction nearly southerly, while we bent our steps S.E., towards Dizfúl. There is no encamping-place for I'liyát between Jáidar and the plain of Rizá; and even here there are not more than 100 families of Dirikáwands, who pasture their flocks in winter at the foot of the hills of Kirki. From the bridge of the A'bi-Zál, the short road to Khorram-ábád strikes off to the Káílún pass, where it ascends the mountains; this track effects a saving of about 10 farsakhs in the distance between Dizfúl and Khorram-ábád, but it is so difficult that it is never attempted by Káfilahs; and not often even by travellers, if accompanied by baggage. The Kal'ahi-Rizá is an old dilapidated fort, surrounded by the ruins of a small village. Kebír-kúh, ending in a peak, called Dumi-sháh, does not extend beyond this point.

March 2nd.—The Prince moved on seven farsakhs, to the river of Balád-rúd. As great delay had taken place in crossing the guns over the A'bi-Zál, and they did not reach the camp till midnight, I made a march with the troops of only 4½ farsakhs to the plain of Huseíní. We were now visibly opening into the low country of Khúzistán: the road, throughout this stage, was over a ground of soft gypsum, which afforded a very easy passage for the guns: there were two deep and broad ravines, however, called Dukhtar-wajáh (the beautiful maid), and Tiktiki (from the dropping of a small cascade), which cost us some trouble to cross. The plain of Huseíní contains the ruins of a small village, from which it derives its name.

March 3rd.—I rejoined the Prince at Balád-rúd, making an easy march of 2½ farsakhs; the road was good throughout, leading along an open plain to the stream of Balád-rúd, where were the remains of a bridge of brick-work, apparently of no very ancient date. The A'bi-Balád-rúd rises in the hills of Mángerrah and Sháh-zádah Ahmed, and after a course of about forty miles, flows into the river of Dizfúl, a short distance below that town: it was at this time a mere rivulet, containing scarcely a foot's depth

of water, but when there is any heavy rain in the hills, it comes down in a torrent of tremendous force.

Some years ago, when the late Sháh of Persia was crossing this stream with a large body of troops, the torrent, or *síláb*, as it is called, came down suddenly, and at once swept off fifty horsemen, and the force was delayed for two days upon its banks, during which time it was impossible to cross from one side to the other. The bed of the A'bi-Balád-rúd is covered with pebbles filled with little fossil shells: they are called *Sangi-Birinj* (the rice stone), from the resemblance of the fossil shells to grains of rice, and are in much request throughout Persia for the head of the *Nárgíl* pipe,* which is scarcely ever, indeed, composed of any thing else but this stone, set in silver. The *Sangi-Birinj* is also found in the river of Shuster,† but neither in such quantities nor of so good a quality, that is, so full of shells as at Balád-rúd, and I do not believe that it exists in any other river in Persia. A hill fort called the *Kal'áhi-Tangawán*, overhangs Balád-rúd, which has the appearance of great strength; but as it is very indifferently supplied with water, it is of no repute in the country.

March 4th.—From Balád-rúd the road winds round the low sand hills at the foot of the *Kal'áhi-Tangawán*, and then enters on the immense level flat of *Šusiana*. The distance from Balád-rúd to *Dizfúl* is 6 farsakhs, across a plain covered with the most beautiful herbage, and which is called *Šahrái-Lur*. This plain is at present without water, and uncultivated; but the traces of old canals are to be seen traversing it in all directions, indications of its former fertility. The village of *Šalih-ábád*, containing about 100 houses, and defended by a mud wall, is passed at the distance of 2 farsakhs from *Dizfúl*; it is watered by a small *kanát*,‡ brought from the hills, and is surrounded by a limited extent of cultivation. There are a few mounds, and other remains of old buildings at *Šalih-ábád*, representing, probably, the *Lur*, or *Biládu-l-Lur*, of the oriental geographers, which is laid down by them at the distance of 2 farsakhs from *Andámish*. Owing to an ignorance of the line of route, *Lúr* has been generally placed in the maps upon the *Dizfúl* river: some modern geographers, even, have supposed that the ruins of the ancient capital of *Luristán* might be found here,§ but from the appearance of the remains, I should conjecture *Lur* to have been a mere village, colonised from the neighbouring mountains: it seems, however, to have given its

* The *Nárgíl* pipe is that in which the cocoa-nut is used, instead of the usual glass bowls.

† I write the name *Shuster*, as it is now commonly sounded—we find it in books written in a number of different ways,

‡ A subterraneous canal.

§ Williams on the *Geography of Ancient Asia*, p. 238.

name to the surrounding plain, which, as I have stated, is still called Şahrá-i-Lur.

We pitched our camp round the burj, or tower, erected by Moĥammed A'lí Mírzá, on the right bank of the river, without entering the town. Dizfúl has been often described; it is now the chief city of Khúzistán, and may contain about 20,000 inhabitants. The river of Dizfúl is laid down with sufficient accuracy in Kinneir's map; it is formed of two branches, which rise in the territory of Burú-jird, and uniting at Bahreïn,* pass into the mountains between the hills of Ushturán Kúh† to the right, and Miýánah Kúh‡ to the left. The passage of the river through the mountains, from this point to the plain of Dizfúl, is along, perhaps the most elevated and precipitous line in the whole range: it forces its way through a succession of chasms and gorges, and the track along its bank is utterly impracticable: indeed, this part of the range of Zagros is so very precipitous that there is only one single pathway conducting across it, from Dizfúl to Burú-jird. I have laid down the line of this track in my map, but I must observe, that it is only followed by the Bakhtiyári-Í'liyát, on foot, in their annual migrations: it is not to be traversed by a horseman, and is considered the most difficult of all the mountain pathways. The river of Dizfúl breaks into the plain between the hill forts of Tangawán and Kál'ah-sháhi, and passing by the town of Dizfúl, joins the Kuran at Bandi-Kír.§ I believe this stream to be the Coprates, but I shall not discuss the very intricate subject of the rivers of Susiana, until I have finished my remarks on the positive geography of the province.

Dizfúl I consider to be a Sásánian town, founded at the same time as the bridge was built across the river to conduct to the new capitals of Jundi-Shápúr and Shuster. It was originally called *Andámish*,|| and seems to have retained this name till the thirteenth century: Hamdu-llah Mustaufi,¶ indeed, who wrote about A.D. 1325, is the earliest author in whom I find the name of Dizfúl. It is not very safe to trust the etymologies of the orientals; but the most probable derivation of Dizfúl, or Dizpúl, seems to be the bridge of Diz; which name, although signifying generally, a fort, is applied in particular to a most remarkable scarped rock, situated near the river,** about 30 miles N. of the present town, and still celebrated throughout Persia, as the

* "The two rivers."

† "Camel's hill," so called from its shape.

‡ "Middle hill," so called because it connects *Ushturán-Kúh* with *Kúhi-Zardah*.

§ Bitumen-dyke, so called from the stones being cemented with bitumen: it is an error to call this place Bandi-Kír.

|| See Idrísi, Yákút, Jai'hání, &c.

¶ Author of the *Núzhatú-l-Kulúb*.

** I suppose the river to have been called from the fort A'bi-Diz, or Nahri-Diz.

strongest hill-fort in the kingdom. Ra'násh was an old suburb of Andámish, on the right bank of the river, and the name still pertains to the ruins. I find it conjectured in a modern Persian manuscript,* that Dizfúl may represent the city of Antábulus, which is said in old authors to be met with near Sús, or Susa. I have never met with the name elsewhere, but, if it really did exist, it would seem more probable that it applied to Jundi-Shápúr, which was built, according to Abú-l-faraj, after the model of Constantinople, and may therefore have been called by that name by the Greek students in its schools, Antábulus being a corruption of the word Constantinopolis: this, however, is quite conjectural, and I very much doubt that such a city as Antábulus ever existed in Susiana.

March 9th.—After remaining five days at Dizfúl, I rode over to examine the ruins of Sús.† The road for 10 miles runs along the right bank of the Dizfúl river, which here makes a remarkable bend to the westward: the A'bi-Balád-rúd falls into it at the seventh mile. This part of the plain is covered with villages, and is well cultivated; being watered by canals, derived both from the river of Dizfúl and the Kerkhah: the great canal which conveys water from the latter is named Nahri-Hormasín,‡ and is said to be derived from a point about 4 farsakhs above Sús; and the remains of other water-courses, now unused, are to be seen intersecting the plain in all directions. At the tenth mile from Dizfúl, the river makes an abrupt turn to the S.E., and the road then leaves it, and stretches across the plain to the great mound of Sús, which is, from this point, distinctly visible on the horizon. As I approached the ruins, I was particularly struck with the extraordinary height of this mound, which is indeed so great as to overpower all the other ruins in the vicinity. It forms the north-western extremity of a large irregular platform of mounds, which appear to have constituted the fort of the city, while the great tumulus represents the site of the inner citadel: by a rough calculation with the sextant, I found the height of the lower platform to be between 80 and 90 feet, and that of the great mound to be about 165 feet: the platform, which is square, I estimated to measure 2 miles and $\frac{1}{2}$: the mound, which I paced, measured 1100 yards round the base, and 850 round the summit. The slope is very steep,—so steep indeed, as only to admit of ascent by two pathways. Upon the slope of the western face of the mound is a slab, with a cuneiform inscription of thirty-three lines in length engraved on it, and in the complicated character of

* *Tazkarati-Shusteriyah*, a work written by a native of Shuster about 100 years ago.

† In the country the name is now pronounced Shús, but in the Geographers it is always written Sús.

‡ For Hormuzein, *i. e.* the two Hormuzes? F.S.

the third column of the Persepolitan tablets : this is stated to have been a part of an obelisk, which existed not many years ago, erect upon the summit of the mound, and the broken fragments of the other parts of it are seen in the plain below. I saw three of the Babylonian sepulchral urns, imbedded firmly in the soil, at a point where a ravine had been recently formed by the rain, in the face of the mound : in another place was exposed to view a flooring of brickwork, a few feet below the surface, and the summit of the mound was thickly strewn with broken pottery, glazed tiles, and kiln-dried bricks. Beyond the elevated platform extend the ruins of the city, probably 6 or 7 miles in circumference : they present the same appearance of irregular mounds, covered with bricks, and broken pottery, and here and there the fragment of a shaft is seen projecting through the soil.

I had been very anxious, on visiting Sús, to obtain a correct copy of the famous bilingual inscription upon the black stone,* which was said to be preserved at the tomb of Daniel, and which had always appeared to me of the greatest importance to verify the recent discoveries regarding the cuneiform character : I was extremely disappointed, therefore, to find that this most precious relic no longer existed. It is well known that the inhabitants of Susiana attached the most profound reverence to this extraordinary stone, and fiercely resented any attempt to rob them of it, believing that the prosperity of the province depended upon its remaining in their hands. After the failure of Sir Robert Gordon to obtain possession of it, in 1812, it remained buried for some years to secure it from observation, but having been disinterred by the guardians of the tomb, it appears that in 1832 it was wantonly destroyed by a stranger Sayyid,† in the hope of discovering within it some hidden treasure : the whole story is very curious : the fragments (for it was blown to pieces with powder) were carefully collected, and reinterred within the precincts of the tomb ; but immediately afterwards the province was almost depopulated by the plague : the bridge of Shuster suddenly broke, and the famous dam at Hawízah was carried away ; all which disasters were, of course, ascribed to the destruction of the talisman : and as this Sayyid, also, was generally believed to have been a Firingí in disguise, I found the rancour against Europeans, in connexion with the black stone, bitter and extensive. The tomb of Daniel has been often described : it is a modern building, on the banks of the Shápúr river (or Sháwer, as it is generally called), immediately below the great mound : several bricks, stamped with arrow-headed characters, which have been brought from the ruins are built into it ; in the court is preserved a capital of white marble, also brought from the great mound ; and outside, on the

* See Ouseley's Travels, vol. i. p. 420.

† A descendant of Mohammed.

banks of the stream, are found two blocks, one covered with a mutilated cuneiform inscription, and the other sculptured with the figures of a man and two lions, which have been described by Sir W. Ouseley, from Capt. Monteith's relation.* To the N. of the ruins there are mounds and tapahs in all directions, among which are the Tali-Suleimán, Duwásí, and Gubá, and to the S. the plain is covered in the same manner, seven remarkable tumuli, near each other, being called Haft Chágán, and another very lofty mound Buláhiyah.

Near the tomb of Daniel is a ruined Imám Zádah,† two of the corners of which are based upon broken capitals, like that preserved in the court of the shrine, and under a Konár-tree‡ in the neighbourhood I perceived another of the same sort. I have thus noticed, I believe, all the relics of antiquity that are to be found at Sús; they are certainly less than might have been looked for, but they afford very satisfactory evidence of the site of an ancient capital of great extent. The river of Shápúr, to which I have alluded, rises about 10 miles N. of Sús: it flows in a deep narrow bed, by the tomb of Daniel, and laves the western face of the great mound. At this point are the remains of a bridge of no very ancient structure, and immediately below the bridge is a ford, by which alone, I was assured, from near its source to the point where it falls into the Kuran,§ in the neighbourhood of Weís, can the A'bi-Shápúr be crossed: the water is considered by the Persians to be particularly heavy and unwholesome, and in this respect to bear a striking contrast to the Kerkhah, which flows at some distance to the W., and is believed to be little inferior to the Kuran in the lightness and excellence of its water. We are informed by the orientals,|| that when Abú Músá Ash'arí took possession of Sús, in the 17th year of the Hijrah, he dug a canal from this stream, and deposited in a grave at the bottom of it the coffin which was said to contain the bones of the prophet Daniel, and which was there held in great veneration, and afterwards letting the water into the artificial bed, effectually secured the grave from profanation. All authors, indeed, agree that the grave was in the bed of the stream, yet Benjamin of Tudela pretends, that in his day, the coffin was kept suspended over the river, to pacify the

* Ouseley's Travels, vol. i, p. 423.

† Sepulchral chapel in honour of a saint. F.S.

‡ Rhamnus Jujuba, or Lotus. F.S.

§ The name of this river has been hitherto always written Karoon: the true pronunciation which corresponds with the orthography is Kuran. [Kárún in Jehánnumá, p. 454. F.S.]

|| See Ashkáu-l-'A'lam (maps of the world) Arab MS, written by Abú-l Kásim, Ibn Ahmed, El Jaihání, in about A.H. 400, and translated into Persian by Alí-Ibn-'Abdu-l-Salám. This is the work, I believe, translated into English by Sir W. Ouseley under the title of Ibn Haukal's Geography. [That work is entitled 'Suwaru-l-Buldán,' a phrase synonymous with Ashkáu-l-'Álam. (Ouseley's Travels, vol. iii. p. 554.) F.S.]

Jews, upon either side, who were contending for the holy relic: but I have no space here to detail the numerous stories relative to this shrine. The A'bi-Shápúr is certainly not only navigable from Sús to the point of its junction with the Kuran, but from the facility which its deep and narrow bed, nearly level with the surface of the plain, affords for draught, is particularly suited to navigation. The river Kerkhah is distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the great mound of Sús, and I could discover no trace of building in the interval between the rivers.

N.W. of Sús, and at the distance of about 2 miles from the right bank of the Kerkhah are some very extensive ruins, which are known by the name of I'wáni-Kerkh (the palace of Kerkh), or more generally simply I'wán, the palace. From the many descriptions which I have received, as well as from the view which I obtained of them with a large telescope, from the summit of the mound of Sús, I judge them to be Sásánian. The great ruin of I'wán appears to have been a palace, of the same style of building as the remains at Kāsrī-Shírín, Sírwán, and Seimarrah. There are also said to be a few mounds, apparently of more ancient date; and a canal cut in the rock, which conducted water from the Kerkhah to the city is spoken of, moreover, as a very extraordinary work. The ruins of a bridge, which crossed the river, are to be seen opposite to I'wán; the place is called Pái Púl, or the foundation* of the bridge, the broken buttresses now alone remaining above the water. The ruins of Sús and the surrounding country are celebrated for their beautiful herbage: it was difficult to ride along the Shápúr for the luxuriant grass that clothed its banks; and all around, the plain was covered with a carpet of the richest verdure. The climate too, at this season, was singularly cool and pleasant, and I never remember to have passed a more delightful evening than in my little tent upon the summit of the great mound of Sús—alone, contemplating the wrecks of time that were strewed around me, and indulging in the dreams of by-gone ages. In the afternoon of the ensuing day I prepared to return to Dizfúl, which from the summit of the mound was distinctly visible, bearing N. 38. E. I proceeded in a direct line from the eastern extremity of the ruins to the river of Dizfúl, to determine its nearest proximity to the city, and I reached the bank at $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. From thence I galloped along the bank of the river, and got into the camp at dark.

March 13th.—We marched 4 farsakhs to Kuhnak. Crossing the river of Dizfúl, by a magnificent bridge of about 330 paces in length, we traversed the town, and entered on a well-cultivated plain to the eastward. At the distance of 2 farsakhs, we met with

* The foot of the bridge.

the village of Sháh-ábád, on our right, which I have no hesitation in identifying with Jundi-Shápúr. In my after residence at Dizfúl, I made frequent visits to this place, for the purpose of examining the remains; and, although the site of the ancient city has now been for many centuries under cultivation, and there is no single ruin, therefore, in any state of moderate preservation, yet the extensive lines of mounds, and the numerous foundations of massive walls, are quite sufficient to verify the measurements of the geographers,* which indicate this exact position. It is not to be denied that there are some difficulties attending the identification of Jundi-Shápúr, which arise from the blunders of certain Persian writers, who appear to have been ignorant of its true position; † but, after a review of all the evidence, I find no reason to doubt of its being represented by Sháh-ábád. Jundi-Shápúr appears to have been founded by the first Shápúr, after his victory over the Emperor Valerian. It was enlarged into a great city by his seventh successor, Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf. During his reign (about A.D. 350), it became the see of a bishop of the Nestorian church, ‡ which had been instituted in Susiana a century before; and, when Jundi-Shápúr soon afterwards rose to be the chief city of the province, the seat of the metropolitan, which had formerly been fixed at Ahwáz, or, as it is called by the Syrians, Beth Lapet, § was transferred to it. The school of Jundi-Shápúr was renowned, during the reign of Anúshiraván, through the East and West; || and the city continued, to the time of the Arab conquest, one of the great capitals of Susiana. It appears to have sunk before the rising greatness of Shuster, in the 13th century; and it is little mentioned in Oriental history after that time. Jundi-Shápúr was watered by some magnificent aqueducts, excavated at an immense depth in the solid rock, and derived from the river of Dizfúl, about 5 miles above that town. The water, which still flows in them, is now employed in irrigating the rice-fields. The present inhabitants of Khúzistán are so grossly ignorant, that I scarcely met with an individual familiar with the name even of Jundi-Shápúr, and it was altogether in vain, therefore, to seek for oral information regarding its site. Sháh-ábád, however, is traditionally believed in the province to represent the City of the Seven Sleepers ¶—a story which, wherever it prevails in the East, may be received as an evidence of antiquity.

* The measurements usually given are, 8 farsakhs from *Shuster*, and 2 farsakhs from the bridge of *Andámish* or *Dizfúl*.

† Hamdu-llah Mustáfi thus places *Jundi-Shápúr* on the river of Dizfúl.

‡ Asseman. *Bib. Orient.*, tom. ii. p. 398; tom. iv. pp. 43, 44, and 421.

§ Asseman. *Bib. Orient.*, tom. iv. p. 758.

|| See Gibbon, chap. xlii.

¶ See Tazkarati-Shusteriyah. The real City of the Seven Sleepers was *Ephesus*; but the story is attached traditionally to many other places in the East. See D'Herbelot, in *Ashab-i-Kahaf*.

At 2 farsakhs farther on, we reached our camp, near the ruined village of Kuhnak.

March 14th.—We continued our march 5 farsakhs, to the bank of the Kuran, over a plain of the richest soil, but perfectly uncultivated. A range of low sand-hills bounds the plain to the left, at a distance of about 2 farsakhs, and divides it from the hilly district of Sar Dasht, which stretches up to the foot of the great mountains. Upon the right was a vast level flat, as far as the eye could reach. A dry canal, which was derived from the Kuran, at the Bandi-Dukhtar, and formerly watered this tract of country, is passed, midway between Kuhnak and the river; a little ridge of sand-rock occurs, at the edge of the plain, and the road, crossing this, descends direct upon the river, the town of Shuster, which had been shut out from view by the ridge, appearing on the other side. The bridge of Shuster gave way at the rise of the waters in the winter of 1832; and, not having been repaired when I was there, we were obliged to bring the troops and guns across the river upon rafts, or kalaks, as they are called, supported on inflated skins. We pitched our camp along the pebbly beach, in the bed of the river; a most unsafe position, as a sudden rise of the waters would have swept it away bodily; but there was positively no other ground available. To the accounts of the city of Shuster itself, which have been already published, I have not much to add; but the very erroneous opinions which appear to exist regarding the river Kuran require to be rectified.

It would appear that Ardeshér Bábegán, or his son, Shápúr, after having founded Shuster, upon the left bank of the Kuran, in a bend of the river, excavated a deep and wide canal to the E. of the city, and thus divided the waters of the river. The artificial stream was derived from the Kuran, immediately above the town; and, defending it upon the eastern face, as the original bed did upon the western, it rendered the position one of extreme strength: but the city, situated on a rising ground, between the two arms, could have been but indifferently supplied with water, and a further undertaking, therefore, was necessary to remedy this defect. A massive band, or dyke, accordingly, was thrown across the original bed of the river, at the distance of about half-a-mile from the mouth of the canal, narrow outlets, or sluices, being left for the passage of a certain portion of the water. The consequence of this was, that the great body of the river was forced back into the artificial derivation. Another band was then thrown across the mouth of the canal, forming, as it were, a continuation of the line of the original bank, and raised precisely to the same height as the lower dyke. Here, too, the passage of the water was regulated by sluices; and the entire bed of the stream being now formed, as it were, into a vast reservoir, the mouth of a tunnel was opened into it, which had been excavated directly

through the hill of sand-rock forming the left bank of the river, between the two bands, and below the level of the water thus artificially elevated: a copious stream, of course, immediately flowed into the tunnel, and sufficient water was thus obtained for the supply of the town and the cultivation of a vast tract of country extending to the S. of it. Before either of the bands, however, were undertaken, and when the whole body of the river must have flowed in the artificial canal, the mouth of which had probably been deepened for the purpose, that part of the original bed between the two dykes which was intended to form the great reservoir was paved throughout with massive hewn stones, fastened with metal clamps, to prevent the further deepening of the river, and to give additional strength and security to the whole work.* Such, as far as I can gather from Oriental authors and a minute personal examination, has been the general design of the stupendous hydraulic works of Shuster. The course of the river has constantly changed as either of the dykes has given way and yielded a free passage to the waters, and, in that case, the level of the water in the great reservoir having fallen below the orifice of the tunnel, it has become, of course, altogether useless. When I was at Shuster a part of the lower band had given way, with the breaking of the bridge above it; and the level of the river having thus sunk several feet, the supply of water in the tunnel became reduced proportionably, and the lands S. of Shuster were thrown entirely out of cultivation. The band, however, has been since repaired; and I now understand that the tunnel, or Nahri-Dāriyán, as it is properly called, is quite full.

I must now explain the names and courses of these streams, which have been much confused by the Oriental geographers, and appear even to be scarcely understood at the present day. The artificial canal which now forms the left branch of the river is the famous Nahri Masrúkán of the Oriental geographers; it subsequently changed this title for Dú Dángah (two parts), owing to its forming the channel for about two-sixths of the water, while the other four-sixths flowed in the original bed; and it is now called A'bi-Gargar, from the name of the eastern mahulluh of Shuster, which it waters. Originally this canal was protracted to the vicinity of Ahwáz, and there entirely absorbed in irrigation. It traversed upon this line during the early ages of Islam the great city of 'Askari-Mukram, 8 farsakhs from Shuster; † to the site of which, however, I have been only able to obtain this approximate indication. Subsequently it would seem that the Bandi-

* In Kinneir's Map the courses of the river and canal are reversed. He makes the western branch the canal, and the eastern the river; whereas, the western, or right branch, is in reality the river, and the eastern, or left branch, the canal. It is curious how, after visiting Shuster himself, he could have fallen into such an error.

† With regard to the Nahri-Masrúkán, I have compared the accounts of Jai'hání, Idri'sí, Yáku't, Abú-l-fedá, Hámdu-llah, and the Tazkarati-Shusteriyah.

Kaïsar must have given way, and that the great body of the river, flowing in the bed of the canal, had forced a passage into the old channel ; for, at the commencement of the 13th century, we find the great river of Shuster, which rose near Isfahán, and disembogued into the Persian Gulf, named the Dujëili Masrúkan. Again, the march of Tímúr, who crossed the Dú Dángah on the third march from Shuster towards Rám Hormuz,* is not to be understood, except on the supposition that at that time the course of the stream made a much greater deviation to the eastward than at present. Altogether, the elaboration of the Nahri-Masrúkan is one of the most intricate and contradictory objects of research that I was ever engaged upon. Col. Chesney followed up the modern line of the canal from Bandi-Kír to Shuster, and I need add nothing, therefore, regarding its present course. The dyke at its mouth is now named Bandi-Sháh-zádah, from its having been repaired by the late Prince of Kirmánsháh; it seems to have been anciently called Bandi-Kaïsar. The original channel of the river which flows to the W. of Shuster is the Nahri-Tuster, or Dujëili-Tuster, of the geographers; it is the Chahár Dángah of Tímúr's march, and, during the last two centuries, it has been named Kuran. When I was at Shuster, owing to the partial destruction of the band, the Kuran contained about four-fifths of the entire body of water; at present, I understand it is reduced about two-thirds. Many bands were formerly constructed upon this stream, to divert the waters into channels to the E. and W., but the Bandi-Khák, † immediately below the town, is the only one at present which fulfils its original purpose. The great dyke across the Kuran was named Bandi-Mízán, "the dyke of the balance," from its being carefully formed to the same level as the Bandi-Kaïsar, and above the mouth of the tunnel. The bridge, which is called Púli-Kaïsar ("Cæsar's Bridge," all these works being ascribed to Shápúr's prisoner Valerian), was built upon this dyke, the buttresses of the bridge forming a part of the band. The intervening space in the bed of the river between the two tunnels, which I have called the great reservoir, is the famous Shádarwán § of Shápúr, being so named from the stone pavement at the bottom of the river, which is said to be still in good preservation. This particular part of the river is also named, in some works, Nahri-Máh-páriyán. || It now remains that I should describe the tunnel. This is properly called the Nahri-Dáriyán, but is more generally known by the name of A'bi-Miyándáb (a contraction for Miyán-dú-áb, the river

* Murásidu-l-Ittilá'.

† Tímúr is stated to have left Shuster on April 17th, and, advancing rapidly, to have crossed the Dú Dángah on the 19th.—Petis de la Croix, ii. p. 183.

‡ The earth-dyke.

§ Shádarwán signifies a carpet or flooring.

|| The name is now corrupted into Máfáiyán.

between the two waters). It is a deep and narrow channel, cut directly through the hill upon which stands the castle of Shuster. The entire length of the excavation may be three hundred yards; the breadth is fifteen feet: in many places it is cut down, in a direct cleft through the hill, in others it is perforated like a tunnel; the mouth is in the face of the precipice, below the castle, and is said to be ten or twelve feet deep. I do not consider it a work of any great labour, even for Orientals, for the rock is of a very soft and yielding quality. The Nahri-Dáriyán, where it issues from its excavated bed, flows in a channel, which seems to have been built with the greatest care, and of massive blocks of stone, immediately under the ruined walls of the western face of the town, and elevated, consequently, above the pebbly bed of the Kuran; petty aqueducts convey the water from hence to all parts of the town, and, when full, the canal is said to irrigate the whole district of Miyándáb, to the extent of 10 or 12 miles S. of Shuster.

Colonel Chesney has stated,* that the stream which unites with the eastern branch of the Kuran, at Bandi-Kír, is not the river of Dizfúl, but the western branch of the river of Shuster. It is, in reality, however, the united waters of the Dizfúl river, and the western, or main branch of the Kuran, which he observed to join the canal at that spot; the point of confluence of these two streams occurring a few miles to the N. of Bandi-Kír.†

There is no single ruin at Shuster, which can be referred with any certainty, to an era anterior to the Sásánian dynasty; but the excavated chambers in the rocks appear ancient, and if I might be allowed to hazard an identification, I would suggest it to represent the Sele of Ptolemy,‡ and Ammianus. §Sela',|| or Sele', signifies a rock, and the name seems to have been particularly applied to places like Petra,** and Shuster, where the early inhabitants lived in these excavated chambers. The castle also of Shuster, which is built upon a rock thus excavated, retains to the present day the same title of Silásil, which it possessed at the time of the Arab conquest. Ptolemy's geographical position of Sele, too, may be explained; and if Ammianus had any authority whatever for including this name in his list of the Susian cities, farther than the example of his model, Ptolemy, as all his other positions are to be identified, there will positively remain no representative for his Sele among the then existing cities of the

* Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc., vol. iii. p. 265.

† I have never myself seen the point of confluence, but I derive my information from the most authentic sources, particularly from a tribe of Arabs, who dwell upon the very spot: there is no question at all upon this point among the inhabitants of Khúzistán.

‡ Ptol., book vi. chap. 3.

§ Amm. Marc., book xxiii. chap. 6.

|| Sela' is a Hebrew and Chaldee word, and could hardly have given rise to the Arabic plural *salásil*, i. e. chains. F.S.

** See Keith's Evidence of Prophecy, p. 187.

province, but either Ahwáz or Shuster: but I place no great dependence on these few points of coincidence, and merely offer the identification as conjectural.

M. Court has spoken of a bas-relief, and monogram, upon the gate of the castle of Shuster.* I cannot positively deny their existence, but can state that I have traversed all parts of the castle, expressly in search of ancient relics, and that no such sculptures ever fell under my observation; indeed, I consider that far too much importance has been attached to this building. I regard the edifice as quite modern, and do not believe that a fragment of the ancient castle of Shápúr now exists.

There is a deep and broad ditch running along the southern face of the city of Shuster, from one river to the other; and this, when the Nahri-Dáriyán has its proper supply of water, may be filled without any difficulty; Shuster will then form a complete island, and be a place of much strength. Beyond the ditch, at the distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile, there are some ruins which I regard as far more ancient than the city of Shuster itself; they merely now present to view a quadrangular enclosure of high mounds, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile square; but from their great solidity, I judge them to mark the site of a town of the Babylonian ages—the line of the canal runs along their western face. They are believed by the Shústerís, but of course, erroneously, to denote the position of 'Askari-Mukram, and are named Lashkar, the Persian translation of 'Askar.† The southern gate of Shuster, through which did really lie the road to 'Askari-Mukram, is called Darwázahi-Lashkar;‡ and hence appears to have arisen the title of the ruins adjoining it. The city of Shuster was nearly depopulated by the plague in 1832, and it has never since recovered its importance: it may now contain about 15,000 inhabitants; but Dizfúl is considered the principal town of the province.

On the 23rd of March we moved from Shúster to march against the Bakhtiyári fortress of Mungasht. The canal upon the eastern face of the town, now called A'bi-Gargar, is crossed by a bridge of a single arch, which, together with the massive band upon which it is built, are recent erections: the bridge is at the distance of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the mouth of the canal; and the band has been merely formed to force the water into a number of little channels, excavated in the rock to the E. and W., for the purpose of turning mills: these streams all unite again at the foot of the band, and the collected waters appeared

* Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, No. 35. p. 560.

† Lashkar in Persian and 'Askar in Arabic signify an army; 'Askari-Mukram is said to have been so named from its originally forming the camp of a chief called Mukram. 'Askar Mukram, "the honoured host," was probably equivalent to the royal residence, the U'rdú, or court of the Moghals. F.S.

‡ The Gate of Lashkar; i.e. 'Askar Mukram.

to me about a fifth of the whole body of the river: the district to the E. of the bridge is named Bolāiī. It appears to have formed a suburb of the ancient city, and indeed, has only become wholly deserted within these last few years. I do not believe, however, that Shuster ever extended to the westward of the Kuran, as has been sometimes stated. At the distance of 2 miles from the bridge we passed a hillock, crowned with the ruins of an ancient edifice, which is named Takhti-Kāisar (Cæsar's throne): the summit of the hill has been artificially levelled, and a palace of the Sásánians appears to have been built upon it: our road, in a general direction of S. 33. E. lay along the broad belt of low hills of sand-stone and gypsum, which extends along all this part of Zagros, between the mountains and the plain. The great range does not immediately overhang Shuster, as is generally believed; it lay at the distance of about 5 farsakhs on our left hand. There is now very little fresh water to be procured upon this line, but anciently it appears to have been better supplied; for the ruins of massive bands were visible in the beds of all the torrents and ravines which had been constructed to form reservoirs wherever a fit spot occurred. We encamped in the little plain of Pichistán, distant 11 miles from Shuster.

March 24th.—We made another easy march of 10 miles to a salt stream named Shúrish, the direction and character of the country being the same as yesterday. The stream of Shúrish rises in the gypsum hills, about 30 miles E. of this point; it flows through the extensive plain of Baitáwand, to the left of the line of road upon this day's march, and falls into the Kuran, below 'Akílf, a large village, with a famous orange garden 4 farsakhs N. of Shuster. The plain of Baitáwand, so called from one of the tribes of Luri-Buzurg, to whom it formerly belonged, contains some fresh water rivulets, and is one of the few cultivated districts in this part of the country. On one of these little streams there is a magnificent ruin, which I saw from a distance, but which, to my extreme regret, as we were now in an enemy's country, and I was obliged to be very cautious, I was unable to visit. It is named by the Lurs; Masjidi-Suleimán, or sometimes Masjidi-Suleimáni-Kuchuk,* to distinguish it from another ruin, named Masjidi-Suleimáni-Buzurg,† which I shall hereafter speak of, and represents, without doubt, one of the ancient temples of Elymais.

March 25th.—We continued our march 12 miles to Shakar-A'b,‡ a rivulet of fresh water, crossing the salt water stream again near our halting-place. The road lay along a valley,

* The lesser mosque of Solomon.

† The greater mosque of Solomon.

‡ The sugar stream.

between the sand-hills, covered with a profusion of wild flowers, such as I have never seen equalled in any part of the E. ; indeed, the whole tract of country E. of Shuster, is thus carpeted, and presents the most beautiful appearance that it is possible to conceive.

March 28th.—After halting two days at Shakar-A'b, I accompanied the Prince a distance of 3 farsakhs, to Khári-Shutur-zár,* where he received the submission of the Bakhtiyári chief, against whom our expedition was directed, and from whence we proceeded to the famous hill-fortress of Mungasht. The naphtha pits, which are passed on the road from Shuster to Rám-Hormuz, were 10 miles S. of our halting-place. The road, which had preserved a general direction from Shuster of S. 33. E., here made a little deviation to the S., to round a range of very steep and rugged hills called Kúhi-A'smári, forming the outer barrier of the great chain which we had been gradually approaching.

March 29th.—We marched 6 farsakhs along the skirts of Kúhi-A'smári to a ruined village named Taúlah, situated at the extreme south-eastern point of the range. This was considered the boundary of the district of Jánnikí,† and the hill-fort of Mungasht was here visible, for the first time, bearing S. 30. E.

March 30th.—We left Taúlah at daylight, and entered the district of Jánnikí ; at the distance of 12 miles, over a broken country, we came upon the A'bi-Zard, a stream which rises from the hills of Mungasht, and joining the Kurdistán river, in the plain of Rám-Hormuz, forms the Jerráhí.‡ The road, which had hitherto been sufficiently open the whole way from Shuster, for the space of about half a mile along the banks of the A'bi-Zard, which here pierces a rocky range of hills, became extremely difficult ; and I do not believe that we should have been able to have transported our artillery across the pass. On emerging from the defile we entered the plain of Bághi-Malik (the king's garden), a spacious and well-cultivated district, watered by the A'bi-Zard, and devoted almost exclusively to the production of tobacco. We had hitherto followed the ancient high road which conducted from Susiana to Eastern Elymais, and thence across the great range, into Central Persia. This road, which at the present day affords the only direct line of communication between Shuster and Isfahán, followed up the plain of Bághi-

* The *Khári Shutur*, or camel's thorn, is a prickly herb upon which the camels feed in Persia ; *zár* is a mere affix of locality, as in *Murgh-zár*, a place frequented by birds ; *Nái-zár*, a place of reeds, &c.

† Jánnikí is a corruption for Juwánikí, the name of the tribe that originally inhabited this district.

‡ Jerráhí is a name which I have never seen written : the geographers seem most unaccountably to have neglected all mention of this river.

Malik, to the left, whilst we now pursued a track over a very hilly and uneven country, direct to Mungasht, distant from the river 20 miles. The great range, which is known by the general title of Mungasht, a very lofty and precipitous chain, forming the continuation of the line of Zagros, here bounds the district of Jánnikí-Garmasír. The face of these mountains is without a particle of soil or vegetation, and the highest peak is within the range of perpetual snow; the hill-fort, forming the fastness of the great Bakhtiyári chief, who has now nearly all the tribes of Luri-Buzurg under his rule, is an isolated mass of rock, standing out detached upon the southern face of the range. The ascent to the fort is exceedingly steep, and the summit of the rock is scarped all round to a depth of about 150 feet, the only means of access being along a narrow and rocky shoulder, to a point where the scarp lowers to about 50 feet, and where it is to be climbed with some difficulty. The open ground upon the summit of the rock may measure $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in circumference, and it contains two perennial springs; so that, if supplied with provisions, I should consider the fort impregnable. It may be shelled, of course, from many positions upon the slope of the hill, but this would have no great effect; for there are natural caverns upon the summit, capable of holding perhaps 1000 men—Mungasht, or as it should properly be written, Mánkhisht,* has been of great celebrity in the Persian wars. It formed the stronghold of the A'tábegs, who reigned in the Luri-Buzurg during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries; and one of these princes, named Takallah, successfully defended it against the armies of Hulákú, during a siege of nine months' duration.† It has been often, indeed, attacked, but I see no reason to doubt the reputation which it possesses among the Lurs, of being a maiden fortress.

April 1st.—After remaining a day at Mungasht we commenced our return to Shuster, by the direct road across the mountains. We travelled 6 farsakhs the first day, to Tul,‡ the lower fort, and usual residence of the Bakhtiyári chiefs; the road lying along the skirts of the great range, throughout the stage. At 4 farsakhs we passed the large village of Abú-l-'Abbás (or Bálibás, as it is called by the Lurs), on the A'bi-Zard, where it descends from the mountains, by a tremendous gorge, into the plain of Bághi-Malik. In this plain, midway between Abú-l-

* In the Nuz-haṭul-Kulúb and Sharaf-Námah, it is thus written; but at present it is known by no other name than Mungasht.

† The A'tábeg relying on the signet ring of Hulákú, which was sent him in token of pardon, came down from his stronghold; he was immediately seized, sent to Tabriz, and executed. See Sharaf-Námah.

‡ The district of Jánnikí was named in the last century Tulghar, apparently from the title of this fort.

'Abbás, and the point where I had previously crossed the river, are the ruins of a great city. Unfortunately I did not hear of these ruins until it was too late to visit them, but I acquired much information concerning them from the Bakhtiyári inhabitants of the district. The place is called Manjaník; and the ruins, which cover an extent of country about 4 miles in circumference, consist of two distinct classes, the huge Babylonian mound, and traces of buildings formed of hewn blocks of stone. There are many distinct remains of the second class, but the great ruin of the place is an immense mound, described to me as little inferior to the castle of Sús, and believed by all the Lurs to represent the identical spot where Nimrod cast the Patriarch Abraham into the fire, with the famous Manjaník, or Mangonel, which the Orientals suppose to have been first used upon this occasion.* Now, it is well known that the Fire-worshippers refer the institutions of their religion, and the veneration which they attach to fire, to this very fable of Nimrod and the Patriarch; and I have no hesitation, therefore, in believing this mound,† which still preserves in its name and story the most holy tradition of the Magi, to represent the site of a magnificent fire-temple: and I shall presently relate many other curious circumstances which illustrate its ancient history.

The A'bi-Zard, which flows through the plain of Bághi-Malik, is a delightful river, of the coldest and clearest water possible, chiefly derived from the snows of the hills of Mungasht; it varies in volume, of course, according to the season of the year. When I crossed, it was a rapid torrent between 2 and 3 feet deep, and about 40 yards in breadth: in the month of May it is said to be often impassable; but towards the autumn it becomes much diminished. It unites with another stream some miles below Bághi-Malik, and, as I have stated, joins the Kurdistán, in the plain of Rám Hormuz, where I conclude it to represent the Korú Khán Kend of Timúr's march, and of Kinneir's map; though from whence such a name was originally borrowed I cannot conceive. The name occurs nowhere, I believe, except in Sharafu-d-dín, and it certainly is not now known in the country. The title of A'bi-Zard, literally the yellow river, is applied to it on account of its exquisite clearness, *Zard* being often used in this sense, when referring to water; and it appears to have been named by the Arabs Nahru-l-Azrak‡ (the blue river), for the same reason.

* The flame of the furnace is said to have been so intense that no one could approach it; this machine, therefore, was invented to cast in the Patriarch from a distance. [Manjaník, anciently pronounced Manganík, was borrowed by the Arabs from the Greek *manganicon*, a military engine. *Mangonel* is probably from the Christian historians of the Crusades. F.S.]

† This fable, which is of great antiquity, is supposed to have arisen with the Jewish Rabbins, who translated "*Ur* of the Chaldees" "the Chaldean fire," the Hebrew **אור** signifying also "*fire*."—See Hyde, p. 74.

‡ See Lee's translation of Ibn Bâtúṭah, p. 37.

The mud fort of Tul, built upon a high mound, and defended by four pieces of artillery, may be considered formidable enough among the Bakhtiyáris, but it could make no resistance against regular approaches; it is situated in an open plain, at the distance of one farsakh from the river.

April 2nd.—I made a forced march to-day of 40 miles to rejoin the camp at Shakar-A'b. The passage of the hills, which upon the lower road we had traversed along the banks of the A'bi-Zard, was exceedingly difficult; indeed the descent was so precipitous, that we were obliged to dismount, and drag our horses after us for the space of some miles, along the slippery face of the mountain. After having passed this range we pursued the course of a rocky valley, along the northern face of Kúhi-A'smári, at the north-eastern point of which we emerged from the mountains into the beautiful plain of Gulgír, crimsoned with the wild anemone, and clothed throughout with the richest herbage. We then crossed a range of sand-hills, and descended into the valley which we had followed from Shuster. This tract effects a saving in distance of about 8 miles; but I doubt its being more expeditious than the open road to the S.; it is rarely travelled except by the Bakhtiyári-I'liyát.

At Tul I gained intelligence of other ruins in this district which excited in me the liveliest interest: it appears that the high road from Shuster to Işfahán, passing up the plain of Bághi-Malik to Tul, follows from thence a difficult defile, through the Mungasht hills, into the spacious plain of Mál-Amír. Here are the ruins of a city, which I believe to represent the Eïdij of the Oriental geographers. The measurements of 3 marches across the mountains from Shuster,* of 4 stages from Askari-Mukram,† and of 45 farsakhs from Işfahán,‡ will alone coincide with this position; the bed of the mountain torrent, which was spanned by the magnificent bridge of Jirzád, a work of the age of Ardeshír Bábegán, described by the Orientals § as one of the wonders of the world, skirts the edge of the ruins, and imperfect remains of the buttresses of the bridge are said even to be still visible: and we have a further proof of the identity, in the tradition, which reports the place to have been the residence of the powerful A'tábegs of the house of Fuzlúyah,|| and in the name of Mál Amír (the chief's house), which the ruins have assumed in consequence.

* Lee's *Ibn Bâtúţah*, p. 37.

† Jai'hání's *Ashkálu-l-'A'lám*.

‡ *Nuz-haţu-l-Kulúb*.

§ In the *Atháru-l-Buldán* and *Muráşidu-l-Ittilá'*, there are very curious accounts of this bridge.

|| The *Sharaf Námah* gives a short sketch of this dynasty. *D'Herbelot* has supposed them to have reigned in *Laristan*, instead of *Luristán*.—See *Bib. Orient.* tom. i., p. 280.

The place would be well worthy of examination, for the bridge of Jirzád must have been, according to all accounts, one of the most splendid buildings that the Sásánians have left in Persia; and a great road also was carried from this point, across the mountains to Isfahán, which still forms the only practicable line of communication for loaded mules between Shuster and that city. The road is now called the Jádahi-A'tábeg, and is supposed to have been formed by those princes; but I believe that they only repaired an ancient work. I recognise, in this line, the route which is described by Strabo, as conducting from Gabiana (the ancient name of the district of Isfahán) through Elymais to Susiana;* I believe that it was by the same road that Antiochus and Mithridates were enabled to penetrate to the fire-temples of Elymais; and indeed, from the stupendous character of the undertaking, and the immense labour that seems to have been bestowed on it, I am inclined to regard it as a work of the most remote antiquity. But the most interesting spot in all this country, perhaps even in all Persia, is the town of Súsán, upon the banks of the Kuran, 4 farsakhs to the N.W. of Mál Amír: here also are the ruins of a great city, and from the accounts which I have received of it, it cannot be other than a sister capital of Ecbatana and Persepolis. The city of Súsán was principally built upon the right bank of the Kuran, at a point where the course of the river was due W. Forming a semi-circle from the river, and thus enclosing the city, is a range of steep and abrupt hills, through which there is no passage, either along the banks of the river or at other points: a once noble bridge, now almost destroyed, connects this impregnable position with a large mass of ruins upon the left bank of the river, which are again bounded to the S. by another range of hills, extending at both points to the precipitous banks of the Kuran, and traversed by two solitary passes. On the right bank of the river, near the bridge, are said to be the remains of a magnificent palace; the ground all around is now planted with orchards, but the general design of the building is to be traced, and many pillars still remain entire. At a short distance from hence, to the N.E., and at the foot of the hills, is the tomb of Daniel; called Dániyáli Akbar, the greater Daniel, in contradistinction to the other tomb at Sús, which is called Dániyáli Aşghar, or the lesser Daniel. The building is said to be composed of massive blocks of white marble; and a large reservoir, formed of the same materials, is in front of the tomb. This is fed by a small stream, which here descends from the hills, and it contains a vast quantity of sacred fish, that are regarded with the most superstitious attachment. Adjoining the tomb is a large slab of marble, engraved with a perfect cuneiform inscription, and many

* Strabo, p. 527. (p. 744 Ed. Casaub.)

other broken slabs, similarly sculptured, are said to be found among the ruins. On the left bank of the river, the principal ruin is a large fort, at the foot of the southern range of hills. These hills are named Gilgird; and the fort is called Kal'ali-Gilgird—from the description I judge it to be a Sásánian edifice. The high road, conducting from Mál Amír to Súsan, traverses the chain of Gilgird by a narrow pass at the S.E. corner of the city; and at the entrance to this pass, from the plain of Mál Amír, is one of the great curiosities of the place: a large portion of the face of the rock has been artificially smoothened, and an immense tablet, with very long cuneiform inscriptions, has been engraved upon it. There are said to be about twenty figures sculptured upon the tablet, and the inscriptions have been uniformly described to me as fully equalling in length those of Bísutún. There is also a natural cave near this place, which is called Shikafí-Salmán,* and is visited as a place of pilgrimage by the Lurs. I am indebted, I must observe, for this description to oral information only, but I cannot be far wrong, for I was so particularly interested in the first accounts which I heard of Súsan, that during my future intercourse with the Bakhtiyáris, I took the greatest possible pains to collect accurate intelligence, and after a series of minute inquiries from different inhabitants of the place, at different times, I found all their evidence to agree in the points that I have above detailed. Regarding the cuneiform inscriptions there cannot be a question. I have repeatedly produced copies of inscriptions in several different characters, and in showing them to the Bakhtiyáris they have invariably selected the arrow-headed as the style of writing on the slabs and sculptured rocks of Súsan.

I heard also of the ruins of a great building, upon the banks of the Kuran, a short distance below Súsan, which was named Masjidi-Suleimáni-Buzurg: by the Bakhtiyáris it was usually likened to the superb remains at Kangáwer, and it doubtless, therefore, marks the site of another of the wealthy temples of Elymais.

I have thus noticed, I believe, all the interesting matters of geography which fell under my own observation, or with which I became incidentally acquainted during my travels in Susiana and Elymais. I will now state the impressions that I have derived from them in regard to the ancient history and comparative geography of these provinces; and I do so, I confess, with much diffidence, for the subject is one of extreme difficulty, and I am obliged to disagree on some material points, from the generally received opinions. I must also observe, that I merely propose to state the general result of my researches—the line of reasoning by which I

* Salmán was 'Alí's tutor, and the two are associated in a joint incarnation in the creed of the 'Alí-Iláhis.

arrive at my conclusions being given in detail, in a work on the comparative geography of Persia, on which I have been engaged for some time in preparing for publication.

I believe, then, that in ancient times, there were two cities of the name of Súsán, or Susa, in the province of Susiana—the more ancient, which is the Shushan of Scripture, being situated at Súsán on the Kuran, or Eulæus; the other, the Susa of the Greeks, at Sús, near the Kerkhah, or Choaspes. The river of Dizfúl I consider to be the Coprates; the A'bi-Zard, and its continuation the Jerráhi, the Hedyphon, or Hedypnus; and the united arms of the Kuran and Dizfúl river, the real Pasitigris.

And firstly, with regard to Súsán—the very expression of Scripture, “Shusan, the palace,”* would appear indicative of a distinction from some other city of the same name. Daniel, be it remembered, was in the palace, yet he saw the vision on the borders of the U'laï, and heard the voice between the banks of the river. From the mound of Sús, the Kerkhah is 1½ mile distant, but at Súsán the river does actually lave the base of the great ruin. The ancient tomb of the greater Daniel may be also taken into account; and the cuneiform inscriptions are certain evidences of antiquity. As this city did not lie upon Alexander's march, his historians have failed to notice it; but in the later geographers, who had indistinct information of the place, and confounded it with the great city of the same name which formed the capital of the province, we discover some traces of its true position. Thus, when Pliny says,† that the Eulæus surrounded the castle of Susa at the distance of 250 miles from the sea; and when Ptolemy places Susa in the north-western corner of the province of Susiana, upon the left branch of the Eulæus, and upwards of a degree above the point of confluence of the right arm of the river,‡ they both can only refer to Súsán and the Kuran. This tract of country, extending S. of the Kuran, and containing the districts of Súsán, Mál Amír, and Jánnikí, appears to have formed a part of the great province of Elymais, and after the period of the Macedonian conquest to have risen to much wealth and prosperity—here, then, I look for the rich temples which attracted the cupidity of the Syrian and Parthian monarchs.

The fire-temple dedicated to Anáhíd, which was supposed by Strabo§ and Diodorus|| to be sacred to Jupiter, and which, in the Maccabees,¶ is named, more properly, the temple of Nanea, may be represented by the ruin in the plain of Baitáwand: it was here that Antiochus the Great lost his life. The city of Elymais,

* Daniel, chap. viii. v. 2.

† Book vi. c. 27.

‡ Ptol. book vi. c. 3.

§ Strabo, p. 744. || Diod. Sic. Fragm., 34, book xxvi.

¶ I Mac. c. i. v. 13-16.

which was attacked by his son, Antiochus Epiphanes,* I believe to be Súsan; and the temple which he sought to pillage, to be the superb ruin of Masjidi-Suleimáni-Buzurg: this, too, will be the “*templum Dianæ augustissimum illis gentibus*,” of Pliny,† which was situated upon the Eulæus, below Susa. Antiochus Epiphanes, after his defeat, retreated to Tabæ,‡ the name of which is preserved in the modern Táb, and there expired in agony, either of his wounds or of a bodily malady. The third great expedition against these fire-temples was that undertaken by the Parthian king, Mithridates. He is said to have robbed the temple of Diana, named Azara, of ten thousand talents, and to have taken Seleucia, on the Hedyphon.§ Seleucia is also mentioned by Pliny, in this quarter of Elymais; and he names the river Hedypnus: now Hedyphon and Hedypnus are manifestly of Greek derivation,|| merely implying the agreeable qualities of the river; and as we also know that the stream disembogued into the Eulæus, I am induced to identify the names with the A'bi-Zard of the present day. In this view Seleucia will be represented by the ruins of Manjaník, and the great mound which preserves the tradition of Nimrod and Abraham will mark the site of the fire-temple that fell into the hands of the Parthian king. The temple is named Azara, in Strabo, which is evidently a derivation from Azar, signifying fire—probably it is a mere contraction of A'zar-gâh, a fire-temple. This temple, also renowned doubtless for its sanctity, throughout Persia, will thus represent the holy place of refuge, the “*Asylum Persarum*,” with which Pliny illustrates the course of the Hedypnus: it appears even to have retained its celebrity after the Arab conquest, for I can discover no place which will agree as well as this with the great fire-temple of Márin, upon the confines of Fârs and Khúzistân, that is described in the eleventh century¶ as one of the most famous of the Magian places of worship. Pliny unites with this Elymæan Seleucia, a name which I cannot but consider as the real appellation of the city that he had formerly confounded with the great capital of the province, in his description of Súsá: I allude to Sosirate; and as I find in the Persian geographers, that the Súsan of Luri-Buzurg was also named 'Arwah, or 'Arwat,** I regard the title employed by Pliny as a compound of the two terms. This name of 'Arwat, applied to the ancient city of Súsan, appeared to me, at first, a certain indication that the ancient Oroatis was to be recognised as another name for the river Kuran; but I found on examination, that the measurements and relative descriptions of all ancient geographers

* 1 Maccab. c. vi. v. 1—4. Josephus, Ant., book xii. c. 9. s. 1.

† Pliny, book vi. c. 27. ‡ Polyb. Excerpt., lib. xxxi. Edit. Vales, p. 144.

§ Strabo, p. 744.

|| Ἠδυφωνος, sweet sounding—Ἠδυπνους, sweetly breathing.

¶ By Jai'hání. ** Nuz-hatu-l-Kulúb, and Zema-tu-l-Majális.

clearly pointed out the Táb, as the representative of that river ; and I have not ventured, therefore, on the sole authority of an etymological coincidence, to impugn their distinct and united evidence. Súsán, under the Sásánian monarchs, seems to have continued a place of some consequence, and from its impregnable character, to have offered a fit spot for the creation of their great state-prison, the famous castle of Lethe, where they confined their prisoners of distinction. It was here that Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf confined the unfortunate Arsaces II., King of Armenia ; and it was from hence that the Roman prisoners, taken at Dará, under the reign of the younger Justin, after a long captivity, effected their remarkable escape.* It is named by Ammianus, Agaban,† probably the Pehleví word, which the Greeks translated by Lethe ; Moses of Chorene places it in Khúzistán,‡ and from the account of Theophylact§ we are able to identify its exact position at Súsán ; he names it the castle of Giligerd. I have mentioned that the Sásánian fortress of Súsán still retains the title of Kal'ahi-Gilgerd ; it was not far, he says, from Bendosabiron : by this title he alludes either to the Bandi-Shápúr, at Shuster, or to the city of Jundí-shápúr, and either indication will agree with the position of Súsán ; and he adds that it was in the district Bizaca, a name that may perhaps be recognised in the title of Bázuft, which still pertains to a tract of country in the vicinity of Súsán. The ruins at Sús, near the Kerkhah, certainly represent the Susa of Herodotus and of the campaigns of Alexander and his successors ; but I rather suspect that the fables of Memnon,|| and his parents Tithon and Cissia, which were applied to this city by the early Greeks, and were copied by later writers, should more properly belong to Shushan the palace, upon the river U'laí ; and that there may thus be some truth in the statement of Pliny that the younger Susa was founded by Darius Hystaspes. This city of Susa, on the Choaspes, continued from the age of Alexander to the Arab conquest of Persia to be a great and flourishing capital, and it naturally therefore attracted to itself the traditions which really applied to the more ancient city on the Eulæus. Thus, when the Nestorian church was established in Susiana, in the third century, the traditions regarding the prophet Daniel became naturalised in a foreign soil : there is abundant evidence that the Syrian church believed this city of Susa, where they instituted a bishopric very shortly after their arrival in the province,¶ to have been the scene of the divine revelations, and that they soon began to attach a su-

* Cedrenus, Ed. Xyl. p. 325. Agathias, book iv. c. 28. Procopius, Bell. Pers. i. 5.

† Amm. Mar. book xxvii. c. 12. ‡ Book iii. c. 35. § Theophyl. Sim. lib. iii. c. 5.

|| The route across the mountains, which is named Jádahi-A'tábeg, will thus represent the road of Memnon noticed by Diodorus.

¶ See Asseman, tom. i. p. 3. 12 ; tom. iv. p. 781.

perstitious reverence to certain spurious relics of the prophet's body. In these Nestorians I recognise "the followers of the book,"* who, at the period of the Arab conquest, were accustomed, in time of drought, to carry the coffin into their churches, and in offering up their prayers for rain, to make use of it as an intercessor: the whole story of the tomb of Daniel, indeed, and perhaps too the stone sculptured with the figures of the two lions and a man, I consider to have originated with the Nestorian church; and I regard it as not a little favourable to my belief in the distinction of the two Susas, that upon the banks of the Eulæus, an ancient tomb should have existed during so many centuries, unnoticed and perhaps unknown, which should still at the present day claim to be superior to the shrine whose fame has been spread by the voice of superstition over the Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan worlds. The history of the sacred fish also, which in Benjamin of Tudela, and also in a Persian MS.† is attached to this tomb upon the river of Shápúr, appears to have been transplanted from the other shrine. In the Shápúr stream, not only are there no sacred fish, but, as far as I can learn, there are no fish at all; whilst I have noticed the ancient marble reservoir of Súsán filled with fishes, which are daily fed by the inhabitants of the place.

The bridge of the Choaspes, mentioned by Strabo, and by which Alexander travelled to Susa, is to be recognised in the ruins of Páí Púl, that I have already noticed. The Sásánian city of Kerkh,‡ or I'wáni-Kerkh, upon the right bank of the Choaspes, appears to represent the Kerkhi-Ládan of the Syriac writers, which was conjoined with the bishopric of Susa.§ We may gather that the two cities were in the immediate vicinity of each other, as well from this circumstance as from the fact that St. Simeon, the Primate of Seleucia, executed by Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf, at Kerkhi-Ládan, was interred at Susa: and the title Kerkh, which Assemani always renders by the word city, I believe to have been the proper name of the place.|| The Arabic geographers, Jáihání, Idrísí, and Yáqút, all mention the name of Kerkh, or Kerkhah, among the cities of Khúzistán, distinct from Kerkhi-Mísán, or Mohammerah, the Charax Spasinæ of the ancients; but, as they do not give any measurements, it is impossible to be quite certain with regard to this identification. Kerkhah and Susa appear to have fallen into ruin during the thirteenth century. I conjecture that the Choaspes derived the name of Kerkhah, which it still retains, from the title of this town; but even this point

* The story is told by Jáihání. † Nuz-hafu-l Kulúb.

‡ The villages of Carhæ (Diod. b. xvii. c. 11), which Alexander reached on the first march from Susa, after crossing the Kerkhah, would seem to be represented by this town of Kerkh.

§ See Assemani, tom. ii. p. 460; tom. iv. p. 760.

|| Perhaps, also, this Kerkhah may be the Aracha of Ammianus.

must remain uncertain, for neither in Abú-l-fedá, nor in any other of the old Arabic authors, do I find any notice of the river Kerkhah, and I have never met with the name even, but in a single Persian MS. of the fourteenth century, where a most inaccurate account is given of its course.* I know not the derivation of the name Choaspes; but there is certainly no such mountain among the ranges of Zagros as Kúh A'sp, horse hill, which D'Anville states to have given rise to the title.

The reasons for the opinion, now almost universally entertained, of the identity of the Choaspes and Eulæus, in defiance of the direct statements of Strabo † and Pliny, ‡ and the scarcely less direct inference of the voyages of Nearchus and Alexander, appears to have been the application of both the names to the river that flowed by Susa, and the contradictory statements regarding the excellent water of one of these rivers, which was exclusively drunk by the monarchs of Persia. I have removed the one difficulty to the distinction of the rivers, by the distinction of two cities of the names of Susa and Súsan; the explanation of the other is still more easy. The fact is, that the waters of both these rivers, Kerkhah and Kuran, are almost equally renowned for their excellence. It is true that the Kuran, traversing the great cities of Shuster, 'Askari-Mukram, and Ahwáz, whilst the banks of the Kerkhah were deserted, has become more widely celebrated throughout the Mohammedan world; but in the province, at the present day, the Kerkhah is considered but little if at all inferior, and the waters of these two rivers, be it observed, are regarded now, as in ancient times, as far surpassing all the other streams or springs in the world. The Orientals, it is well known, are most particular about the quality of their water, whilst, at the same time, their habits are remarkable for permanence of character; and thus it would have been most extraordinary that, as we have no reason to believe the rivers to have changed the qualities of their waters, nor the Persians to have changed their taste, the Kerkhah should have formerly enjoyed an exclusive celebrity, when the neighbouring stream of the Kuran afforded water of an equal or perhaps superior quality.

Most ancient authors, confounding the two cities of Susa, confounded also the rivers, and thus described the excellence of the Choaspes, or Eulæus, as they referred to the one Susa or the other; but Pliny,§ who has distinguished the rivers, distinctly states also that they were both equally approved of by the Parthian monarchs, and Solinus has followed his authority.|| I have now mentioned the chief grounds of arguments upon which I rest my distinction of the Choaspes and Eulæus; and I believe the

* Nuz-haṭu-l-Kulúb.

† Strabo, p. 728.

‡ Pliny, book vi. c. 27.

§ Book xxxi. c. 3.

|| Sol. Polyhist, c. xxxiii. xxxviii.

darkness which has hitherto enveloped the subject is beginning gradually to disappear.

I have stated that the real Pasitigris was formed by the junction of the Coprates and Eulæus—just as we read in a Persian work,* “the united rivers of Dizfúl and Shuster are named Dujéili-Ahwáz; yet the eastern branch of the river frequently assumed the name of Pasitigris, or simply Tigris, and more frequently the united arms retained the title of Eulæus in their southward course to the sea, precisely in the same way as the name of Dujéil, or Dijlah, was usually applied, in the middle ages, to the eastern branch of the river as high as Shuster, and the title of Kuran, at the present day, continues to be given to the river after the confluence of the stream of Dizfúl, and as far even as the point of its disembogement in the Persian Gulf. This river, I must also notice, is stated by the Arabs to have been named by the old Persians Dijlahi-Kúdak, or the Little Tigris,† and this was translated into Arabic by the diminutive form of Dijlah, Dujéil. With this indication, then, I have no difficulty in recognising in the Greek $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ the old Persian word Pas, signifying “low, inferior,” and in thus translating Pasitigris, like the Arabic Dujéil, “the inferior or little Dijláh.”

In fact, the identification of the rivers of Susiana, according to my view, appears to me to remove all the difficulties arising from the positive evidence of the historians, except in one solitary instance, and, indeed, to accord sufficiently well with the more confused notices of the geographers. Alexander crossed the Kerkhah, or Choaspes,‡ in his march from Babylon to Susa; he came upon the Pasitigris, or Dujéili-Ahwáz, at 4 marches from Susa,§ in his route to Persepolis, the bridge of boats occurring, I suspect, at the town of Ahwáz. At the period of Alexander's return, Nearchus had sailed up this river to the same point;|| and when the army marched to Susa, he brought the fleet above Ahwáz (which, before the construction of the band, I conceive to have been perfectly practicable) to the mouth of the Shápúr river; and from hence he navigated that stream to Susa.¶ Alexander afterwards embarked on the Shápúr, and, following the course of it to the great river, sailed down the Eulæus (as we should say, at the present day, he sailed down the Kuran) to the sea, sending his shattered vessels through the Hafar cut into the Tigris. Again, Eumenes, retiring from Susa,** came to the Tigris—that is, the Kuran, Dujéil, or Dijlah. We must suppose him to have crossed the river immediately below the confluence of the Dizfúl branch, and then the measurement of one day's journey from Susa, which

* Tazkarati-Shusteriyah. † Murásidu-l-Attílá. ‡ Quint. Curt. book ii. c. ix.
§ Quint. Curt. book iii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. book xvii. 67. || Arrian's Nearchus, 4.
¶ Arrian, book vii. c. 7. ** Diod. Sic. book xix. 17.

is given by Diodorus, will be sufficiently correct. Antigonus, in his pursuit, could scarcely have made more than two marches to the Coprates, or river of Dizfúl; and when it is stated that, on account of the extreme heat, he encamped before sunrise on the banks of the river, I understand this of the A'bi-Shápúr. He probably reached the Coprates very near the point of junction, for the camp of his enemy was only 80 stadia distant. Why he should have preferred attempting the passage of the two arms successively, instead of crossing below the junction, like Eumenes, it is not easy to say; perhaps he considered that, as his enemy's force was beyond the eastern branch, the passage of the first river would be effected without molestation, and he should be able afterwards to seize on the bridge which crossed the second. If this were his view, however, he was out-manceuvred; for Eumenes re-crossed the Kuran when a part only of his adversary's forces had been passed over, and, attacking them before they could be supported, he gave Antigonus a signal defeat. From hence Antigonus is said to have retired to Badaca, on the Eulæus; and in this single passage is the only real difficulty which I experience in the whole illustration. Antigonus, of course, from his position on the Coprates, could not possibly have reached any part of the Kuran, which all other evidence points out as the real Eulæus; and I am fain, therefore, to consider this mention of the Eulæus an error of Diodorus. In describing the march of Alexander from Susa to Ecbatana he had previously mistaken the Choaspes for the Tigris,* and this second error need not, therefore, so much surprise us. Badaca I believe to have been situated about 25 miles N.W. of Susa, between the two arms of the Duwárij, where some very remarkable ruins still exist of the same character as those of Susa, and known in the country by the name of Páták, or Pátákah; and I am the rather inclined to this opinion, as there are no ruins upon the Kerkhah to the N. of Susa which could possibly represent Badaca, and the place must necessarily have been considerably to the northward in this direction, to have enabled Antigonus to reach the inhabited parts of Media at Khorram-ábád, in nine days, even by the short cut across the mountains of Charban.†

We now come to the geographers. The evidence of Strabo principally relates to the lower course of the rivers; and bearing in mind that his Eulæus and Pasitigris refer to the same river, I doubt not but that the publication of the Euphrates papers will serve to explain all difficulties. When he states, however, on the authority of Polyclitus,‡ that the Choaspes, the Eulæus, and the

* Diod. Sic., book xvii. c. 11. † Pliny, book vi. c. 27. ‡ Strabo, p. 728.

Tigris flow all into one lake, and thence into the sea, he distinguishes most satisfactorily between the two first rivers, and evidently refers to the Kerkhah, the Kuran, and the Djlah, which I understand there is reason to believe did really, at one time, all unite their waters in a great húr, or marshy lake, before they fell into the sea.

Pliny,* confused, as he always is, from the multitude of authors whom he consulted, is still, I believe, to be explained. He states that the Choaspes, or Kerkhah, fell into the Tigris, and that the fleet of Alexander sailed up the Pasitigris, or Kuran, from the sea, and in both of these statements he is perfectly correct; but, in his account of the Eulæus, he has confounded the two rivers together, apparently from his confusion of the two cities of Susa, which they respectively watered, and this, too, may be proved, without much difficulty; for, having identified his Mesobotene with Máh-sabadán, the Eulæus, which traversed this district above Susiana, can only represent the Kerkhah; and yet, in his further notice of the river, the Kuran will alone answer the description. Thus, he states in two passages, that the Eulæus formed the partition between Susiana and Elymais, which country, extending to the sea-shore, was divided from Persis by the Oroatis, or Táb; and, again, that the Eulæus received into it the Hedyppus, from Elymais, which river can only be represented by the Jerráhi and its branches, and another stream from Susiana, not otherwise mentioned by him, which also clearly refers to the A'bi-Dizfúl. When again he states, that the Eulæus surrounded the citadel of Susa, I cannot but recognise the Kuran and Súsan; for, as I have shown, the Kerkhah flows at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the great mound of Sús. His evidence, moreover, regarding the embouchure of the river, appears to me certainly to denote the Kuran; but the officers of the Euphrates expedition, who minutely examined the lower course of the river, will be better able to determine this point.

Respecting the other geographers I have little to add. Ptolemy† mentions only three rivers in Susiana, the Mosæus, the Eulæus, and the Oroatis: and thus, whether his Mosæus, or river of Mísán, designates the Kerkhah, or the Bámishir, the Eulæus, intervening between this and the Táb, can only denote the Kuran. I have before noticed the applicability of the inland course of the Eulæus, given by this geographer, to the confluence of the two rivers of Shuster and Dizfúl, 80 or 90 miles below Súsan, or Susa. Marcian is a mere copyist of Ptolemy; and Ammianus, who also drew from the same source, has no further difference than

* Book vi. c. 27.

† Book vi. c. 3.

the substitution of the name of Harax* for Eulæus, which seems to have been borrowed from the town of Spasinæ Charax, at the mouth of the river, rebuilt by Ardeshír Bábegán, under the title of Kerkhi-Mísán, or Ushtun-ábad.†

I am not acquainted with the arguments that have been lately brought forward, to revive the old opinion of the identity of Susa and Shuster, or I should have more particularly noticed them. Such an idea does not appear to me, however, to be remotely consistent, either with the authorities of Oriental writers, or with the existing geography of the province. I regard the present town of Shuster as a foundation of the Sásánians; and, in proof of its inferiority to Sús, or Susa, I may mention that it did not rise into sufficient consequence to become the see of a Christian Bishopric until two centuries after the establishment of the Nestorians in Susiana,‡ and when the neighbouring city of Sús had already enjoyed that honour for at least 140 years.

I must again excuse the brevity with which I have treated this hitherto much confused inquiry, by stating that a detailed examination of all the evidence and the inferences which I draw from each particular statement are embodied in a work now preparing for publication, upon the comparative geography of Persia.

May 16th.—After a further residence of a month and a half in the province of Khúzistán, during which time I gained much of the intelligence that I have here communicated, I left Dizfúl with a small party, and without baggage, for Khorram-ábad. There are three roads between these points: the high road of ten káfilah stages, which conducts along the line that I have already described to Chuli-Jáidar, and from thence strikes north-eastward to Khorram-ábad; the second of eight stages, which diverges from the A'bi-Zál, and crossing the Káílún range, rejoins the high-road at Dehlíz; and the third, directly across the mountains, in a line nearly due N., which curtails the distance between the two points to four long marches. I preferred this last road, as well on account of its shortness, as from its never having before been travelled by an European. I marched the first day 8 farsakhs, to the plain of Kír A'b (the bitumen water). The road traversed the plain of Dizfúl, in a direction due N., to the western point of the fort of Tangawán, and, rounding this, descended among some very steep ravines to the little plain of Kír A'b, which lay at the extreme roots of the great range between the stream of Balád-rúd and the mountains. I was not a little sur-

* Book xxiii. c. 6.

† Tabarí and Murásidu-l-Atfílá.

‡ The Christian church was established in Susiana about A.D. 260. St. Milles, bishop of Susa, suffered martyrdom in A.D. 330; and Phuses was first appointed bishop of Shuster in about A.D. 460. See Asseman, tom. iv. p. 421; tom. i. p. 12; and tom. i. p. 353.

prised to detect among these steep ravines the evident traces of a broad paved road, leading into the secluded plain of Kír A'b, which appeared to come from the direction of Sús. I also found a heap of mounds in the plain, the remains of an ancient town; and uniting these indications with the bitumen pits, which abound in the neighbourhood, and from which the place has obtained its name, I could not but fancy that I beheld the site of the Eretrian colony of Ardericca. It is true that the distance in a right line from Susa is too much to accord with the 210 stadia of Herodotus, and he seems to have actually visited the place himself;* but, in all other respects, it will agree sufficiently well both with his account and with that of Damis.† The liquid bitumen is collected at the present day in the same way as is related by Herodotus: the ground is impregnated with this noxious matter, and the waters are most unwholesome. The Balád-rúd may be the stream that was brought round the town to defend the Greek colonists from the attacks of the barbarians; and the rising ground behind the ruins is, at the present day, the part of the district chiefly under cultivation. I must also observe, that there are positively no bitumen or naphtha pits in all Susiana but at this place, and near Rám Hormuz;‡ and of these two, Kír A'b has certainly the best claim to be considered the site of Ardericca. Larcher§ indicates the exact bearing from Susa, I know not on what authority, as N., inclining a little to the east, and this will exactly suit the position of Kír A'b. Kír A'b forms the Kishlák, for some 200 or 300 families of the Rákí and Pápi Lurs; but it is disliked as a residence, on account of its unhealthiness.

May 17th.—We crossed on foot a most precipitous range of hills, a prong of the great chain, rising up abruptly behind Kír A'b, and descended into the beautiful glen of Tangi-Zardáwar. Our horses were with difficulty dragged over this range; and a mule, heavily laden, could not have passed it. The Tangi-Zardáwar is a narrow and richly-wooded valley, running up in a direction of N. 20 W. for about 20 miles, into the range between a line of rocks of immense height, and almost perpendicular. After a march of 5 farsakhs, we reached the head of the valley, and here an attack of fever and ague obliged me to halt, the effects of one night's sojourn in the pestilent plain of the Eretrian colony.

We were now approaching the wildest part of the Lurish mountains, inhabited by the tribe of Dirikáwand, who, confiding in their fastnesses, have been long in a state of open rebellion, and who subsist almost entirely by the plunder of travellers. We were,

* Herodotus, book vi. c. 119.

† Philostrat. Apollon. Vit. book i. c. 24.

‡ Also at Bandi-Kír, or Kíl, see p. 51; and again between Shuster and Rám Hormuz, see p. 51.

§ Larcher's Herodotus, vol. vii, p. 36.

therefore, well on the alert ; but a party of these marauders, who surrounded our little camp throughout the night, contrived to carry off a number of stray articles ; and, in the grey of the morning, two of our servants were seized by them and stripped of everything.

May 18th.—At the head of the valley the great hills rise up almost perpendicularly to a tremendous height, and seem to shut out all further progress. A rocky path, however, conducted us to the summit, after a most tedious and difficult ascent of two hours ; and here, from the sultry plains of Susiana, where, at this season, the heat is almost insupportable, we found ourselves suddenly transported into a climate where the snow lay deep in all the sheltered crevices of the mountains ; and the trees, which in the plain were in their full summer foliage, were only just beginning to show their early sprouts. As I knew that I should cross some of the most elevated land in Luristán, I had brought with me a mountain barometer to determine the elevation of some of the highest peaks ; the tube, however, was broken by the fall of the servant, who had charge of it, in the ascent of this mountain, and I thus lost an opportunity which may probably never occur again. This mountain is named *Bí-A'ʿb*,* from its possessing no water, but that supplied by the melting of the snows ; it is a continuation of the outer chain of Zagros, being connected with the range of Mángerrah to the west, where there is a hill fort of some celebrity in Oriental history, and with the great mountain of Sháh-zádah Ahmed, to the east, so called from the tomb of a pír of that name, which is built upon its summit. This Sháh-Zádah Ahmed is stated to have been one of three brothers ; the other two were Sultán Maḥmúd, interred at Hulilán, near Kirmánsháh, and Sultán Ibráhím, who, under the name of Bábá-buzurg (the great father), is worshipped as the Deity throughout Luristán. Sháh-zádeh Ahmed and Sultán Maḥmúd are included among the Haft-tan by the 'Alí Iláhís, and both of the shrines, therefore, are places of much sanctity. After a gradual descent for some miles from the hill of *Bí-A'ʿb*, we crossed another ridge of the great chain, called *Kúhi-Anárah-rúd*, to a stream of the same name, which forms the left branch of the *A'ʿbi-Zál*. Beyond this stream again we traversed a third range, called *Kal Áspad*,† to the bed of the *A'ʿbi-Zál*, salt even in this early part of its course, and filled with huge fragments of rock, similar to those which I found below. The country all around here, as far as the eye can reach, presents to view a mass of the most tremendous mountains, which appear so intermingled with each other, that it is not easy at first to detect their proper lines. From the bearings, however, which I took

* Pronounced in Lurish, *Bí-A'ú*.

† The white peak.

from the highest peaks, and from the information of our guides, I was able to distinguish that these three ridges of Bî-A'ḅ, Anárah-rúd, and Kal Aspad, were all parts of a single chain connected with the line of Káílún, Kirkí, and Mángerrah, and forming the outer barrier of Zagros. In a little defile to our left hand, as we crossed the Kal Aspad, we saw a tomb named the *Imám Zádahî-Pír Már*,* a shrine of great celebrity in Luristán. This saint is said to have possessed the miraculous power of curing the bite of all venomous serpents; and, at the present day, whenever a Lur in the vicinity is bitten by a snake, he repairs to the shrine, and, according to popular belief, always recovers. The descendants of this holy personage, too, claim to have inherited the miraculous power, and I have certainly seen them effect some very wonderful cures. The Lurs believe that the cure is performed merely by the touch of the cold blade of a knife which belonged to the great *Pír Már*, and is still preserved in his family; but I saw that the real antidote, which, however, is not a little curious, was contained in a poultice of leaves and wild herbs kept constantly applied to the wound.† We halted at an open spot in a wooded valley, 3 miles beyond the A'ḅi-Zál, having been ten hours in crossing the great chain from the head of the Tangi-Zardáwar.

May 19th.—We were still in a very high country, as we might perceive by the freshness of the air, and by the trees being not yet in full leaf. After crossing another little stream which falls into the A'ḅi-Zál, we commenced the ascent of the second chain, named *Kúhi-Gird*.‡ This was not quite so difficult as the ascent of the mountain of Bî-A'ḅ; but still we were obliged to perform it on foot, dragging the horses after us with much labour. From the summit of the mountain we could trace down the valley of the *Kerkhah*, at many points overlooking the heights of Káílún and Kirkí, and through one opening in the Mángerrah range, we obtained a view of the low country of Susiana, stretching away in a sea of mist farther than the eye could reach. The descent of the *Kúhi Gird* chain occupied two hours; and in the little plain of *Táyín* at its foot, the change from a cold to a hot climate again became most marked. *Táyín* is a narrow plain stretching W.N.W. and E.S.E. between two great chains of mountains, and watered by a stream which falls into the river of *Khorrám-ábád*; it is now uncultivated, but retains the marks of former habitation. We had been only five hours from our last stage, but the return of my intermittent fever obliged me to halt. Our provisions were now expended, for we had calculated on reaching *Khorrám-ábád* upon

* *Pír Már* signifies "Saint Snake."

† The moral effect of confidence would also have some share in the patient's recovery.

‡ Round hill.

the fourth day. I therefore made an exertion in the afternoon, after the height of the fever was over, to push on to the plain of Khorram-ábád, where we might procure supplies; but I was unable to proceed more than a farsakh and a half over a low range which formed the outer line of the third great chain, and our party accordingly went fasting to bed on the banks of the little stream of Káyún.

May 20th.—We now began to cross the third great chain, which, in this part of the line, is called Kúhi-Haftád Pehlú (the seventy-sided hill), to denote its infinite ramifications. It was here formed of two ridges, between which there was some extent of open table-land, which is one of the Yailáks of the tribe of Dirikáwand. From the summit of the northern ridge we saw the rich plain of Khorram-ábád stretching at our feet; and, after a wearisome descent through a thick forest of oak-trees, which occupied us nearly three hours, we at last reached a camp of I'liyát, and were kindly received by a Sayyid, a descendant of Sháh-zádah Ahmed, as he averred, who entertained me with a number of curious stories regarding the faith and superstitions of the Lurs. This was the first inhabited spot that we had seen since we left the plain of Kír A'b, and the party, having fasted now for forty hours, enjoyed with no small relish our I'liyát repast. After breakfast I rode into Khorram-ábád, a distance of 5 miles from the foot of the hills, through a richly-cultivated district thronged with villages and gardens. The general direction of our line from Dizfúl had been three or four points to the eastward of N., instead of N. 22° W. as I had been led to expect from the maps. Indeed, from the comparison of a number of routes, I cannot but conclude that Khorram-ábád has been laid down very erroneously in the maps hitherto published; and I regret much therefore that I omitted, during my short stay, to determine the position astronomically.

Khorram-ábád is a singular place; a range of rocky hills stretching across the plain, in the usual direction of N.W. and S.E. has been suddenly broken off to admit the passage of the river, for the space of about three-quarters of a mile, leaving, in the centre of the open space, a solitary rock nearly 1000 yards in circumference; the rock is very steep, and near its summit is a most copious spring. This is the fort of Khorram-ábád. It is surrounded by a double wall at the base, and the summit, where the palace is built, is also very strongly defended. The palace, which was erected by Moḥammed 'Alí Mirzá, is a very elegant building. A magnificent reservoir, 60 yards by 40, which is fed by the spring, has been formed within it, and there is also a garden of some extent. The fort contains exclusively the palace and

its dependent buildings. The modern town, which is small, containing not more than 1000 houses, is built below the fort upon its south-western face. The river, a broad shallow stream, passes along to the S.E. of the fort and town; the banks are covered with gardens, and among these are to be seen the remains of the old town, the capital of the A'tábegs of Luri-Kuchuk. A lofty brick minaret, of the class peculiar to the Seljúkian ages, is chiefly conspicuous, and there is also a very curious massive stone pillar inscribed all round with an Arabic inscription, in very legible Cufic characters, which I much regret having had no time to copy during my short stay; for, in looking it over, I could distinguish the name of Shujá'u-d-dín, the first of the A'tábegs, and I doubt not but it would throw much light on the origin of this powerful dynasty of the Khúrshídís,* regarding whom so little is known in Europe, or even in the East itself.

The name of Khorram-ábád does not occur, I believe, in writers antecedent to the fourteenth century. Before that period the place was called Samhá, or Diz Siyáh,† the black fort, in allusion to the colour of the rock upon which the castle is built. In the old geographers it seems to be indicated by the name of Shapúrkh-ást, at least I can find no other possible representative for that city; and this title would denote a Sásánian origin. There are no sculptures, however, at Khorram-ábád, or, indeed, any remains that I should ascribe to a higher antiquity than the eleventh or twelfth century.

The common Lurs, it is true, believe that there is a great tablet in the range of Yáftah-kúh, to the N.W. of the city, sculptured with the figure of a man and his dog, or rather that this man 'Alí and his dog were suddenly removed to the face of the rock, and there turned into stone, to be *found* there for ever;‡ but all intelligent individuals whom I have questioned do not pretend anything more than that, in an inaccessible part of the mountain, the natural rock presents something like the appearance of these two figures. I mention this, as I have heard it surmised by many Persian travellers, from the reports current among the Lurs, of the wonders of Khorram-ábád, that it might represent the site of the Baghistane of antiquity. The fort of Khorram-ábád, from its peculiar position, however, must always have been a place of some consequence, and formed, probably, from remote antiquity, the

* This dynasty reigned in Luri-Kuchuk from A.D. 1155 to about A.D. 1600. The Sharaf Námah contains the only detailed account of them that I have ever seen. D'Herbelot has not noticed them.

† Sharaf Námah, Nuz-haṭ-u-l-Kulúb.

‡ They thus explain the meaning of the title Yáftah-kúh.

abode of the ruler of these wild regions. I am inclined, therefore, to recognise, in its title of Diz Siyáh, or, which has nearly the same signification, Kúh Siyáh,* the word in which originated the title of Cossæan, applied by the Greeks of Alexander to the inhabitants of these mountains. The particular tract of country, however, between Media and Susiana, bounded to the E. and W. by the river of Dizfúl and the Kerkhah, appears to be the Corbiane of Strabo;† and this title is of course identical with the Mount Charban of Pliny,‡ and the Corbrynæ of Polybius; § but to the illustration of this name I have no clue in the modern geography of the district.

The road from Khorram-ábád to Kirmánsháh has been travelled by many Englishmen, and I need give, therefore, no very detailed description. The direct road leads by the plains of Alíshtar and Kháwah to Harsín; but this is impracticable in winter from the deep snow, and the route then follows a somewhat circuitous line by the Púli-Taskan, a magnificent Sasanian bridge, now in ruins, which crossed the river Káshghán, and from thence, along a line of sheltered valleys, to Hulílán on the Chospes, where it joins the road from Jáidar. The Púli-Taskan is said to be the noblest ruin in all Luri-Kuchuk. It contains an inscription which I suspect to be Cufic, but which may possibly be Pehleví, and is thus well worthy of examination. The bridge seems to have been built by the Sásánian monarchs to facilitate the line of communication between Hamadán and Susiana.

May 24th.—I left Khorram-ábád in the afternoon, and rode $3\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs to Robát. || The road traversed an open valley for $2\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs along the course of the right arm of the stream of Khorram-ábád, and then, for another farsakh, passed among low hills to the village of Robát.

May 25th.—I made a long stage to-day of 9 farsakhs, to the opening of the plain of Kháwah. After riding 2 farsakhs among low hills richly wooded with the belút, we came upon the A'bi-Káshghán, a deep and impetuous stream, which, dividing at this point into a number of narrow branches, we passed upon I'liyát bridges of woven boughs. At another farsakh, also among hills, we descended into the plain of Alíshtar, and soon afterwards reached the A'bi-Alíshtar, a shallow river, which we forded without difficulty. The plain of Alíshtar is a vast level flat of great extent, bounded upon the E. by a noble chain of mountains, named Chihil Ná-Báli-ghán ¶ (from a story of forty children who here suffered martyr-

* *Kúh Siyáh* merely signifies "the black hill." *Diz* is applied to a hill forming a fort.

† Strabo, p. 745.

‡ Pliny, book vi, c. xxvii.

§ Polyb. book v. c. xliv.

|| A caravanserai,

¶ The forty infants.

dom), which divides it from the territories of Niháwand and Burújird, and on the W. by another very lofty range, called Sar Kushtí, where the Lurs suppose the ark of Noah to have rested after the Flood. The skirts of Chihil Ná-Bálighán are covered with villages, and around them is much cultivation. The great body of the plain, however, is pasture-ground, and I'liyát encampments were scattered over its whole surface. We rode across this plain, a distance of 5 farsakhs, and, ascending some rising ground, encamped, after another farsakh, among the low hills at the opening of the plain of Kháwah.

May 26th.—I made another long march of 9 farsakhs, to Harsín. For 2 farsakhs we traversed the lower plain of Kháwah, which is a level flat like Alíshtar, and is watered by two streams descending from the mountains of Gírun (a continuation of the chain of Chihil Ná-Bálighán), and uniting at the western extremity of the plain. After crossing the second of these streams, we began to ascend the high table-land of Kháwah, which is considered to afford the best summer pasturage in Persia. The ground rises very gradually, for the space of about a farsakh, to the high downs which form the grazing-lands, and here the country is certainly very beautiful. It is everywhere broken into knolls, and intersected throughout by rivulets, at intervals of about 300 or 400 yards. The herbage is of the richest possible description; and there were probably not less than 20,000 families of I'liyát scattered about, in small encampments, with their flocks and herds grazing over the downs apparently in countless numbers. To the S.W. of this high table-land is seen the range of Báwalín, rising again, after a short interval, under the name of Sar Kashtí, and from thence prolonged to the Yáftah-kúh of Khorram-ábád. A glen upon the north-eastern face of these mountains of Báwalín contains the tomb of Bábá Buzurg, the most holy spot in Luristán; for the common Lurs have no idea of religion farther than the worship of this their national saint.

In the rich and extensive grazing-grounds of Kháwah and Alíshtar, I am inclined to recognise the plains called Nisæan, which were visited by Alexander, from Baghistane,* or Bísutún, upon his march from Susa to Ecbatana. There is no subject, perhaps, which has been treated with more confusion, by the writers of antiquity, than the Nisæan horses and the Nisæan plains. It is evident that the Nisæan horses were a particular breed, distinguished for their size, strength, and beauty, and cherished, therefore, with the most jealous care by the monarchs and nobles of Persia; and yet the blundering Greeks would wish

* Diod. Sic, book xvii, c, xi. Arrian, book vii, c, xiii.

us to believe that they abounded in countless numbers in the great horse-pastures of Media, which they would thence denominate the Nisæan plains. There is every reason to conclude that the Nisæan horse came originally from Nesá, in Khorásán, the Nisæa of the Greeks,* and that it is to be identified with some of the Turkomán breeds of the Atak, which are still distinguished throughout Persia for their superior excellence. It is not impossible even that the breed may have become partially naturalised in some of the royal studs which were pastured in the Median plains; but that the Nisæan horse was the common and indigenous native of these plains, and had increased at one time to the enormous number of 150,000, is opposed alike to reason, and to the circumstantial evidence of the historians.

With Herodotus,† who was most imperfectly acquainted with the geography of Media, originated the error of transferring to that province the Nisæa of Khorásán; and all later writers either copied or confounded his statement. Strabo alone has escaped from the general confusion;‡ he describes the great horse-pastures as extending along the whole line of Media, from the road that led from Babylon to the Caspian gates, to that conducting to the same place from Persia, that is, from Bísutún to Isfahán; and thus we at once recognise the great grazing-plains of Kháwah, Alíshtar, Hurú, Sílákhúr, Burbúrúd, Jápálák, and Ferídún, which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another, along the southern frontiers of Media. Strabo nowhere says that the Nisæan plains were in the vicinity of the Caspian gates, although his epitomiser seems thus to have understood him; neither does he even apply to the Median pastures the name Nisæan—he merely states that the plains were called Hippobotos, and that, according to the opinion of some, they produced the Nisæan horses.

His name of Hippobotos I suspect to be hellenised from Sílákhúr, which bespeaks its own derivation from Sírá'khúr, a full manger,§ and which is the most extensive and celebrated of all these grazing plains. Alexander, I doubt not, moved from his sultry camp at Bísutún to the Yailák of Alíshtar, which is even now a favourite summer residence with the rulers of Kirmánsháh, and, after remaining a month among the horse-pastures, travelled in seven marches to Hamadán. It was also from these plains, must add, that Python brought in his supply of horses and beasts

* Strabo, p. 509. Isidore, in Hudson, p. 7.

† Book vii. c. xl.

‡ Strabo, p. 525. This passage has been often misunderstood: I follow the translation of the French Academy.

§ The letters *l* and *r* are constantly confused in Persian names.

of burden to the camp of Antigonus,* in the adjoining district of Khorram-ábád, after the perilous march of the Grecian army through the mountains of the Cossæans. We travelled for 4 farsakhs across the rich downs that I have described, and then descended into a hilly country, intervening between Kháwah and Harsín. This was the frontier district of Luristán and Kírmánsháh; and, as I have now finished my geographical remarks, I will endeavour, before I bid adieu to the province, to give a slight sketch of the manners and general statistics of the tribes that inhabit it.

Luristán is divided, as I have stated, into two provinces, Luri-Buzurg, and Luri-Kuchuk. The inhabitants of Luri-Buzurg are now classed under the general title of Bakhtiyáris, but originally this name merely applied to a small tribe, one of the twenty-six distinct clans among whom the province was divided. The Bakhtiyáris, with their dependencies, number at present 28,000 families; they comprise, exclusive of dependencies, three divisions, the Haft Lang, the Chahár Lang, and the Dínárúnís. Their assessment is fixed at 100 Kátirs (mules), the term Kátir, however, being merely conventional, and used to denote a sum of money; which is increased or diminished according to the prosperous state of the tribes, and the power of the Persian government to exercise authority over them. The institution of this assessment is very ancient, and in the time of the A'tábegs, when the province was in its most flourishing state, a Kátir seems to have been equivalent to 1000 Tómáns—at present it is valued at 100 Tómáns; but the government for many years has been unable to realise this amount, or even, upon an average of 20 years, a moiety of it. The following table describes the general distribution of the clans, and their respective assessments:—

* Diod. Sic., book xix. c. ii.

GREAT DIVISIONS.	TRIBES.	Number of Families.		RESIDENCE.		Assessment in Mules.		Assessment in money; the mule being valued at 100 Tómaná.		REMARKS.
		Of each Tribe.	Of each Division.	Summer.	Winter.	Per Tribe.	Per Great Division.	Per Tribe.	Per Great Division.	
Haft Lang . . .	{ Ullakí and Mái Ahmedi	400	7000	{ Jápalk and Shakír Majal Burburúd	{ Sar Dasht, & Plains about Dizfál	5	40	500	4000	The famous hill-fort of Diz belongs to this tribe. This tribe is under the government of Burújird.
	{ Bukhtiyarwand . . . Duraki Sallaki *	600 4000 2000				10 15 10		1000 1500 1000		
Chahár Lang . .	{ Kurúsí Shuhí Máumád Sáfí Mogdí Ménwand Zahakí *	1000 1500 1200 500 4000	8000	{ Feridún and about Zardah Kúh	{ Rám Hormuz, Jánnikí-Gar- masír, and Plains about Shuster	6 8 6 6 8 6	40	6000 8000 6000 6000 8000 6000	4000	Mohammed Táki Khán, who has all these other tribes under his sway, is a Kurusi.
	{ Bávái * Urak and Sháíuh	3000 2500				10 10		1000 1000		
Dínárúni	{ Bávái * Urak and Sháíuh	3000 2500	5500	Bázut	{ Súsan and Mái Amir	10 10	20	1000 1000	2000	Dínárún contains a great number of villages, and a small part only of these tribes are Nomadic.
	{ Jánnikí Garmasír }	4000				{ Hills of Mungasht		{ Bághi-Malik and about Tul		
{ Jánnikí- Sardasír }	2000	{ Gandomán & Lurdagán	{ Valley of the Kurán	..	..		..		800	Lurdagán, in Jánnikí-Sardasír, is a very large village; perhaps even it may be called a town.
Pendentes.	{ Gundúzú	1500	28,000	. . . . .	{ Gulgír and Baitawánd	..	..	..	1700	This is an Afshár tribe, transplanted into this country by Nádir Sháh. They are notorious thieves.
	{ Gundúzú	1500				100		100			14,900

* These are probably the Sitacenses of Strabo; they are one of the original tribes of Luri-Buzurg, and the name may be derived from Soloce, the ancient title of Sídenca or Manjanik.

The main power of the Bakhtiyáris, as will be seen by this table, lies in the hands of Mohammed Táki Khán, the chief of Jánnikí, who is a lineal descendant of 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Bakhtiyári king of Persia, in the times of anarchy that succeeded the death of Nádir. At the outset of his career he was the acknowledged chief of his own single tribe, and he owes his present powerful position solely to the distinguished ability with which he has steered his course amid the broils and conflicts of the other tribes. The clans, one by one, have sought his protection, and enrolled themselves among his subjects; and he can now, at any time, bring into the field a well-armed force of 10,000 or 12,000 men. He collects his revenues according to no arbitrary method, but in proportion to the fertility of the districts, and the prosperous state of his villages and tribes. He has done everything in his power to break the tribes of their nomadic habits, and to a great extent he has succeeded. In Ferídún he has purchased very extensive lands, where he has founded numerous villages, and in the plain of Rám Hormuz, which he farms of the Shiráz government for 3000 Tó máns annually, he has also settled a vast number of peaceful colonists. The Bakhtiyáris pursue a certain extent of traffic. They exclusively supply Khúzistán with tobacco from Jánnikí: they also export a small quantity of grain; and the Isfahan market is furnished, during the summer, with mutton, almost entirely from the Bakhtiyári flocks: the cherry-sticks, for (Chibúk) pipes, which grow in profusion among their mountains, would also prove to them, if steadily pursued, a most lucrative line of traffic. Charcoal, gall-nuts, gum mastic, and the sweetmeat named Gaz, or Gazú,* form the only other exportable articles, I believe, which their country affords.

The Haft Lang tribe, who formerly doubled the number of the Chahár Lang, have been the victims of their never-ending conflicts with each other. For many years, during the reign of the late Sháh, they were the terror of Kafilahs, and at one time, indeed, threatened to put an end to the traffic between the south of Persia and the capital. They have not become in any way divested of their predatory habits, but intestine quarrels have not of late left them leisure to indulge in them. The constitution of the Bakhtiyári system of clanship is quite distinct from that of the tribes of Luri-Kuchuk: in the one, each tribe has its acknowledged chief, who rules over his particular subjects with despotic sway: in the other, the great tribes have no regular head, but

* The Gaz, or Gazú, which is much used for making sweetmeats in Persia, is a glutinous substance, like honey, deposited by a small green insect upon the leaves of the oak-tree. See Diod. book xvii, c. viii. [It is the manna of the chemists. —F. S.]

each petty subdivision is governed by its own Tushmál, and they all meet as equals on great occasions, to discuss their common interests. It is true that Mohammed Tákí Khán has exerted himself much to break the control of these feudal dependents; but the tendency of his system is merely to merge the power that was before separately exercised into the consolidation of his own individual authority. The great wealth of the Bakhtiyáris, as is the case with all nomadic tribes, consists in their flocks and herds. They are naturally most averse to agriculture, and until the last 15 or 20 years they always migrated in a body to the warm pastures of Khúzistán, on the approach of winter, and at the return of spring again moved back to their Yailáks around Zardah Kúh, and along the northern skirts of the great range, from Isfahán to Burújird.

In matters of religion they are lax, but still they are outwardly Mohammedans, and neither respect nor understand the mystical tenets of the 'Ali Iláhís. Their language is a dialect of the Kurdish, but still differing in many respects, and more particularly in their method of pronunciation, from any of the other modifications of that tongue which are spoken by the different tribes extending along the range of Zagros. I believe them to be individually brave, but of a cruel and savage character; they pursue their blood feuds with the most inveterate and exterminating spirit, and they consider no oath nor obligation in any way binding, when it interferes with their thirst of revenge; indeed the dreadful stories of domestic tragedy that are related, in which whole families have fallen by each others' hands (a son, for instance, having slain his father, to obtain the chiefship—another brother having avenged the murder, and so on, till only one individual was left), are enough to freeze the blood with horror. It is proverbial in Persia, that the Bakhtiyáris have been obliged to forego altogether the reading of the Fátihah,* or prayer for the dead, for otherwise they would have no other occupation. They are also most dexterous and notorious thieves; indeed, I have myself seen instances of their dexterity in conveying a horse out of a stable, in an inner court, which was particularly watched, and padlocked, moreover, with a chain, for security, that, unless I had witnessed, I could not possibly have believed. Altogether they may be considered the most wild and barbarous of all the inhabitants of Persia; but, nevertheless, I have passed some pleasant days with their chiefs, and derived much curious information from them.

* The first chapter of the Korán, used by the Mohammedans much as the Pater-noster was anciently used by us. Most Turkish epitaphs end by the words, "*Fátihah ruhún ichún.*"—"Say a Fátihah for his soul."—F. S.

The tribes of Luri-Kuchuk are far more numerous than the Bakhtiyáris; with their dependencies they number 56,000 families. The assessment of the tribes of Písh-kúh is fixed at 120 Kátirs, or mules, but the distribution fluctuates at the discretion of the Persian governor; the tribes of Pushti-Kúh and the dependencies are not included in this arrangement, but have a separate amount of revenue assigned to them.

The valuation of the Kátir varies, as with the Bakhtiyáris, according to the state of the province; but under the late Wazír, Mírzá Buzurg, who administered the revenues with eminent success for about 10 years, it was raised to the rate of 200 old Tómáns, or $333\frac{1}{3}$ of the present currency; the 120 Kátirs were therefore equivalent to 40,000 Tómáns, and the amount annually realised from Písh-kúh alone rather exceeded than fell short of this sum. The following table exhibits the classification of the tribes, and the revenue system, as observed by Mírzá Buzurg.

GREAT DIVISIONS.	TRIBES.	SUBDIVISIONS.	Number of Families.		Residence.		Assessment of Great Divisions.	REMARKS.						
			Of each Tribe.	Of Great Divisions.	Summer.	Winter.								
Fah-kúh .	Dihán . . .	Kákawand Yiwetwand Múmináwand Ráissáwand Bjúsáwand Chuwáfí	15,000	}	Kháwáh . . . Hárásim . . . Kháwáh . . .	Hullíkán Hullíkán Dujálí and Kúh Dasht Rúdbár Chárdáwer Terhán	}	The Yiwetwands and Múmináwands supply at present a body of 350 infantry to the crown.						
									15,000	}	Alshar and Kháwáh . . .	Jádar Seimarráh Pushhtí-Kúh		
													38,000	Táf, near Khorram-ábád Abistán } Sar Hurú } Kúhí-Hafáhd-Pehlú . }
Pushhtí-kúh .	Fáílí . . .	Kushkí Ziwahdíár Umráí Mirákkhúr Kátárijí Gholám Mo'timád Rukruk Zuláh	2,000	}	These tribes are Dih Nishims, who cultivate the Kháúshah, or crown lands, at Khorram-ábád, Seimarráh, Terhán, and Kúhdáshít. They do not migrate at all.	}	}	}						
									12,000	}	Yáúkés of the range of Kébir-kúh, both on the N.E. and S.W. faces.	Sirwán, Jisán, Bádráí, and plains of A'bláktání.	15,000	}
Dependents.	Bájlíkán . . . Báiránawand	Dáúwand . . . Sagwand* . . . 'Alíwand . . . Dushíwand . . . O'smánáwand . . . Jáidáúwand . . . Dájlíwand . . . Báúwand . . . Sur-khámerí	1,500	}	}	}	}	}						
									56,000	}	}	}	}	
														3,500

* This is the only tribe of Luristán in whose name any similitude is to be detected to the Sagapeni of Strabo; but as the Sagwand is a stranger tribe, no weight can be attached to the resemblance of the titles.

The sum realised from the tribes thus amounted to 60,500 Tó máns; but the government possessed another source of revenue in the town of Khorram-ábád and the crown-lands scattered over the province, according to the following list:—

NAMES OF DISTRICTS.	Taxation in Money.	Taxation in Grain.	Remarks.
	Tó máns.	Kharwars.	
Khorram-ábád {	Revenues of town . . .	5000	{ This consists of the rent of shops, gardens, orchards, mills, and the customs.
	crown-lands	2000	
Seimarrah	2000	2000	
Jáidar	1000	500	
Alishtar		1000	
Kúh-dasht	230	200	
Terhán	500	700	
Kír A'b.	100	500	
	10,800	6900	

If we reckon the Kharwar of grain at one Tó mán, which is the usual valuation in Luristán, this will give an addition to the revenue of 17,700 Tó máns, and raise the whole amount which may be annually realised from the province to 78,200 Tó máns. The system of revenue in Pish-kúh is very simple: when the 120 Kátirs have been duly distributed among the tribes and their subdivisions, in a general council, and to the satisfaction of all, each subdivision determines the amount of share to be paid by the different camps of which it is composed, and then the Rísh Safíd* of each encampment collects from the different families under his rule, according to his knowledge of their individual ability to contribute. But in a wild country like this, where many of the tribes live in a state of open rebellion, and will not attend to the distribution apportioned by the general council, the governor would certainly fail in his contract with the crown, unless he had indirect means of raising an extraordinary revenue to make up for the many defalcations. Mírzá Buzurg, therefore, introduced an extensive system of fees and fines; and, where robberies and murder were of almost daily occurrence, he did not want opportunities of exaction: indeed, he is said to have realised about 20,000 Tó máns annually in this manner, and that, too, without cruelty or injustice.

Luri-Kuchuk is far more capable of sustaining a heavy taxation than the Bakhtiyáris, for, though agriculture is equally neglected,

* Literally, "grey-beard," the head of each petty encampment.

it has other valuable sources of profit. The principal of these is its breed of mules, which are esteemed by far the best in Persia. It certainly exports on an average 1000 of these animals annually; and, taking the mean price at 20 Tó máns, this alone will give a sum of 20,000 Tó máns of yearly produce. The Iliyát drive a considerable traffic, also, in carpets, hurs, or packing-bags, and all descriptions of horse-furniture: they exclusively supply the towns of Hamadán, Niháwand, and Burújird with charcoal, and their flocks and herds likewise afford them a considerable profit.

The great tribes of Pish-kúh, as I have already mentioned, have no single chief like the Bakhtiyáris; neither, indeed, have the subdivisions in general: some four or five Tushmáls are usually associated in the government of every subdivision; and on great occasions all these Tushmáls meet as equals, and consult; so that their internal constitution, which I believe to be very uncommon among the clan nations of Asia, more nearly assimilates to the spirit of a confederated republic than of a great feudal aristocracy. The Wá lí of Pushti-Kúh, alone retains the kingly power of his ancestors. Among the Lurs most of the offices of labour are performed by the women: they tend the flocks, till the fields, store the grain, and tread out that which is required for use. The men content themselves with sowing and reaping, cutting wood for charcoal, and defending their property against the attacks of others. The carpets, the black goats'-hair tents, and the horse-furniture, for which Luristán is famous, are almost all the work of the women. The men seem to consider robbery and war their proper occupation, and are never so well pleased as when engaged on a foray.

The language of the Lurs differs but slightly from that of the Kurds of Kirmánsháh, and a person conversant with one dialect will perfectly understand the other. These dialects of the mountaineers of Zagros have been hitherto assumed by all writers as remnants of the ancient Pehleví; but it appears to me on insufficient grounds: I regard them as derived from the old Fársí, the Farsí-Kadím, as it is called; which was a co-existent, but perfectly distinct language from the Pehleví, in the age of the Sásánian monarchs: certainly the Pehleví, as we read it at the present day, upon inscriptions and in books, does not possess any analogy with the Kurdish, and I doubt if any dialect of it now exists as a spoken language, except among the Gabr colonies, and in a few detached villages of Azerbáiján.*

The religion of the tribes of Luri-Kuchuk is very curious, and well merits to be attentively observed; for, though the foundation of all 'Alí Iláhism is the same, consisting in the belief of a

* In the village of Dizmár, in particular, the vernacular dialect is certainly Pehleví.

series of successive incarnations, yet they have superinduced a number of local superstitions, apparently of remote antiquity. The Lurs do not affect the slightest veneration for Mohammed and the Korán; their only general object of worship is their great saint Bábá Buzurg; but there are also several holy men amongst them, who are considered the living representatives of the divine principle, and who are thus regarded, by their particular disciples, with a reverence little short of adoration. Their sacrifices and their mystical meetings form a subject of much interest; for many of their observances are certainly to be traced to a source long anterior to the institution of Mohammedanism. Macdonald Kinneir has noticed the midnight orgies of the Charágh Kushán.* I do not believe that any such rites are observed at the present day, but meetings of this nature were certainly held until within the last half-century; and there cannot be a doubt but that we may recognise in them a relic of the worship of the principles of generation and fecundity, which had descended through the orgies of Mithra and Anáitis, from the time when Sesostriis erected the emblems of the sexual organs† as objects of adoration, and Semiramis, delivering herself to indiscriminate pleasure, doubtless intended to fulfil a religious ceremony.‡ I now bid adieu to Luristán and the Lurs, as my space will not admit of any fuller remarks on this unknown and interesting people, and I proceed shortly to notice the remainder of my journey to Kirmánsháh.

The village of Harsín is distant 2 farsakhs from the frontiers of Luristán, at the foot of a long but open pass, which conducts from the high lands adjoining the plain of Kháwah. The village, containing 300 houses, is situated in a well-watered and well-cultivated valley, which, being Khálishah, or crown-land, is farmed for 3000 tó máns annually; there are here some Sásánian remains, which I believe have never been described. The fort in the village is built upon the site of a palace, apparently left unfinished; the foundations, composed of massive blocks of hewn stone, are still in tolerable preservation; several broken pillars and plain capitals are strewn about, and the remains of an aqueduct are also visible. This aqueduct, derived from the spring-head of the river, distant about half a mile, was formed entirely of large blocks of hewn stone, cemented closely together, and enclosing the channel for the water; within the palace it was raised again to its original elevation, forming a prolonged syphon from the river-head, and thus affording a rather curious specimen of the superiority of the hydraulic skill of

* "The putters out of lights"—literally, lamp-breakers.

† Diod. Sic., book i. chap. iv. Herod., book ii. chap. cii. cvi.

‡ Diod. Sic., book ii. chap. i.

Persia in those days over the present works of the same class, which are most imperfectly understood. At the spring-head a large surface of rock has been smoothened, preparatory to the sculpture of tablets, but I could not perceive that any design had been actually commenced; in front of this also a reservoir has been excavated in the solid rock, and at a short distance is seen an immense oblong slab of stone 12 feet high, 6 feet in width, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness, which has been pierced by an arched doorway 8 feet high, and 4 broad, and which was probably intended for the gate of the palace; near the spring there are a great number of hewn blocks of stone scattered about, intermingled with the ruins of the aqueduct, with broken shafts, and with some bases and capitals. The Sásánian ruins in this district of Bísutún are of a perfectly distinct character from those of the same age that are met with in other parts of Persia. The buildings were evidently erected after a Grecian model; they were formed of huge blocks of hewn stone, and were adorned with bases, shafts, and capitals, according to the prescribed rules of architecture. I see no reason, therefore, to doubt the tradition which ascribes them to the age of Khusraú Parvíz, when that monarch returned victorious from his Syrian campaign, and brought with him a great number of Grecian artisans, whom he afterwards retained in his service.

May 27th.—I marched 9 farsakhs to Kirmánsháh; after crossing a rocky range of hills for 2 farsakhs, the road descended to the valley of the Gámásáb river; the ford upon the direct road to Kirmánsháh was not practicable, and we were obliged, therefore, to proceed one farsakh up the river to Bísutún, where with some difficulty we at length managed to effect a passage. In the plain upon the left bank of the river there are some more Sásánian antiquities, which I examined upon another occasion. At a spot called Takhti-Shírín, distant about one farsakh from the ford, there are the ruins of a palace, or fire-temple; a confused mass of broken pillars and large blocks of stone are scattered about on the surface of a large mound, which seems to have been formed of the debris of the edifice; a plain slab of white stone, 8 feet in length and 5 in breadth, lies amid the ruins, but on the side exposed to view it presents no inscription or sculpture whatever. The Kurds, indeed, believe that there is a *ṭelism*,* as they call it, on the other side, but I never met with any one who had seen it; and it would be a work of some labour to dig out the slab, now half imbedded in the soil, and turn it over, so as to expose its lower face. Half a farsakh beyond the Takhti-Shírín is the village of Sermáj, at the foot of the Kúhi-Ḥarsín, on its

* Almost every inscription or sculpture is called by the Kurds a *ṭelism*, or talisman.

northern face, where there are ruins of the same appearance as those at Harsín, but of less extent; a modern mud fort has been built upon the site of the chief edifice, and the hovels around it conceal the greater part of the ruins. Opposite to the great rock of Bísutún are the ruins of a Sásánian bridge, across the river of Gámásáb, of which the buttresses now alone remain; it is named the Púli-Khusraú, and seems to have been built at the same time as the palaces in the neighbourhood. The appearance of the antiquities of Bísutún itself has been described by many writers on Persia, and I need only occupy myself, therefore, with its comparative geography. D'Anville, I believe, first suggested the identity of this place with the Baghistane of the Greeks; and, although this has been sometimes disputed, I shall endeavour to show such evidence as must prove the truth of his position.

We have three ancient notices of Baghistane: one where Diodorus copies the account which Ctesias gave of the arrival of Semiramis at this place, on her march from Babylon to Ecbatana; * the second occurring in the march of Alexander, by the circuitous track of Máh-Sabadán, from Susa to Ecbatana, described by the same author; † and the third, in the itinerary of Isidore of Charax, where he mentions the city of Bapta, situated in the district of Cambadene, between Carine and Concohar, on the high road from Babylonia to Media. ‡ If we assume the identification of the Ecbatana of Media Magna with Hamadán (and, in spite of the objections raised against this illustration, it is, I believe, to be demonstratively proved,) these three geographical indications will unite to verify the position of Baghistane at Bísutún. Semiramis traversed Bísutún in her way to Chaone, or Kangáwar, where she instituted the worship of the generative principle, and erected the magnificent palace, which, in the days of Isidore of Charax, had been converted to a temple of Anáitis, and of which the ruins still exist. Alexander, also, from Celonæ (Sarwán, or Keílún) pursued the route through the plains to the foot of Zagros, and, there joining the Babylonian high road, proceeded along it to Bísutún, from whence he visited the horse-pastures of Kháwah and Alíshtar. But the evidence of Isidore is the most distinct; I have been able to verify every position, almost every mile of measurement, in his itinerary, from Seleucia to Apobatane, or Hamadán. His Carine is, of course, Kirind, and his Concohar, Kangáwar; and between these intervenes Bapta, or Bísutún. The name of Cambadene, applying to the district, is also to be illustrated, for the tract of country adjoining Bísutún,

* Diod Sic., book ii. chap. 1.

† Book xvii, chap. 11.

‡ Isidore, in Hudson, vol. ii. p. 6.

on the left bank of the Gámásáb, retains to the present day the title of Chamábatán.*

Etymologically considered, the coincidence is even more striking. Bághistán signifies the place of gardens; and the name appears to have been given from the famous pleasure-grounds, ascribed traditionally to Semiramis. Bóstán has the same signification, and is only a contraction of the former word; and the great range of mountains, bounding the plain of Kirmánsháh, and called in the geographers Jabali-Bísutún, preserve in the Táki-Bóstán, at one extremity, the title, which at the other has been corrupted into Bísutún. But this name of Bóstán appears at one time to have been further corrupted into Batán, and thus the Bapta of Isidore is Bá Patán (the common contraction for Beth Patán), signifying the city of Patán, or Batán; whilst his Cambadene, also, is Cham Batán, the river of Batán, which, with a different explanation † for the word Batán, is universally allowed by the Kurds to be the derivation of the title of the district.

The descriptive evidence now remains. The precipitous rock, 17 stadia high, facing the garden, the large spring gushing out from the foot of the precipice and watering the adjoining plain, and the smoothening of the lower part of the rock, all convey an accurate idea of the present appearance of Bísutún; but what are we to say of the sculptures of Semiramis, and the inscription in Syriac characters? There are only two tablets at Bísutún,—the one now nearly destroyed, which contains a mutilated Greek inscription, declaring it to be the work of Gotarzes; the other a Persepolitan sculpture, which is adorned with nearly 1000 lines of Cuneiform writing, exhibiting the religious vows of Darius Hystaspes, after his return from the destruction of Babylon, on the revolt of its Udpati, or Governor, Nebúkadrazzar, the son of Nebúnít. ‡ We have no reason to suppose that either of these can represent the sculptures ascribed to Semiramis; for Ctesias, a Greek, could not possibly have misunderstood the Grecian tablet, even supposing that it existed in his time, which is scarcely probable; and, as he lived at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, it is not likely that, in the space of a century after the

* The Greeks having no soft *ch* were obliged to employ *k*; *d* and *t* were used indifferently in the old Persian; and we find the Greek *κνν* answering in most names to the modern termination in *an*, as *Ardekán* for *Articene*, *Másabadán* for *Mesobatene*, *Kháwarán* for *Choarene*, &c.

† They pretend that *Cham Batán* means "the river of ducks;" but it is more probable that *Batán* is a proper name.

‡ *Nebúnít* is, of course, the *Labyrinth* of *Herodotus* and the *Nabonid* of the canon of *Ptolemy*; but we are not informed in history of the name of this monarch's son, who revolted against *Darius Hystaspes*.

death of Darius Hystaspes, the proud memorial of that monarch should have been transferred to the remote ages of Semiramis. Yet Isidore also mentions the statue and pillar of Semiramis, at Baptaña : and I am inclined, therefore, to solve all difficulties, by supposing that this sculpture did really exist upon the lower part of the rock, which was scarped by the Assyrian Queen ; and that Khusraú Parvíz, when he was preparing to form of this long scarped surface the back wall of his palace, and for that purpose began to excavate deeper into the mountain, destroyed the sculptures, and removed all further trace of them. With regard to the pillar of Semiramis, it is not a little curious also that an Oriental writer of the 13th century* should describe the rock of Bísutún, from his own observation, as though it were sculptured into the form of a minárah or minaret. There is certainly, at present, nothing resembling what we should call a pillar or minaret ; but whether a pillar did at one time really exist, or whether the name was improperly applied to the mere smoothing of the rock, there is every probability that the *σῆλη* of Isidore, and the *menárah* of Zakariyá Kázvíní, refer to the same object.

That the ruined buildings at Bísutún are of the Sasánián age is proved by a capital, sculptured in its peculiar style, as well as by some words in the Zand character engraved on several of the blocks of stone ; and it is on this account that I ascribe to the same era all the remains of a similar class which are met with in the neighbourhood.

I must now mention the Greek inscription of Gotarzes ; and this is so difficult a subject that I shall not pretend to decide on its illustration. The mutilated tablet of colossal figures is well known, from the descriptions of former travellers ; but they do not seem to have paid much attention to the inscription : the only words that can be now made out are—**ΑΛΦΑΣΑΤΗΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΕΡ**, and then, after an interval, **ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠ**, where the inscription is broken off : the words **ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ** are also found in a corner of the tablet. Now *Geopothr* is certainly the Zand compound *Gúvputr*, the son of *Gív* ; and we thus recognise the name, famous in Oriental tradition, of Gúdarz Ibn Gív ; but who this Gúdarz Ibn Gív may be, it is not easy to say. There are two personages of the name of Gúdarz to whom the tablet may possibly relate ; and I shall briefly state the claims of one and the other. The Gúdarz of Persian fable was a celebrated

* *Zakariya Kázvíní*, in his two works, the *Atháru-l-Buldán* and *'Ajayibu-l-Makhlúqát*.

general during the reigns of Kai Káús, and Kai Khusraú. He is better known as the father of Gív than as his son; but still I have in one work found him expressly called Gúdarz Ibn Gív;* and such is the name which is always applied to him among the Iliyát of Kirmánsháh, where traditions regarding him abound. The Alphasates of the inscription (*l* and *r* being used indifferently in old Persian) would seem to be the same name as the Arphaxad of the Apocrypha, and the Arfah-zád of the Persians, who is considered identical with Kai Káús; and the name belongs therefore to a high antiquity. The tablet also, to all appearance, is far more ancient than the sculptures upon the same rock which date from the age of Darius Hystaspes. Against all this it is urged that we have no evidence whatever of the existence of such a hero but Persian fable and tradition; and how a Greek inscription should have found its way into Persia, anterior to, or at least coeval with, the elder Cyrus, it is most difficult to conceive. There are three letters also made use of in the inscription, **Z**, **H**, and **Ω**, which are supposed to have been introduced into Greece by Simonides about 500 B. C., and it is barely possible, therefore, that they could have been employed in Persia to commemorate this general of the Kaiánian monarchs.

The second Gúdarz, to whom the inscription also may relate, is the Arsacide Gotarzes. Josephus declares this king to have been the son of Artabanus,† the founder of the lower Arsacide dynasty; but Tacitus, who is better authority, makes him his brother,‡ and does not mention the father's name, which thus may possibly have been Gív; and indeed this may be the very personage whose exploits have been removed by the Persians to the fabulous ages of Kai Khusraú. Gotarzes, the Arsacide, as I have already shown, appears to have fought his great battle with Meherdates in this plain, intervening between Bísutún and Kirmánsháh; and indeed the very name Mithrates may possibly be the same as the Meherdates of Tacitus, though, as the one name is pure Persian,§ and the other corrupted, this is hardly probable: and, lastly, though I have very little experience in Greek inscriptions, yet the alphabet employed appears to me to be far more conformable to the age of Claudius than to the remote period of Cyrus. The arguments against this illustration are, that the Arsacide Gotarzes is never named Ibn Gív in the Oriental histories; that, as the great king of Parthia, he would

* In the Sharaf Námah.

† Josephus, Ant., book xx. c. iii. s. 4.

‡ Ann., book xi. c. viii.

§ Mihrdád, given by Mihr, Mithra, or the sun.

hardly have taken the inferior title of Satrap of Satraps; and, lastly, that it is impossible for any one, looking at the two tablets together, to believe the Greek one to be five centuries posterior to the other. Perhaps, after all, Gúdarz Ibn Giv may have been neither the one nor the other of these heroes, but a mere provincial governor, who attained some local celebrity; and I believe that there is a satrap of the name of Gotarzes mentioned by the historians of Alexander, though I cannot now refer to the particular passage. At any rate, however, from the great celebrity of the first Gúdarz in Persian romance, the history of this inscription must be an object of interest equally to the oriental and classical scholar.

The distance from Bísutún to Kirmánsháh is 6 farsakhs, the direction being due W. At 2 farsakhs from Bísutún are found the remains of another palace, which I suppose to have been Sásánian: some eight or nine bases and capitals, scattered over the plain, are all that are now to be seen; but the space between the first of these ruins and the last is about 300 paces, and if they belonged therefore to the same building, which is probable from the appearance of the intervening ground, it must have been of very great extent.

The Tákí-Bóstán, of which accurate drawings have been published, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ farsakh to the right of the road. The sculpture at this place is the finest in Persia, and is evidently the work of Grecian artists. The Pehléví inscriptions have been deciphered by De Sacy,* and for the last forty-five years his translations have been allowed to stand unimpeached. Owing to the faulty copies, however, which he inspected, he has made many mistakes: four or five words in each inscription are erroneously rendered, and in one he has actually mistaken the name of the king in whose honour the inscription was engraven. The left-hand inscription he concludes correctly to relate to Shápúr Dhú-l-aktáf; but the other, which he attributes to Bahrám Kirmánsháh, refers in reality to his brother Shápúr.†

I hope, on some future occasion, to give to the public a more detailed account of the antiquities of this part of Persia than I have been able to embody in this hasty abstract.

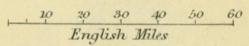
* *Ant. de la Perse*, p. 243.

† He has mistaken the name Sháhphrí for Varahrán.





Map
to illustrate
MAJOR RAWLINSON'S ROUTE
from
ZOHAB to KHUZISTAN,
in
1836.



Major Rawlinson's route is colored Red.

Longitude East from Greenwich



Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, Through Persian Kurdistán, to the Ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, and from Thence by Zenján and Tárom, to Gílán, in October and November, 1838; With a Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana

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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

- I.—*Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, through Persian Kurdistán, to the Ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, and from thence by Zenján and Tárom, to Gilán, in October and November, 1838; with a Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana.* By H. C. RAWLINSON, Bombay-Army, Major serving in Persia. Communicated by Viscount PALMERSTON.

IN the month of October, 1838, I set out from Tabríz, to travel to Gilán, by the route of Persian Kurdistán and Khamseh. My chief object in following this circuitous track was, to obtain data for the identification of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, a city of whose existence I had been long persuaded, but of which, without a correct knowledge of the topographical features of Southern Azerbáján, I could not venture to assign the representative in modern geography. Aware, also, of the incompleteness and, perhaps, of the incorrectness of the maps hitherto published of this part of the country, I was not inattentive to my road-book. With a watch and compass, I observed the distances and magnetic bearings along the entire line as accurately as I was able, and from these I have laid down the route which accompanies my memoir.

October 16th.—I left the British camp, on the south-western outskirts of Tabríz, and rode 7 miles to the village of Sirdárúd, in a general direction of S. 72° W. At 2 miles I passed to the left the little village of Lálá, containing a summer-house and garden, whither the idle Tabrizis repair frequently during the spring and summer, to pass the day in feasting and merriment; there is also a mineral spring near this place, which is supposed to possess certain medicinal properties; the temperature of the water, in summer, is nearly that of the surrounding atmosphere, but, in winter, it retains a considerable degree of warmth, which

has given it the name of *I'sí Şú*, or the hot water. In former times it was used by the *Tabrízís* as a bath; a basin was constructed to hold the water, and over this was erected a small square building for the accommodation of the bathers; both these works, however, are at present dilapidated, and there is no appearance of comfort or privacy. The high ground above the spring commands a fine prospect of *Tabríz*, which, surrounded with a forest of orchards, gives an idea of immense extent. The whole circuit, indeed, of the gardens of *Tabríz* cannot measure less than 30 miles. The road to *Sirdárúd* skirts to the left the low hills which form the southern boundary of the great *Tabríz* plain, and upon the right is seen an immense level flat, stretching away to the margin of the salt lake farther than the eye can trace its features. At this season of the year the plain presented a less desolate appearance than usual, the peasantry being employed in some numbers in sowing their autumn grain, and thus lending a faint glow of animation to the otherwise most dreary scene. *Sirdárúd* is a flourishing place, situated on a small stream, which flows from *Sehend*, and gives its name to the village and district. The gardens and orchards which surround it, along the foot of the hills, are of great extent, but still they can afford only a faint idea of the former richness of the district, when the suburbs of *Tabríz* stretched out as far as this place, and the whole country was covered with such a forest of trees, that it was difficult to distinguish the boundaries of the respective villages.*

17th.—From *Sirdárúd* I made a stage of 22 miles to the village of *Gogán*. The road conducts across the plain for 12 miles, in a general direction of S.W., to the village of *Ilkhújí*, the low hills to the left running along at an average distance of about 1 mile, and the great plain, as before, to the right, stretching down to the shores of the lake. Along this tract, the plain is cultivated throughout, and many villages are seen scattered about. One of these, situated in a glade of the hills to the left, at the distance of 8 miles from *Sirdárúd*, is of considerable extent; it is named *Khosraú Sháh*, and is one of those many happy spots along the skirts of *Sehend* enjoying, at all seasons, a most delightful climate, and owing its fertility to the streams of this most beneficent of mountains.

The vale of *Khosraú Sháh*, as far as the eye can reach up among the hills, is one mass of groves and gardens, and almost realises the picture of sylvan beauty which is described by the geographers, and which caused the spot to be associated, in former times, with the four other paradises of Persian poetry—the valley of the *Soghd*, at *Samarķand*; the *Ghúṭah*, or plain of

* See *Noz-hetu-l-Kolúb*.

Damascus; the Sha'abi-Bowán, near *Ḳal'eh Sofid*, in Fárs; and the glade of *Máshán-rúd*, at *Hamadán*.*

Khosraú Sháh is included by *Abúlfedá* in his catalogue of the cities of *Azerbáján*, and would seem, therefore, anciently, to have been a place of far greater consequence than at present.

Ilkhíjí, where I breakfasted in a vineyard, is an inconsiderable village, to the left of the road; the name is misprinted *Itk'his* in Colonel *Monteith's* map of *Azerbáján*.

At 1 mile from this place the road leads round a long point of the low hills, called by the *Tabrízis Linzí Búrní*, and then stretches across a flat open *chemen* (meadow-land) in a direction of S. 20° W. for 9 miles, to the village of *Gogán*. At the point of the hill the road divides, one track turning off to the left, and running along at the foot of the hills to *Dekergán* (properly *Dehí-Kherkán*, or *Dehí-Khwárkán*), the capital of the district, and the other, which I followed, conducting direct to *Gogán*.

Gogán is one of a cluster of villages dependent upon *Dekergán*, from which it is distant about 5 miles; like all the other places in this part of the country, it is surrounded with a belt of gardens, through which the traveller has to thread his way for above 1 mile before he reaches the hamlet in the centre.

It has suffered much from inundations; twice, within the last ten years, a torrent has come down from the mountains, and swept away all the buildings upon the banks of the little stream that flows through the village, but it seems now to be again in a flourishing condition. That the village has thus rapidly recovered from the destructive effects of the inundations, is owing, doubtless, to the great productiveness of the garden-ground, in the cultivation of which its inhabitants are exclusively engaged; and which, of all kinds of agriculture, is alone able to bear up against such evils under the withering influence of Persian administration. To show the superiority of this branch of agriculture over the usual cultivation of grain, I may remark that in *Azerbáján*, where alone taxation, in Persia, is so systematised as to afford any data for general estimates, the government assessment upon a village will be found to average five *tómáns* each family; while, in those cases where the labour of a village is bestowed solely upon the care of fruit-trees and plantations, the assessment rises as high as eight, or even nine *tómáns* each family, and the peasantry at the same time is usually found to be in a more thriving condition than their neighbours. From *Gogán*, *Dekergán*, and the adjacent villages, the only exports are fruit and timber for the *Tabríz* market. The fruits consist of peaches, nectarines, apricots, plums of all sorts, cherries, pears, apples, and grapes; and the planta-

* See *Noz-hetu-l-Ḳolúb*, in the account of *Tabríz*.

tions are chiefly of poplar and chinár (the oriental plane), the usual materials employed for the wood-work of Persian building. The gardens of this district are mostly the property of Tabriz merchants, who have either planted or purchased them on speculation; they pay the government tax of a panábád* upon each tenáf (a square measure of about eighteen English yards), and for the labour of cultivation, they either allow the villagers a fifth of the produce, or hire them at the rate of 6*d.* a day for each man employed. The expenses of irrigation, either by wells or aqueducts, fall, of course, on the proprietor.

Gogán is a place of no antiquity, but Dekergán,† the capital of the district, occurs in all the old Arabic itineraries, and would seem to be as ancient, or even more so, than Tabriz itself. In modern times, it is chiefly celebrated as the scene of conference between General Count Paskevich and the Prince Royal of Persia, after the occupation of Tabriz by the Russians.

18*th.*—At the distance of 1 mile after leaving Gogán, the road enters a chain of low barren hills, and at 3 miles further rejoins the high road, which turned off to the left, as I have already mentioned, at Linzí Búrní, and conducted through Dekergán. From hence 6 miles among the hills lead to the marble pits, lying a few hundred yards to the right of the road, at the entrance of an inconsiderable plain, which here stretches up from the lake, and forms a sort of open bay among the prongs of the Sehend range. These pits are well deserving of examination by the geologist. They extend over a space of about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in circumference, are small and irregular, and do not appear to have been ever sunk above 10 or 12 feet in depth; the sides are cut perpendicularly, and in the section thus exposed the strata of marble may be seen running in parallel and horizontal layers, the first occurring at about five or six feet below the surface,‡ and the succeeding strata at intervals of about 2 feet; the average breadth of the layer of marble may be 7 or 8 inches.

A multitude of springs, strongly impregnated with carbonic acid gas, are seen bubbling up among the pits in all directions. On the escape of the gas, a copious deposit is left of carbonate of lime, and the channels in which the waters run are thus raised up into little rocky ridges, varying in height from 1 to 2 feet above the plain. The marble is, I conclude, the semi-crystalline formation of this deposit, though why it should thus form only in thin horizontal layers, several feet beneath the surface, may be

* A Persian coin of the value of 6*d.* The name is given from the town of Penáhábád in Karábágh, where the coin was first struck, about fifty years ago, by Penáh Khán.

† Yákúti, in the *Mo'jemo-l Beldán*, writes the name Dehí Kherján, and says that it was called after Kherján, the treasurer of Kesrá Anúshírwán.

‡ The formation above the marble is ordinary calcareous tufa in thin layers.

perhaps an interesting subject of inquiry. There is no work, at present, going on in the quarries; but I saw a great number of slabs cut out and squared, lying ready for removal. It is well known that this Marághah marble is highly valued in Persia; when formed into thin plates, it is nearly transparent, and is used for windows to the baths at Tabríz. In larger slabs, it is also frequently employed for pavement to baths and palaces, and the famous throne in the Díván Kháneh, at Teherán, is formed of the same material. There is a small village at this place called Dáshkesen, inhabited by labourers who work the quarries. The direction from Gogán is about S. 18° W.

From the pits the road strikes across the little plain due S. for 2 miles, having the village of Sherámín to the left, and that of Khánigáh to the right, and then again winds among low hills for 8 miles, till it descends into the spacious plain which extends round the south-eastern angle of the lake. Here the road again divides, the great caravan route clinging to the hills upon the left, and the other road, which I followed, striking down into the plain to the village of Shíshewán, distant from this point about 4 miles, in a direction of S. 16° E.

This part of the country, between the hills and the lake, is in a high state of cultivation, and is covered with villages. A rich loamy soil, abundance of water, and a climate little subject to the rigours of winter, offer advantages to husbandry that, thus united, are rarely to be met with in Persia. The chief place in the vicinity is Shíráz, a name which is sometimes employed to denote the whole dependent district; this, however, is more properly called Dezziyá-rúd, from the title of the stream that waters it. The greater part of the lands are crown property, and have been granted in Tiyúl* to the family of Abú-l Fet-h Khán, a chief of some consequence in Karábágh; they are calculated to yield, annually, about 5000 tó máns of crown revenue, though this sum is far below what is really drawn from them.

Shíshewán, where I made my stage for the day, is alone excluded from the grant. It belongs to Melik Kásim Mírzá, a son of the late Sháh of Persia, and is, perhaps, one of the most interesting places to be found in Azerbiján. The prince, who has built himself a palace in the European style near the village, and who usually resides here, is quite a character. To great intelligence and enterprise he unites a singular taste for the habits of European life, and the cultivation of many useful arts which

* Tiyúl is a grant of the crown revenues of any town or district; the individual receiving the grant is usually intrusted with its realization, though not necessarily so. The grant also extends only to his own life-time, unless otherwise specified. It is calculated that about a fifth of the whole land-revenue of Persia is, at present, thus alienated from the crown.

belong to European civilization. Possessing grants of land from the crown, which yield him from 10,000 to 12,000 *tómáns* a-year,* he has a sufficient fortune to enable him to gratify these tastes to a very considerable extent; and Shíshewán is thus rapidly assuming the appearance of an European settlement. In one place may be seen a kennel of dogs; in another, a farm-yard stocked with all sorts of poultry, partridges, pheasants, and water-fowl; in another, a pigsty; a range of buildings in another quarter is occupied by a party of Russian tradesmen,—tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, &c., working at their different callings; but the most interesting objects are the experimental establishments which the prince has set up under his immediate inspection, for the purpose of introducing the improvements of European science, and which, under the encouragement of an enlightened government, might be formed into a nursery of useful arts that would tend greatly to benefit the commercial resources of the country: among these are his mulberry-garden and silk establishment, his glass foundry, pottery, manufactory of white wax, and looms for weaving a variety of cotton, silk, and worsted goods. Perhaps the chance of ultimate benefit would be greater, if he would be content to devote his attention to any one particular object—the production of silk, for instance—where a little care in the preparation, and a system of reeling adapted to the English market, would soon establish the superiority of his produce over the material now exported, and thus induce the merchants of Gílán rapidly to adopt his improvements; but, as his own object is amusement, rather than profit, it can hardly be expected that he would thus sacrifice his varied pleasures for the attainment of one great commercial end.

I found his hobby, at the time of my visit to Shíshewán, to be shipbuilding; and a simple statement of the manner in which he pursued it will serve far better to illustrate his character than pages of general description. The lake of Urumiyah is only a mile distant from his palace; and this convenience of position first led him to think of navigating it. He forthwith applied to his nephew, the Sháh, for the high admiralty of the lake, and a monopoly of the right of sailing on it. This was granted; and some half-dozen tubs that belonged to the different villages along the shores were accordingly seized and broken up. The prince then set to work to replace them with proper boats. Russian workmen were procured from the ports on the Caspian, and a number of small craft were shortly launched, rude enough, certainly, but still far superior to the crazy tubs that had been formerly in use. This was but the first step, however: the prince

* Two *tómáns* may always be reckoned equal to a pound sterling.

now determined to have a ship upon the lake. He got a master-shipwright from Bákúbá; hired a number of carpenters to work under him; bought timber and the necessary materials; built forges and workshops; pitched a small tent for himself on the salt shore, where he remained day and night watching the progress of the labour; and in two months from the time of setting about it he positively launched a vessel upon the lake, of about 100 tons burthen, and unfurled his pendant from the mast-head as lord high admiral of his little sea. This vessel he intends employing upon a carrying trade between the different villages upon the lake; and I do not doubt but that he will soon reimburse himself for the outlay. Elated with his first essay, he now aims at higher things, and will not rest satisfied till he can run up and down the lake in a steam-boat. There is certainly no ordinary degree of enterprise and perseverance required in a country like Persia to work out an object to an end, as Melik Kásim Mírzá is now doing in the case I have detailed; and though the establishment of a steam-boat on the lake of Urumíyah may be the mere gratification of a private taste, still, as a trait of character, it is, I think, worthy of record, and, as a means of drawing the attention of Persia to naval matters, and from thence to the maritime resources of her Caspian provinces, it may not, perhaps, also be devoid of eventual benefit to the country.

The lake of Urumíyah has been so often described that it need not long delay us. The geographical outline is laid down with tolerable accuracy in Colonel Monteith's map. It extends above a degree of latitude in length, and is about a third of that distance in extreme breadth. The greatest depth of water that is found in any part is 4 fathoms; the average is about 2 fathoms; but the shores shelve so gradually that this depth is rarely attained within 2 miles of the land. The specific gravity of the water, from the quantity of salt which it retains in solution, is great; so much so, indeed, that the prince's vessel, of 100 tons burthen, when loaded, is not expected to have more draught than 3 or 4 feet at utmost. This heaviness of the water also prevents the lake from being much affected by storms, which, from its extreme shallowness, would otherwise render its navigation dangerous. A gale of wind can raise the waves but a few feet; and, as soon as the storm has passed, they subside again into their deep, heavy, death-like sleep. It is an old opinion that the waters of the lake are too salt to support animal life. Geographers of ancient and modern days all combine in the assertion; but though fish, certainly, and the larger aquatic species, are not to be found in it, yet the prince assured me that, in his voyages, he had repeatedly met with the smaller class of zoophytes, and those too in considerable numbers.

There is also a common tradition in the country that the lake

has greatly encroached upon its original extent. The low shelving shore, which now stretches far into the water, is supposed, at no very remote period, to have been dry land; and the increase of the waters is explained by the disembogement of the great rivers Jaghatú and Tátáú, which were formerly absorbed in the irrigation of the plain of Miyándáb. Another proof adduced in support of this opinion is, the submersion of a causeway, which is believed to have formerly crossed the lake from Urumíyah to Bínáb; and at the same time, as this extraordinary work has been altogether unnoticed by former travellers, I may here mention upon what evidence the belief in its existence depends.

I first heard of the causeway from an Afshár chief of Urumíyah. He declared to me that some thirty years ago he was ordered, on business of consequence, to communicate with Ahmed Khán of Marághah. The Bilbás Kurds, the common enemy of the Afshár and Mokeddem tribes, had possession of the whole country along the southern shores of the lake; and it was thus impossible to pass by the usual route. At the same time the tubs which were employed by the villagers to cross from one side to the other were none of them at hand, so he had no resource but to trust to an old guide, who promised to conduct him across the ruined causeway. He made the attempt, and actually passed across, between daylight and dark, the line of the bank being visible, as he declared, the whole way, from a slight change in the colour of the water. He described it as a raised bank of earth, some 10 or 15 feet in breadth, over which the usual depth of water was about 2 feet, and never more than 4 feet. I heard stories about the bank subsequently from many people living on the shores of the lake; and, in my present visit to Shíshewán, I was curious to learn from the prince if it actually existed at the present time. In reply to my inquiries the prince told me that he had frequently sailed over its supposed line, but had never been able to observe it; that the tradition of its former existence, however, was universal; and that some years ago a party of horsemen from Urumíyah actually attempted to follow it; but several of them were lost in the lake, and the others returned; since which time no one has ventured on the passage. The people believe that the earth has gradually crumbled away before the action of the water; and that at present there is no such thing as a continued bank. If such a causeway did ever exist in reality, it must have been of the most remote antiquity, dating, perhaps, from the Median or Assyrian monarchs, who could alone have planned and executed a work of such gigantic labour.

The comparative geography of the lake has been well illustrated by Saint Martin, the historian of Armenia. He has ingeniously conjectured that the name Spauta that is applied to it

in our present MSS. of Strabo is an error of some ancient copyist for Kaputa, a word which answers to the Armenian Gaboïd, and Persian Kabúd, signifying blue; and which, in allusion to the colour of the water, is the title usually assigned to it by the Oriental geographers. To Saint Martin's account I have only to add that, under the Moghul dynasty, the lake seems to have been named indifferently Khojest* (a word which I am unable to explain); and the salt sea of Tezúch, from the town of that name at its northern extremity; and I may also correct his orthography of the names of the two great rivers which empty themselves into it. These, from the printed copy of the Jehán Numá he gives as Tchefteh and Teftou.† The names, in reality, are Jaghatú and Taghatú, the last having been softened into its present pronunciation of Tátátú.

The islands in the lake until lately were barren and uninhabited: Melik Kásim Mírzá has recently colonised the largest, which he names Maral;‡ and he proposes in time to form settlements upon all of them.

19th.—I passed this day at Shíshewán, examining the prince's establishment, and giving him such information and assistance as I was able in his various objects of pursuit. His acquaintance with European languages is extensive. Of French he is a perfect master; and in English and Russian he converses with much fluency. His habits of domestic life are also entirely European: he wears European clothes, breakfasts and dines in the European style; and, as far as regards himself, has adopted our manners, to the minutest point of observance; and this singular transition—a change which a person accustomed to the contrasts of European and Oriental life can alone appreciate—has arisen entirely from his own unbiased choice, and without his having had either means or inducement to effect it beyond his occasional intercourse with European society at Tabriz.

Shíshewán, I confess, presents a phenomenon in social life, which I should little have expected to meet with in Persia; and when I reflect that moral development can alone proceed from an improvement in the social condition, I fervently hope that the prince may have many imitators, and that a brighter day may thus be opening upon Persia.

20th.—From Shíshewán I travelled 13 miles to Bináb, in a direction of S. 26 E. The village of 'Ajab Shehr,§ is distant

* For some curious particulars regarding this name, Khojest, or, perhaps, Chejest, see my Memoir, pp. 79, 80.

† See Saint Martin, "Recherches sur l'Arménie," tom. i. pp. 56-61.

‡ He gave it this name from a pair of maral (the wild red deer of Persia), which were the first living beings he placed upon the island.

§ Literally, "the wonderful city."

scarcely $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from Shíshewán, and Kháníyán, which is the usual halting-place for Káfilahs, is again about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile beyond. Leaving these places to the left, at 2 miles, I crossed the stream of Dezziyá-rúd—this river rises high up among the ravines of Sehend, and at the distance of 2 farsakhs, before it debouches into the plain there is a ruined castle, which would be worth examining; it is named Tásh Kál'eh,* and, from the accounts I have received of it, I conclude it to be a work of the Sasanian ages. A great number of aqueducts are derived from the stream of Dezziyá-rúd, which fertilise the surrounding lands, and below Shíshewán a dam has been built across the bed of the river which throws the remainder of the waters into other canals, employed also for irrigation. The staple produce of the plain is cotton, rice, wheat, and barley. At the distance of 2 miles from the river, the road quits the cultivated plain, and leads over a narrow barren tract, between the hills and the lake, till it approaches to the edge of a salt morass, inundated in the spring, when the waters of the lake rise to their highest level; here the road to Marághah strikes off to the left, along the skirts of the hills, passing close under the singular Mithraic caves, which have been described by Kinneir. The route to Bínáb conducts along a raised causeway, through the salt morass; and, at times, is almost impassable from the mud and sloughs. At this season, however, it was perfectly dry.

Bínáb is a considerable town, containing about 1,500 houses, and surrounded for many miles, in all directions, with orchards and vineyards. The mildness of climate that it enjoys from the neighbourhood of the lake, renders it most favourable to the cultivation of the grape, vast quantities of which are raised and exported to Tabríz. The streets are clean, and, from the greater part of them having a stream of water flowing down the centre, the place possesses some resemblance to Khói, decidedly the neatest and cleanest town in Persia: there are, also, a bázár, and several good Caravanserais. Bínáb forms a dependency of Marághah, paying 4000 tó máns of revenue, and furnishing a quota of 400 men to the Azerbiján army, an obligation fully equivalent to the amount of actual taxation. Abundance of water is found at a few feet beneath the surface, and the vineyards are thus all provided with wells for irrigation. The river of Marághah, called Şofí Chái, properly Şáfí, flows, also, along the southern outskirts of the gardens, and numerous canals are derived from it, which contribute to water the town and vineyards. Bínáb is a settlement of modern times, and does not appear in any of the Oriental geographers.

* Pronounced Dásh Kál'eh, literally, "the stone castle."

21st.—From Bínáb I travelled a distance of 20 miles, to Chillik, a village of Melik Kásim Mírzá's, on the Tátáú river; beyond the gardens I crossed the Sofí Chái, by a good bridge, and from thence, passing over a cultivated tract, for 2 miles, reached the point of hill which forms the northern boundary of the great Míyándáb plain; here I quitted the high road, and struck off by a bye track, in a direction of S.W. by S. to Chillik. At 5 miles farther, I crossed the Jaghatú, a paltry stream, at this time containing scarcely a foot's depth of water, and running in a direction of N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., and beyond this, at 3 miles, I dismounted at the little village of Kemchik, to breakfast. Along the course of the Jaghatú, there are several villages, but the other parts of the plain are bare, and uninhabited; and, with the exception of an occasional patch of castor oil-plant, there is no trace of cultivation. The title of Míyándáb, contracted from Míyándú-áb, applies, properly, to the country between the two rivers of Jaghatú, and Tátáú, but, in its common acceptation, it includes the whole extent of this vast plain, as well to the N. of the one as to the S. of the other. The soil throughout is extremely rich, and, at the upper end of the plain, where many streams descend from the mountains to the N. and E., and the higher level of the beds of the two great rivers, affords facilities for irrigation: cultivation is abundant; but, as the plain slopes down gradually to the shores of the lake, the Jaghatú and Tátáú wear themselves into deeper channels, the difficulty of raising the water into artificial ducts increases and the greater part of the land is thus allowed to run waste, serving, at best, but for the winter pasturage of the flocks belonging to the Mokeddem, and Mikrí I'liyát. A dam, thrown across either of the rivers, to raise the water to the level of the plain, would convert its whole surface into arable ground, and would, probably, soon repay the expense of its construction; but a work of this kind would need to be of gigantic character to resist the tremendous force of the spring currents, and would thus far exceed the means of any private individual. The government, indeed, might undertake it with advantage; but, in the apathetic and narrow-minded views that pervade all Persian administration, it is vain to look for the execution of any work that has mere prospective benefit to recommend it.

At 8 miles from Kemchik I reached the banks of the Tátáú, and crossed it, by a shallow ford, to the village of Chillik, upon the other side. Chillik forms one of a cluster of villages S. of the Tátáú, belonging to Melik Kásim Mírzá; the district is irrigated by canals from the river, and its flourishing appearance bears the most honourable testimony to the enterprise of the proprietor. The prince also hopes to be able to draw the great

caravan route which now passes through Merhemet-ábád, to this place; and, if he succeeds, the village will rapidly rise into consequence. In the spring, when the rivers Tátáú and Jaghatú are swollen by the melting of the snows, they remain unfordable for many months together; and all caravans and travellers at that season, have hitherto been obliged to cross upon the crazy rafts, formed by the government of Merhemet-ábád: for these the prince has now substituted, at Chillik, commodious ferry-boats, which he works, gratis, for the public accommodation; and, although the passage at this place will cause a circuit of some miles, I do not doubt but that it will soon become the great thoroughfare.

After an hour's rest at Chillik, I set out in search of a most interesting object of antiquity, which I had heard of in the neighbourhood. This was the Cuneiform inscription of Tâsh Teppeh, an isolated hillock in the plain, distant 5 miles from Chillik, in a direction of S. 30 E. On reaching the spot I found the teppeh to be of an irregular shape, 350 paces in circumference at the base, and, as well as I could judge, from 50 to 60 feet above the level of the plain—it is formed of a projection of limestone above the soil, lying in strata nearly perpendicular; the whole face of the hillock, fronting Chillik, thus presents a series of smooth surfaces, adapted to the engraving of sculptures or inscriptions; and upon one of these natural tablets I found the object of my search. The inscription is about 35 inches square, and consists of 21 lines, written in the Median alphabet, somewhat modified from the form which it exhibits on the tablets of Bisitún, Hamadán, and Persepolis; it is deplorably mutilated—the rock being liable, from the direction of the strata, to chip off in large flakes, so that the greater part of the writing is thus altogether destroyed. I conclude that the hillock was anciently surmounted by a fire-temple, and that the purport of the inscription is religious; but it is, I fear, in too imperfect a state to admit of any correct version. There is, at present, a little mud enclosure upon the summit of the teppeh, which has been used as a place of defence; and within this is a mound of earth, the relic of some ancient building; but neither brick, nor glazed pottery, nor any other evidence of antiquity is to be found; and were it not for the inscription cut upon the rock, there would be nothing whatever to awaken curiosity. Below the teppeh are a few broken mounds which seem to mark the site of a village.

The present village of Tâsh Teppeh is at the distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile beyond the hillock, but it is a miserable hamlet, and a traveller wishing to visit the place should make his stage at Yelálí, a large village belonging to the prince, only a mile distant on the road to Chillik.

After taking a copy of the inscription, I galloped back to Chillik, where I arrived at dark.

2nd.—At Chillik I procured a guide to conduct me to Ushnei, to which place I was proceeding, in order to copy another inscription that I had heard of in the vicinity. For 10 miles I traversed the Miyándáb plain, in a direction of S. 53 W., the road lying, for the greater part of the way, through a dense mass of reeds and high grass, which it was not easy to penetrate. In the spring, this tract, I learnt, is an impassable morass, fed by the Só-új Bólák river, which, at other seasons, loses itself in a lake, about 10 miles distant, and does not reach the Miyándáb plain; the Só-új Bólák river never, at any time, joins the Tátáú, as laid down in Colonel Monteith's map.

At last, having fairly crossed the Miyándáb plain, we entered some low hills, which reach down nearly to the lake, and crossed into the district of Soldúz: the country, hereabouts, is tolerably fertile, and though belonging, geographically, to Soldúz, the villages are all inhabited by Mikrí Kurds, and pay their revenue, for the greater part, to the Mikrí chiefs of Só-új Bólák. A far-sakh among the hills brought us into the plain of Soldúz; and we then turned up W. by N. through a rich and highly cultivated country, till, at the end of 3 hours' ride, we halted for the day at 'Alí Beglí, a large village upon the river Gáder.

In our maps of Azerbijnán we usually find a town of the name of Soldúz, at the southern extremity of the lake, but this is an error; Soldúz is the name of the district; a plain stretching nearly E. and W., parallel to the southern shores of the lake, from which it is divided by a low range of hills, and measuring about 20 miles in length and 5 miles in breadth. It is certainly the best watered and the most fertile plain which I have seen in Azerbijnán—I think, I may say, in Persia: the river Gáder flows down the centre; and from this are derived vast numbers of canals, which irrigate as much land as is required for cultivation. It is held, at present, by a party of the Kará-pápá tribe, on a military tenure of rather a singular character. This Turkish tribe, who have a very high reputation for courage, and skill in horsemanship, and who had been settled, for a great length of time, in Georgia, sought refuge with 'Abbás Mírzá during the last Russian war. The prince received them with open arms; and, to reward so rare an instance of fidelity, immediately made over to them the district of Soldúz, for the maintenance of the chiefs and their followers. The government assessment on Soldúz was, at that time, 12,000 tó máns; and the whole of this sum was granted them in Tiyúl, on condition of their furnishing a body of 400 horse to the crown, whenever called upon; but Ahmed Khán, of Marághah, in whose government Soldúz was formerly included,

had drawn from it nearly 30,000 tomans annually; and the Kará-pápás, when once fairly installed in their new possessions, rather increased than abated the revenue.

The Kará-pápás numbered about 800 houses, and they found at Soldúz 4000 or 5000 families of ra'yyahs, chiefly Kurds, of the Mikrí, Mámish, and Zerbá tribes, with a few Mokeddem Turks, who were employed in the cultivation of the soil. Since their location in this favoured spot, they have been also able to buy the proprietorship of the greater portion of the lands, and thus have gone on increasing in wealth and prosperity, till, at the present day, there is certainly no tribe in Persia that can compete with them in comfort and independence. Free from all the evils and annoyances which attend the government realization of revenue, the chiefs reside each in their respective villages, with their military retainers around them, engaged in their agricultural pursuits, and feeding on the fat of the land: but still, wherever I stopped to inquire, I could not find that there was any amelioration in the condition of the peasantry. "What does it signify to us," said the poor Kurdish ra'yyahs, "whether the Kará-pápás, or the Mokeddems, or the Tabrízis, govern Soldúz? We labour hard every day of the year, and we can still only just get bread to keep our wives and children from starving, going about, ourselves, barefoot and in rags, as you see us:" and such is, I suspect, really the fact. In all cases in Persia, except among the tribes where the chief and clansmen feel a mutual interest in each other's welfare, the cultivator of the land is worked and taxed to the utmost limit which he can bear: in ordinary cases he has to satisfy the demands of the government and the rapacity of his immediate master: here he is subject to the same extortion; the only difference being that the whole sum goes into the pocket of the chief. However, to a traveller passing through the plain of Soldúz, it appears a magnificent district—extensive meadows, pasturing at least 1000 mares; herds of buffaloes, cows, and sheep grazing in all directions; rice ground sufficient for sowing 1000 kherwárs* of rice; and which, being, as I was told, only half cultivated, still yields at a tenfold return, 5000 kherwárs annually, worth upwards of 20,000 tómáns; and a crowd of villages, with a teeming peasantry, all combine to give an air of life and prosperity to the scene, that is rarely to be met with in Persia.

The capital of Soldúz is Nákhodeh, a large village at the foot of an immense teppeh (artificial as it appeared to me), upon which is a quadrangular fort, with eight bastions, the strong place of the district. Here Mehdí Khán, the chief of the Kará-pápás, resides; and this is the place, I conclude, which appears in the

* The kherwár is about 640 lbs., and the average value of a kherwár of rice in Aзербiján, may be taken at 4 tómáns.

Syriac annals, under the name of Solduz; and which was long the see of a Christian bishop, under the metropolitan of Urumíyah.* I cannot trace Soldúz in Oriental Geography; indeed, the name would seem to be a Turkish imposition, and probably only dates from the Seljukians. The historian of the Kurds † states that, in the fifteenth century, it was wrested from the Kizil-báshes, ‡ by Pír Bodaq, the first leader of the Bábán tribe; and shortly afterwards, when the Mikrís rose into power, it fell under their sway, and formed one of their most valuable possessions. It remained with the Mikrís until modern times, and even, at present, by far the greater number of the inhabitants are of that tribe.

There are about sixty villages scattered over the plain, and they appear larger and in a more flourishing condition than those of the neighbouring districts. The chief places, after Nákhodeh, are Kelátán, at the N.W. extremity of the plain, Chiyáneeh, Fer-rokhzád, 'Alí Beglí, and Derbend, upon the Ushnei frontier.

23rd.—I moved to-day from 'Alí Beglí to Ushnei: § the road led, for 10 miles, along the foot of the hills, which bound the Soldúz plain to the southward; and then, ascending the brow of a little prong that juts out and forms its western limit, overlooked the fertile and secluded district of Ushnei. The view from this point was noble in the extreme. The great Kurdistán mountains bound the district to the W., bearing here the same stern character of grandeur and elevation which they possess in their whole line of prolongation from Taurus, and dwarfing all the other ranges that intersect the face of the country. The boundary of snow which clothed their rocky summits was marked, as if with the precision of a drawn line; and at the foot of the range was to be seen the little town of Ushnei, smiling among its gardens and orchards, and offering a strange contrast to the savage wildness of the mountain rampart above it. The town was distant from this pass, which is called Āli-Heremí, about 10 miles, in a direction of N. 75° W. Riding over the intervening plain, I at once became aware that I had fairly entered Kurdistán. In Soldúz there were many MikrÍ ra'yyáhs; but, under Turkish masters, the Kurds lose their great national characteristics, and are not always distinguishable from the Turkish or Persian peasantry: here the change was marked and universal—for the ragged and sombre-looking blue Kedek || dress, and the old felt or sheep-skin cap, I

* Assemani, tom. iv., p. 423.

† In the *Tárikhi-Akrád*.

‡ Kizil Básh, or Red-head, is applied by the Kurds to all foreigners, Persian as well as Turkish.

§ I use the uniform orthography of Ushnei to represent the modern pronunciation, for the name is written in so many different ways by the Orientals, that it is impossible to say which is the correct one.

|| A Persian cotton-manufacture, which is worn by all classes, from the king to the peasant.

now saw the gay striped turban, the stout legging, and the many-coloured vest. The Turk wears a long broad dagger at his waist; the Kurd, a sword; or, if mounted, he usually carries a spear: the physiognomy, too, is quite distinct. Among the Turks of *Azerbáján* the usual cast of countenance is sullen, inanimate, and with no expression but that of dogged determination: the features of the Kurd betoken intelligence, cheerfulness, and independence; and the light elastic step of the one contrasts strongly with the dull and heavy, but still untiring pace of the other.

The acting governor of *Ushneï*, *Ghafúr Khán*, to whom I had brought letters of introduction, was absent from the town; but I was most hospitably received by his family, and treated with every possible kindness and attention.

The district of *Ushneï* has been little visited by Europeans, and merits therefore a short description. Situated at the foot of the great *Kurdistán* mountains, and surrounded on other sides by an amphitheatre of lower hills, it occupies a natural basin of small extent, but of great beauty and fertility. The river *Gáder*, debouching from the mountains by a deep and precipitous gorge, bisects the plain; and numerous other streams which descend from the same hills, supply the means of irrigation most abundantly throughout the district. The plain is irregularly shaped; its extreme length and breadth being about 10 miles, and the little town of *Ushneï* is upon the rise of the mountains, near its north-western extremity: there are about forty other villages dispersed over the adjacent country. The inhabitants are Kurds, of the tribe of *Zerzá*, now reduced to about 800 houses; but numbering, before the plague which some years ago attacked this part of *Azerbáján* with unusual severity, between 4000 and 5000 families. The town of *Ushneï* alone, 10 years ago, was estimated to contain 1000 houses; at present there are not above 200. There are also at *Ushneï* about 500 families of refugees, composed of 300 *Mikrí*, 100 *Bilbás*, and 100 families, offsets from the various clans of Turkish *Kurdistán*. *Ushneï* forms a dependency of the government of *Urumíyeh*, and pays an annual revenue of 4000 *tómáns*. The *Zerzás*, however, in common with all the Kurds, are of the *Sonní* religion; and thus, differing in language, in manners, and in faith from their *Afshár* masters, submit impatiently to their dominion. They are a remarkably fine, active, and athletic race, and are, perhaps, the most warlike of the many warlike clans who inhabit this part of Persia. From their exposed position, indeed, upon the immediate frontier of Turkish *Kurdistán*, they are constantly engaged in frays with the wild tribes who inhabit the neighbouring mountains; and I saw several of the chiefs who wore their shirts of mail day and night, and always kept their horses ready saddled, not knowing at what

moment they might be called on to sally forth and repel a foray. Their common weapon is the spear, and they are loth to give it up; but finding that the mountain clans with whom they engage have almost universally adopted the use of fire-arms, they are beginning gradually to follow their example. In every copy that I have consulted of the Sheref Náneh, the chapter on the Zerzás is omitted, and I am thus unable to glean any particulars as to their ancient history. In the chapter of contents prefixed to that history, Ushneï is alluded to as a possession of the Berádúst tribe; but in the body of the work there is a different arrangement, and I do not doubt but that the name should properly be assigned to the Zerzá tribe, which follows soon after that of Berádúst Láhiján, or Láríján, as the name is written in the Sheref Náneh, was also, at one time, in possession of the Zerzás, and was taken from them in the fifteenth century by Pír Bodák, who established the dominion of the Bábán tribe; the present rulers of Soleimáníyeh, from the shores of the lake of Urumíyeh to Kerkúk, on the frontiers of the Baghdád Páshálik.

Ushneï was one of the early Christian settlements of Azerbíján. A bishop of this province is said to have been ordained by the first Jacobite Primate of the East, about A.D. 630:* and in the tenth century we find a Christian monk coming from Osna, a town of Azerbíján, and founding a convent of Sergius; afterwards much celebrated in the East.† The institution of a Nestorian Church in Azerbíján appears to have taken place during the thirteenth century, shortly after Holákú had made Tabríz his capital; and in A.D. 1281, when the Uighúr monk, Jaballa, was nominated by the Moghul Emperor to be Nestorian Catholicus, Abraham, Bishop of Ushneï, attended at his installation.‡ This Abraham was probably one of the first Nestorian Bishops of Azerbíján; certainly the first of that Church who presided at Ushneï; and I conclude that a shrine near the village of Sirgán, named Déri-Sheikh Ibráhím, which is frequented as a place of pilgrimage by all the Nestorians of the province, marks his place of sepulture. The ignorant Nestorians of the present day pretend that Sheikh Ibráhím was a follower of the Apostles; and assert that the shrine contains a record of his death in the first century of Christ, engraved in ancient Syriac: but I narrowly searched the place, and there is certainly no inscription whatever in any part of it. The present building, indeed, scarcely appears

* Assemani, tom. ii., De Syris Monoph. under the head Harnua.

† Asseman. tom. ii., p. 350.

‡ Asseman. tom. ii., p. 456. I find that 10 years previous to this in A.D. 1271, Denha, the Nestorian Catholicus, had removed the Metropolitan seat from Assyria to Ushneï, to be nearer the protection of the Moghul Court. Abraham was probably at that time Bishop of the diocese. See Greg. Bar. Heb. Chron. Syriac, vol. ii., p. 573.

as old as the thirteenth century, but it may have been re-edified in modern times ; and the sacred character which the first Bishop would naturally acquire as the founder of a new Church seems to account for the veneration that is paid to the shrine.

From the time of the Moghuls the Christian Church of Persia has alone flourished in the province of Aذربiján. Selmás and Urumiyah have been the two great ecclesiastical settlements, and Ushneï, as a dependency of the latter, is said to have preserved her line of Bishops as late as the last century. At present there are only nine families of Nestorians resident in the town ; and these, the last poor remnant of the Ushneï Church, talk of soon emigrating to Urumiyah.

The tradition of the country regarding Ushneï is singular. The Kurds apply to it the name of Shári Sebá, and believe it to have been the place from whence Belkís, the queen of Sheba, went to visit the great monarch and magician of the East, at his palace of Takhti Soleimán. At that time, they say, the city spread itself over the entire plain ; and they assert, that at the present day, whenever they have occasion to excavate, to any considerable depth, in any part of the district, they invariably come upon the massive brick remains of the ancient buildings. That the plain was formerly very populous, may be inferred from the number of artificial mounds that are scattered over its surface ; but that it ever contained any great capital, I regard as a mere fable ; for in ancient geography, there is no site that will accord with it in name or position ; and even the early Arabs are altogether silent respecting it. Ushneï is alone mentioned by Hamdu-lleh Mostaúfí, in the 14th century ; and he merely describes it as a small town, pleasantly situated among the hills, at the distance of one stage, S.W. of Urumiyah, and possessing about twenty dependent villages.*

24th.—To-day I left the town of Ushneï, and proceeded to the fort which Ghafúr Khán, acting governor of the district, was employed in building on the rise of the mountains, where the great Kurdistán road opens upon the plain. The distance was 7 miles, and direction S. 60 W. At three miles I stopped to breakfast at the village of Sirgán, a cluster of wretched huts, surrounding a large artificial teppeh, upon the summit of which one of the Zerzá chiefs has recently erected a strong mud fort. In this place I believe that I recognise the village of Saragana, mentioned by Theophylact, as the place where Khosraú Perwíz, with his Roman auxiliaries, halted to refresh their forces after traversing the country of the Anisenes, upon the march from the banks of the greater Zab to Canzaca ; but I shall endeavour to

* See Noz-hetu-l Kolúb.

illustrate the obscure geography of that route in the memoir on Ecbatana ;* it may also possibly represent the Sincar of Ptolemy, which is placed in his Median catalogue, next to Dariausa,† for that name I cannot doubt to be identical with that of the place which is described in the Sheref Náneh, under the title of Dáriyás, as the most considerable of the Mikrí settlements ; and which, though there is no indication of its immediate position in the modern geography of the country must thus necessarily be in the vicinity of Ushneî. The transposition of the *r* and *n* in the name of Sincar will give nearly the modern orthography of Sirgán ; but the identification is of course merely conjectural. About a mile from Sirgán, at the foot of the mountains, is the Deîri-Sheikh Ibráhîm, to which I have already alluded. It is a solitary building, composed of a number of vaulted passages, cells, and oratories ; and, in the innermost recess, is the tomb of the supposed saint : there is no resident guardian of the shrine, but the poor Nestorians, from Ushneî, come out weekly to offer their prayers there ; and at certain seasons it is also visited by crowds of pilgrims. At 2 miles from Sirgán, I crossed the Gáder river, a shallow but rapid stream ; and then, ascending the rise of the mountain for 2 miles farther, reached the fort of Ghafúr Khán. I was anxious to proceed up the mountain at once in search of the inscription, but the day was too far advanced, and I took up my quarters, therefore, in the half-finished fortalice. The Zerzás are at feud with most of the neighbouring tribes—they suffer chiefly, however, from the inroads of the Bilbás and Rewendís, large parties of whom pasture their flocks during the summer along the skirts of the mountains, and make constant forays upon the plain below. These unwelcome neighbours had moved off to their winter grounds a short time before my arrival ; and Ghafúr Khan, having suffered severely from their depredations during the summer, had immediately taken advantage of their absence to run up a small mud fort in the exact line of their inroads, and almost within shot of their most favourite pastures. I found him now straining every nerve to finish his work before the winter set in, as building would be then stopped, and the tribes would probably return in the spring, before he might be able to complete his defences : he had chosen a small garrison of his best fighting men to defend the place, and had put them under the command of a near relation ; and the glee with which he looked forward to the astonishment of the Bilbás at finding on their return this strange apparition of a fort throwing defiance in their very teeth, was really most amusing ;

* See my second Memoir, p. 73 and 74.

† Lib. vi. c. 2.

the occupants, however, will certainly have warm work of it; they must prepare for one continued fight for at least six months.

27th.—After being weather-bound for two days at Ghafúr Khán's fort, I at length set out to attempt the ascent of the mountain, at the summit of which I learnt was the inscription I had come in search of. This place is extremely difficult to reach: during the summer the wild Rewendís cover the face of the mountain, and from the Persian side it would be most hazardous to venture among them under any protection that could be offered; and very shortly after the I'liyát tribes withdraw from the vicinity, the natural obstacles increase to such an extent that it is almost equally dangerous to encounter them. The only times at which the mountain can be ascended in safety are the first fortnight in October, and the last in March. I was now ten days too late in the season, and the Khán strove hard to dissuade me from making the attempt; but as I had come so great a distance for the express purpose, I was determined that nothing should stop me but the absolute impracticability of the ascent.

This morning accordingly, when the weather fortunately cleared, and the wind, which had been blowing furiously for the two preceding days, appeared to have exhausted itself, I set out, attended by two horsemen, well mounted, well wrapped up, and with every defence against the snow-drift, which I was told I should certainly encounter at the summit. For five miles I wound slowly up the face of the mountain, pursuing a broad open track, neither steep nor difficult, along the slope of a huge shoulder which juts out from the great range. At this point I entered the snow, and the difficulties commenced: the ravines which indented the face of the shoulder became, as we ascended higher, choked with snow, and in one of them we narrowly escaped being engulfed. At length, however, alternately riding and walking as the nature of the ground admitted, we reached a more open part of the mountain; and then, pushing rapidly on, gained the summit of the pass, exactly in four hours from leaving the fortress at its foot. The distance I should judge to be about 10 miles, and the direction from the town of Ushneï, the fort lying just in the line, was S. 60 W.

I here found upon a little eminence by the side of the road, and nearly at the highest point of the pass, the famous Keli-Shín, the stories of which had long excited my curiosity. I have already alluded to the danger of traversing this pass—it arises not so much from the depth of snow (for an active mountaineer, by threading his way along the most exposed points, can generally avoid this difficulty), as from the violent and deadly drifts which keep continually sweeping over the face of the mountains during the greater part of the winter months. These drifts come on so

suddenly, and with such terrific fury, that a traveller who is once fairly caught in them will rarely escape, and as at the same time the pass of Keli-Shín is the only line of communication between Persia, and Rowándiz; and parties are thus found at all seasons who are bold enough to attempt to traverse it; but a winter is never known to elapse without several persons being here lost in the snow. From the frequency of these accidents an extraordinary degree of dread and mystery is attached to the pass; and in the superstition of the Kurds, this feeling connects itself with the talisman of the Keli-Shín, which is supposed to have been created by some potent magician, to afford the means of protection against danger, but which, its use being now unknown, only serves to lure fresh victims to destruction. The Keli-Shín is a pillar of dark blue stone,* 6 feet in height, 2 in breadth, and 1 in depth, rounded off at the top and at the angles, and set into a pediment, consisting of one solid block of the same sort of stone, 5 feet square and 2 deep.

On the broad face of the pillar fronting the E. there is a cuneiform inscription of forty-one lines, but no other trace of sculpture or device is to be seen. I had come prepared to take a copy of the inscription; but, much to my regret, I found this now to be quite impracticable. On breaking away the sheet of icicles with which the surface of the stone was covered, the upper half of the inscription was shown to be irrecoverably obliterated, and the lower half also to be so much destroyed that, except under a very favourable aspect of the sun (soon after sun-rise, when the rays would be projected with a slight obliquity on the writing), it would be impossible to distinguish half a dozen consecutive letters: an impression on moist paper was also of course impracticable, when the thermometer stood at 20 degrees below freezing point; so I could do nothing more than copy a few characters, to determine the class of writing to which the inscription belongs, and measure the dimensions of the pillar; and even in this I was much hurried by the guide whom I brought with me, for the wind had been gradually rising; and another half hour, he assured me, would bring on one of the fatal drifts. I thus only delayed to take a few bearings, and have one glimpse from the point of the pass of the magnificent mountain scenery in the direction of Rowándiz; and we then turned our horses' heads, and made the best of our way along the road, which we had opened in our ascent.

The wind came howling after us, but the drift had not fairly set in until we were near the verge of the snow, where there was no longer any danger. On our ascent we had passed some of

* Keli-Shín signifies in Kurdish "the blue pillar."

the Zerzá Kurds, employed in digging out of the snow a number of mules and horses belonging to a party who had attempted to traverse the pass the preceding evening in their return from Sídek, and, being caught in a drift, had been obliged to leave their loads and cattle, and use their utmost speed to escape with their own lives. I saw some of these animals dug out from a depth of at least 6 feet; but on our return we found the party had abandoned their labour and fled before the drift, to await another lull, before they ventured into the region of death and desolation. The view from the summit of the pass was most magnificent—mountains towering over mountains, all heaped about in a chaos of disorder, and stretching away in infinite and undistinguishable ramifications: the greater part of them were wooded to their very summit, and the huge masses of vapour left by the storms of yesterday, here hanging heavily upon a rocky crest, and there boiling up from the vast abysses that yawned beneath my feet, gave an indescribable and almost appalling grandeur to the scene. The outer barrier of this immense range, over the summit of which leads the pass of Keli-Shín, appears to be the most elevated line in the whole chain of mountains; for from the point where I stood, the guide pointed out to me the positions of Sídek, Rowándiz, and even Herír, which is very near to the Assyrian frontier. And now I must delay a moment to offer some remarks upon this very curious pillar of the Keli-Shín. At the distance of 5 hours from the pass, which I ascended, there is a precisely similar pillar, denominated also Keli-Shín, upon the summit of the second range, which overlooks the town and district of Sídek. This also is engraved with a long cuneiform inscription; and as it is said to be in far better preservation than the one at Ushneî, it would be very desirable to examine and copy it. But the chief value which I attach at present to these two interesting relics of antiquity is the determination which they afford of a great line of communication existing in ancient days across this range of mountains. This line could only have been used to connect two great capitals,* and these capitals must then necessarily have been Niniveh and Ecbatana; and while we thus derive from the establishment of so curious a point a geographical indication of some consequence, we are also able to verify the line, as well from the evidence of history, as from the experience of modern times. The Christian clergy of

* The ancient monuments of Persia, whether inscriptions, sculptures, ruined palaces, temples, or bridges, only occur, as far as my experience enables me to judge, upon the lines of great roads of communication, conducting from one capital to another. This mountain route was no doubt impassable in winter, and the high road from Niniveh to Rhages was thus obliged to make a circuit to the south as far as Holwán to cross the mountains into Media by the gates of Zagros, the only pass in the whole range which is not blocked up by the snow.

the present day, in travelling from Mósul to Urumiyah, always follow this line; and that it has been the great thoroughfare for them since the establishment of the Nestorian church in Azerbaijan, we may also argue, from finding the Catholicus, at Ushneï, on his return from the Moghul court to his Assyrian churches towards the close of the thirteenth century.* I cannot doubt, indeed, but that in the frequent intercourse which took place about that period between the churches of Assyria and Azerbaijan, the direct route across the mountains by Rowándiz was the one uniformly followed. From Ushneï it conducted by the Keli-Shín to Sídek, from Sídek to Rowándiz, from Rowándiz to Herir, and from Herir it debouched into the plain country of Arbil. During the troubles of modern times the track has been closed against the transit of merchandise; but 'Alí Páshá, in his late attack upon this country, found it practicable for artillery a long way beyond Herir, and on the Persian side it is known to be open to guns almost to the very fort of Rowándiz. I learnt from the Kurds that the only really difficult part is between Rowándiz and Herir.

In the meagre accounts of the Byzantine historians I believe that I can also trace the steps, both of Heraclius and Khosráú Perwíz, along this route, in their marches between Niniveh and Azerbaijan; and Ptolemy perhaps indicates the same line in a series of names which he connects, from west to east, between the 37th and 38th degrees of latitude.† Ascending to a higher antiquity, this must have been the road described to Xenophon when he was at the foot of the Carduchian mountains, as leading in an easterly direction to Ecbatana, and from thence to Susa:‡ and it probably was first formed into a great line of communication not many centuries before that period, when the rise of the Median empires followed on the destruction of Niniveh. That the inscriptions of the two Keli-Shíns are referable to a Median dynasty, I think there can scarcely be a question—the writing is in the Median character, the position upon the Median frontier. That the pillars were erected on the occasion of some great triumphal march, may also be reasonably admitted; but whether by Arbaces, when he was conveying the captured treasures of

* Asseman, tom. ii. p. 256. I now find that this notice occurs during the time that the metropolitan seat was fixed at Ushneï, and that it cannot therefore be taken as a proof of the line of communication: the following extract from Yáqút, however, is even stronger evidence:—"Oshnoh, a town on the road to Azerbaijan, conducting from Arbil. It is 5 stages from Arbil and 2 from Urumiyeh, being situated between the two cities."—Morásido-l Itfíla'. In this estimate two days must be allowed between Ushneï and Sídek; the distance is reckoned at 10 hours, and caravans usually halt the first night at Haik, immediately below the Keli-Shín pass.

† Lib. vi. c. 2.

‡ In my succeeding memoir I shall notice many other instances where this line is to be recognised in ancient history.

Sardanapalus to the Median citadel of Ecbatana at Hamadán, or by Cyaxares, on his return into Media Atropatene from the second destruction of Niniveh, cannot, of course, be determined until the Median writing shall be as well illustrated as the Persian, and one of the inscriptions shall have been thus correctly translated.

The form of the pillars may also be considered a scarcely less curious object of inquiry. There are many circumstances which lead to a belief that these monuments, in remote antiquity, were connected with a worship of the two principles of generation and fecundity; * and I cannot help entertaining a suspicion, that the pillar, embedded in its pediment, may be intended to convey a rude representation of the mystical union of the Lingam and Yóni, an idea which perhaps may derive further support from the pillar's being engraved only upon its eastern face, as though it conveyed an invocation to the fructifying rays of Mithra, on their appearance above the far horizon, to impregnate with abundance and fertility the rich plains of Media, that lie spread beneath the mountain. I have mentioned the superstition of the Kurds, which connects the pillar of Keli-Shín with the natural dangers that attend the passage of the mountain. Another belief is also prevalent that the two pillars form a talisman for the preservation of some hidden treasure; but the best informed regard the Keli-Shín of Ushneï as a landmark to determine the territorial frontier between Persia and Kurdistán, and to such a purpose it is applied at present, for the Zertzás claim all the country on the eastern face of the mountain, and concede all beyond the pass to Rowándiz.

I learnt at Ushneï that Schultz had succeeded, some years before, in reaching the Keli-Shín, and had copied a great part of the inscription; but this was upon his last journey, and the copy must thus have been lost with his other papers at Júlámerik. No other European has, I believe, seen this singular relic of antiquity.

During the lifetime of the late Mír of Rowándiz, the whole country from Ushneï to the Tigris, and as far south as the lesser Záb, was subjected to his rule. The Mír's own tribe was that of Sohrán, an ancient and honourable clan, the chiefs of which conquered the Rowándiz country between 400 and 500 years ago, and have retained possession of it ever since. † This tribe is

* Thus the pillars of Sesostris, engraved with the Lingam and Yóni, the *επιλη* of Semiramis, which seem all to have a reference to the same worship, and many other similar monuments, which are, I believe, (for I have never seen the work,) enumerated by Mr. O'Bryan in his "Round Towers of Ireland."

† Sheref Khán, the author of the Kurdish History, pretends to derive the name of Sohrán from Sor or Sohr, the Kurdish for "red," in allusion to the rocks of that colour upon which is built the fort of Rowándiz; but this is probably mere fable.

limited in number, amounting to no more than 800 families; but from having given rulers for so long a period to the surrounding country, who frequently asserted and maintained their independence both against Persia and Turkey, it is regarded by all the Kurds with great respect. The inhabitants of Rowándiz are for the most part Rewendís,* a very large tribe, numbering, with its dependencies, about 12,000 families, who serve under the Sohráns, in the same way as the numerous clans of Soleimáníyeh are all subject to the Bábán aristocracy. The fort of Rowán or Rowándiz has been the strong place of the Sohrán chiefs from their first establishment in the mountains, but their more usual places of residence have been Shaḡḡábad and Ḥerír. It was only under the late Mír that Rowándiz became the capital. † The town is situated on the southern bank of the greater Záb, called here Rúbári-Rowándiz. It occupies a narrow valley under the Bení Henderín hills, and is protected by a very strong fort, which is built in a little bay on the acclivity of the mountain: it is estimated to contain about 2000 houses.

The Záb is here very narrow, but rapid and impetuous, and hemmed in between high rocky banks; it is crossed by a bridge of trees thrown over the channel of the river from two strong projecting piers of solid masonry, and when this is removed, the town is perfectly secure against attack from the northward. Rowándiz is situated midway in the mountains, between the plains of Assyria and Media, at the distance of about 15 or 16 hours from either. ‡ Sídek is a considerable mountain district, on the line between Rowándiz and Ushneî; it contains perhaps forty little villages, dispersed among the clefts and ravines of the hills, and is inhabited by about 1000 families from the tribes of Rewendek, Píresúí, Bálikí, Rísúrí, and Shírwání. Sídek formerly belonged to 'Amadíyah; by the late Mír of Rowándiz it was annexed to his own possessions, and it still remains attached

* I cannot doubt but that the fort of Rowándiz is named after the tribe Rewendí: the names at the present day are written and pronounced differently. The tribe of Rewendí is divided into 12 Máms or branches, of which the following are the names:—

Mámgird	Mámبال	Mámles	Mamúí
Mámásám	Mámkekál	Mámsekí	Pírbál
Mámásál	Mám síl	Mámikhál	Kelí

There are also a great number of dependent tribes, which, although not originally of the same stock as the Rewendís, have been long associated with them, and now generally assume their name. The following are the principal:—Sheikháb, Málíbas, Núrik, Henaráí, Kheilání, Kásán, Sheikh Meḡmúdí, Bámámí, Deríjhkí, Sekúí, Hir-búí, Shíkúlt, Mendík, Pírájhí, and Báímár, containing seven minor divisions. For ancient notices of the Rewendís, see my other memoir, p. 73.

† The fort of Rowándiz is, however, named in the Syrian history as early as A.D. 1207, as the strong place of the mountain chiefs. See Greg. Bar. Heb., vol. ii. p. 463.

‡ I take this account of the town of Rowándiz partly from Dr. Ross of Baghdád, who is, I believe, the only European that has ever visited it, and partly from the information of the Rewendís, with whom I conversed at Ushneî.

to the chief of that place, though at the time of my visit Isma'íl, Páshá of 'Amadíyah, who since the removal of the Mír by the Porte has succeeded to the greater portion of his mountain dominion, was preparing to re-assert his claim.

Immediately beyond the mountains W. of Ushneï is another district called Káni-résh,* which borders upon Sídek to the northward. This is inhabited by the Berádúst tribe, a clan of much celebrity in Kurdish history, as the former chiefs of Şumái and Terkúr, but now reduced to some four or five hundred families. The Berádúst possess nearly a hundred little villages, and acknowledge the supremacy of 'Amadíyah. To the N. of the Berádúst are the territories of the Hekárrí, and to the W. a number of petty tribes are scattered about, who are all dependent on 'Amadíyah. But one of the most considerable tribes who inhabit this part of Kurdistán, in the present day, are the Bálikí; and it is singular that I neither find their name mentioned in the Kurdish history, nor, as far as I am aware, has any traveller penetrated into their country, or acquired any information regarding them. They number above ten thousand families, and inhabit a very strong and secluded country beyond the great range of Kendilán, which forms the prolongation of the Ushneï mountains, and bounds the plain of Láhíján to the S.W. The Bálikís are a very powerful tribe, and their country contains perhaps 200 villages. The capital is named Ráyát. The Mír of Rowándiz brought them under his sway; and, taking a male from each family into his service, as was his usual custom, the Bálik contingent proved of great service to him. When I was at Ushneï I was told that the greater part of the garrison of 'Amadíyah which had held out against Ismá'íl Páshá for nearly three years, under the brother of the old Rowándiz chief, was composed of Bálik Kurds. Bálik appears to be the name of the district which has been taken up by the inhabitants, refugees, probably, from the neighbouring clans; and is now applied to designate this great independent tribe.

Since the removal of the Mír of Rowándiz no tribe has attempted to interfere with the Bálikís; and 'Azíz Bég, the present chief, will acknowledge no superior, either Persian, Turk, or Kurd. I was very anxious to visit Ráyát, which lies at the distance of 18 hours, nearly due S. of Ushneï, for I heard a number of curious stories regarding treasures and talismanic sculptures, which are usual indications among the Kurds of antiquarian remains; but I could not prevail on Gháfúr Khán, to leave his fort and accompany me; and without his escort he assured me

* "The black fountain," Kurd.

it would be dangerous to venture among the wild mountaineers, who live under his relative's sway.*

Much curiosity, I am aware, is alive at present regarding the antiquities and geography of Kurdistán, and, as I have had a good deal of intercourse with the inhabitants of that part of Asia it may thus perhaps be useful to give the benefit of my experience to travellers desirous of penetrating into the many wild and unexplored regions of this mountain-country. I consider attempting to visit Kurdistán in any disguise as quite impracticable, the protection of a government, either Turkish or Persian, is fraught also with danger rather than advantage. The most safe, and at the same time the most agreeable way of travelling in Kurdistán would be to visit, in the first place, a frontier chief, whose connexion with his government, either Turkish or Persian, would oblige him to assist and protect the European recommended to his care; this chief then would be able, from his connexion with the tribes in the vicinity to pass the traveller on to another chief in the interior, and from thence, availing himself of the same means of introduction and protection, he might penetrate to still more remote regions until he had reached the objects of his search. Thus from the Persian frontier Ghafúr Khán would be able to pass a traveller on to Júlámerik, retaining some of the Hekárrí chiefs, who are usually with him, as hostages for his safe return. The Hekárrí chief, Núru-lleh Khán, might transfer his charge to the Chaldean patriarch of Kóch Hannes, taking the same precautions for his safety, and under the protection of the patriarch, the Tiyári tribes might be visited, I conceive, with little danger. Perhaps upon the Turkish side from the 'Amadíyah frontier, the plan might be adopted with equal advantage; but any direct interference of the Turkish or Persian government would certainly be attended with extreme danger; indeed, I was assured at Ushneí that the tragic death of the lamented Schultz was owing entirely to this cause:—when he visited Ushneí, Semed Khan, the Governor, offered to send an escort of his own Zerzá Kurds with him, to Júlámerik, detaining a nephew of the Hekárrí chief, who was with him at the time upon a visit as security for his safe return: Schultz unfortunately declined this offer, and preferred the direct protection of the Persian government through the Afshár chief of Úrumíyah; he consequently returned to that place, and took with him as his guide an Afshár soldier, hateful to the Hekárrís, as well from being the servant of the Persian government, as from belonging to a tribe opposed to them in nation, in language, and in religion, and with whom they were constantly at feud. Schultz was thus regarded by the

* The mother of 'Azíz Bég was a sister of Ghafúr Khán's, and a close connexion is thus kept up between the Zerzá and Bálik tribes.

Hekárrís as a government emissary, and his inquiries about anti-quinities were explained by his supposed errand to survey the country and discover the best route for the Persian guns.

From the fort of Ghafúr Khán I retraced my steps in the evening to the village of Sirgán, where I was most kindly received by Lúti Beg, the eldest son of Semed Khán, who, I should have mentioned, was absent with the army at Herát, and had entrusted the government of Ushneï for the time to his brother Ghafúr. This Lúti Beg was one of the finest young Kurdish chiefs that I ever saw. In form and face he was a perfect specimen of manly beauty; and the quiet business-like way in which he related for my amusement his various feats of arms with the Bilbás and Rewendís, struck me most forcibly after the blustering and noisy braggadocio of the would-be warriors of Persia. He was really a study for a painter, and his tales were among the most stirring that I ever heard in the whole range of wild and daring enterprise with which the border story of the Kurds is so richly fraught.

27th.—To-day I made a long stage of nearly 30 miles to the village of Moḥammed Sháh, at the farther extremity of the Soldúz plain. For 10 miles I followed down the course of the Gáder river, through the Ushneï plain, in an E.S.E. direction, passing a great number of villages both to the right and left: here the prong of hill which I had crossed at the pass of 'Alí-Harámi in entering the Ushneï district, terminated in a low point, leaving a little valley scarcely 200 yards across, for the passage of the river, from the plain of Ushneï into that of Soldúz. To the right was a more elevated range, which, striking off from the great mountains below the Keli-Shín pass, divides the plains of Ushneï and Soldúz from that of Láhiján, and then branches out into a multitude of lesser hills that intersect all parts of the Mikrí country. In the valley, between the hills, are two villages of the name of Derbend—one belonging to Ushneï, and the other to Soldúz. From hence I skirted the foot of the hills to the right, along the whole extent of the Soldúz plain; and in a line nearly parallel to my former route upon the other side of it. I had again occasion to observe the singular fertility of this favoured district, the great canals derived from the Gáder river, the rice grounds, the pastures, and the thriving villages. Moḥammed Sháh, where I took up my quarters for the night, is one of three villages at the south-eastern extremity of the Soldúz plain, which were excluded from the Kará-pápá grant, and conferred upon a small party of the Shemseddinlú, who also seceded, during the last Russian war, from the great tribe of that name, settled in Georgia, and sought the protection of the Prince Royal of Persia. This offset of the Shemseddinlú only number a hundred families; and they have a hundred families of Mikrí ra'yats, the old

inhabitants of Mohammed Sháh, to cultivate the lands assigned to them. They also furnish a contingent of fifty horse to the crown, and receive the revenues of their small district (about 300 tó máns, in part payment of the allowances which were settled on them upon entering the service of Persia, and which amount to 2000 tó máns. The district of Mohammed Sháh, at a distance from the valley of the Gáder, is ill supplied with water and unproductive, and the Shemseddínlú look with envy on their more fortunate neighbours, the Kará-pápás, who realise double their amount of pay from the rich lands which they enjoy, while they themselves can barely gain a subsistence from the miserable pittance that has fallen to their share. The direction of Mohammed Sháh from Derbend, at the other extremity of the plain, was E S. E.

Mohammed Sháh is named in the Sheref Ná meh as the third great division of the Mikrí country, though it is difficult to understand how so steril a tract could have ever formed a district of any consequence.

28th.—My route to-day led among the hills which I have before spoken of, as a derivation from the great chain below Keli-Shún; and after winding about for 8 miles in a general direction of S. 55° E., conducted to the summit of a pass that overlooked the little valley of Só-új Bólák, and commanded a fine view of the town of that name, distant about 2½ miles. Immediately upon leaving Mohammed Sháh I had entered the country of the Mikrí tribe, whose capital is Só-új Bólák. This town has been visited by many travellers, and I need not therefore be very minute in my description. It is situated in a narrow valley among the hills, on the right bank of a considerable stream which flows from the range W. of the town, and not from the plain of Lá húján, as laid down in Col. Monteith's map. The town is quite a modern settlement, scarcely indeed 100 years old: it contains about 1200 houses, of which 100 are Jewish, and about thirty Nestorian Christian; the remainder are all Mikrí Kurds. The appearance of the town rising up in stages from the bank of the river, and covering the slope of the hill, is very pleasing: the left bank of the river is bordered with rose-gardens and orchards; and a number of vineyards and plantations have also been laid out and planted to the S. of the town. There is a considerable traffic carried on at this place in gall-nuts, gum-mastic, and the other products of the Kurdistán forests; which are brought to Só-új Bólák from the neighbouring districts, and here sold to the merchants of Tabríz. One of the great caravan routes between Tabríz and Baghdád also leads through Só-új Bólák; and thus, altogether, it presents a scene of bustle and animation which one is hardly prepared for in a town inhabited by Kurds, who are notoriously averse to the active occupations of peaceful life.

I remained at Só-új Bólák two days, a guest of the chief, who is charged with the revenue administration of the tribe; and I then set out, in company with another chief, to visit Láhíján, to which my attention had been drawn by a curious account published in Sir R. K. Porter's travels, of a certain petrified city named Karinj, or rather Khorenj, that had been described to him by an old Bilbás Sheikh, as existing in that neighbourhood. At Só-új Bólák I heard divers marvellous stories of this spot, and also of certain pillars apparently of the same class as the Keli-Shín of Ushnei; and being so near the place I could not resist the temptation of visiting it.

31st.—From Só-új Bólák I followed up the course of the river for 2 miles, to the confluence of the two streams of which it is formed; and then keeping along the banks of the right branch through a narrow glade, I wound along for seven miles further, gradually ascending till I found myself at the foot of the chain, among the roots and branches of which I had been travelling ever since leaving the plain of Soldúz. Here we quitted the stream at this point, a rapid brawling little brook, and struck up a steep rocky glen, which, at the end of 3 miles, conducted us to the summit of the pass. The direction of Só-új Bólák was pointed out to me from the top of the hill, due E.; and a deep precipitous gorge led down N. 80° W., into the fine plain of Láhíján, which was seen stretching out beyond the jaws of the pass, to the foot of the great Kurdistán mountains, here called Kandíl, or Kandílán, rising up like a gigantic bulwark of defence, and affording, with their snow-capt summits and dark serrated sides, the same magnificent background to the view that I had admired so much at Ushnei. Proceeding down the glen for 5 miles we reached the village of Legwin, just at the end of the pass, and then opened out into a fine valley which led into the plain of Láhíján. About 3 miles beyond, to the right, was the famous city of Khorenj, which I found to be nothing more than a long low hill; the extreme prong of the range that I had crossed, stretching out into the plain, and covered over its whole extent with a multitude of loose rocky fragments of all shapes and sizes, lying about in a strange chaotic disorder, and metamorphosed, in the imagination of the Kurds, into the petrified figures of men and animals. There was positively not a single trace of artificial workmanship in the whole mass; and I thus learnt another lesson of caution in attending to the wild exaggerated stories of the Kurds, regarding their local curiosities.

From the hill of Khorenj I went on 2 miles farther, to the pillar of Keli-Sípán; and here I certainly found a monument which appeared to be of the same class as the Keli-Shín, but with no inscription to repay me for the trouble of my visit. The Keli-

Sípán, or white pillar, as its name implies, is a rude column of white stone, 12 feet in height, 3 feet in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, fixed in a pediment, and differing only in size and colour, and the want of an inscription, from the one which I have already described. It faces also W.N.W. instead of due E., like the Keli-Shín. There are some rude figures like a horseshoe, engraved upon different parts of it, which had been taken by the Kurds for writing. Between this pillar and the village of Legwin, there is another which is also called Keli-Sípán, but it has been thrown down, and is of smaller dimensions even than the Keli-Shín; this likewise, on the three sides which are exposed, is without inscription. I had further heard at Só-új Bólák, of artificial grottoes in the mountain adjoining the Keli-Sípán, which had appeared to me, from the description, of the same class as the Persepolitan tombs: on inquiry, however, from the guides who had joined me from Legwin, I was here again doomed to disappointment; they knew of nothing but one cave, high up in the face of the precipice, and inaccessible except to a mountain goat or a Bálíkí;* and this, from their accounts, was evidently a mere natural fissure. The Keli-Sípán is at the foot of a very steep and precipitous rock, which forms the southern boundary of the valley, down which I had proceeded from Legwin; the rocks of Khorenj being the northern limit of the same vale. Upon the table land at the summit of this hill, I learnt there was a very strong and extensive fort, defended, in the greater part of its circuit, by the scarp of the natural rock, and strengthened by walls and buttresses wherever there was the possibility of access from below. The day, however, was too far advanced to admit of my attempting to climb the hill, and I was told I should find nothing more than the mere ruined walls and a few tanks excavated in the rock to supply the garrison with water, to repay me for the labour of ascent.

Láhíján is a fine open plain, abundantly watered, and possessing a rich fertile soil, most favourable to agriculture. The source of the lesser Záb is in the Legwin valley; from hence it flows down into the Láhíján plain, where it is joined by a multitude of little streams from the Kandil mountains, and then, passing along Sardasht, it forces its way through the great chain, and descends into the plains of Assyria; and this course is not a little singular, for the features of the country would lead one to believe that the waters of Láhíján, on the north-eastern face of the great mountains, must necessarily flow into Persia, as Col. Monteith has laid

* The name is used proverbially in this part of Kurdistán to denote an expert cragsman.

down in his map; the contrary, however, is undoubtedly the case. The Láhján river, even at its very source, is named the Zei,* the usual pronunciation of Záb among the Kurds, and I took some pains to verify its identity with the Altún Sú, or Lesser Záb.

Láhján, on the immediate frontier of Turkey and Persia, has been inhabited at different times by tribes subject to either government. It has belonged successively to the Zerzá, the Bábán, the Mikrí, and the Bilbás; and its present condition partakes of this anomalous nature; for though acknowledged as a Mikrí possession, and though the proprietorship of the lands belongs to the Mikrí chiefs, it is inhabited almost exclusively by the Bilbás, a tribe of Turkish Kurdistán, who still pay 1000 tó máns a-year to the Mikrís for the rent of the district.

The Bilbás are considered by the Mikrís as an offset of their own tribe; and from their not appearing under their own name in the Sheref Ná meh, I conclude this to be really the case. They have been long separated, however, and have continued roaming about the frontiers of Persia and Turkey, transferring their allegiance from one government to the other, as expedience suggested, until it seems difficult to say among the subjects of which nation they ought properly to be included. About 20 years ago they had risen to such power that they were, alike, a terror to the Afshárs, the Mikrís, and the Mokeddems. The Mikrí country they had entirely overrun; and it was not until A h med Khán of Marághah, the famous Mokeddem chief, invited all the leaders of the tribe to a great banquet, where he murdered 300 of them in cold blood, that the South of A zerbiján recovered its tranquillity. For some years after this they were hunted from the face of the country like wild animals, and were obliged to take refuge within the Turkish frontier, where the Mír of Rowándiz found them, when he rose into power; and by again slaughtering their most distinguished chiefs, brought them under some order and obedience. Since the removal of the Mír they have partly relapsed into their old predatory habits; and are now regarded as among the most turbulent and treacherous of all the border tribes of Kurdistán. Their power is so broken, that, at the present day, they cannot pretend to meet the Mikrís in open combat; but still, to prevent their depredations and retain them in some sort of vassalage, that tribe has been content to relinquish to them the rich district of Láhján, where parts of the two divisions of Mengúr and Mámish are now settled, gradually adopting agricultural pursuits, and passing from a nomadic to a fixed life.

* Zei among the Kurds may be almost said to be a generic name for a river; for as the two Záb s collect all the mountain streams between the Hekárrí country and Shehrizúr, so the name of Zei is found attached to nearly every river that is met with.

The third great division which, indeed, includes nearly half of the whole tribe, is named *Pírán*.* These, with the remainder of the *Mengúr* and *Mámish*, still adhere to a wandering life, pasturing their flocks in summer upon the Persian frontier, along the skirts of the mountains, from *Sardesht* to *Ushnei*; and retiring, on the approach of winter, far within the Turkish line, to the warm pastures of *Beitúsh* and *Germiyán*, on the banks of the *Lesser Záb*. The *Bilbás* consider themselves as dependent upon *Turkey*; but some of their chiefs have lately made proposals of allegiance to *Azerbáiján*; and the government is naturally anxious to induce them to settle permanently within the Persian frontier. They number about 5000 families; but they can bring even a larger number of horsemen into the field; for, contrary to the usual habits of the tribes, several brothers frequently live in the same family, and nearly every *Bilbás* † is provided with his horse and spear. Fire-arms are used by the *Bilbás* in all their mountain warfare: but for a foray on the plains they usually take the field with spear and shield, mounted on active, little, high-bred horses, admirably fitted; and the leaders, for the most part, wearing steel helmets and shirts of mail. The parties of the *Bilbás* that I have seen, appeared to be dashing horsemen; but they are not considered among the tribes as equal to the *Mikrí*, the *Bábán*, or perhaps the *Zerzá*.

The capital of *Láhiján* is named *Péshwá*: it is distant about 3 miles N.W. of *Keli-Sípán*, and forms the residence of the *Mámish* chief; the *Mengúr* lands lie to the S.E. farther down the plain, where there are, also, two large villages, named *Ter-kúsh* and *Lálá*. I can find nothing of interest connected with the ancient geography of *Láhiján*, unless, indeed, the town of *Lahika*, where the *Nestorian Catholicus* is stated to have confined a rebellious monk, in the 13th century, when he held his ecclesiastical

* The *Bilbás* comprise the following divisions:—

<i>Pírán</i> , Containing	<i>Mengúr</i> , Containing	<i>Mámish</i> , Containing
<i>Mokháneh</i> .	<i>Kádir Weisí</i> ,	<i>Hemzeh A'ghái</i> ,
<i>Berchem</i> ,	<i>Zúdí</i> ,	<i>Merbúk</i> ,
<i>Morik</i> ,	<i>Rasgei</i> ,	<i>Jokhúr</i> ,
<i>Yúsuf Khelíkah</i> ,	<i>Babresú</i> ,	<i>Beláwend</i> ,
<i>Sebremá</i> ,	and	<i>Merbabekrá</i> ,
<i>Sétá</i> ,	<i>Meruekená</i> ,	<i>Fekéh Wetmáneh</i> ,
<i>Westápirá</i> ,		<i>Sinn</i> ,
<i>Wermezíyár</i> ,		and
<i>Nánákeli</i> ,		<i>Ránik</i> ,
<i>Hessen A'ghái</i> ,		
<i>Mámándešná</i> ,		
and		
<i>Péwa</i> ,		

† The *Bilbás Tafenghís* (or match-lock men) are excellent marksmen; and their assistance is eagerly courted by the *Kurdistán* chiefs in their struggles among each other for power.

court at Ushnei,* on the removal of the metropolitan see from Niniveh, can be supposed to refer to the capital of this district.

I returned in the evening from Keli-Sípán to Legwin, where the presence of my Só-új Bólák friend secured me a hearty welcome, from the old Mikrí white beard; who, with a hundred families, still continued to occupy and cultivate this little district, notwithstanding the close vicinity of his enemies, the Bilbás. The old man had a family of ten sons, all inured to battle from the cradle: they had escorted us from Legwin to the Keli-Sípán, and, on our return, showed off, for my amusement, the various feats of horsemanship for which they were celebrated throughout the tribe. Their rapid charge, crouched up in a ball upon the saddle, behind their little round shield, and with the long spear held well in front, was really superb. The Cossacks had no chance against the Mikrí horse in the last Russian war: on one occasion, in particular, the Mikrís † chased the whole Russian cavalry from the field, and several of these very brothers had particularly distinguished themselves in the action. The old man proudly offered, for the honour of the Mikrís, to match this little band of brothers against any party of horsemen in the world, equal to them in numbers; and, as far as the East was concerned, he was probably right, for the Mikrí are by far the best cavalry in Persia, and these ten horsemen were about the best in the whole tribe.

Returning to Só-új Bólák by the same track which I pursued in going there, I again took up my quarters with the Mikrí governor. This tribe is one of the strongest and most powerful in Persia; it numbers above 12,000 families, and the tract of country which it occupies measures about 40 miles in length and 50 in breadth, extending N. and S. from the Miyándáb plain to Kurdistán proper, and E. and W. from the valley of the Jaghatú to the mountains. The Mikrís have almost entirely abandoned a nomade life, and are settled in villages; but still, on the approach of summer, they adhere to their old habit of removing into black tents, which they pitch on the outskirts of the village. They are

* See Asseman, tome ii. p. 256. The prison, however, is said to have been in the monastery of S. Abraham, which certainly recals to mind the Deír Sheikh Ibráhím, of Sirgán.

† The Mikrís are divided into the following *tírehs* (or minor tribes), many of which, again, have smaller sub-divisions:—

Bábá Amíreh, pronounced Bábáméri.

Deh Bokrí, the financial governor is of this tribe.

Khelkí.

Sheikh Sherefi.

Selekei.

Hasan Khálí.

Kárish.

Silki.

Sekír.

Gúrik.

Fekiyesi.

Ables.

Bárik.

Soleimáni.

Beyí.

'Omerbil.

Merzink.

Létáú.

Máwet and

Shiwezái.

very lightly taxed by the Persian government, paying, nominally, but 22,000, and, in reality, not more than 25,000 tó máns a year; which is not above half the sum that their assessment should reach, according to the general revenue system of the province. This is a politic measure, no doubt, for as Sunnis and Kurds, the Persian crown has no hold whatever on their allegiance; and they are, at the same time, too powerful to be coerced into anything like tame submission. They are, only, directly liable to furnish 200 horse for the service of government; but in any great national cause, which did not outrage their Sunni feelings, they might supply a body of most efficient cavalry, numbering from 4,000 to 5,000 horsemen, and still retain enough hands to gather in their crops, and protect their own country against aggression. Their present revenue system seems to be peculiar to themselves. The country, acquired in war, was originally held as direct property by the chief. From him it descended to his family, and thus, at the present day, the proprietorship of almost the whole of this extensive country is in the hands of a single family, the Bábá 'Amíreh sprung from a common ancestor, the famous Amíreh Páshá, a Mikrí chief, who rose into great power in the sixteenth century, when Tabríz and the adjacent districts fell under the rule of Constantinople; and who, for his distinguished services in the Turkish invasion of Azerbáján, was rewarded by Sultan Morád Khán with the governments of Mósul, Arbil, the Bábán, and Mikrí countries, and Marághah.* But this small family of the Bábá Amírehs, which does not number above fifty or sixty people, cannot be supposed capable of cultivating all the lands, and a system has been thus introduced, by which the chief of the tribe can assign any portion of the country that he pleases to the care of other inferior leaders, who are called Aghás, with or without the consent of the proprietor. The produce is then divided according to the following proportions:—the Bábá Amíreh landlord receives a fifteenth in right of his hereditary proprietorship; the Aghá, or farmer, who is the responsible agent to government, a tenth; the Zerá'et-chís, a class of people who are supposed to understand the science of agriculture, and who superintend the cultivation, a fifth; and the remainder is shared between the expense of tillage and the price of labour, according to the different arrangements for farming which exist between the ra'yyat and Aghá; the most common is what is called Nisfehkarí, where the expenses and produce of cultivation are both shared equally between them; the Aghá taking upon himself all the government liabilities as the equivalent of the labour bestowed by the ra'yyat. The tenth claimed by the Aghá, independently of

† See Táríkhí-Akrád.

this arrangement, is ostensibly the government share the 'Ushrá exacted in all Sunní countries ; but, practically, it does not work so. The revenue to be realised is distributed by the chief among the different districts, at an average rate of two tó máns a family, and the Aghá, or Bábá Amíreh proprietor, if he farms his own land, is then at liberty to apportion the assessment among his ra'y'yats, in reference to his own knowledge of their capability to contribute.

I have mentioned that among the great tribes the condition of the peasantry is far superior to their state under the direct administration of the government or the control of any foreign master ; who, to fulfil his terms of contract, or to gratify his own avarice, is sure to wring from them their last penny. Among the Mikrís this is particularly observable : in detached villages or districts, if the peasantry are forced by oppression to vacate their lands, they can be reclaimed by the chief whom they have deserted ; but here they are all of one tribe, and should any chief burden his ra'y'yats with an undue assessment, they have merely to migrate a few miles to the milder rule of another, leaving the landlord to realise his revenue as he best may. The Aghás are thus obliged, for their own interests, to cherish and protect the peasantry that cultivate their lands ; and I really believe that there is also a strong and most pleasing feeling of mutual attachment, which makes them cling to each other under all circumstances, and regard each other's welfare as identical. The Mikrí chiefs declare that they value a family of their own ra'y'yats as equal to two or even three Turkish families. The Kurd never visits his chief without the offering of a lamb or sheep ; and in any exigency, where he is suddenly called upon to produce a large sum of money, the chief is sure of being cheerfully assisted by all his ra'y'yats to the utmost limit of their means ; while the sulky Turk will never pay one fraction beyond his due, except upon compulsion ; and even to obtain this due there is a constant scene of prayer and protestation upon one side, and of abuse and violence upon the other. Still, however, the Kurds are half savages, and have no idea of personal comfort : and thus the traveller, in passing casually through the country and perceiving their dirty miserable villages, is apt to infer distress and poverty, and to argue the inferiority of their general condition to that of the peasantry of other countries.

November 2nd.—I left Só-új Bólák, much gratified with my sojourn among the Mikrís, and travelled 25 miles to Merhemet-ábád, in the Miyándáb plain. Following down the course of the river of Só-új Bólák, in a N. E. by N. direction, I passed the large village of Yúsuf Kend at 3 miles. Here the valley became more open ; and there was a limited extent of rice ground. At

1 mile farther I crossed the left bank of the river to inspect some curious antiquities. The first was an isolated rock called *Sheitán-ábád*.* The face of it had been smoothed in many places with the chisel; and a large passage, which looked like an aqueduct, had been excavated through it. This passage being now almost entirely open to the day, as though the outer surface of the rock, which was of a soft yielding nature, had been worn away until it reached the aqueduct within. At the distance of a few hundred yards from this, lower down the river, there was another rock, called *Saukend*, where I found still more interesting remains. The lower part of this, facing the river, had been all artificially smoothed; and the greater portion of its conical surface above had been cut into regular flights of steps, which conducted to a little platform on the summit, where, however, I could find nothing more than a single small reservoir, hollowed out of the rock, with four holes at the corners, that appeared intended for pillars to support some canopy over the water. Through this rock also had been excavated a narrow winding passage, which I conclude to be a continuation of the aqueduct of *Sheitán-ábád*, the intervening communication, which must have been raised very considerably above the ground, having disappeared in the lapse of ages. I crept into this passage, on my hands and knees, until I reached, at some distance within, a low chamber, the purpose of which I could not at all comprehend. I could find no trace of sculpture or inscription; but the base of the rock on the scarped side, where would be the most likely place for a tablet, is concealed by the banks of a modern canal that has been excavated just beneath it. The labour that has been bestowed on the exterior face of the rock seems to indicate that it must have been anciently surmounted by some building; and I conclude this to have been a fire temple; but if such really were the case, it has now altogether vanished, and left the natural pediment alone to mark its site.

I then recrossed the river to the neighbouring village of *Inderkúsh*, and there procured guides to conduct me to the place, named by the Kurds, *Fakhrakáh*, which, from the description, I had rightly conjectured to be an ancient tomb, of the same class as those at *Persepolis*. I reached this at the distance of a mile from *Inderkúsh*, and found the excavation, as usual, high up in the face of a precipitous rock. My *Mikrí* guides ascended the face of the rock like cats, and then drew me up with ropes; the perpendicular height, after climbing up the hill as far as I possibly could, being about 30 feet. The outer chamber of the excavation was 8 paces in width, and 8 in depth; the height being 12 feet. Here there was a recess raised one step from the outer chamber,

* Literally "the devil's habitation."

and supported by two massive pillars with circular bases and capitals, all cut out of the solid rock. Within this, again, and raised two steps higher, there was a second recess, also supported by two pillars, and containing, at its inner extremity, three places of deposit for the dead ; one 8 feet in length, and 5 feet in breadth, and the other two about half that size ; the depth of all three being about 2 feet.

The tomb must have been excavated for some ancient sovereign and his two children ; but inscription or sculpture there was none to indicate even to what dynasty it was to be referred. Among the writings, however, on the walls of the tomb, where visitors are usually in the habit of recording their names, I found a set of inscriptions which I am inclined to regard as very singular. From their being written in ink, or some composition resembling it, I could not at first suppose them of any antiquity ; but when I began to copy the characters, I found they must have been inscribed when the face of the rock was smooth, and had suffered little from exposure ; for their only illegibility arose from the surface of the rock being worn away in many places, which broke the continuity of the writing. If the lines had been written after the smoothness of the rock had been destroyed, traces would have been apparent in the broken parts ; but of this there was no appearance. Where the face of the rock was smooth the writing was quite distinct ; where it was broken the letters, or parts of them, were effaced. The characters have much resemblance to some of the old Pehleví writing, but still they are not identical with it ; and I do not believe there is any known alphabet to which they can be uniformly assigned. I attribute them to some ancient visitors of the tomb, long anterior to the introduction of Islamism. All these remains seem to indicate the site of some ancient city in the vicinity ; and accordingly we find in Kurdish tradition a large tract of the adjacent valley now irrigated by the river, and wholly under cultivation, named Shári Verán, and believed to have been the position of an immense capital.

I am at a loss, however, I confess, to explain in any satisfactory way the name of Shári Verán. There has certainly been no city of any consequence at this spot for the last thousand years ; and I can scarcely admit the similarity of the title to the Vera of Strabo to be of any weight against the mass of evidence which would assign that city to a different emplacement.*

From Fakhrakáh I struck across the low hills in a direction of E. by N., leaving to my left the valley of the Só-új Bólağ river, and the marshy lake where that river loses itself, which I saw in the distance ; and at the end of 8 miles again descended into the

* See the following Memoir, pp 113 and 133.

Miyândâb plain: 10 miles across the plain, in the same direction, crossing at the 7th mile, the Tâtâú river brought me to the large village of Merhemet-ábâd, the capital of the district, and only known at present in the country by the title of Shehri-Miyândâb. This was formerly a very considerable town: the late prince royal proposed to make it the head-quarters of his artillery. He built here a fort and palace, and gave it the new title of Merhemet-ábâd. The place is now half-ruined; but it still contains above 1000 houses, among whom are twenty Armenian Christians and forty Jews.

The great Miyândâb plain is chiefly inhabited by Turks, of the tribe of Mokeddem; some of them residing permanently in villages, but the greater part living in black tents during the summer, and retiring to their *kishláqs** (clusters of little thatched dirty cabins) in winter. I have mentioned the fine rich soil which this plain enjoys throughout. About Miyândâb it is highly cultivated; and, again, a short distance to the eastward, where a very considerable stream, called the Leilân Sû, is wholly absorbed in irrigation, the production of rice is immense.

3rd.—This morning I rode over from Miyândâb to inspect the ruins of Leilân, laid down in Colonel Monteith's map as the site of Canzaca. I crossed the Jaghatú at $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, and reached Leilân at 6 miles farther, the direction being N. 64° E. The great ruin I found to be a quadrangular inclosure, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in length, and half that distance in breadth, composed of a line of mounds, some 40 or 50 feet in height. Within the area there was hardly any trace of building; but without, on the southern face, a large mass of broken ground indicated the site of a considerable town. There could be little question, from the character of the mounds, that the fort was of some antiquity; but its claim to be considered as the representative of Canzaca I shall discuss in my memoir on the Átropatenian Ecbatana. It is called by the peasantry *Ķal'eh'i-Bâkhteh*; and they have a tradition that it stood a successful siege, of seven years, against some Feringí warrior who attacked it. The present village of Leilân, a small miserable hamlet, is at the south-eastern angle of the fort.

From Leilân I again struck across the plain, in a direction of S. by E., to the Jaghatú river, which I recrossed at 7 miles, just at the point where it debouches into the open country. Here I crossed the high road to *Se'in Ķal'eh*, and re-entered the Mikrí country. Ascending gently from the bank of the river, I then continued for 7 miles farther, over an undulating down, in the same direction of S. by E., until I reached the village of Armení

* *Kishlák* is the winter residence, in contradistinction to the summer pastures, or *yáiláqs*.

Boláki, in a fine open valley among the hills, and took up my quarters with a Mikrí chief, whom I had been disappointed in meeting at Só-új Bólák, and whom I took this opportunity, therefore, of visiting upon his farm in the country.

The district in which I now was I found to be denominated Beyí.* It was an old possession of the Mikrís; but being little inhabited, it had been taken from them by 'Abbás Mirzá, and conferred upon the Chárdauris,† when that tribe was first located in this part of Azerbáján. The greater part of the Chárdauris, however, abandoned their new possessions some years ago, and migrated farther to the S. Since which time the Mikrí chiefs have been busily employed in settling villages throughout the district, and thus establishing their claim to it in a way to prevent the possibility of its being again wrested from them. I found the same kind and hospitable treatment at Armeni Boláki which I have uniformly experienced as the guest of a Kurdish chief, but nowhere, perhaps, to a greater extent than during my short sojourn among the Mikrís.

4th.—To-day my Mikrí friend insisted on escorting me to Moḥammedjik, the residence of the Chárdauri chief, and we accordingly set off together with a large party of horsemen to find our way there. For 3 miles we wound among the hills in an E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction to the bed of the Jaghatú, which here runs in a narrow valley, about a mile in width, between ranges of hills, which to the west are steep and barren, to the east ascending more gradually and cultivated along their slopes. The district on the other side of the river was named A'járí, a dependency of Marághah, containing a great number of villages along the banks of the Jaghatú and the numerous streams which descend from the hills to the east, and empty themselves into it. The capital of the district is Kásháwer, a small town on the banks of the river, with a very imposing looking fort on the summit of the hill above it. After ascending the left bank of the river for a mile, we crossed over at a point where a mound, called Aḳchehlí Teppéh, divided the territories of A'járí and Sa'in Kal'eh, and from hence continued along the valley in a S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction for 10 miles to the village of Moḥammedjik, situated on the rise of the hill, at the distance of about a mile from the bed of the Jaghatú.

Moḥammedjik is a modern settlement, where the Chárdauri chief has built himself a comfortable residence, and has planted a large garden in the usual Oriental style, which is the wonder of

* So called from the Mikrí tribe of Beyí, by whom it was formerly inhabited.

† The Chárdauris are said to have originally come from the plain of Chárdaur, in Poshti-kúh of Luristán.

the surrounding country. The history of this district for the last twenty years affords a good illustration of the character of Persian administration. The Mehal is named Sa'in Kal'eh, from the town of that name, about 1 farsakh higher up the valley than Mohammedjik, which forms the capital of the district: it occupies the south-eastern corner of the province of Azerbijan, measuring north and south from A'jari to Kurdistan Proper about 40 miles, and east and west, from Khamseh to the Jaghatu, it may average about 30. Before the arrival of the Chardauris it was calculated to contain 300 villages, and to be inhabited by 3500 families of the Afshar tribe, besides numerous refugees from the Mikris, the Mokeddems, and Kurdistan Proper: the government assessment was 17,000 tomans. The Chardauris, an Iliyati tribe, originally from Luristan, and numbering about 4000 families, were removed by the late Shah from Fars to Azerbijan, and 'Abbas Mirza settled them in this district, assigning to them the revenues for the pay of their contingent of horse. The greater part of the Afshars, jealous of the new comers, then removed to Urumiyah, and as the Chardauris had little taste for agriculture, the lands remained uncultivated. The prosperity of the district thus continued rapidly to decline until the last Russian war, when the Chardauris, alarmed by the occupation of Maraghab, moved off to Isfand-abad, near Hamadan, leaving only 1000 families of their own tribe, and about the same number of Afshars, in occupation of the lands. The Kurdistanis, finding the district thus nearly depopulated, now commenced their cheppaus,* and the ruin of all its southern frontier was soon completed: scarcely 100 villages remained inhabited, and the available revenue had sunk to 4000 or 5000 tomans. This, however, was but a prelude to further evils, and matters had been gradually growing worse since that time, until, at the period of my visit, they appeared to have reached a climax of disorder. The chardauris, who remained in the district, still claimed the revenues, and to enable them to realise these revenues, they laid claim also to the government. The Afshars would not hear of relinquishing the government, and having also obtained large grants from the crown for themselves, neither would they pay any revenue. Then followed appeals and references to a venal court, and each party obtained decisions in their own favour; until at last, finding that any adjustment by the interposition of government was impracticable, they had fairly taken the field, determined to fight it out on the old principle of might making right. Three different engagements had taken place, ending generally to the advantage of the Afshars, but still without any decisive

* Cheppau or Cheppawel, a plundering foray.

result, and each party now held his own at the point of the sword.

The Chárdauris have no great reputation among the clans for skill or bravery; but they have still, on some occasions, done good service to government; and the Lord of Moḥammedjik, old Naúrúz Khán, is one of the most shrewd and sensible tribe chiefs that I have ever met with. The Chárdauris of Şa'in Kál'eh are under nominal obligations to furnish a body of 700 horse to the crown, but I should doubt their being able to assemble half the number; and in the Herát campaign they were excused attendance altogether, in consequence of their own troubles, and their being attacked by plague during the preceding year.

5th.—At Moḥammedjik I took leave of my Mikri friend, who seemed quite out of his element among the detested Kizilbáshes, and with a guide of Naúrúz Khán's proceeded on my journey. Following up the narrow valley of the Jaghatú, at 1 farsakh I passed through Şa'in Kál'eh, situated at the foot of an immense artificial mound, which is crowned by a modern fort apparently of some strength. Owing to the recent disturbances I found the place almost deserted, but the fort above bristled with arms, and the Afshárs, who had possession, did not seem quite easy at the approach of our party from Moḥammedjik. From the appearance of the mound at Şa'in Kál'eh there can be no question of the antiquity of the site; it is difficult, however, to recognise the position in Oriental geography, and as the name is certainly a Turkish imposition, its accidental similarity to the Sanais of Ptolemy, or the Sintha of Peter the Patrician, must not be regarded.* At another farsakh from Şa'in Kál'eh I quitted the high road, which here strikes up among the hills to the left, and followed up the bank of the river for a short distance to visit the remains of an ancient bridge over the Jaghatú, named Kiz Kópri.† This bridge was a most pleasing discovery, as it enabled me to fix the great line of route which approached Canzaca from the westward. I found four of the platforms of the piers from which the arches sprang still standing: they were 18 paces in length and 8 in breadth, pointed at the end opposed to the current, and rounded at the other, the exterior facing being formed throughout of huge blocks of hewn stone, excellently fitted, and the interior being filled with loose stones mixed up with a strong lime cement. There seemed to have been originally seven of these platforms, three of which had been carried away by the force and rapidity of the current. The era of the bridge I believe to be Sasanian, and it doubtless marks the line by which the road from Niniveh

* Ptol, lib. vi. c. 2. Peter Patric. in Excerpt. Legat., p. 30.

† "The Maiden's Bridge," equivalent to the Páli Dokhter, so frequently met with in Persia. See the Memoir on Ecbatana, p. 136.

conducted to Canzaca. The remains of an ancient Sasanian fort were also said to exist upon a steep and lofty hill on the other side of the river, but I had no time to cross and visit them. Turning up a narrow valley to the left from the bed of the Jaghatú, I now entered among the arms of the broad straggling range which here runs nearly west and east, and appears to connect the Mikrí hills with the great chain thrown off to the S.E. from Sehend, and named by Monteith the mountains of Kibleh. After winding for 10 miles among the tortuous ravines, and ascending the steep acclivities of the successive shoulders of the range, I at length found myself at the highest point of the hills, where I got a bearing of Moĥammedjik N.N.W., Şa'in Kāl'eh being nearly in the line. The hills in this part are steep and barren, and are used for sheep-walks: the high road from Şa'in Kāl'eh followed, I understood, a long easy pass a few miles to the eastward of the line, by which I reached the summit of the range; on descending very gradually upon a high table-land, I rejoined it, and from thence travelled 6 miles farther in a general S.E. direction to the village of Hişár.

This part of the country consists of a wide expanse of barren, hilly downs, which appear as if they might be traversed in any direction, and the traveller is therefore at first surprised to find the very great détour that he is obliged to make to reach any particular point; but this is soon explained: the downs are intersected by steep, precipitous ravines, which are not perceptible at a distance, and which, except at certain spots, are quite impassable: in the bed of each of these ravines is a little stream flowing down to the Sárúk, and the remains of numerous villages, now deserted, may be seen upon their banks.

To the E. the country is more hilly, the view being terminated by the great range which divides Azerbáján from Khamseh. At the time of Sir R. K. Porter's visit to the country, Hişár seems to have been a considerable place; of late, however, it has been altogether abandoned, and I now found the brother of the Afshár chief endeavouring to assemble a few families within the ruinous enclosure of the fort, who might serve to cultivate the adjacent lands.

At Hişár I was again among the Turks. The Afshár chief was absent on a pilgrimage, and the government was, temporarily, in the hands of his brother, a young man who had been from his childhood in the service of the government, and had thus tainted his I'liyát manners with the flippancy and affectation of the Tabriz court. I had no reason to complain of want of courtesy, but, I confess, the rough sterling kindness of the tribes has always pleased me far better than the jaunty bearing of the city fashionables.

8th.—Near Hisár the road from Şa'in Kāleh divides; one track leading to the right to Şehnah, the capital of Ardelán; the other to the left, to Hamadán. Our maps commit a strange error in placing Sefer Kháneh, on the latter of these roads, instead of the former. Sefer Kháneh is in reality the usual caravan stage from Şa'in Kal'eh, on the Şehnah road, and is situated about 6 miles to the W.S.W. of Hışár, instead of to the E., as the maps had led me to believe.

I had come to Hışár for the purpose of visiting the caves of Karaftú before I proceeded to Takhti Soleimán. I found them now to be only distant 4 farsakhs; but the road among the ravines was too difficult to admit of my going and returning in the day, and there was no nearer point on the direct line where I could make my stage; I was, therefore, recommended to-day to go to Chúklí, the last Afshár village of any consequence towards the Kurdish frontier; and from thence, on the morrow, to visit Karaftú, and return to Tikán Teppéh. At about 1 farsakh from Hışár I rejoined the high Hamadán road, continued for another farsakh along it, and then struck down a ravine to the right, until I reached the villages of Gók Aghách, and Chúklí, in the last of which I took up my quarters, the distance from Hışár being $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles; it was difficult to observe, accurately, the direction of this march, from the windings of the road, the want of any prominent objects, and the narrow range of view among the undulating hills; however, as far as I could ascertain, the general direction was E. a little southerly. I found Chúklí to be chiefly inhabited by a party of Kalhur refugees from Kermánsháh, who had known me when employed at that place, and were now most desirous to do me honour in their new abodes. The village is of no great size, but it is pleasantly situated on a small stream which flows down to the Sárúk, and there is more cultivation around it than is usually seen in this desolate and steril tract.

7th.—Escorted by a party of Kalhur horsemen, I set out from Chúklí to visit the caves of Karaftú, one of the most curious places that exist in Persia. Travelling in a direction of S. 20 W. over a barren and open country, at 7 miles I reached the bed of the Sárúk river. This river is formed by the confluence of four streams which rise in the district of Takhti Soleimán. It flows then to the W. in a narrow, rocky valley, between high banks, broken at intervals by the huge ravines, which, as I have mentioned, intersect the country in all directions, and run down to the bed of the river. Near Sefer Kháneh it meets the Jaghatú, which rises in the pass of Náúkhán, on the eastern face of Zagros, and thence passing through the district of Sekiz, collects all the streams of that mountainous region; from the point of confluence the river continues among the mountains till it reaches Kiz

Kóprí, after which, the valley begins to expand; and, at last, opens out into the great plain of Miyándáb. At this season I found very little water in the Sárúḳ; it was merely a rapid, noisy stream, boiling along amid stones and rocks, and fordable at all points. The Sárúḳ does not form the boundary between Azerbáján and Kurdistán, as has usually been stated. The Afshárs of Şa'in Ḳal'eh claim a very considerable tract S. of the river; and though at present it is little occupied, no doubt remains as to their right. At 7 miles from the river, still pursuing the same direction, over undulating downs covered with high withered grass, I reached the great ravine of Karaftú, in the precipitous face of which are found the openings to the caves.

Sir R. K. Porter has described these excavations with so much minuteness and accuracy that I need not add much to his account. There can be little question about their having been devoted to Mithraic worship, and the neighbourhood of the great Median capital explains their position in this wild, and now desolate region. Porter speaks of an enchanted fountain in the innermost recesses of the mountain, to which he was unable to penetrate: I heard the same story from my guides, and, after numerous failures, succeeded at last in reaching the spot, at the end of a natural gallery formed of the most splendid stalactites. The magic fountain proved to be nothing more than a small natural pit among the stalactites, filled with delicious water; and, after clambering round the sides of it, I found the gallery too narrow to admit of any farther progress. There is some exaggeration in the infinite extent which Porter would assign to the ramifications of the cave. I followed every gallery which I found, or with which the guides were acquainted, to its end, and none of them reached further than the fountain, about 700 yards from the entrance. The altar, also, of which Porter speaks, in the square chamber of the second range, is the base of a broken pillar—had he cast his eyes upwards he would have seen the rude capital adhering to the roof of the cave. His description, however, in the main, is graphic and correct, and I cannot do better than refer to it for all particulars of this very interesting spot.

After remaining 6 hours at Karaftú, I remounted, on my return. We fell in with some wild hogs near the caves, and the chase which they gave us took us some miles farther down the valley of the Sárúḳ than the point where I had crossed it in the morning. All this part of the country is what the Persians call Chúl (an uninhabited desert), and forms a sort of neutral ground between Azerbáján and Kurdistán; the real boundary is said to be the great ravine of Karaftú. After the chase, we followed up the narrow rocky valley of the Sárúḳ for about 9 miles—the general direction being E. 8° N. As we proceeded, we found a

few miserable villages on the banks of the river, and saw some others in the ravines to the right and left. At last, we quitted the river at the large village of *Kız Kapán*, an *Afshár* settlement, and crossed an open undulating country for 5 miles, in an E. by S. direction, to *Tikán teppeh*, the usual halting-place for caravans on the high road between *Tabríz* and *Hamadán*—it is reckoned 9 farsakhs distant from *Şa'in Kál'eh*, and from the caves of *Karaftú* it may be about 17 miles.

Tikán Teppeh is situated in a valley of limited extent, well watered, and pretty generally cultivated. The village is named from a large irregular mound, of no great height, but of considerable circuit, of which it covers the southern and western skirts; it is one of the chief places in the *Afshár* country. I have since learnt that in the immediate vicinity there are a number of ancient excavations, which appear as if intended for places of sepulture, and which, from their being thus found in the interesting neighbourhood of the Median capital, would be well worthy of minute examination.

8th.—From *Tikán Teppeh* I set out to visit the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimán*. There are two roads conducting to the *Takht*; one, a circuitous track, leads into the valley of the main branch of the *Sárúk*, and follows up that stream to its source; the other crosses the hills in a general direction of N. 40 E. I followed the latter track over a country broken by several low rocky ranges, and at the end of 12 miles, descended to the valley of the southernmost arm of the *Sárúk*. A considerable village, at this point, is named *Karániz*; and a short distance lower down the stream there is a natural object which is considered one of the great wonders of the district: the river, it seems, swells out into a small lake, and in this there is a floating island of spongy turf, which is usually moored at one side, but can be pushed with long poles to all parts of the lake. I was so anxious to get to the *Takht* in time for a meridional observation, that, much to the astonishment of my guide, I declined going out of my road to visit the floating island. From the river I crossed over a barren, stony hill, where, in an old *I'liyát* cemetery, the body of an *Imám Zádah** was said to have been, lately, miraculously discovered; and which was, thus, considered by the peasantry as holy ground, and, at 5 miles, on reaching the brow of the hill, had the satisfaction of seeing the ruins of the famous *Takht*, in the valley at my feet. The first view of the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimán* is certainly striking. The tract of country, extending along the base of the mountains, which form the prolongation of the *Káfilán Kúh* range, is more open than any I had seen since leaving the shores of the

* The descendant of an *Imám*.

lake of Urumiyah. It is called, in the country, the Şahrá, or plain of Takhti-Soleimán; but this must be only understood as a relative title, to distinguish it from the mountainous regions that surround it; for it is an undulating tract, intersected by many low ranges of hills, and does not at all answer what we expect from the term of Şahrá, or plain; near the south-eastern extremity of the tract there is a narrow open valley, commanded by a projecting hill, on the summit of which are the remarkable ruins of the Takht. From a distance they present to view a grey hoary mass of crumbling walls and buildings, encircling a small piece of water of the deepest azure, and bounded by a strong line of wall supported by numerous bastions. A nearer inspection shows the ruins, perhaps, to less advantage; but I confess, to me it was fraught with much interest, for at every step, I met with fresh evidence to confirm me in the belief that I now beheld the great capital of Media. I was occupied for the greater part of three days in examining the ruins, and taking a regular survey, which I have laid down in the accompanying plan. This plan, and the description already published in Sir R. K. Porter's travels, will preclude the necessity of any very detailed account; but still, I cannot pass over the place without a general notice.

The hill of Takhti-Soleimán appears, at first, as if it were isolated, but this is not strictly the case. On the southern, western, and northern faces, it presents a steep acclivity to the valley; but, at the N.E. and S.E. corners, the ground rises gradually, and on its eastern face it is thus very slightly elevated above the country beyond the walls. At the S.W. corner, I found the height of the hill, by trigonometrical observation, to be 150 feet above the plain, and that of the wall, at its summit, where perfect, to be 30, giving a total of 180 feet; and this may be taken as the general average of height along the three steep faces. The brow of the hill is crowned by a wall, the most perfect part of which is along the southern face, and the most ruinous upon the western; but this will be more apparent by a reference to the plan, where I have laid down the exact ground-plan of the wall, marking, by a dotted line, what I suppose to have been its original dimensions. There are the remains of thirty-seven bastions, and the circuit of the wall, measured from point to point of these bastions, is 1330 paces, or a little more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. At a few points only near the gateway, on the south-eastern face, is the line of wall perfect; but where it is perfect, the masonry is shown to be most excellent. The breadth of the wall is 12 feet, the outer facing being composed of hewn blocks of stone about 14 inches deep, and 2 feet in length, alternating with thin stones laid edgeways and perpendicularly between them, and the whole being fitted with extreme care and nicety: the interior is filled

up with huge unhewn blocks, imbedded in a lime cement, which is now fully as hard as the stones themselves. The bastions that are now perfect near the gateway at the S.E. corner of the fort are solid, and taper upwards from the base; but I do not think these can be of the same age as the curtain, for they are formed of smaller stones, less accurately fitted, and in other parts of the fort fragments of the old bastions remain, faced with the same huge blocks of hewn stone which mark the general character of the real ancient building: it appears to me as if the bastions near the gate had been repaired in times comparatively modern. The gateway which faces S. 30° E. is quite perfect. It consists of a single arch, 12 feet high, and 10 feet wide, and is formed entirely of massive hewn blocks—a bastion protects it on either side. Above the gateway, and extending from one bastion to the other, are a line of blocks, each carved with a rude representation of an arch, which thus form a sort of ornamental frieze to the portal, and offer the only specimen of ancient sculpture to be found upon the walls. Passing through the gateway, I found myself within the precincts of the deserted city: the first object that attracted my attention was the lake. I found this to be an expanse of water on the highest point of the hill, irregularly shaped, and about 300 paces in circuit: the rocky banks that surround it are formed of a deposit of carbonate of lime, of which the water holds vast quantities in solution, and there can be no doubt but that they are daily narrowing as the calcareous deposit continues: a very short distance from the surface they recede inwards, thus forming a huge incurvated basin for the lake. Sir R. K. Porter states his belief, that the hill has been formed entirely by deposition from the water, and this, in very remote antiquity, would seem to have been the case, for the depth of the water, recently determined by repeated experiments of the Afshár chief at 47 Persian yards, agrees, as near as possible, with the height of the hill, ascertained by myself with the sextant; but still, from the date of the erection of the present wall, the height can have increased but very little, for so gradual is the slope from the bank of the lake to the gateway, that the water which flows out of the lake by an artificial outlet, opened within the memory of the old men of the district, can scarcely find its way to the portal, the greater portion lying about in large pools, evaporating and adding by its deposit to the great petrified mass; and, besides this, the water has long since risen to the highest level which the nature of the fountain will admit. I conclude the lake to be connected by an underground syphon with some other great fountain in the interior of the adjacent mountains, which is precisely of the same level as itself, and which has other means of outlet; for the great phenomenon of the lake is this, that whatever

number of passages may be opened in its rocky edge for the purpose of irrigating the lands below, the hill will be immediately filled by a copious discharge of water, which may be kept up for any length of time, without at all affecting the level of the lake; and if these passages again are closed, so as to prevent the escape of any water, the surface of the lake will still preserve the same level, and the water will never rise enough to overflow the banks;* and this same phenomenon was remarked and described by an oriental writer upwards of 500 years ago.† In the traditions of the country, it is not believed that there was any outlet for the waters of the lake until about fifty years ago, when the Sháh Sewend tribe opened two passages to conduct streams for the irrigation of their lands at the foot of the hill, and, of course, when the town was inhabited, the people, who could not be ignorant of the petrifying quality of the water, would naturally be careful to prevent its escape. However, after the city was finally ruined, which I believe to have been during the fifteenth or sixteenth century, some great outlet, either by accident or design, must have been opened upon its western face; for on that side the whole tract, intervening between the lake and the brow of the hill, bears evident marks of having been deluged—the surface is one mass of petrification, and the curtain and bastions, which I conclude to have been already in ruins before the great flow commenced, are entirely covered with the calcareous deposit, lying in huge waves over the prostrate blocks along the crest, and down the slope of the hill, like the hardened surface of a flow of lava from a volcano: the appearance is most singular, and I can hardly think that the constant flow of water for a century would have been sufficient to produce it. At present, there are two outlets for the water; the most ancient is at the N.E. corner of the lake, where the water pours gently forth through a small aperture in the rocky bank, spreads itself out, and petrifies as it goes along, until it reaches a ruined part of the wall upon the eastern face of the fort. It here again collects into a narrow bed, flows round one of the bastions upon a high rocky ridge which it has formed for itself, and then turns off into the country to a little pond, from which it trickles into the plain below; the other outlet is at the point of the lake nearest the gateway. A small portion of the water only, as I have mentioned, reaches the gateway, and, at the time of my visit, this portion seemed to be entirely wasted away in a large mass of calcareous rock, a short distance below. Having seen the extraordinary petrification upon

* I do not, of course, speak from my own personal experience; but this is a well-known fact in Persia, and has been repeatedly verified by the princes and nobles of Khamseh and Gárús during their summer encampment at the Takhti.

† Hámdu-lleh Mostaufi. See the Second Memoir, p. 66.

the western face, I could fancy that, should anything occur to ruin the gateway and adjoining bastions, they might, some centuries hence, present perhaps the same appearance.

When I was at Takhti-Soleimán, the water did not gush from the lake with any force whatever; the hand, held a very few inches within the aperture, was quite insensible to a current, and bits of stick, which I threw in at the distance of a yard, were not even drawn into the channel. The peasantry regard it as a special miracle, that in the spring season, when water is required for irrigation, a copious supply reaches the plain from these two outlets, without there being any perceptible increase in the volume that is discharged; and that, while in other places the water becomes stone, it produces only a fertilising effect upon their cultivated lands. I conclude from this that, in the spring, when the mother fountain is swollen by the melting snows, the velocity of the water in these narrow channels must be much increased, though its apparent body remains the same; and that, either the carbonate of lime, which it holds in solution, must be all deposited before it reaches the lower plain, or, as is more probable, that the infusion of the snow-water must purify the fountain, and remove a great proportion of the calcareous matter, which appears at other seasons to be the main cause of its tendency to stagnate in its downward course. Be the reason, however, what it may, there is certainly no appearance of deposit in the cultivation below, and the narrow outlets could not contain a greater body of water than I saw in them at the time of my visit. The water is of a deep blue colour, exquisitely clear, and not unpleasing to the taste. I brought away a bottle of it to be analysed, but, unfortunately, it was broken before an opportunity occurred of applying chemical tests.

The old opinion was that this lake was unfathomable; indeed an Arabian traveller of the ninth century does not scruple to affirm that he tried to sound it with a line of 4000 yards, and failed in finding any bottom. The assertion is perpetuated in all the geographers, and was believed in the country until last year, when an Afshár girl, having thrown herself into the lake, in consequence of disappointment in a love affair, the chief, a very intelligent man, was led to try its depth with a line. The water was so heavy that the people employed could not tell when they touched the bottom; but with a line of sixty Persian yards the stone came up covered with mud: they then continued shortening the line, with the same result, until at $46\frac{1}{2}$ yards the stone came up clean, having evidently not touched the bottom. The experiment was repeated several times, and the depth of the lake may therefore be considered as ascertained at 47 Persian yards, or about 26 fathoms. The immediate banks of the lake are free from the remains of

any buildings, but at a short distance from it a square enclosure of ruins surrounds it on the four sides: the buildings are chiefly of a Mohammedan age, and doubtless belong to the palace erected at this spot by Abekáí Khán, the Moghul emperor, as I shall explain more at length in my other memoir. A sketch of the principal ruin appears upon the ground-plan of the place, and I also give a copy of the Arabic inscription which runs along the frieze in the interior of the building. As these ruins are of no interest, and have, moreover, been noticed by Porter, I need not delay with a description. There is one particular mass, however, situated on the northern side of the square, which demands more attention. Porter considered this to be a ruined hammám, or bath, which scarcely deserved notice; but, after a minute examination, I see no reason to doubt its representing the ancient Fire Temple of the province of Azerbáján, which, before the rise of Islám, is known to have been one of the most holy places in Persia. The obscure history of the temple I shall endeavour to illustrate in the memoir, and here, therefore, confine myself to a description of the ruin.

Amid the mass of crumbling rubbish it was not very easy at first to ascertain the original design of the building; but after some trouble I succeeded: the temple has been a square edifice of 55 feet.

It was built of bricks, admirably baked, and laid in a plaster, which seems very much to resemble the Roman cement of the present day: so strong, indeed, is this cement that in some places where the arch is destroyed the superincumbent building still remains uninjured, supported merely by the adhesion of the bricks to each other: the outer wall is shown to be 15 feet thick: a high narrow vaulted passage within this surrounds the central chamber, and communicates with it by a large broad arch, upon each of the four faces: this chamber, where the sacred fire was, I conclude, deposited, is supported by massive walls also 15 feet thick: it is roofed by a circular dome, and measures inside 10 paces square: the central chamber is now filled up with ruin and rubbish to the spring of the arch; and the dome is also partly broken in from the character of the building, formed of layers of bricks, both horizontal and perpendicular, which is peculiar to the Sasanian ages, and the similarity of design to that of other ruined fire temples, which are to be met with in different parts of Persia. I refer the edifice without any doubt to the same class, though it is possible that, under the Muselmán rule, it was devoted to other purposes: the interior of the dome in the central chamber is coated with a thick covering of black, which seems to have been caused by the smoke of the sacred fire, burning for centuries upon the altar underneath. The central chamber is in

pretty good preservation, but the outer passage is for the greater part destroyed, and all round the edifice outside there are vast heaps of ruins, the debris of buildings attached to the shrine: above there appears to have been a superstructure, to which, in fact, the massive brick walls below served as a sort of pediment; and that this must have been of great height and solidity is shown by the foundations of immense hewn blocks of stone that are still seen among the ruins on the top of the domed chamber; here, I conjecture, were the emblems of the heavenly bodies that outraged the pious feelings of the Christian soldiers of Heraclius; and a silver crescent, on the highest peak of the cupola, seems to have maintained its position even long after the establishment of Islám.*

The only other building within the fortress, that appears to have any claim to antiquity, is a small square enclosure of four walls, rudely built of unhewn stone, near the south-western face of the fortifications: part of the left hand column of the gateway is still standing, formed of huge blocks of a dark-red stone, which are cut into the shape of the outer half of an octagon, and are also carved with an ornamental pattern: two fragments of a shaft are standing erect in front of the gateway; two others are lying on the ground near it; and within the walls there are also two bases or capitals; for it is not easy to distinguish which; all formed of the same dark-red stone, that is not to be met with in any other part of the ruins. I looked with interest down the slope of the hill for the remains of other walls, besides the one that runs along the crest, but I searched in vain: there are certainly not at present any traces of a wall, except the upper one; nor do I think that there ever could have been any upon the slope of the hill. On the northern and western faces of the hill, upon a sort of long sloping platform, between the steep acclivity and the lower valley, there are traces of some very extensive remains, but so nearly are they levelled with the surface of the ground, that I failed to ascertain anything of their precise nature: they stretch away from the hill 200 or 300 yards into the plain, and appear to have consisted of large quadrangular courts with a few buildings attached; these were probably the dwelling-places of the nobles, for whom there was no room within the narrow circuit of the walls; but the great mass of the city must have lain along the banks of the little stream that flows down the lower valley; and here, I confess, the remains are scarcely sufficient to accord with my idea of this being the site of the ancient capital of Media: immediately upon the banks of the stream there is certainly a long line of broken ground, which has been evidently covered with buildings, and upon the side of a hill to

* All these points are copiously illustrated in the second memoir.

the right there are also some considerable remains, which are named by the peasantry *Kelisiyeh*,* or the church; but still there is nothing to indicate the site of one of the most celebrated cities of the East; and it is only after seeing the broad level surface of the desert, unbroken by the trace of habitation, which we know must have been included within the circuit of other ancient capitals, not less populous or less celebrated than either of the Median *Ecbatanas*, that one can believe the mighty city of *Dejoces* to have existed at this spot.

The common popular tradition regarding the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimán* ascribes the foundation of the palace to *Solomon*, the son of *David*. He is believed to have here held his regal court, and to have invited the queen of *Sheba*, whom the easterns name *Balkís*, to visit him at the *Takht*, from her palace in the city of *Ushneí*. A remarkable ruin is shown upon the highest peak of the mountains, bearing N.E. from *Takhti-Soleimán*, which is named *Takhti-Balkís*, and is supposed to have been built by *Solomon* for the summer residence of the queen. The mountain was now covered with snow, and the road to the summit was described as so difficult that I contented myself with examining the ruin with a telescope from the plain below. It seemed to be a large artificial platform, surmounted with a few ruined walls; and, as I learnt that the building was all rough unhewn stone, I judged it to be a *Sasanian* fortress. It is said to possess a magnificent view of all the surrounding country, and that, in a clear day, the lake of *Urumiyah* even may be seen from it.

Among the other marvels which are attributed, at this place, to the wizard king, is a winding rocky ridge in the plain below the hill, upon its southern face, called the *Azhdihá*, or *Dragon*, which is supposed to have been a monster transformed into stone by the potent spell of *Solomon's* signet ring, as it was coming, open mouthed, to attack the city. The ridge is about 10 feet high and 80 paces in length, and has evidently been formed by the calcareous deposit of the water running for a great length of time in a narrow stream along it.

The hill immediately opposite to the *Takht*, towards the west, is crowned by a little ridge of scarpèd rock, in which there are said to be a vast number of natural excavations, which are also called *Tawílehi-Soleimán*, or the stable of *Solomon*; and above the ridge, I understand, there was an old wall encircling the summit of the hill, as though it had been used for a place of defence. But perhaps the most singular of all the natural curiosities in the vicinity is the place named *Zindáni-Soleimán*, or *Solomon's* prison. This is a small conical hill at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the *Takht*, in a direction of N. 70 W. It rises up very steeply from the plain, and the summit is crowned by a

* Corrupted from the Greek Ἐκκλησία.

scarped rocky crest, which is rather difficult to ascend. On scaling this crest, I found myself on the brink of a most terrific basin, into which it made me, at first, almost giddy to look. The explanation of this singular place was at once apparent. A petrifying spring, similar to that of the Takht, must at one time have here burst from the ground. It must have given birth to the entire hill, rising from the pressure of the great interior fountain, as it gradually formed by its deposit a rocky basin to contain the waters; and at last, when the basin had risen to its present enormous height above the plain, some great natural convulsion must have suddenly cut off the supply of water, causing the level of the great fountain to fall at the same time to the height at which the lake of the Takht appears now to remain in equilibrium. I can only suppose that this great convulsion opened an outlet for the water at the Takht before the formation of that hill or basin; for otherwise it seems impossible to understand how the waters at the Zindán could have risen so much higher than the level at which they remain stationary at the Takht. The summit of the Zindán is certainly 200 feet, probably more, above the level of the lake upon the Takht; the shape of the basin is nearly circular, and it measures about 40 yards in diameter. I had no means of ascertaining its exact depth, but a small pebble, dropped from the brink of the basin, took $4\frac{8}{10}$ " to reach the bottom, which will give a rough measure of 370 feet; and by suspending a line of 20 yards from the side, I judged it to be above six times that depth, which gives nearly the same result. The basin is slightly incurvated towards the summit; it then descends perpendicularly till near the bottom, and there branches out into deep cavernous recesses upon every side. When the communication with the great fountain was cut off, an immense deposit of calcareous matter must of course have taken place as the water evaporated, so that the original depth was probably much greater than it is at present. The bottom now looks like moist sand, with fragments of rock projecting through it.

The tradition regarding this place pretends that it was formed by Solomon for a state prison, and certainly a more secure dungeon could hardly be found. All the well-informed people of the district, however, perfectly understood its formation; and the lake at the Takht, they say, some day may possibly present the same appearance. There are a number of springs near the foot of the hill thermal, acidulous, sulphuric, and calcareous; one of the most curious is a small basin with a jet of water in the centre always playing, and the spring still remaining at the same level without any apparent outlet for the water. This the Afshárs of course regard as a miracle; and I confess, at first sight, it appeared startling enough: however, I could not doubt but that there was some fissure invisible from above (though the

spring was exquisitely clear) which carried off the water under ground. During my residence in this neighbourhood I took up my quarters with the brother of the Afshár chief, a fine, rough, honest farmer, who detested all government connexions from his very soul, and who lived quietly in his village of Chorek Teppéh, about 5 miles distant from the Takht, cultivating his lands, protecting the peasantry, and enjoying all the pleasures of a real country life. Chorek Teppéh bears from the Takht about N. 50 W.; the intervening country is pretty open, formed of high undulating downs, with here and there the rocky crest of a hill; but beyond Chorek Teppéh, in the same direction, there is a considerable plain, which is intersected by the three most northerly arms of the Sárúk. One of these arms comes down a long defile from the mountains named Zarrah Shúrán, or the gold-washers, and along the course of this stream there is said to be the old shaft of a mine, which has been worked above a farsakh in length. There are numerous other shafts and galleries of old mines in various parts of the district, but none of them are now worked. They are believed to have produced lead, copper, iron, and even silver and gold, whence has remained the name of Zerreh Shúrán.

At Chorek Teppéh I heard wonderful accounts of an inscription in an unknown character, which was to be found upon a neighbouring hill, and the clue to which was kept with the greatest secrecy, as it was supposed to contain a talisman for discovering the entrance to some inexhaustible mine in the vicinity. I had been told of this inscription, indeed, ever since I entered the Afshár country, and my curiosity was not, I confess, a little excited when I found that some Feringi traveller, who, from the description, I at once recognised to be Schultz, had been actually detained here for three days searching for the tablet; and after every endeavour to obtain a sight of it by bribes and persuasion, had at last left the place without being able to effect his purpose. The same mystery was kept up in my own case when I first arrived at Chorek Teppéh. The Khán was absent, and not a single question could I get answered regarding the inscription. On my repeating my inquiries, however, after his return home, an old white-beard, the hereditary pír of the district,* was produced, who was alone in possession of the clue to the place. The old man at first gave a direct refusal to show the inscription to an infidel; but finding the Khán was not to be trifled with, he then endeavoured to make a bargain with me, asking some enormous sum as his fee for guiding me to the spot. I had been careful

* Among the 'Iliyát of Persia these holy men are often met with. They usually trace their descent from some ancient devotee or saint, whose sacred character is supposed still to shed its influence over the *O'jáq*, or family hearth-stone. The 'Alí 'Iláhí sectaries actually worship them, and, even among the orthodox Shíahs, an *O'jáq* is regarded with extreme veneration.

not to appear too anxious about this inscription, as I was aware that I should thereby be defeating my own object (indeed, it could only have been, I think, Schultz's extreme eagerness that prevented the old man from showing it to him); so I replied that I should be hunting with the Khán on the morrow in the neighbourhood; that I should take an opportunity of looking at the writing, and that if it proved to be of interest, which I had no reason to expect, he should be rewarded with a present. On the morrow, accordingly, in my way from Chorek Teppeh to the Zindán, I turned aside to the hill where the old man said the inscription was to be found. The side of the hill was covered with rocky fragments, and several fissures in the ground were shown, which were said to be the openings to mines, now disused and difficult to enter, from the galleries having become wholly or partially choked up with the falling in of the soil from above. Among these fragments the old man had to search for nearly half an hour before he himself could discover the tablet; and when I was at last summoned to behold and explain the talisman, I found it to be mere common Arabic writing, very rudely cut, and so nearly obliterated as to have appeared to the ignorant Afshárs like an unknown character. When I pointed out several particular words to the Khán, however, he could not fail to recognise them, and then he wondered at his stupidity in not making the discovery before. There are twelve lines, which appeared to me to be Arabic verse, but I could not make out enough of the writing to determine its application with any certainty. I conclude it, however, to have some reference to the mine which was worked close by. The old man, as may be supposed, was not a little disgusted with my discovery, and when the Khán began to taunt him with his wonderful talisman, he declared that his holy character was now gone, and that he must leave the country. I mention this story as a lesson to travellers in Persia, to be very cautious in trusting to the hearsay evidence of their guides; it is impossible to feel any certainty, with regard to inscriptions or other remains of antiquity, without personal examination.

In the spring and summer the neighbourhood of Takhti-Soleimán is represented as a perfect paradise. The country all around is carpeted with the richest verdure; the climate is delightful, and myriads of wild flowers impregnate the air with fragrance; indeed there is not considered a more agreeable *yáilák* or summer pasture in all Persia. The governor of Khamseh frequently makes it his summer residence, though, strictly speaking, it is beyond the frontier of his province; and a great part of the *I'liyát* of Khamseh and Gárús also graze their flocks during the hot weather in the vicinity of the Takht; of these *I'liyát* the principal are the Sháh Sewend,* a very large tribe, to be met

* These are the Shasserání, that "dreadful and ferocious tribe" described by

with in all parts of Persia, but chiefly in 'Irák, and at Ardebíl: the portion of the tribe attached to Khamseh numbers about three thousand families, who migrate between Takhti-Soleimán and the warm valley of the *Qizil Uzen*.

10th.—Having finished my survey of the Takht, I set out from that place to find my way to *Zenján*, along a line which I believe has never before been travelled by a European. Ascending gently along a winding valley in the hills, in a direction of about N. 64 E., at the end of 5 miles, I reached the top of a pass in the first range of hills; Takhti-Belkís bearing due N., at the distance of about 2 miles: here the district of *Angúrán* commenced, the pass in the hills being considered the true frontier between *Azerbáján* and *Khamseh*. This district of *Angúrán* is one mass of mountains; it occupies all the eastern face of the range which stretches up to the northward, as far as the *Káfilán Kúh* hill, and is broken by innumerable ravines, generally running in an E. by S. direction, each of which conveys its little stream to swell the waters of the *Qizil Uzen*: in the beds of these ravines are situated the villages of the peasantry, smiling amid gardens and orchards, and appearing all the more thriving and happy from their contrast to the miserable and half-ruined hamlets of *Şa'in Kal'eh*. Descending from the top of the pass to the opening of one of these ravines, I had again to cross a very high rocky ridge, the inner barrier of the chain, distant 1 farsakh from the upper pass, before I could fairly get into the bed of the little valley.

From hence I followed down a stream for 4 miles, in an E. by S. direction, the solitary peak of Mount *Demirlí* bearing right a-head,* in the far distance, during the greater part of the time. I passed several villages, and finally alighted at *Yenijah*, a fine thriving place, containing about two hundred houses, and filling the bed of the valley to some distance with the gardens and orchards that surround it. I had brought a guide with me from my *Afshár* host of *Chorek Teppéh*, and, sending him on half an hour in advance, I found on my arrival everything arranged for my reception by the old *Ketkhodá* of the place, who, though quite of a different stamp from the tribe chiefs I had been lately associated with, was still one of the kindest and most good-humoured fellows that I met with during my whole trip.

The district of *Angúrán* contains about fifty-five villages, and pays an annual assessment of three thousand *tómáns* to government, besides furnishing nearly two hundred men for the army. This revenue is mainly realised from the produce of lead, large

Porter in his visit to Takhti-Soleimán; their ferocity is, however, I fancy, confined to sheep-stealing and similar *I'liyát* practices.

* Mount *Demirlí* is strangely misplaced in Col. Monteith's map. It is about 40 miles out of its true position.

quantities of which are indeed now received by the government in lieu of money. The mountains of A'ngúrán and U'riyárd, an adjacent district to the N., are celebrated for the richness of their metallic stones. In U'riyárd the mines are still worked, and, under proper management, would yield a most abundant return; but in A'ngúrán, though the openings to the mines are all well known, it is not found of advantage to work them; for there are vast quantities of ore remaining at all the old furnaces throughout the district, from which the lead has been but half extracted; and the resmelting of this ore affords full occupation at present for all the peasantry that can be spared to attend to it. When this supply is exhausted, I suppose the mines will be again worked. The produce of grain very limited, and does not suffice for the wants of the population.

The A'ngúránís, in common with all the inhabitants of Khamseh, are Turks, and consider themselves, I know not with what justice, to be part of the great tribe of Afshárs. The government is hereditary, in the family of a particular chief; subject, however, to the approval of the provincial governor appointed from Teherán. This chief, by name Ganj' Alí Khán, resides at the village of Ganj-ábád, distant about 6 miles N.E. of Yenijah, and it is thus considered at present as the capital of the district.

A'ngúrán seems to be the place which, in oriental geography, is known by the name of Anjerúd, or Anjereh, and which was included under the Chengizian dynasty, among the dependencies of Sojás and Sohriverd.* In common with the surrounding districts it suffered greatly in the harassing conflict of plunder and devastation, which was kept up all along this frontier between the Kurds and Kizilbáshes, preceding the rise of the Şefavéan dynasty. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Turks had overrun Aзербáján, Khamseh and the dependent districts, as far as Hamadán, were confided to the care of a chief named Daulet Yár Khán, of the Kuṛdish tribe of Siyáh Manşúr; and as the safety of 'Iráķ depended upon the defence of this frontier government, the power of the chief was strengthened with all the disposable means of the empire. Daulet Yár Khán, elated with this power, and relying on the natural strength of his country, now took occasion to assert his independence; he built a very strong fort in these mountains of A'ngúrán, defeated the first army that was sent against him, and it was not until Sháh 'Abbás the Great undertook in person the siege of his strong hold, that this dangerous rebellion was finally crushed.† The remains of Daulet Yár's castle are still shown upon a high peak N. of Yenijah.

11th.—From Yenijah I still continued to follow down the ravine in a general E. by S. direction, till it gradually expanded

* Noz-heto-l Kólúb.

† Sheref Námeb, or Táríkhi-Akrád.

into an open valley, and, at the distance of 8 miles, finally debouched upon a small plain, in which were situated the two large villages of A'ngúrán and Kháinik, both surrounded with gardens, and lying at the foot of high artificial mounds, crowned with defences. This plain seems to collect the greater part of the streams, which flow from the eastern face of the hills, and to pour them in one channel into the Kizil Uzen. Crossing the plain, which is the eastern frontier of A'ngúrán, I began to ascend a steep winding pass, and at the end of 2 miles reached the summit of a hill, from which I had an admirable view of the whole of A'ngúrán, and was able to fix the position of all the most remarkable villages. I had now entered the district of Kizil Gechiler, and for 5 miles further continued due E., over a high table-land, broken into gentle undulating ridges, till I reached the high precipitous banks of the Kizil Uzen, and saw the river winding in a narrow valley at my feet. The course of the Kizil Uzen is laid down most incorrectly in our maps. I had been led to expect that I should meet with it upon the line I was following immediately after crossing the range E. of Takhti-Soleimán, whereas I now found that it made a great circuit in this part of its course, and was in reality above 30 miles distant from the Takht. From the spot which I had now reached I could see a terrific chasm in the mountains to the N.W., through which the river forced its way in its onward progress to the Káfilán Kúh. Its left bank was girt as far as that point with very high precipitous rocks, while to the right the country sloped up to a range of hills bounding the view to the N., and was seamed throughout with the beds of immense torrents, now dry, and showing only a broad surface of bright shining pebbles. The descent into the river was abrupt and difficult. The road, for about a mile, wound among the most frightful chasms; and the rocky pathway was so narrow and slippery that our whole party was obliged to dismount and cautiously drag the horses after them. The perpendicular height of the left bank of the river at this point cannot be less than 1500 feet. The passage of the river also was not without danger, owing to the rapidity of the current and the great masses of rock that are brought down in the bed of the stream: the ford is constantly changing; and our guide was thus obliged to try several points before he succeeded in finding a passage practicable to the loaded mules. At this season too the water was nearly at its lowest ebb: in the spring there is no possibility of passing the river anywhere in this neighbourhood, except upon rafts. From the bed of the river a ride of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles brought me to Karágul, a considerable village, situated on the rise of the plain as it begins to stretch up to the hills. There are several other large villages in the vicinity, but I chose Karágul for my stage, as the residence of Bába Khan,

the hereditary chief of the district. He was an aristocratic-looking man, but soured with disappointment at having lately lost the government to a more wealthy competitor: my short sojourn with him was hardly as comfortable as I should have found it in a more humble dwelling.

12th.—To-day I mounted some hours before daylight to make a long stage into the town of Zenján: for 4 miles I kept on, nearly N., ascending gradually over a track broken into low undulating hills, to the foot of the range which bounded the valley of the Kizil Uzen. I then entered the bed of a narrow, winding torrent, which I followed for 3 miles, till I had fairly reached the top of the hills, and opened out upon the high table-land at the summit. Over this I continued for 16 miles farther, ascending and descending the successive low broad ridges with which the entire face of the country was intersected. Cultivation appeared pretty general; but as a violent storm of sleet and snow raged during the whole morning, I could see but very few of the villages which I was told were scattered about; nor, indeed, could I ascertain the exact direction of my route; it appeared, however, to be about N.E. by E. At last I reached the outer limit of this very elevated tract of table-land; and down a gentle sloping valley in the hills I saw the plain country of Zenján, stretching away to the foot of the other great range, N. of that place, which is familiar to every one who has travelled the high road between Teherán and Tabríz. From the top of the pass, Zenján bore due E.: descending into the valley, I was soon out of the range of snow; and 10 miles further across the barren tract, which slopes down gradually from the hills to the bed of the Zenján river, brought me to that place, pretty well fatigued with my uncomfortable ride of 33 miles from Káragul.

Zenján is too well known to require any notice. After halting three days to refresh my cattle and hire mules, I set out to travel by the route of Tárom, to Gilán.

15th.—From Zenján I struck across the barren stony plain, for 1 farsakh, to the foot of the hills, in a direction of N. 37° E. Ascending this outer range, by a very easy pass, I then followed along the top of it for another farsakh, in an E. by N. direction, to the opening of a steep rocky defile, which conducted, at two miles farther, to the large village of Te'ám, situated in a small secluded plain between the two ranges. Te'ám is inhabited chiefly by muleteers, and appears a thriving place: from hence I followed up the valley, in a N.E. by N. direction, to the foot of the great range, which I ascended by a very steep pass; and at 4 miles distance from Te'ám, reached the summit of the hill. This is a very elevated point indeed, probably 7000 or 8000 feet above the level of the sea; the air was bitterly cold, and even, at this early season, the snow lay several feet in depth. The Gilán

mountains, which were visible beyond the valley of Sefid rúd, appeared of a much less elevation than the point where I now stood. From here commenced the great descent, from the high table-land of Media, into the lower country, bordering on the Caspian; for though the district of Tárom, through which the Sefid rúd flows, to the point of its confluence with the Sháh rúd, is separated by a lofty chain of mountains from the forests of Gilán, yet there is no great difference of elevation between them.* The pass is named, indifferently, Ak Gedúk (the white pass), and the defile of Lewán Chái, from the title of the little stream which flows down through it into the Sefid rúd: it is very long and devious, winding about for nearly 12 miles from the summit of the hill, till it emerges into the vale of Tárom: the general direction is N. 60° E. In the early part the road dips down abruptly from the top of the ridge to a little dell, where a small ruined caravanserai still affords shelter to travellers, who may be benighted or weather-bound, in their attempt to cross the pass: it then follows the course of the stream, sometimes winding along the steep hill side, but, more generally, in the rough rocky bed of the torrent, which it crosses and recrosses 100 times, till at length it reaches a huge craggy ridge, formed by a vertical projection of the strata, which serves as a sort of outer rampart to the chain; and through which the stream forces its way by a tremendous chasm rent almost perpendicularly in the naked rock: this is the key to the pass; and a few resolute men might defend it successfully against thousands. The road has been built up round the bluff edge of the precipice, and is so narrow, that two horsemen can barely pass each other. Beyond the gorge, again, there is a very steep winding descent down the face of the hill, to regain the bed of the torrent; and the pass then gradually opens upon the valley of the Sefid rúd. There are two other passes in this range, conducting from Tárom to the high table-land of Sultaniyah and Zenjân, named Khámcháï and Terecháï; but the Ak Gedúk is considered by far the easiest, and is the one generally followed: in its present state of repair there is no obstruction whatever to laden mules in the lower part of the pass; but, during the winter, there must always be difficulty in crossing the snowy ridge at the summit; indeed, it frequently happens that this is blocked up for weeks together in a severe season.

Just beyond the pass where the road opens out upon the vale of Tárom, there is a village named A'yí, very pleasantly situated, and possessing a garden house, which was built by 'Abda-llah Mírzá, the late governor of the province: this is the usual halting-place for caravans from Zenjân. From the rising ground behind A'yí, the pass of Rúdbár, through which the Sefid rúd

* Colonel Monteith estimates the height of Menjil above the Caspian at 1000 feet; but I should think 500 feet would be nearer the true measurement.

flows into Gilán, was visible, bearing S. 72° E. The road now turned off, nearly due E., along the northern skirts of the range which I had just crossed; and at 5 miles, passing the villages of Kálát and Kishlák, descended to the bed of the Sefíd rúd.

Tárom is divided into two districts: the upper division, which occupies a narrow tract on the right bank of the Sefid rúd, between the river and the mountains, is named Tárómi-Khelkhál; the lower, a more open country, where the hills recede farther from the river, is called Tárómi-páyín. The district, on the left bank of the river, stretching up to the other range of mountains, is named Pushti-kúh; and, though now usually included in Tárom, is not considered properly to belong to it. Tárómi-Khelkhál contains about 100 villages, situated among the ravines and narrow valleys which run down from the mountains to the river. It is abundantly watered, and, possessing a very warm climate, is well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, which it produces in large quantities. There are a great number of gardens and orchards also round all the villages, and the fruit which is thus grown forms one of the staple articles of export. In the mountains, too, there are mines of salt and alum, that are considered of some value. The chief place in Tárómi-Khelkhál is Weniserd, a large village, distant about 1 mile from the river, considerably below the point where I crossed; and Teshwísh, upon the skirts of the hills, near Weniserd, where 'Abda-llah Mírzá built another palace, is also a place of some consequence. A very small proportion of the villages remain in the hands of government; by far the greatest part have either been conferred in Tiyúl, upon the proprietors, or have been given, in lieu of pay, to the officers of the court: the inhabitants are all Turks.

Reaching the banks of the river I crossed, by what appeared to me a good and easy ford, into the district of Pushti-kúh: so rapidly, however, I may mention, does the bed of the river change, that when I returned, twenty days afterwards, by the same route from Gilán, I found this ford quite impracticable from the number of rocky fragments that had been rolled down by the force of the current; and I was obliged to cross at another point, by a very deep and difficult passage. From the ford I continued along an open level tract upon the left bank of the river, for 5 miles, and then, turning up a narrow glade in the hills to the left, I reached, at another mile, the little village of Kaukend, where I took up my quarters for the night; having made a long and tiring stage from Zenján, of nearly 40 miles.

Pushti-kúh contains only 25 villages: it is not nearly so well watered as the other side of the river; the streams from the Gilán mountains being few and scanty, and all the intervening ridges being formed of naked steril hills. The principal places are Derrám and Ober: Derrám is upon the road which conducts

from Ayí across the mountains direct into Gilán; it is surrounded with gardens, and contains a third palace built by 'Abda-llah Mírzá. Ober is distant only two miles from Kaukend higher up among the hills; and, as the residence of the hereditary chief, claims to be the present capital of Pushti-kúh.

Zeítúnábád and Gilawán are also considerable villages. The inhabitants of Pushti-kúh are, for the most part, Kurds, of the 'Anberlú division of the great Lúlú tribe. They were settled here by Nádir Sháh, and have now, pretty generally, adopted the language and manners of the Turkish tribes by whom they are surrounded. A great part of them, in common with the Táromís, still adhere to a nomadic life, pitching their tents in winter along the warm valley of the Sefíd rúd; and ascending the mountains in summer, where, in the fine pastures of that elevated region, they mingle with the I'liyát of Massúlá and Gilán. The revenues of Pushti-kúh have lately been assigned, in Tíyúl, to some Turkish dependent of the court, much to the disgust of the hereditary chief, who thus finds his authority over his own ra'yats altogether annihilated.

16th.—I retraced my steps from Kaukend, down the little glade to the valley of the river, and then kept along the left bank for 14 miles to Gilawán, passing Zeítún-ábád at half way, in a little valley to the left. The road sometimes descends into the bed of the Sefíd rúd, among the dense underwood that fringes its banks; in other parts it follows along the narrow plain between the hills and the river; and sometimes, again, to avoid a bend of the stream, it winds among the extreme prongs of the mountains to the left. Its general line, however, is nearly parallel to that of the river. In Tárom, upon the other side of the Sefíd-rúd, there are a great number of villages among the glades which indent the base of the mountains; and the district appears singularly rich and cheerful.

About 3 miles below Gilawán, a ridge of low hills runs across the valley from one range of mountains to the other. The Sefíd rúd forces its way, by a narrow gorge, through the ridge, and at this point, on an isolated and most precipitous hill upon the right bank, immediately overhanging the river, are the remains of a large and very strong fort, which, from a distance, have a most imposing appearance. The place is called Derbend, and forms the boundary between Táromi-Khelkhál and Táromi-Páyín; the fort is known by the name of *Ḳal'ehi-Kohneh*; and, strangely enough, is ascribed by the peasantry, to the Khaliph Omar: it seems of some antiquity, and would be well worth examining. The country about Derbend is so very precipitous and difficult upon the Tárom side of the river, that travellers from Táromi-Páyín to Zenján are obliged to cross into Pushti-kúh, below the

old fort, and then follow up the left bank to the ford, where I had passed over below Kishlák.

From this ridge I kept on for 10 miles farther along the skirts of the mountains, till, at length, I reached the opening of the great Rúdbár pass, where the Sefíd rúd, swoln by the waters of the Sháh rúd, forces its way through the mountains into the low country of Gilán.

In remote antiquity, the mountains to the N. and S. of the vale of the Sefíd rúd, were inhabited by the powerful tribe of the Cadusii. Their proper seat appears to have been Khelkhál and the two Tároms: and, even as late as the eleventh century of Christ, the mountains retained the name of Kádústán.* Modern geographers have wished to identify the Thamneria of Xenophon with the title of Tárómēin; † but I doubt if the name of Táróm is to be found in any Oriental writer before the twelfth century, ‡ and the termination, ein, is merely the Arabic dual. Hamdu-llah Mostaufi describes the district minutely, naming the five divisions and all the most considerable villages. The two capitals which he mentions, of upper and lower Táróm, called Shehristán, and Fírúz-abád, are, I believe, now unknown, but the titles of several of the other villages, as Derrám, Kálát, Kelij, &c., remain unchanged to the present day. §

The Sefíd rúd is supposed to represent the Amardus of the ancient geographers, and, apparently with justice. As early, however, as the fourth century of Christ, it was certainly distinguished in the country by the same title which at present pertains to it; for we cannot doubt that the name Asprudus, which is applied in Peter Patricius to the river of Media, where the Roman ambassador, Sicorius Probus was admitted to a conference with Narses, the Persian king, || is identical with Asped-rúd—the way in which the name would be written in ancient Persian. The title of Kizil Uzen, which is applied to this river in its early course, and which Rennell, from some fancied similarity of sound supposed to be the same as the Gozan, of Scripture, is a Turkish imposition of modern times. Hamdu-llah states, that the Moghuls, in his day, called the river, Yúlán-múlán, ¶ and the present title, therefore, must be of a very recent date.

At the bridge of Menjil, near the opening of the pass, I joined the high road from Kazvín, and thence followed the same line to Resht, which is laid down in the itinerary of Major Todd, published in the eighth volume of the Geographical Journal.

* They are mentioned under this name in the Ashkálu-l-'A'lam of Jéihání.

† See Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alex. p. 817.

‡ Yákút is the earliest author in whom I have met with the name.

§ See Noz-hetu-l-Kolúb.

|| See Pet. Patric. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 30.

¶ Noz-hetu-l-Kolúb.

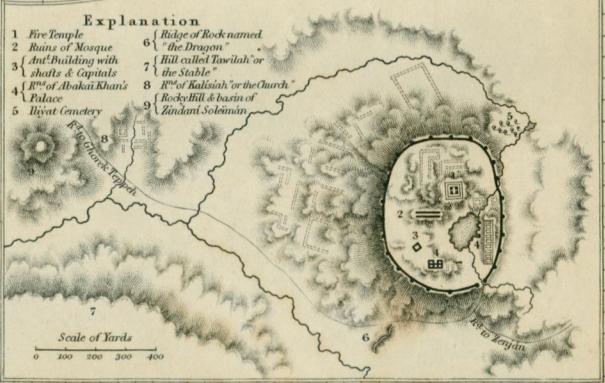
Map of
MAJOR H.C. RAWLINSON'S
 Route from
TABRÍZ by TAKHTI SOLEÏMAN to GILÁN;
 and to illustrate his
 MEMOIR on the
ECBATANA OF ATROPATENE.
 1838.

English Miles.
 0 10 20 30 40 50

Major Rawlinson's route is coloured Red.



Ground Plan of
Takhti Soleïman
 or the
ECBATANA
 of Atropatene.



- Explanation**
- 1 Fire Temple
 - 2 Ruins of Mosque
 - 3 Arch'd Building with shafts & Capitals
 - 4 Ruins of Abakakhan's Palace
 - 5 Great Cemetery
 - 6 Ridge of Rock named "the Dragon"
 - 7 Hill called Tavilah or the Stable
 - 8 Ruins of Bahsiah or the Church
 - 9 Rocky Hill & basis of Zindan Soleïman

Scale of Yards
 0 100 200 300 400

Longitude East from Greenwich.



Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana

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II.—*Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana.* By
H. C. RAWLINSON, Bombay Army, Major serving in Persia.
Communicated by VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

IN my attempt to identify the position, and to illustrate the history of the ancient capital of Media Atropatene, I propose, in the first place, to establish the verification of the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán in Oriental geography; to proceed from that point to the connexion of the early Arabs with the Byzantines; to trace up afterwards the fortunes of the city through the flourishing ages of the Roman and Greek empires: and thus finally to arrive at the dark period of the Median dynasty, where fable is intermixed with history, and glimmerings of truth can only be elicited by careful and minute analysis. And this line of argument, if less agreeable in character, is at any rate more consonant with the true principles of critical inquiry than the course which is usually adopted, of following down the stream of time from antiquity to modern days; for in the one case we commence our reasonings in doubt and darkness; we can determine no precise point of history to support our further disquisitions; and thus, when we at last descend to the more tangible field of certain and direct elaboration, our inferences are still affected by the obscurity of our early researches; whilst in the other we set out from a fixed base of direct and well-established proof. We build a superstructure upon this foundation; and as we gradually ascend the chain of evidence into the field of more remote inquiry, criticism may, at any point, withhold assent to our opinions, without at all endangering the stability of any part of the preceding argument.

To commence, then, with the verification of these ruins in Oriental geography. It is not, perhaps, possible to determine, nor is it, indeed, of any great consequence to the inquiry, at what precise time the city ceased to be inhabited. From the appearance of the ruins its final desolation can scarcely be assigned to a more recent date than that of Tímúr;* and that it was a flourishing place not very long before that era is evident from the following extract from Hámdu-llah Mustaufí, who wrote during the troubles which succeeded the death of Abú Sa'íd Bahádur, in A. D. 1389.†

* The Kurdish history ascribes the ruin of all this part of Persia to the wars between the Kúrds and Kízil Bashi (red heads, applied by the Kúrds to all foreigners, Turkish as well as Persian), in the ages preceding the rise of the Şefavian dynasty.

† See Ouseley's Travels, vol. ii. p. 378. He flourished in the two preceding reigns of Sháh Khodábendeh and Abú Şa'íd Behádur.

“ In the district of Anjerúd there is a town which is named by the Moghols Setúrík. It is on the summit of a mound, and was built by Kaï Khosrau, the Kayanian. The town contains a large palace: in the şahan, or court of which, there is a fountain in the shape of a large reservoir, or rather, perhaps, resembling a lake, and so deep that divers cannot reach the bottom of it. Two streams of water, each sufficient to turn a mill, are constantly flowing out of it. When the outlets are closed, the water of the lake does not rise; and when they are opened, the streams flow out as before; neither at any season does the water of the lake increase or diminish, which may be considered an extreme wonder. Abaķai Khán, the Moghol king,* put the palace of this place into repair. In the neighbourhood there are most excellent pastures; and the government assessment of the district is 25,000 dínars.” †

That the Haft Iklím and the Zínetu-l Mejális, works of the seventeenth century, repeat the account of Hamdu-llah, I consider as no proof of the city's having remained inhabited to their days, for the geographical part of both these works is servilely copied from the Noz-hetu-l Kólúb. The name of the district, Anjerúd, appears the same in all the three copies of Hamdu-llah, which I have consulted; the orthography is also preserved in the Haft Iklím, and in the Zínetu-l Mejális, it is merely modified into Anjereh. I can hardly doubt but that the name is identical with the title of Angúrán, which still attaches to the district E. of Takhti-Soleimán; for it is called a dependency on Sohriverd, a city of some consequence in former times, situated to the S. E. of Zenján; and the position of Angúrán, between Takhti-Soleimán and Sohriverd, will alone answer this indication; though as Angúrán is mentioned under its own name in the Sheref Námeħ, a work of nearly the same age as the Haft Iklím, and a district also bearing this title of Angurán occurs in Hamdu-llah, among the dependencies of Marághah, there is still some obscurity attaching to the subject. Indeed I was long in discovering the curious notice in Hamdu-llah relative to Takhti-Soleimán; for, as I shall presently show, he alludes to the same place in another part of his work, under its more ancient designation of Shíz; and I could hardly expect to find an account of the Takht under the head of Sojás or Sohriverd, ‡ places removed from it at least 100 miles to the eastward, and at the

* The son of Holákú Khán; died in A.D. 1281

† See Noz-hetu-l Kólúb, Persian MS.

‡ Sojás, which contained the tomb of the Pagan king, Arghún Khán, son of Abaķai Khán, is now a small village, situated in the hills, at the distance of about 24 miles S.E. of Zenján. Sohriverd was in the immediate vicinity; but I believe that the name is now lost.

present day possessing with it no connexion whatever. His description, however, is too graphic to admit of any doubt as to the place to which he alludes. The mound, the palace, the unfathomable lake, the phenomenon of the waters, and the pastures, are all so many direct points of evidence; and we must resolve other difficulties, therefore, as we best may. There is also a difference in all the manuscripts regarding the Moghol name of the town; it is written Saḫúrík, Saḫúrík, and Satrúk. Whatever may have been the original title, however, it no doubt represents the word, which has been softened down into the modern pronunciation of Sárúk, and which is now applied to the river that rises at Takhti-Soleimán.

I must now say a word regarding the local title of Takhti-Soleimán, which will carry me up a few years anterior to the age of Hamdu-llah. The present popular belief, as I have already observed, ascribes the foundation of the Takhti to Solomon and the Dív; but Sir R. Porter mentions his having been told upon the spot that the name was really derived from a certain Kurdish king who reigned here; and this seems not at all improbable, for whenever the local title of Soleimán is met with in Persia, referring to the Jewish Solomon, as the founder of the place, it may be considered as a very ancient imposition, dating at least from the earliest ages of Islám.*

In the present case the title of Takhti-Soleimán was certainly not applied to the place in ancient times; † and we must look, therefore, for the derivation in the local history of the province, shortly preceding the desolation of the city; and here, accordingly, we find a Soleimán Shah, to whom it seems more than probable the title must refer.

Early in the thirteenth century there was a king of this name in Kurdistán, nominally dependent upon the Baghdád-khaliphate. He is usually called Soleimán Sháh Abúh; but I have failed to discover any particulars of his family. He rose into great power; the revenues of the province were increased tenfold under his vigorous and skilful administration; and Behár, at present a ruinous village on the frontiers of Gerús ‡ and Hamadán, became, as his place of residence, the capital of Kurdistán. In the Sheref Námeḥ we find detailed the wars in which he was engaged with the Atábegs of Luri-Kúchek to avenge the murder of his sister's husband, the former prince of that wild region. He was at first

* Thus the ruins of Persepolis were named Mesjidi-Soleimán as early as the commencement of the tenth century. Consult the *Morúju-z-Zehab* of Mes'údí.

† I consider this name of Takhti-Soleimán was a mere popular title, and have never met with it in any historical or geographical work whatever.

‡ Properly Gerosb; but now always pronounced as I have written it. The district derives its name, I believe, from a Kurdish tribe.

defeated; but afterwards, being reinforced from Baghdád, he subjugated the whole of Luristán, and compelled the Atábeg to flee to the court of Mangú Khán, at Kará Korum.

Shortly afterwards, when Holákú descended upon Baghdád, Soleimán Sháh was chosen to command the armies of the khali-phate; and it was not until the Moghol emperor obtained possession of his person and slew him in cold blood, with many of his followers, that the unfortunate Mosta'sem found himself obliged to come out of the beleagured city, and humble himself at the feet of his conqueror.* I think it not improbable that this Soleimán Sháh may have built himself a palace on the margin of the petrifying lake, which fell into ruin when his country was overrun by the victorious Moghols, and was afterwards repaired, as Hamdu-l-lah states, by Abekái Khán, the successor of Holákú; and it is natural that the memory of his virtues should have been thus perpetuated in the country which he governed by the popular title of Takhti-Soleimán, which would still attach to the palace of his foundation.

Taking up the history of the city prior to the age of Soleimán Sháh and the Moghols, we find that in all Oriental writings previous to that era it is entitled Shíz, a name which I could have supposed had been unknown to the English reader, had I not met with a solitary passage in the "Modern Traveller," stating that "the first appearance of Zoroaster seems to have been in Azerbáján; and the first fire-temple is said to have been erected at Xiz, in Media." † The identification of Takhti-Soleimán with Shíz is of great importance; for I shall afterwards be able to prove the Shíz of the Orientals to be the Canzaca ‡ of the Byzantines; and the great point of the verification in modern geography, of the Sasanian capital of Azerbáján, will thus be at once established. The following extract from the Atháro-l-Beldán, the Arabic geographical work of Zakariyá Kazvíní, will, I think, then go far to establish this identification:—

"Shíz is a city of Azerbáján, between Marághah and Zenján: Mosa'er Ibn Mohelhel relates as follows:— "Shíz possesses mines of gold, silver, mercury, arsenic, and lead. It is surrounded by a strong wall, and contains, in the centre of the city, a small lake, which has never yet been fathomed: I tried to sound it with a line of above 4000 yards,§ but could find no

* I take this sketch of the history of Soleimán Sháh from the Sheref Námel, the Ranzetu-s Sefá, and the Noz-heju-l Kolúb.

† Modern Traveller, Persia and China. Vol. i. p. 59. [Probably from Teixeira's History of Persia.]

‡ I adopt the uniform orthography of Canzaca for the name which is written by the Greeks, Γάζακα, Γαζακίν, Γαζακίν, Καζακίν and Καντζάκιον.

§ The Arabic says 14,000 yards, but I give Mosa'er, who, from his stories, appears a

bottom. The circuit of the lake is about one Jeríbi-Háshimí.* At certain times, when the waters of the lake sink below their usual level, the banks, which are thus left dry, become petrified into very hard stone. There is also a very great fire-temple of the Magi at this place, from whence the sacred fire is conveyed to all the other Pyræa in the world: the peak of the cupola of this temple bears a crescent, which is a talisman for the preservation of the city; and thus, though enemies have frequently assaulted the walls, it has never yet been captured. One of the most extraordinary circumstances connected with the temple, is that the sacred fire has been now constantly burning there for 700 years, and no particle of it has ever yet turned to ashes. Another marvel is, that whenever enemies have attacked the place and erected Mangonels, to cast stones against the walls, the missiles have never struck the bastions, notwithstanding that the engines may have been erected close under the fortifications." This account is extracted from the work of Mosa'er Ibn Mohalhal, a traveller, who described the wonders of the various regions through which he passed. The greater part of the 'Ajáibo-l Beldán is written upon his authority. Another writer has the following notice:—"In Shíz is the fire-temple of Ažerekhsh, the most celebrated of the Pyræa of the Magi; in the days of the fire-worship, the kings always came on foot, upon pilgrimage, to this place. The temple of Ažerekhsh is ascribed to Zerátusht, the founder of the Magian religion, who went, it is said, from Shíz, to the mountain of Sebilán; † and, after remaining there some time in retirement, returned with the Zend Avestá; which, although written in the old Persian language, could not be understood without a commentary. After this he declared himself to be a prophet. The occurrence took place in the reign of Gushtásp, the son of Lohorásp, the son of Kei Káús, king of Persia." ‡

Zakaríyá closes his account of Shíz, continuing to quote, apparently, from the same anonymous author, with a description of the reception of Zerátusht, by Gushtásp; and the miracles by which the prophet established, to the king's satisfaction—the verity of his divine mission. I need scarcely, I believe, enter into any

sort of Oriental Munchausen, the benefit of the Persian translation in the Seiro-l Belád, where the number is reduced to 4000. The Hashemhite yard was of 32 inches, and the asserted measurement is therefore quite preposterous, even with this reduction.

* The Jeríbi-Háshimí was a square measure of 60 Hashemite yards.

† The name of this well-known mountain is written by the Orientals indifferently Sebilán and Sevílán.

‡ Atháro-l Beldán. Arab. MS. This is the work described by Casiri, under the name of 'Ajáibo-l Beldán, as the great geographical treasure of the Escorial library. See Casiri, Bib. Esc, vol. ii., p. 7

detail to show the applicability of this description to the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán; its position between Marághah and Zenján, the neighbourhood of the mines, the massive walls encircling the town, and above all, the unfathomable lake, with its petrifying banks, are quite sufficient to demonstrate the identity.

There are a few other passages in Oriental authors relative to Shíz, which corroborate the account of Zakariyá.

The two works entitled Seïro-l Belád, and Telkhišo-l Athár,* are merely abridgments of Zakariyá's Geography; and, as their notices of Shíz are thus evidently drawn from the extract which I have already translated, it is unnecessary to quote them separately.

The account which Hamdu-llah Mustauíf gives of the Takht, from his own personal knowledge, is full, graphic, and correct; but he was a compiler as well as a practical geographer;† and thus, in his chapter on Kurdistán, we find another mention of the place, under its old name of Shíz, copied, doubtless, from some of the ancient authors, whom, in his preface, he states himself to have consulted. "El Shíz," he says, "is a small town, pleasantly situated; it formerly contained the fire-temple of Ažerekhsh." In all the MSS. of the Noz-heto-l Kólub, the names are written Shít and Arwekhsh, but I have ventured to restore the orthography; as the juxta-position of the two titles can leave no doubt of their applicability to the same place, as is described by Zakariyá, though it is probable that Hamdu-llah, in repeating the notice, failed to recognise their identity. The fact of Shíz also being included by him in the chapter on Kurdistán, whilst, in another part of his work, he extends the southern boundary of Ažerbján to the mountains of Siná,‡ may be sufficiently explained by its having formed a part of the government of Soleimán Sháh, which he evidently kept in view in describing the geography of the province.

* The Seïro-l Belád is a Persian; the Telkhišo-l Athár an Arabic abridgment; the latter was translated by Mons. de Guignes, and published in the *Not. des Manuscrits*, tom. ii., p. 386; it is a very poor affair, however, and quite unworthy of a place in that collection.

† There is also, I suspect, an allusion to the famous pond of Takhti-Soleimán, in Hamdu-llah's chapter on lakes, where, under the head of Deryáchehi-Cheshmeh (or the lake of the fountain), he says, "This is on the frontiers of Angún" (probably an error for Angúrán); the banks of it (all the MSS. are faulty here) "In the 'Ajáibo-l-Makhlúkát it is said that the author of that work (Zakariyá Kazvini) wished to ascertain the depth of it, and accordingly sent in divers, who declared themselves to have gone down 1000 yards without reaching the bottom." I do not find the story in Zakariyá himself, though it is quite in his style; and if he really did visit the place, it must have been after writing the Atháro-l Beldán, where he relies for his description on other authorities.

‡ The name of Siná applied by Hamdu-llah to the Kurdistán mountains, shows that the title is ancient, and that it originated, instead of being derived, from the modern capital of Sehnah, as is usually supposed.

Another brief notice of the place occurs in Yáqút's Epitome, called the *Morásido-l Ittilá'*, where, after determining the orthography which, without its clue, I should have found it impossible to ascertain,* Shíz is described as "a district of *Azerbáján*, between *Marághah* and *Zenján*." It would be interesting, perhaps, to verify these notices by a reference to some of the standard Arabic authors, such as the old geographical work ascribed to *Ibn Haukal*, to *Jéihání*, and to *Abú Zeid*; and whose original authorship is still a problem in Oriental literature.† The *Atháro-l Bákiyeh* of *Abú Rihán*, and, above all, the *Mó'jemo-l Beldán*, of *Yáqút*; ‡ but these authorities are not accessible in the East; and I confess, that, as far as argument is concerned, the solitary extract from *Zakaríyá* appears to me quite sufficient to demonstrate the identity of *Takhti-Soleimán* and *Shíz*.

The next stage of the inquiry must be the verification of *Shíz*, as the *Canzaca* of the Byzantines; and this will depend upon the campaign of *Khosrau Parwíz*, against the usurper *Behram Chúbín*, and the history of the famous fire-temple of *Azerekhsh*.

I shall commence with the campaign of *Khosrau*, as it is described by *Theophylact*, verifying the line of route from all other available sources. When the Emperor *Maurice* undertook to restore the fugitive *Khosrau* to the throne of his ancestors, it was arranged that the forces destined for the expedition should enter *Persia* in two divisions. The king himself accompanied the main body of the Romans under the veteran *Narses*, along the road by *Márdín*, *Nisíbín*, and *Sinjár*, to the *Tigris*; while his relative *Bindúyeh*, with another Roman contingent, commanded by *John*, the Prefect of *Armenia*, broke into the province of *Azerbáján*.

Khosrau crossed the *Tigris* at a place called *Dinabad*, which must have been near the ruins of *Nimrod*; and at the distance of one march from hence, he passed the greater *Záb*. He now proceeded to a place called *Alexandriana*, "a name derived from *Alexander of Macedon*, son of *Philip*, who there, with his Mace-

* In the different MSS. that I have consulted, I have found the name of this city written in eight different ways—*Sir*, *Shír*, *Síz*, *Shíz*, *Sebz*, *Shín*, *Shít*, and *Shebíz*; all of which variations arise from a confusion of the diacritical points, and a slight change in the formation of the last letter.

† It is curious to remark that *Abú-l Fedá's* quotations from *Ibn Haukal*, and *Yáqút's* extracts from *Abú Zeid*, both correspond, as nearly as possible, with my abridged MS. of *Jéihání*. *Zakaríyá* and *Idrísí* appear to have been the only two geographers who were acquainted with *Jéihání*, and the former, too, quotes *Ibn Haukal* as a distinct author.

‡ The translation of *Yáqút's* Great Lexicon, if it could be procured entire, would be an invaluable service to Oriental literature. The Bodleian has only four volumes, but I believe that the work exists entire in the Imperial library of *St. Petersburg*. In the present paper I consult the only two odd volumes of the *Mó'jem* that I have ever met with in the East.

donian forces and Greek auxiliaries, captured a very strong castle and slew the barbarian inhabitants." In this obscure tradition we at once recognise the battle of Arbela; and, as I find, in the manuscript journal of a friend, that "the hill at Arbela, upon which the fort is built, was raised, the natives say, by Alexander the Great," * it seems not impossible that, in the age of Maurice, the popular title of the place may really have been Alexandriana. From Arbela the Roman army marched, in one day, to the region of Chnaitha. This seems to be the same place which is mentioned by Theophanes, under the title of Chamaitha † (the *m* being, probably, an error for *n*), as the district where Heraclius refreshed his army, after his difficult passage across the mountains from Media, and before he passed the greater Záb, to take up a position at Niniveh: it is also, beyond a doubt, the Hónitá of the Syrians, which was an episcopal see, under the metropolitan of Adiabene, from the fourth to the fourteenth century; but, as I have failed to discover its representative in Arabic geography, its exact position cannot be determined. It is evident, however, from Assemani, that Hónitá must have been a short distance to the E. of Arbela; ‡ and I conclude, therefore, that it is to be looked for in the modern district of Bestóra. Narses appears to have occupied this territory at the foot of the mountains, with a view to facilitate a junction with the Armenian contingent, which was advancing to meet him from Azerbáján. Behrám, at the same time, must have been on the banks of the lesser Záb; and, when he found that the junction had not yet taken place, he pushed rapidly across the mountains, probably by the bye-road of Kóí Sanják and Sardesht, in the hopes of engaging and defeating the Armenian contingent before Narses could move to its support. Passing on rapidly in a north-easterly direction, Behrám§ is said to have at length reached a certain lake, which can be no other than the lake of Urumíyah; and the point where he would thus first have reached it, upon the line of Sardesht and Só-új Bolák, which I suppose him to have followed, would have been about the modern Bínáb. Here the scouts brought him intel-

* Rich (vol. ii., p. 18) says, "There is a local tradition peculiar to the place, that Arbel was built by Darius." I quote from the Journal of Dr. Ross of Baghdád, a gentleman who has travelled much in Arabia and Kurdistán, and whose geographical information, regarding these countries, is as interesting as it is extensive.

† See page 91.

‡ For notices of the district and city of Hónitá, see Assemani. Bib. Or. Vat., tom. i., p. 194; tom. iv., p. 757; and the numerous passages referred to under the last head. There is in Hamdu-llah, a Khonísán, described as a small town in Kurdistán, upon the river Záb, which may possibly be the same place.

§ I adopt throughout the Oriental orthography of Khosrau and Behrám, instead of the *Xorósús* and *Βαράμ* of Theophrast.

ligence that the Armenian troops were in full march upon the other side of the lake, having doubtless taken the direct line of Báyazíd, Khoi, and Urumíyah, to conduct them to Ushneí, from whence they could cross the mountains into Assyria. The intervening lake presented the possibility of an engagement, and Bindúyeh, whose interest it was to effect a junction with Khosrau without delay, is stated to have continued his march to the southward. The movements of Behráam are not specified, but I conclude that, when he found himself frustrated in his attempt to come to action with the Armenian contingent, he retraced his steps into the present country of the Mikris, to cover the city of Canzaca.

We must now return to the army at Chnaitha. Narses, upon discovering that Behráam had abandoned the low country and crossed the mountains into Media, immediately threw his troops upon the great Rowándiz road, sending on orders to John, the præfect, by no means to hazard an engagement until he arrived to support them. Theophylact says, that he suddenly burst into the country of the Anisenes, and, passing rapidly through it, arrived on the fifth day (as I read the passage) at the village of Saragana : it will be interesting therefore to identify this tribe of Anisenes, as well to show the line of march followed by the Romans, as to corroborate the existence in antiquity of the great thoroughfare across the mountains by Herír, Rowándiz, and Sídek, to which, in my former memoir, I have alluded.

In the time of Pliny the Rowándiz mountains were inhabited by the Aloni, the Azones, the Silici, and the Orontes.* The Orontes to the E. of Guagamela, preserve their name in the present tribe of Rewendí ; a corruption, doubtless, from Erwend, † which is a pure old Persian root, usually hellenised into Orodes or Orontes. The Silici, which Pliny classes under two divisions, gave the title of Salaç among the Syrians of the middle ages to the whole mountain country between Adiabene and Media ; the name is I believe now wholly lost among these mountains, though the Selek are still a powerful tribe in Luristán. The Aloni are stated by Assemani to be identical with the Alanitæ, who were known to the Syrians as inhabiting the mountains contiguous to the Gordyæans ; ‡ and perhaps the Alani of Hamdu-llah, which

* Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. vi.

† This mountain district is clearly distinguishable, in Armenian geography, under the name of Erovántúni.—See Saint Martin's Armenia, vol. ii. pp. 363, 429, where, however, the connexion is unnoticed. The Georgians applied to the inhabitants of these mountains the name of Oreçi. See Klaproth's Georgian History, quoted by St. Martin, tom. ii. p. 182

‡ For the Syrian accounts of Salacha and the Aloni, see Assemani, tom. iv. p. 708, under the head of Adjabene. It is possible that the Selekei and Silki divisions of

he describes as "a flourishing town in Kurdistán, well watered, producing corn and abounding in pastures and hunting grounds,* may have some reference to them. Of the four tribes mentioned by Pliny, the Azones thus alone remain unidentified; and though the name may possibly be referred to Hazá, or Hazene (the Chazene of Strabo) which was used by the Syrians as another title for Arbela,† yet I confess I would rather conjecture it to be a corruption from Anozes, or Anizes, the same with the Anisenes of Theophylact, especially as Ptolemy, in the route which he apparently lays down from W. to E., between Assyria and Media, names the first station in the mountains Alinza,‡ a word which I read A'li-'Anizah, or the tribe of 'Anizah; and the Armenian geographers designate all this mountain region, containing Júlamerik, Khúsháb, &c., by the title of Andsevatsi,§ a name that is certainly referable to the same root as the Anisenes of Theophylact. It is singular, however, that the Syrians, who extended their ecclesiastical sway over all these mountains, should employ no title resembling 'Anizah or Anisene; and the absence of any vestige of the name among the present Kurdish inhabitants throws another shade of uncertainty over the subject; however, I chiefly rely on the Armenian title to verify the position of the Anisenes; and 5 days' march across their mountains by the Rowándiz road would conduct the Romans to Sirgán in the plain of Ushnei, which I have already conjectured to be identical with Saragana.

Here took place the junction between Narses and the Armenian contingent; and here, or near this place, Behráh failed in a night attack with which he hoped to have surprised the Roman camp. Three days afterwards occurred the first general action between the armies. I suppose the battle to have been fought in the hilly country E. of Só-új Boláq,|| Behráh having retreated, probably after the failure of his night attack, along the high road to Canzaca; and the circumstance of his having withdrawn to a steep mountain after his defeat, from which he repelled the disorderly attacks of the Persians, who, unsupported by the Roman infantry, attempted to dislodge him, showing that the action could not have taken place in the plain country of Soldúz or Miyándáb.

the Mikrí tribe may derive their names from the Silici or Salak.—See former Memoir, p. 38.

* Noz-hefu-l Kolúb in the chapter on Kurdistán.

† See Assemani, in loco citato. Strabo, p. 736.

‡ Ptol., lib. vi. c. 2.

§ See Saint Martin, tom i. p. 131, and tom ii. p. 363, 429. Also Avdall's Armenia, vol. i. p. 296, where a story is told of Johan Anzevazi, and Nerseh Ervándúni.

|| Properly So-uk Bolak, but now corrupted into Só-új Bolak.

Behrám, on the succeeding morning, is stated to have continued his retreat over very difficult ground, inaccessible to cavalry, and if we suppose him in this march to have crossed the Jaghatú by the Kiz Koprí, and from thence to have wound among the steep and barren hills which bound Sa'in Kal'eh to the S., the nature of the ground will exactly answer the description. The Romans it appears pursued him closely, and pitched their camp at night within a short distance of his position. From hence it is said that Behrám descended into the plain which contained the city of Canzaca; that the Romans, still following closely on his steps, reached the river Balaroth and encamped there; and that upon the third day of the pursuit they at length came up with the fugitive in another plain to which he had farther retreated without entering Canzaca. The plain of Canzaca, which is so frequently mentioned by the Greek writers, is always a matter of some perplexity; for, strictly speaking, there is no plain whatever in the neighbourhood of Shiz; however, I can understand, from the account of Theophylact, that Behrám descended from the hilly range between Sa'in Kal'eh and Hişár; that at the Balaroth, which I conclude to be the main or northern branch of the Sárúk, he entered upon what is called the Şahrá or plain of Takhti-Soleimán; that he then crossed the intervening hills to the valley of the southern branch of the river, leaving Canzaca to the left, and that in this valley he fought the final and decisive battle, the disastrous result of which drove him into exile beyond the Oxus, and restored Khosraú to the throne of Persia. Khosraú and the Romans, after remaining three days upon the field of battle, are stated to have returned to Canzaca, and to have occupied the city without opposition. There are probably no means for ascertaining the local title of the Sarúk previous to the era of the Moghols, but if we consider that the Byzantines uniformly employed the Greek *b* to express the Persian *v* or *w*, and that the change of *r* for *l* is a common vulgarism in Persian pronunciation, we shall thus restore the Balaroth of Theophylact to its true orthography of Várá-rúd, or the river of Várá; a name which I shall presently show to be strictly applicable to the stream that watered Takhti-Soleimán.

It must be confessed that the loose and confused account of the Byzantine historian affords anything but decisive evidence of the identity of Canzaca and Shiz. This point I have fortunately been able to establish from the Oriental narrative of the same campaign, and in following the story of Theophylact;* it has thus

* Theophylact Simocatta, lib. v. c. 5—10. Gibbon, who had this account before him, scarcely shows his usual accuracy when he says—"After the junction of the im-

been less my object to methodise and develop the strict geographical application of his statements than to reconcile those statements with my own personal knowledge of the topography of the line of route. The only essential point of evidence for which I rely upon Theophylact is, that the great battle between Behrám and Khosrau was fought in the immediate vicinity of Canzaca, the capital of Media Atropatene. For the verification of this city of Canzaca I turn to the Oriental histories.

In two works, the Kámil of Ibnu-l Athír, and the Arabic history of Abúl-faraj, the battle is said to have been fought in the vicinity of Modám:* but this is certainly incorrect. All the other writers whom I have consulted, such as Mes'údí, Mír Kháwend, and the authors of the Lebbu-l-Tewárákh, Khelásetu-l-Akhbár, and Gozídeh, unite in describing the arrival of Khosrau with his Roman auxiliaries in Aзербáján, and state that the fate of the empire was decided in that province; but two authors, more ancient and more authentic than any of those which I have named, are even more explicit in their narrative, and they both distinctly mention the city of Shíz, at that time the capital of Aзербáján, as the scene of action between the two rival armies. One of these is Aşma'í, the celebrated preceptor of Hárún al Reshíd,† who wrote, at the close of the eighth century of Christ, a synchronous history of the kings of Persia and Arabia, previous to Islám; a work that is, I believe, unknown in Europe, and which is, perhaps, the most valuable and authentic historical volume in the whole range of Arabian literature. Aşma'í in describing the campaign writes in the first place that when Khosrau entered Aзербáján, his uncle Bindúyeh, and Múshíl, the leader of the Armenian troops, were residing in the city of Shíz, having been entrusted by Behrám Chúbín with the defence of the northern frontier, and that on hearing of the king's approach they immediately left Shíz, and hastened to tender their allegiance; and again in noticing Khosrau's occupation of the capital, he says, "And the king went on till he arrived at the city of Shíz, where there was a very great fire-temple, which remains to this day. Khosrau remained constantly at prayer in this temple, while he ordered his army to form an entrenched camp; and he abode for a month at Shíz, to refresh himself and his troops, and employed himself in collecting provisions and establishing bázárs.

perial troops, which Bahrám vainly struggled to prevent, the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab and the confines of Media.

* Ibn Jauzí, in the *Meráto-l Zemán*, agrees with these two authors in placing the field of battle near Modám. The three accounts are probably drawn from the same source.

† See D'Herbelot, under the titles *Aşma'í* and *Haroun*. *Aşma'í* died in A.D. 830 in extreme old age.

The other authority is the not less celebrated Tabarí,* who mentions the arrival of Khosrau, with the Roman legions, at Shíz, a large city of Azerbáján, “containing a great fire-temple of the Magi, which (it is not clear whether he means the city or the temple,) is now no longer in existence.” He then describes the battle as taking place in the immediate vicinity, and relates, that after the defeat and flight of Behrám, Khosrau proceeded to Modáin. Among the many copies of Tabarí that I have consulted, I confess I have only found two which contain this passage relative to Shíz,† but still, I think these two, in conjunction with the authority of Aşma’i, are quite sufficient to establish the verification of Canzaca. In one MS. of this author, I have also found another curious passage relative to this subject which would be worth examination by Orientalists, in Europe, who have old and genuine copies of Tabarí to consult. After the relation of the combat and the flight of Behrám, it is stated that Khosrau then moved from Gáh (𐭪𐭫) to Modáin. Now Gáh appears to denote the same place, which, in the other copies, is named Shíz; and, if we suppose that a single letter has been dropped by the transcriber, and thus, restore the word to Gázeh, (𐭪𐭫 for 𐭪𐭫) we shall obtain a further proof, not only of the identity of Shíz and Gaza, (for Canzaca is but the Armenian modification of the title,) but, also, that the ancient name of the city was not unknown to the early Arabs.‡

I now pass on to the subject of the Fire-temple; and shall continue to quote from the Byzantines, illustrating their notices from Oriental authors. Procopius tells us, that at the conclusion of the third campaign between Justinian and Chosroes (Kesrá

* Tabarí is too well known to require any notice—he was born A.D. 839, and died A.D. 922

† There is no work, perhaps, in all Oriental literature of which the copies differ so much from one another as the Persian translation of Tabarí. The diversity, indeed, is so great, that it would seem impossible for all the MSS. now in use to have been drawn from one original version by the Vizier Abú 'Alí Moĥammed, as is generally supposed.

‡ I have since met with a singular confirmation of the identity of Shíz and Canzaca in the account which Firdaúsi gives of the engagement between Khosrau Parwiz and Behrám Chúbín. The meeting of Khosrau with his uncle Binddyeh and the Armenian general Múshil, previous to the action, which is alluded to by Aşma’i, is described at length in the Shah Nameh, and the scene of the interview, called in the Arab history the city of Shíz, is named by Firdaúsi, Ganjak or Kanjak (for the *k* and *g* are, in the Persian, undistinguishable), a title which is evidently identical with the Armenian Kandzag and Greek *Kánζαα*. Another remarkable evidence, which verifies in the most satisfactory manner the argument I have drawn from the history of the pyræum of Azerbáján, of the identity of Shíz or Canzaca with the ancient Median capital, is the attributing by Firdaúsi of the name of Azer Geshep to the famous fire-temple of Kanjag, where Khosrau fulfilled his religious vows preparatory to the engagement; the very name which was bestowed by Kai Khosrau on the temple of his foundation in the city or castle of Bahmau Diz.

Anúshírewán), “the Persian monarch traversed Assyria, and marched direct to the city of Ardabigan, which is in the northern part of the province, of the same name, designing to attack the Romans, from thence, by the frontiers of Persarmenia. In that city is the great Pyraum, or fire-temple, which, of all the holy places connected with their religion, is held in most veneration by the Persians. The Magi, there, preserve the eternal fire; and sacrifice many victims, which they consult for the purpose of augury and divination. The fire of the Persians is, in every respect, similar to that which the ancient Romans named the sacred fire of the Goddess Vesta.”*

We next meet with an account of this great temple of the Magi, in the narrative of the campaigns of Heraclius. When the Roman emperor, according to Theophanes, burst into Persia from the neighbouring frontier of Armenia, Khosrau Parwíz threw himself into Canzaca, with 4000 men, to arrest the progress of the invasion. The emperor, however, rapidly approached, and his light troops having attacked and driven in the outposts, Khosrau, in his alarm, evacuated the city, and sought for safety in an immediate flight. “Heraclius now,” in the words of Theophanes, † “took possession of Canzaca; that city of the east which contained the fire-temple, and the treasures of Cræsus, the king of Lydia, and the imposture of the burning coals.” Cedrenus continues, ‡ “and when the emperor entered into the city, he found the abominable image of Chosroes, a figure of the king, enthroned beneath the globular dome of the palace, as though he were seated in the heavens; around him were emblems of the sun, and moon, and stars, to which, in his superstition, he seemed to offer adoration, as if to Gods, while sceptre-bearing angels ministered on every side, and curiously wrought machines distilled drops of water, to represent the falling rain, and uttered roaring sounds in imitation of the peal of thunder. All these things the emperor consumed with fire, and, at the same time, he reduced to ashes the temple, and the entire city.”

Tzetzes, § in his poetical history, describes this famous palace of Khosrau in nearly the same terms as Cedrenus—and he adds, that the sacred fire of the Persians, originally lighted by a thunder-bolt from heaven, || had been preserved with extreme care through all succeeding ages, until it was now first extinguished in the fatal visit of Heraclius.

* De Bello Persico, lib. ii. c. 24, p. 147.

Theophanis Chronographia, edit. Goar. p. 258.

Cedreni Historia, edit. Xyland. p. 338.

Tzetæ Chiliad. iii. c. 66.

|| Cedrenus, edit. Xyland. p. 18, and Ammianus, book xxiii. c. 6, both mention the tradition of the Persian fire having been lighted from heaven.

There is nothing in these accounts of the Byzantines to determine the position of Canzaca upon the map. The only evidence that we can draw from them is, that Canzaca was in the province of Ažerbiján, and that it contained a famous temple, in which was preserved the sacred and unextinguishable fire of the Persians.

Now that there have been one or more great fire-temples in the province of Ažerbiján, from the remotest antiquity, all Oriental history attests. The very name of the province is believed by the critics to be taken from the fire-worship;* although, I must observe, that, as the title of Atropatene, or Atropatia, does not appear to have been known to the Greeks of the age of Alexander; and, as Strabo's statement of its derivation from Atropates, the Satrap,† is corroborated by eastern traditions, which remove, however, the age of Aderbád to the reign of Kesrá Anúshírwán;‡ the question would seem still open to dispute. But I cannot here pause to discuss this very obscure subject. The two names which occur in reference to the fire-temples of this province, are Ažer-bádegán, or Adhor ábad egán, and Ažergeshesp. If we could place any historical dependence on the Pehleví Bun Dehesh,§ the temples would seem to have been distinguished; that of Ažer Geshesp having been situated on the mountain behind Ushnei, probably at or near the famous Keli-Shín; for it is said that Kai Khosrau, after chasing Azdewjár, from the Var Techesht, placed the Ažergeshesp, one of the three original sacred fires, in a temple upon the mountain of Asnevand.|| Kei Khosrau is generally allowed to be the Cyrus of the Greeks. By Azdewjár, I understand Azdehák, or Astyages. The Var Techesht, which is otherwise called Chejest,¶ and which is described as "a lake in Atún pádegán,** with warm water, curing sickness, and engendering no animal life,"†† is, of course, the lake of Urumiyah, the Khejest, or perhaps, Chejest (for the two words are liable to be mistaken) of Ham-

* Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 128, and Anqueti du Perron in the Acad. des Ins. et Belles Lettres, tom. xxxi. p. 365.

† Strabo (p. 523), who quotes Adlephius Apollonides and Trogus, is also supported by Ptolemy, lib. vi. c. 2, and the same inference may be drawn from Polybius, lib. v., c. 55.

‡ Hamzah Isfahání, an Arabic historian of the 9th century, gives this derivation, and a number of later authors follow him.

§ For remarks on the Bun Dehesh, or Persian Cosmogony, translated from the Pehleví by Anquetil de Perron, see p. 71.

|| See Anquetil de Perron's Zend Avesta, tom. iii. p. 384

¶ Techeshteh is the only name employed in the Zend writings. Tchejest is given in the Bun Dehesh as the Pehleví translation.

** The Pehleví name for Ažerbiján.

See Zend Avesta, tom. iii., pp. 395, v. 396.

du-llah Mustaufi,* and the mountain of Asnavend, which is again mentioned as belonging to Atún pádegán,† would thus seem to derive its name from Ushneī—the O'shnah, or Ashnókh, of the Syrians,‡—but still, from the accounts of Tabarí and Firdaúsí, who, in describing the pilgrimage of Kai Khosrú to the great northern temple, name it indifferently both Azerbáiján, (the Arabic formation of Azer-bádegán) and Azergeshesp; and, from many other points of evidence, I believe the two titles usually to refer to the same Pyræum which was contained within the city of Shíz. Indeed, I see no other way of reconciling the many apparent discrepancies which have arisen from a confusion of these names, than by supposing the name of A'er-bádegán§ to have been the mere territorial appellation, employed to denote the temple, in the same way as other Pyræa, though they had each distinct and particular titles, were still, commonly called the fire-temple of Belkh, the fire-temple of Fars, the fire-temple of Kúmis, &c.; whilst the designation of Azergeshesp was used in reference to the particular species of the sacred fire which was preserved there; other temples that contained the same fire, having also the same name, and the words being thus at length employed, according to the Borháni-Káti', to denote a fire-temple in general; and, I believe the real ancient temple of Azer-bádegan, or Azergeshesp, situated in the city of Shíz, or Ec-batana, the great capital of Media, to have been the same which, at some period after its re-edification by Ardeshír Bádegán, the restorer of the Magian religion, assumed the name of Azerekhsh, and continued to be the high place of the fire-worship to the epoch of the Arab invasion.

In working out the history of this fire-temple, it will be necessary to abandon, for once, my usual plan of tracing up the stream of time, from modern days into antiquity—for, the subject forms a distinct and important mass of evidence, the force of which would be altogether lost if brought in piecemeal, according to chronological order, in the different stages of the history of the city: I shall, therefore, anticipate some of my results, and give

* See the former memoir, p. 10.

† Zend Avesta, tom. iii. p. 366.

‡ In the Zend prayers, also, Mount Asnavend is always mentioned between the Vár Khosrau, or Lake of Ván and Vár Techesht, or Lake of Urumiyah, and has thus a direct geographical application to Ushneī. See Zend Avesta, tom. iii. pp. 22—328.

§ The old Persian name of the province was Adorábádegán, Adorbádegán, or Adorbáigan, which was Arabicised into Azerbáiján, or Azerbīján, and the Byzantine titles of Ardabigan, Ἀρδοιργάν, Ἀρδαβιργάν, and Ἀρδουαδριγάν, nearly resemble the ancient Oriental orthography. I usually follow the writing of Azerbīján, except when quoting from authors where I am obliged to observe their own spelling. The Orientals sometimes combine the Arabic and Persian formations, and write the word Azerbádegán, or Azerbáigán.

the illustration of this difficult subject, as far as I am able, in a regular and connected form.

With regard to the original foundation of this temple, we cannot expect any very satisfactory evidence; indeed, there is a great diversity of opinion among Greek authors, as to when the building of temples for the preservation of the sacred fire, was first introduced into Persia. Herodotus is distinct in his assertion, that in his day, temples were unknown;* yet the Oriental accounts would assign the creation of this Pyræum to a much earlier age. I repeat, therefore, the tradition of the Persians, rather with a view to determine the position of the temple of *Azerbîjân*, in the ancient capital of the province; and to connect their notices of the place from its earliest ages down to the extinction of the fire-worship, than in the hopes of being able to assign it to any definite era of antiquity.

We find the following notice in *Mes'údí*, an author who wrote early in the fourth century of the *Hejrah*;† and who consulted on the subject of Persian antiquities a most curious work, entitled "*Tebektegin*," or "*Tebekten*," which he states to have been translated from *Pehleví* into Arabic, by the celebrated convert to *Islám*, '*Abdu-llah Ibn Moḳaffá*':—"Among the fire-temples anterior to *Zoroaster* was one," he says, "in the city (or cities) of *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*. It contained idols, which were removed by *Anúshíreván*: it is also said that *Anushíreván*, on arriving at this temple, removed the sacred fire that was preserved in it to another place, named *Birket*."

The double title of *Shíz* and *Arrán*, which *Mes'údí* applies to the city that contained the temple, I shall explain hereafter. The passage occurs, with the same orthography, in all the five MSS. of his work that I have consulted; and that he can only allude to the place which is named simply *Shíz* by other authors is evident from a second passage in his history, where, in repeating a story current among the early Persians, relative to *Kei Khosrau*, he employs the same expression of *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*, and adds that they were a city (or cities) of *Azerbîjân*. This remarkable passage also, which commences, "and *Kei Khosráu*, when his maternal grandfather was killed in *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*, a city or cities of *Azerbîjân*," is, I think, of great interest, independently of the geographical allusion; for though *Mes'údí*, in common with all the old *Pehleví* legends, supposes the ancestor of *Kei Khosrau* to have been *Afrásíyáb*, the Turk, yet the coincidence of his state-

* *Lib. i.*, chap. 131.

† *Mes'údí*'s epitome, named the *Murúju-ž Žehab*, the only one of his three historical works now extant, was composed in A.D. 944. It is a most interesting miscellany of history, geography, ancient legends, and the literary gossip of his day, and would be well worth the attention of our Oriental Translation Fund.

ment with the defeat and perhaps the death of Astyages, the real maternal grandfather of Cyrus, or Kei Khosrau, at this very city of Shíz, or Ecbatana, is, I think, too striking not to have some foundation in truth. That the wars, indeed, between Cyrus and Astyages are strangely jumbled in Oriental romance with the contests of Kei Khosrau and Astyages, everything tends to prove. Tabarí, in describing the final defeat of Afrásiyáb, says that he fled from Turkistán, towards Rúm, and was finally captured and slain at a place, which, in one MS. is named Rán, the Ar-Rán of Mes'údí, where he had sought to conceal himself in a *hauz*, or reservoir of water; and I do not doubt but that a reference to other ancient histories, not here available to research,* would confirm this evidence of the identity of Shíz and Ar-Rán with the Median Ecbatana, in showing them to have been the common scene of the great victory of Cyrus or Kei Khosrau over his maternal grandfather.†

But to return to the temple of Azerbáján. Mes'údí ascribes to it an indefinite antiquity, prior to the age of Zoroaster; but most authors agree in referring the foundation particularly to Kei Khosrau. Thus Firdausí, in the Sháh Náme, describes the attack by Feríborz, the son of Kei Káuś, upon a famous fortress of Azerbáján, which was named the Castle of Behmen, and which, I believe, as far as the tradition may be received, to refer to the Median citadel of Takhti-Soleimán. Feríborz and all his generals were defeated in the attack, and fell themselves into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were long kept in captivity, until Kei Khosrau, to prove his superior prowess, led a large army in person against the Median fortress, and succeeded in storming the place, and delivering his uncle and other countrymen from their confinement; ‡ and in the same castle, Firdausí says, Kei Khosrau, to commemorate his victory, erected the celebrated fire-temple, which was known under the name of Azer Geshep. The Persian history of the Mojmelu-l Tewárikh

* In default of the Pehlevi chronicles, and their translations by Ibn Mokáffa' and Ibn Mokánna', we can only hope to get at the true spirit of the ancient legends by consulting the Arab authors prior to the age of Firdausí; for the great bard of Persia seems to have generally sacrificed truth to poetical effect; and unhappily the splendour of his fictions threw altogether into shade the sober narrative of earlier writers, and has been almost uniformly adopted as the basis of history in later ages.

† Ibn Athír and Ibn Júzí, two of the best Arabic historians, and Ahmed Efendí, a modern author, in his compilation called the Seráju-l Mulúk, all mention the final capture of Afrásiyábin, the Azerbáján, but without naming any particular city.

‡ In Firdausí the capture of Behmen Diz, or the fort of Behmen, is proposed by Kei Káuś, as the means of deciding the rival claims of Feríborz, his son, and Kei Khosrau, his grandson, to succeed to the throne of Persia; and later writers have supposed this Behmen Diz to be identical with a fort of the same name on the mountain of Sevílán, near Ardebíl, though I do not find the name of Ardebíl mentioned in the Sháh Náme.—See Saint Martin, tom. ii. p. 192; D'Herbelot, under the heads of Ardebíl and Kei Káuś; and Noz-hežo-l Kólub, in the notice of Ardebíl.

follows this story of Firdausí; and the Georgians, as they are quoted by Saint Martin, retain in their annals the same tradition. Tabarí and Firdausí both describe the subsequent pilgrimage of Kei Khosrau to the temple of Azer Geshep or Azerbiján, recalling to mind the expression of Zakariyá, that the ancient kings of Persia always performed a pilgrimage on foot to the great Pyræum of Shíz; and the Bundehesh, though it perhaps errs in the locality, still assigns to Kei Khosrau the building of the Azer Geshep. On referring to the Greeks, we find that the Median Ecbatana was in reality the scene of the strange events that marked the childhood of the great Cyrus. He returned to it again, also, according to Herodotus, after his famous Lydian campaign,* and doubtless deposited in its impregnable citadel the captured spoils of Cræsus, before he commenced his expedition against Babylon. We thus see the origin of the story mentioned by the Byzantines, that Canzaca contained the treasures of Cræsus. Hamdu-llah, in the extract which I have before given, repeats a tradition of the city having been founded by Kei Khosrau; and in a MS. of the 'Ajáibo-l Makhlúqát that I once saw,† I found an account of this same city of Shíz, in which it was stated that the palace contained for many ages the jewelled throne of Kei Khosrau; that Anúshíreván embellished the city, made it his place of residence, and greatly beautified the famous throne; and that shortly afterwards, when Islám arose, the throne was hurled by the inhabitants into the unfathomable lake, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Arabs. These are all so many points of evidence to connect Ecbatana, Canzaca, and Shíz; but against the foundation of the temple by Cyrus or Kei Khosrau, we have the anonymous author quoted by Zakariyá, who distinctly ascribes it to Zerátusht or Zoroaster; and the statement in the modern traveller, from wheresoever it was drawn,‡ would seem to refer the temple to the same origin.

I know not upon what exact grounds Anquetil du Perron pretends to prove that Zoroaster was a native of Urumiyah.§ The Zend and Pehleví, works which he translated, afford certainly most insufficient evidence; and the Indian poem of the Zerdusht

* Lib. i. c. 153.

† This MS. was brought to me some years ago, when I was not aware of its value; and, being full of errors, I refused to purchase it. It contained two chapters "on cities" and "on castles," which were replete with the most interesting geographical information; and as I have since examined nearly a hundred copies of this work, Arabic as well as Persian, without finding one other which possesses those two remarkable chapters, I regard it as perhaps unique.

‡ The orthography of Xiz points out a Spanish authority; but I have not the least idea who this may be.—[Probably Teixeira's *Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia*. En Amberes, 1610.—F. S.]

§ In the life of Zoroaster prefixed to the Zend Avesta, Anquetil always assumes that this point has been already proved in his memoir, read to the Academy, which I have not to refer to.

Námeh, must be, I should think, a very doubtful authority. Irán Vij appears in the Bun Dehesh as the birth-place of the Magian prophet; and there are many reasons which incline me to regard that place, the object of so much mystical awe and veneration in the old Persian legends, as identical with the Var of Jemshíd, the Ecbatana of Dejoces, and the Shíz of the Arabs; from whence, according to the traditions mentioned by Zakaríyá, Zerátusht really arose. But I have no occasion here to investigate the most abstruse subject of the age and country of the famous Zoroaster. I shall only remark, that since, in the numerous cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, chiefly of a religious nature, which exhibit at the present day the imperishable records of the times of Darius and Xerxes, no trace of the name or character of the prophet Zoroaster is to be found: it is obvious that he either could not have lived in the age which is usually assigned to him, or that we have most erroneous notions of the influence that he exercised upon the national religion of the country. If, however, he was a native of northern Media, the most likely scene of his first appearance would be the capital of the province; and in this view, perhaps, the statements of Zakaríyá, with respect to Shíz, may be taken into some account in weighing its claim to be considered the representative of Ecbatana.

Little can be gleaned from Oriental authors regarding this early and obscure period in the history of the temple. Some writers, indeed, assert that Queen Homái, the fabulous daughter of Behmen, after abdicating the throne in favour of her son Dáráb, closed her life in the fire-temple of Azerbáján;* and this solitary tradition is, I believe, the last notice of the place that we possess, in the ages preceding the Macedonian invasion.

During the rule of the Arsacidan dynasty in Persia, we know that the religion of Zoroaster gradually fell into disuse; that an idolatrous worship partially usurped its place; that the genuine writings of the prophet were corrupted, or, perhaps, altogether lost; and that the holy fire languished in obscurity on the desecrated altars of the Magi. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this long period of religious darkness, while we have abundant evidence of the existence of northern Media, as a flourishing and independent kingdom, and while the Greek and Latin accounts of its famous capital are minute and satisfactory, we should still be without any notices of the temple contained within its precincts. The fire-worship, however, was at length restored with greater splendour and respect than it had ever previously enjoyed: the priesthood framed a new religious code, which they unblushingly ascribed to Zoroaster; and Ardeshér Bábegán under-

* See the quotations in Ouseley's Travels, vol. i. p. 138.

took the re-establishment of all the great *Pyræa* of the kingdom. We cannot doubt that the temple of *Azerbîjân*, the high place of the Magian worship, revived at this period from its long sleep of desecration and obscurity, and that it owed to the royal munificence of *Ardešhîr* the wealth and celebrity that it continued to enjoy during the four succeeding centuries of Sasanian dominion. When *Mosa'er* declares that the sacred fire had been preserved upon the altar of *Shîz* for 700 years, he can only refer to its having been placed there by *Ardešhîr Bâbegân*; and even in this case there must be a slight exaggeration; for in reality six centuries only elapsed between the ages of *Ardešhîr* and *Mosa'er*.* The Orientals, who describe minutely the triumphant progress of *Ardešhîr* through the southern provinces of his empire, and detail the many cities of his foundation in *Fârs*, in *Khúzistân*, and in the Arabian *'Irâk*, pass over his northern campaigns almost without notice.† We are thus obliged to turn to the Byzantines to confirm the inference of that monarch having re-edified the city of *Canzaca*; and this we find in *George of Pisidia*, a writer who was contemporary with *Heraclius*, and whose panegyrical poems on the Persian expeditions afford some faint aid in illustrating that obscure period of history. The title that is applied by this author to the great capital of Persia, conquered by *Heraclius*, is *Dar Artesis*; and though it must be confessed that his turgid poetry is not easily convertible to geographical argument, yet I think there are some descriptive points connected with the name which distinctly prove its application to the city called *Canzaca* by the other historians of the war. *George of Pisidia* states that the city owed its origin to *Artasar*, the humble individual who overthrew the Parthian dynasty, and established a line of kings which continued unbroken to his own time; that it was built in almost an impregnable position, and after the fashion of a lofty tower; that it was situated as much northerly, in regard to the Persian territories, as it was southerly in respect to *Constantinople*; that when *Heraclius* approached, it formed "the abode of *Chosroes* and the *Magi*, with the appointed guardians of the sacred fire;" that it was attacked by *Heraclius* with his full array of warlike engines; and that "in here capturing the ancestral

* The age of *Mosa'er*, which it is of some interest to ascertain, may be placed about A. D. 825. At least in an extract from his work given in the *Mo'jemo-l Beldân*, under the head *Nihâwend*, he states himself to have travelled with *Abû Dalafo-l 'Ajeli*, who we know died at *Baghdâd*, A. D. 839. See *Reiske's Abû'l Fedâ*, vol. ii. pp. 175 and 685. *Ardešhîr Bâbegân* began to reign A. D. 226.

† *Tabarî* and *Ibn Athîr*, in the *Kâmil*, slightly notice the wars of *Ardešhîr*, in *Armenia*, and *Azerbîjân*. The *Armenians* are more diffuse; but their accounts are confined to their own country. *Moses of Chorene* mentions the fire-temple built by *Ardešhîr* at *Pakavan*, supposed by *Saint Martin* to be *Bâkû*, but says nothing of *Azerbîjân*. See *Moses, Chor.*, p. 199; *Saint Martin*, tom. i. p. 153.

treasures of Khosrau, and reducing to ashes the idols of Persia, the emperor offered unto God the auspicious first-fruits of his success."*

I mention all these circumstances, because Foggini, the learned editor of George of Pisidia, has, most unaccountably, considered Dar Artesis to refer to Dastágerd, or Deskereh, a city which was situated in the extreme south of the Persian dominions, which was founded by Hormuz in a plain country, and without any extraordinary defences, which surrendered to Heraclius without opposition, and the capture of which, occurring at the close of the last Persian campaign, could not possibly be called the *first* fruits of the emperor's success.† No one who examines the subject will, I believe, doubt that the Dar Artesis of George of Pisidia represents Canzaca or Shíz, and that a curious confirmation is thus obtained of the re-edification of the place by the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. The title of Dar Artesis merely signifies the house of Ardeshír; and as that monarch imposed his name, as a sort of honorary distinction, on numerous cities which he re-established,‡ Canzaca may be supposed in the same way to have retained the epithet, without at all losing her proper and vernacular title. The subject, however, is very difficult of explanation; for Arabic and Persian authors give us no assistance whatever, and the Syrians also, who illustrate so much of the obscure geography of other parts of Persia, having failed to establish Christianity in Azerbīján during the Sasanian ages, are here, for the first time in vain, consulted. There is a solitary notice in Assemani of a Median city, prior to the establishment of Islám. It is called "Beth Raban, a city of the Medes,"§ and was held as an episcopal see in the reign of Fírúz, the grandfather of Anúshíreván, by Abraham, one of the famous scholars of Edessa, who imbibed at that place the tenets of Nestorius, and afterwards spread the heresy throughout the East; but whether this place can have any reference to Canzaca, the capital of the Medes, and the Rán of the Arabic geographers, I cannot of course pretend to decide. The name Artesis I conclude to be the Armenian form of Ardeshír, which is written by St. Mar-

* See George of Pisidia, Heracliad Acros. ii. vv. 167-216.

† See *Histor. Byzant. N. Appendix*, p. 118.

‡ Among others I may mention, from Tabarí and Ibn Athír, Ardeshír Khorreh or Jír, afterwards called Fírúzábád; Rív Ardeshír or Ríshehr, near Abúsheher (Bushier); Hormoz Ardeshír or Ahváz; Asterábád Ardeshír or Kerkhi-Mísán (Spasinæ Charax); Behmen Ardeshír or Forát Mísán (Perath Mesene of the Syrians, near Başrah); Nehr Ardeshír or Nehr Sír (on the site of Seleucia); Berdeh Ardeshír or Hēzeh (Arbela), and many more less known.

§ Tom. i. p. 352, note 4. I almost think, however, that Assemani is mistaken in the statement to which I here refer, and that the name of Beth Rabán, constantly attached to that of Abraham, one of the famous scholars of Edessa, denotes in reality his Syrian place of nativity or residence, rather than his diocese in Media.

tin Ardaschès, and perhaps, (for really in no other possible way can I account for the derivation of the name,) in the last syllable of the word, we may recognise the title of Shíz, that continued to attach to the city after the establishment of the Mohammedan power.

In the Sasanian ages we have frequent notices of the temple of Ažerbáiján: Bahrám Gúr appears to have especially honoured it; for, on returning from his Turkish wars, he consecrated to it the rich and varied spoils of the enemy: the captive wife of the Scythian king was at the same time attached to the temple as a menial, and Bahrám is even stated to have brought to the same place his bride Sepined, the loveliest princess of India, there to abjure, before the sacred and eternal fire, the idolatrous worship of her country.* The place is named indifferently the temple of Ažerbáiján, and the temple of Ažergeshes, and its pre-eminence over the other Pyræa of the kingdom is again mentioned by Ṭabarí, who says, that “of all the fire-temples of Persia, Bahrám respected this the most.”

In the reign of Anúshíreván it continued the great object of popular veneration. On this head the evidence of Procopius is full and decisive; and we may remark, that from its being usually termed the temple of Aderbigan, that author was led to suppose the title to refer to the city in which it was situated.† Firdausí describes, with some detail, the visit of Anúshíreván, and the munificent offerings which he lavished upon the temple and its guardians; and the 'Ajáibo-l Makhlúkát, in also noticing the embellishment, by the same king, of the throne of Kei Khosraú, at Shíz, affords another link of evidence to connect together the original traditions of Cyrus at Ecbatana, the establishment of the court of Chosroes or Anúshíreván in the city of Ardabigan, and the Byzantine tales of the treasures of Cræsus, which were deposited in the citadel of Canzaca; and when we further remark that the peculiar circumstance of containing a great fire-temple, the most holy of all the Pyræa of the Magi, is common to the Byzantine accounts of Ardabigan or Canzaca, and to the Oriental descriptions of this city of Shíz, we draw an obvious inference that the various names must necessarily refer to the same place, and that the identification of the Sasanian capital of Atropatene is thus determinately proved. Mes'údí, in the extract which I

* See Ouseley's Travels, vol. i. pp. 137-139.

† The territorial title was really, it would appear from the following passage in Ṭabarí, applied to the city as well as to the temple:—"The fire-temples of the Persians were in Adorbáigán, and there was the origin of the fire-worship. Fire in Pehlevi is called 'Ador,' from whence came the name of Adorbáigán. The province commences from Hamadán and the river of Zengán, and extends to Derbendi-Khizrau (the Caucasian gates), and the cities contained within these limits are all named Adorbáigán."

have already given, mentions that Anúshíreván, on his visit to this temple, removed the sacred fire to a place called Birket; but this can hardly have been the case, as in the succeeding reign we find the temple still retaining its sacred character, and in the time of Mosa'ér the fire was believed to have been preserved unextinguished upon the altar since the days of Ardeshrí.

There is, besides, no Pyræum, or sacred place, which I can find, in all Oriental geography corresponding with the Birket of Mes'údí; and I am rather inclined, therefore, to suppose that, as the word merely signifies a reservoir, it may refer to the natural lake of the city, on the margin of which Anúshíreván either rebuilt, or at least repaired the temple. Mes'údí, also, in another passage, connects the name of Anúshíreván with the most holy of all the fires of Persia, in a way which I confess led me, at first, to refer his allusion to this same temple. "Anúshíreván," he says, "found the original fire which had been worshipped by King Jem, and which had been removed by Kei Khosrau from Khwárezm to Dárábjird; and he transferred this fire, the most holy of all those fires that are worshipped by the Persians, to the temple of Káriyán; and when Islam arose, the Magians, in apprehension lest the flame should be altogether lost, removed a part of it to Nisá and Beizá,* cities of Fárs, and left the remaining part at Káriyán, in order that, if it should chance to be extinguished upon one altar, it might survive upon the other." Finding the name written in one manuscript Káziyán or Gáziyán, I was led to refer it to Gaza or Canzaca, in the same way as I have proposed to read Gázeh, in Tabarí, for Gáh; but as all the other copies of Mes'údí write the word Kárián, which is explained by Yáqút, as the title of "a small town in Fárs, containing a castle situated upon a mound of earth, which is impregnable to force;" and as a fire-temple in the country of Fárs of this very name continued to the time of Jéihání, in the eleventh century of Christ, to be the most venerated of all the Pyræa of the province, I cannot now doubt but that the true orthography is Káriyán, and that the notice of Mes'údí refers to the great Persian temple, † the site of which, however, must, I fear, still remain a mystery.

* At the time of the Arab invasion among the cities of Fárs, Beizá was only second in consideration to Ištehr. The early Oriental authors describe at this place sculptures and ruins which I can hardly doubt to be of the same class as those at Persepolis, and the discovery of which will probably reward the search of the first European traveller who examines the district. The name of Beizá is now applied to the whole mahalleh or district north of Shíráz, and west of the Merdásht plain. Nisá, conjoined with Beizá by Mes'údí, is probably the Niserga of Ptolemy, and perhaps the Nisacus of the map of Peutinger.

† Mes'údí's account of the Persian fire-temples is abridged by Shehristání, and from him copied into Hyde (*Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 153), where the name of Káriyán, however, is corrupted into Kármán, and assigned to the city of Kírmán.

In the reign of Hormuz, the son of Anúshíreván, Khosraú Parvíz gave the first evidence of his attachment to the temple of Shíz in taking refuge within its sacred precincts against the anger of his father. "Parvíz," in the words of Tabari, "arrived in Azerbáján, and entering the temple of Azergeshesp, he there employed himself in devotional exercise. When he was restored to the throne of Persia by the intervention of Roman aid, after his father's death, he also held his first court in Canzaca or Shíz, as I have already shown from Theophylact and the Oriental histories." On the approach of Heraclius he again occupied the city, and "abode there with the Magi and the guardians of the sacred fire;" and when he was obliged to evacuate the place, he carried with him, in his flight to Dastágerd, (as I understand Theophanes,) the treasures of Cræsus and the imposture of "the burning coals." This imposture of the burning coals answers exactly to the description of Mosa'er, that "the fire had been preserved for 700 years, and no part of it had turned to ashes;" and as the fire seems to have been taken away by Khosraú in his flight, we may infer that it was preserved unextinguished upon some altar inaccessible to the attack of the Christians; and that when Persia recovered for a short period her domestic tranquillity, after the death of Khosraú and the retirement of the Roman legions, it was restored to its original temple, probably by Rostom, the governor of Azerbáján,* and continued to blaze there for two centuries later, when it was seen and described by the Arab traveller. The description which the Byzantines give of the image of Khosraú, seated under the dome of the palace or temple, amid the emblems of the sun, and moon, and stars, is certainly curious, and recalls to mind the later Sasanian coins, which thus uniformly exhibit the head of the king surrounded by figures of the heavenly bodies; perhaps, too, these are the idols which are mentioned by Mes'údí in the temple of Shíz; though he must be in error in supposing them to have been removed by Anúshíreván.†

The Byzantines pretend that the city and all it contained were doomed by Heraclius to one great and general conflagration; but this is, obviously, false, as I shall now show in briefly tracing

* See Avdall's Armenia, vol. i. p. 358.

† Since writing the above I have met with the following passage in the Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XLIII. p. 79:—"Mes'údí affirms that even in his time statues and pictured representations of forms terrestrial and celestial were to be found at *El Sheez*, the seat of the Magi." I have searched the Murúju-z Zehab in vain for the statement which is here referred to; and as Tabari also, who wrote nearly forty years before Mes'údí, declares the temple of Shíz to have been in ruins in his day, I cannot help thinking the reviewer mistaken in his authority. But still, from whatever source the information may be drawn, it is most interesting, and strikingly accords with the Byzantine stories of Canzaca.

the steps of the Romans, after the flight of Chosroes to Dastagerd. Heraclius, after the conquest of Canzaca, moved upon a city called Thebarma, by Theophanes, which he captured and burnt. This is supposed by D'Anville to be Urumíyah, and the verification has remained unimpeached to the present day.* As Urumíyah, however, would have been altogether out of the line of Heraclius's march from Takhti-Soleimán, upon Dastagerd, whither, it is evident, he was pursuing his enemy, I cannot admit the identification, which, indeed, appears solely to rest upon a fancied similarity of sound, and upon the pre-supposition of Canzaca being represented by Tabriz. I should look for Thebarma somewhere in Kurdistán proper; but I confess myself to have failed in discovering any name that might reasonably be brought forward to replace the identification of D'Anville. From Thebarma, Heraclius continued the pursuit of Chosroes through the mountainous defiles of Media; and thus, whether he followed the southern road by Kirmánsháh, or the western route through the present district of the Bábáns, the nature of the country will suit well enough with the description. On the approach of winter, the emperor retraced his steps to the warm pastures of Albania, and with the return of spring he again prepared to renew the contest. This, his second campaign, in which Gibbon supposes him to have penetrated into the heart of Persia, appears to me to have been confined to the countries bordering on the Arras.† The great city of Salban, at any rate, with the capture of which the campaign terminated, I have no difficulty in identifying with the Armenian capital of Ván. Sál is, evidently, the Kurdish Shál, or Shár, (for the *l* and *r* are constantly confounded,) signifying a city; and Bán is the same word which is written Buana by Ptolemy, and Iban by Cedrenus;‡ the title of Salban, thus, being literally the city of Ván. From the ancient celebrity of the city, founded, as it is supposed, by Semiramis, the exact applicability of the geographical indication, and the perfect identity of name, there can be no question, I think, regarding this illustration, which seems, nevertheless, to have escaped the observation both of Gibbon and of D'Anville.§

When Heraclius prepared to leave Salban, two roads were open to him, both mountainous and difficult, one leading to

* Ancient Geography, vol. ii. p. 22

† In following the steps of Heraclius, I have not the means of collating many authorities which would be of assistance to the enquiries, such as Nicephorus, Euty-chius, the *Historia Miscellanea*, and the *MS. Chronicles of George the Monk and Simeon the Logothete*. I chiefly follow Theophanes and Cedrenus.

‡ See Saint Martin, tom. i., p. 138.

§ Gibbon observes in a note to his 46th chapter—"I cannot find, and what is much more, Mr. D'Anville does not attempt to seek, the Salban, Tarantum territory of the Huns, &c., mentioned by Theophanes."

Tarantum, the other into Syria. That by Tarantum was the shorter, but destitute of supplies, the other conducting over Mount Taurus, into Syria, was also difficult and blocked by snow, but the country through which it lay furnished supplies in abundance. The emperor chose the latter road, and at the end of seven days' most laborious marching, he reached the Tigris, from whence he prosecuted his route to Martyropolis and Amida. These two routes are certainly to be recognised; the one, in that conducting from Ván through the Hekárrí country and Rowándiz, to Arbil; and the other, in the high road which leads from the same place, by Betlís to Miyáfáreķin and Diyár-Bekr. The name Tarantum I believe to be a corruption of Revend or Orontes,* and the line which conducts through those mountains is the most impracticable in all Kurdistán. Heraclius pursued the high road, and traversed the interval between Ván and Betlís, where he would first reach the Tigris,† in seven laborious marches; the distance being, according to the estimate of Colonel Sheil, published in the Geographical Journal, nearly 100 miles.‡

Heraclius, again, in the autumn of the succeeding year, undertook his third and last expedition into Persia. Crossing the Armenian frontier in September, he must have pushed through Aذربíján with extreme rapidity; for, on the 9th of October we find him refreshing his army at Chamaetha,§ which I suppose to be an error for Chnaitha,|| after having crossed the mountain barrier between Media and Assyria. The Persian general, who was sent from the south to oppose him, advanced to Canzaca, and from thence followed the emperor across the mountains, suffering greatly on his march from the scarcity of supplies. It is not clear how the Romans were employed during the ensuing month;¶ but, on the first of December, Heraclius is stated to have passed the greater Záb, and, shortly afterwards, he fought the great battle of Niniveh. Returning to that river after his victory, he again crossed it, and then continued his march to the lesser Záb, along the high road, which, until times comparatively modern, seems to have followed a line nearly parallel to the Tigris, and at

* The orthography of all the names in Theophanes is most corrupted, as I shall have frequent occasion to remark.

† The Betlís cháí is not the true Tigris, but, as one of the most considerable of its early tributaries, was probably mistaken for such by the Greeks.

‡ Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. viii. part i., p. 71.

§ Written indifferently *Χαμαίθα* and *Χαμνίθα*.

|| The Honita of the Syrians, see page 72.

¶ Theophanes says that the emperor only remained 7 days at Chamaitha, and this is confirmed by the letter of Heraclius to the Senate, where he says that he had previously reported his movements from Oct. 17th to March 25th; the 17th of October being the very day on which he would have broken ground after his halt—he was probably employed in ravaging the district of Marga, the Merj of the Arabs and modern Kóí Sanják, between the two Zábs.

a short distance from its banks. Beyond the lesser Záb, Heraclius occupied a position which is entitled Iesdem, both by Theophanes and in the emperor's own letter to the Senate; and which, as we find no city or town of that name in the province of Adiabene, I conclude to have been a mere settlement of the heretical I'zedís,* or, as they were afterwards named by the Mohammedans, Yezídís. Continuing his march from hence, he next reached a town containing a palace of Khosrau, which he destroyed. This place, both in Theophanes and Cedrenus, bears the title of Rusa, a name, however, which, as it does not admit of illustration from the contemporary Syrians, who afford the most copious geographical notices of all this part of Asia, I cannot help regarding as false. If we suppose, at the same time, a transposition of letters, we shall obtain the word Sura, and this we may, perhaps, regard as identical with the Sori, or Beth Sori, of the Syrians; a city which was certainly situated in this vicinity, as it formed an episcopal see during the Sasanian ages, under the metropolitan of Beth Germa; and the disappearance of which, from the Syrian annals, after the era of Mohammed, may possibly be explained by this very visit of Heraclius.

After destroying Rusa or Sura, the emperor went on to the Torna, a name which at once recalls to mind the Tornadotus of Pliny; and which modern geographers, relying on the evidence of Otter, have not scrupled to identify with some imaginary Odorneh. Not only, however, is there no river of this name in all Oriental geography, but, as far as I am able to form an opinion, there never has been such a name employed in the country, either in times past or present. The river which Otter is supposed to denote by the name Odorneh, is, in reality, known by no other title than that of the 'Aḏheim.† It is formed by the confluence of the three petty streams of Kerkúk, Tóúk, and Tóz Khurmetlí; and is of too unimportant a character to be noticed by the Arab geographers. The 'Aḏheim, also, will in no way answer either the description or the geographical indication of Theophanes. The Torna was not fordable, as is evident from the emperor's apprehension lest the Persians should dispute the passage of the bridge, and his satisfaction afterwards, at being allowed to cross the bridge unmolested; while, at the season of the emperor's visit, the end of December, the 'Aḏheim would scarcely have had two feet of water, and could have presented no impediment to his passage. Again, as the emperor celebrated Christmas at the lesser Záb, and pitched his camp at Beklam, beyond the Torna,

* The expression in the Greek is the houses or dwellings (ὀίκον) of Iesdem, in evident reference to a tribe, as it appears to me, for otherwise the whole would have been κάμπη, χωρίον, or πόλις.

† The **ḥ** in Arabic, is sounded like the *th* in *thou*, in Persian like a common *j* z.

on the 1st of January, one day having been, also, lost upon the road in the destruction of Sura, five marches only could have been consumed between the rivers. The distance from the lesser Záb to the 'Adheim, at the nearest point where Heraclius could have reached it, is nearly 100 miles, which is certainly too great a distance to be travelled by an army in five days, with an enemy in front. The identification, therefore, of the Torna of Theophanes with the Odorneh of Otter, supposing this name to represent the 'Adheim, is thus shown to be untenable. I will now endeavour to give the true illustration.

The Torna of Theophanes, and the Tornadotus of Pliny, I consider to be both represented by the northern arm of the great Nahrawán canal. This is named by the Arabic geographers *Ḳátúr*; and, in the last syllable of the word, I believe that I recognise the title of Torna.* The canal is described by Tabarí as a work of the Sasanians, and Zakaríyá *Ḳazvíní* distinctly ascribes it to Anúshíreván, but it is probable that the Sasanians only repaired an ancient excavation, which dated from the time of the Assyrian monarchs.† It was derived from the Tigris, at three points; the most northernly of which was near Imám Dúr,‡ a short distance above the great city of Kerkh, the Beth Seluk of the Syrians; and this arm, it is evident from Tabarí, was the real original *Ḳátúr*; though, subsequently the two other branches were known by the same name. Below the junction of the three streams, according to Abú-l Fedá, the canal lost the name of *Ḳátúr*, and assumed that of Nahrawán.§ To the northern arm of this canal, which, in the days of Khosrau Pervíz, was certainly full of water, I accordingly conduct Heraclius, in five marches, from the lesser Záb; the intervening distance being about 80 miles.|| Any one who has seen the tremendous bed of the *Ḳátúr*, above 100 yards in breadth, will understand the disinclination of

* The name *Ḳátúr* I believe to be Arabicised from the Persian words *Ḳáu Túr*, which signify the canal or excavation of Túr. Torna is probably a contraction of Túr Nahr, which has the same meaning; and we thus discover the real name of the canal in the *Duris* of Zosimus. The suffix of Nadotus employed by Pliny is probably an error for Narotus, and refers to the same word Nahr. The plain of Dura, on which Nebuchadnezzar erected the golden image, probably indicates the same locality, and the two Arabian towns of Dúr, which were to the N. and S. of the point, where the northern arm of the canal, the real original *Ḳátúr*, was derived from the Tigris, have an evident reference to this ancient name.

† With the usual confusion of the *r* and *l*, the name appears in the later geographers, under the form of *Ḳátúl*.

‡ Abú-l Fedá says, near the *Ḳaşro-l Motewekkil*, commonly called *El Ja'ferí*.

§ For accounts of this canal, see Tabarí in his notice of the building of *Sámerá*; Abú-l Fedá, and Zakaríyá, in their chapters on rivers; and, above all, *Yákát*, in the *Morásid*, under the head *Ḳátúl*; also *Més'údí's* Caliphate of *Mota'sem*. [See note §, p. 97.]

|| Supposing the passage of the lesser Záb to have been about midway between its mouth and *Altún Kóprí*, the direct distance will be a degree of latitude. *Hamdu-llah* gives the measurement from Kerkh to the lesser Záb, upon this line, at 22 farsakhs.

Heraclius to encounter the Persians at the bridge—in the face of an enemy it would have been quite impossible to have forced a passage—and the Emperor would have been thus obliged to abandon his design upon the capital, beyond the Torna. The Persian general, however, was afraid to oppose him; and Heraclius, doubtless, passing the Kátúr by the noble bridge, of which the remains are still visible, immediately to the N. of the ruins of Eskí Baghdád,* occupied the city, of which these ruins mark the site, and which, under its various names of Kerkh, Beit Selúk, and Beit Germá, or Bájermá, continued to be the metropolis of all Southern Assyria, during the whole period of the Sasanian empire. It must have been with a view of attacking this great city that the Emperor was so anxious to cross the Torna; and I cannot hesitate, therefore, in recognising, in the name of Beklam, which Cedrenus applies to the city, beyond the river, a barbarous corruption of the real Syrian title of Beit Germá. The confusion of the *r* and *l* I have already often noticed; and I conceive that the *klam*, or *Gelam* of the Greeks, may be thus intended for the Arabic plural formation of *Geram*; the whole title of *Beglam*, or more properly *Bá Gerám*, having the same signification with the Syrian, *Beit Germa*, of the house or city of the Garamæans.† In support of this illustration, which the previous identification of the Kátúr and Torna, and the restoration of the barbaric *Beglam*, to its true orthography, would seem to render almost certain, I may further remark, that it is impossible to suppose the contemporary Syrians could have been silent on the subject of so considerable a place as *Beklam* must necessarily have been to have contained the magnificent palace and paradise of *Khosrau*, which are described by the historians of the war; and yet, that in the whole range of their copious geographical notices of this district, there is, positively, no other title to be found, which, by any species of etymological violence, can be forced into a similarity, however remote, with the corrupted name employed by the Byzantines. From *Beit Germá*, Heraclius

* This ruined bridge is now named *Kaṅtarah Resásí*, or the leaden bridge, from the metal clamps with which the blocks of stone were fastened together, and it has further given the title of *Resás* to the dry bed of the Kátúr, among the Arabs of the present day. The canal, however, is more generally called by the modern Arabs, *Nahr-Súrah*.

† The orthography of *Cedrenus* is usually to be preferred to that of our present copies of *Theophanes*. This name is written in the MSS. of *Theophanes* *Βεκλάμ*, *Βεκλάλι*, and *Βεγλάλι*, in all of which the last *λ* is certainly an error of some ancient copyist for *μ*. In *Cedrenus* we have the orthography of *Βεκλάμ*, which I could farther restore to *Βεγλάμ*. *Ba* is the common Arabic contraction for the Syrian *Beit*, and the name of this city was thus written in Arabic, *Bá Jermá*; but were the name used to denote a people, as I suppose in this instance, the Arabic formation would be *Bá Jeram*. See the various reading in *Goar's Theophanes*, p. 534; and *Assemani*, tom. iv., p. 732. The Arabs in a later age corrupted the name of the Garamæans into *Jerámikah*.

probably followed down the course of the *Kátúr*, to the ruins supposed to represent the site of *Opis*,* where he crossed the canal by another bridge, of which the remains are also visible, and, passing at the same place the petty stream of the 'Adheim, he must from thence have struck across the desert to the *Diyáleh*, along the right bank of the *Kháliš* canal. The name of this river (the *Diyáleh*) is not mentioned in the Greek accounts of the campaign. *Khosrau* is merely described as having encamped, with a large force, at a place called *Barasroth*, 5 miles from *Dastagerd* (according to most copies of *Theophanes*),† where there was a river, difficult of passage, and having a narrow bridge, which was further obstructed by confined ways among the houses, and by old water-courses. The *Barasroth* of the Greeks I conclude to be identical with the *Berázzrúd* of *Yákút*,‡ a canal which was derived from the *Diyáleh*: § *Khosrau* was probably encamped at the mouth of the canal; and this will agree tolerably well with the indication of 5 miles' distance from the site of *Deskereh*, even supposing that the reading of *Tamerd*, which occurs in one manuscript, is not to be preferred to that of *Destagerd*.|| When *Khosrau* fled to *Ctesiphon*, *Heraclius* advanced, and, crossing the river without opposition, occupied the palace of *Bebdareh*. This name is probably the Arabic *Báb*, a gate, in composition with some other word which I confess I do not recognise, and appears to apply to a palace on the immediate outskirts of *Dastagerd*. It may, perhaps, be represented by the remarkable ruins of the *Zindán*.¶ Of the identity of *Dastagerd*, with the Sasanian ruins

* The identification of *Opis* must obviously depend upon the antiquity of the *Kátúr* or *Nahrawán* excavation. From the account of *Zenophon* we certainly should not suppose the canal to have existed at the time of the retreat; but if it can be proved to be of an earlier age, then the *Phycus* will be represented by the canal rather than by the 'Adheim, and *Opis* must be removed from its present supposed position to near the ruins of *Eskí Baghdád*.

† In one of the MSS. of *Theophanes*, the name of *Ταμειρὸς* is employed in this passage instead of that of *Δασαγγέρος*, and I suspect correctly. *Ταμειρὸς* is of course the Oriental *Támerreh*, or *Támerret*, a name given to the *Diyáleh*, from a town upon its banks, the exact position of which, however, I fear cannot be ascertained, unless it be considered identical with *Jallála*.

‡ See *Morásido-l Ittílá'*, under the head *Támerrá*; the name is now corrupted into *Beládrúz*.

§ The *Barázzrúd* is derived from the *Diyáleh*, below the *Hamerín* hills, at a point where, in former times, was the great passage of the river. Near this *Major Keppel* found some Sasanian sculptures, and I have heard that there are the remains of a bridge at the same place. The town of *Deskereh* was watered by the *Tábith*, now the *Shehribán* canal, as I find from the journal of a friend who has just visited the ruins, and whose statement is confirmed by that of *Yákút*, under the head *Tábith*, in the *Morásido-l Ittílá'*.

|| The real distance must be about 7 or 8 miles.

¶ There is here a *hiatus* in the present copies of *Theophanes*, which, however, is supplied from an old Latin translation, by *Anastasius*, where we find that the Emperor did not, on this occasion, enter *Dastagerd*, but proceeded direct from the river to the palace of *Bebdarach*, merely sending a detachment to occupy the city. See the *Notæ Posteriores* in *Goar's Theophanes*, p. 651.

of Eski Baghdád, that were visited by Rich, there can hardly be any question.

The Arabic historians and geographers enable us to trace out this identification in the most satisfactory manner possible. Ṭabarí directly mentions the flight of Khosrau to Deskeretu-l Melik, a city containing a large and strong castle, and the most considerable place in all the country of 'Irák.* Jaihání again, in the eleventh century, writes of Deskeretu-l Melik, that it was a city situated among date-trees, populous, and surrounded with cultivation, and possessing a large fort, girt round with a mud wall, within the area of which there was no trace of building or habitation. Idrísí places it upon the high road into Persia, at the distance of 16 farsakhs from Baghdád; and all the other itineraries confirm this geographical position.† Yákút describes it in all his three works, the Mo'jemu-l Beldán, Moshterik, and Morásidu-l-ittilá';‡ he notices its celebrity under the Sasanians, and ascribes its foundation to Hormuz, the grandson of Ardeshr; in his day it had fallen to the condition of a mere village, and was situated, he says, "in the district of Khorásán, near the town of Shehribán." Abu-l Fedá, and many other authors, whom it is unnecessary to quote, all afford evidence of the same nature; and the only thing that is required to remove all doubt regarding its exact verification, is the discovery of some local tradition among the Arabs, which may still attach the name of Deskereh to the ruins of Eski Baghdád.§ Theophanes, in stating that the effeminate Khosrau was driven by his fears to travel 25 miles a day, and that he occupied three days in his flight from Dastagerd to Ctesiphon, appears to me distinctly to prove the interval between the two cities to have been 25 Roman miles; and the circumstantial evidence of the march of Heraclius confirms his statement, which, nevertheless, was misunderstood by his copyist Cedrenus, and which, in its supposed determination of 25 miles for the entire distance, has been a source of perplexity to modern geographers. The road distance from Eski Baghdád to Táqi-Kesrá, would be, as near as possible, 70 British miles, the equivalent of 75 Roman miles. Khosrau, after his arrival at Ctesiphon, is said by Theophanes to have crossed the Tigris in his alarm, and to

* Ibu-l Athír, in the *Ḳámil*, gives the last Oriental account that I have met with of this campaign of Heraclius, and makes frequent mention of Deskeretu-l Melik.

† Jaihání's map also of 'Irákí 'Areb, gives the same emplacement to Deskereh.

‡ The name is written by the Orientals Deskereh, Deskeret, and sometimes Destekert, but these are probably mere Arabic formations of the pure Persian word Destagerd, which is the exact orthography of the Byzantines. Destekertu-l Melik is stated by Jaihání to signify the royal camp.

§ Eski Baghdád, or old Baghdád, is a name commonly given by the Arabs to ruins, of whose real history they have no tradition; and it has thus happened that the two cities of Kerkh and Deskereh are known by the same title at the present day. There are other ruins of the same name also in Kurdistán.

have taken refuge in Seleucia, which the Persians named Guedesir. This title I at once restore to its Oriental orthography of Wádí Sír, and identify with Nahr Sír,* a name of precisely the same signification which was bestowed by the Sasanians on a town of their foundation, built upon the site of Seleucia, and which continued as late as the age of Yakút, to denote the suburb of Modáin, on the right bank of the Tigris.

Heraclius, in his anxiety to put a decisive end to the war, could have allowed his army little rest, either at Beit Germa or Deskeret; for, upon the seventh day after he first pitched his camp beyond the Torna, we find him again upon the march from Dastagerd, advancing in the direction of Ctesiphon. At the end of three marches, which I estimate at 51 Roman, or about 48 British miles, he reached a point distant 24 Roman miles from Ctesiphon; the great river Arba occurring midway upon the line between that point and the city. The name of this river, which is written Arba, by Theophanes, and which, under this false orthography, has been perpetuated in the writings of D'Anville and Gibbon, I must at once restore. Cedrenus gives us the form of Narba; but, in the letter of Heraclius to the Senate, contained in the Paschal chronicle, and in the manuscript chronicle of Simeon the Logothete,† the still more perfect form of spelling is preserved of Narban, which expressed, as near as the Greek alphabet will admit, the true Oriental orthography of Nahr Wán.‡ The bed of the Nahr Wán canal, in this part of its course nearly equal to the Tigris, passes at the distance of about 11 miles to the N. of Tákí Kesrá, and here, in the time of Khosrau, there was a pontoon-bridge to facilitate the communication between the two cities of Deskeret and Ctesiphon.§ Heraclius, from his camp,

* Nahr Sír is a contraction of Nahr Ardeshér, a name given to this city on its re-edification, by Ardeshér Bábégán. At the time of the Arab invasion it was one of the chief cities of Babylonia. See Ibn Athír, the Rauzefo-l Aĥbab of Atáu-llah, the famous Tárikhi Baghdád, Yákút and Abúl-Fedá.

† Pasch. Chron. Edit. Dind., vol. i. p. 731; and vol. ii., p. 493.

‡ In all the maps hitherto published, which profess to treat of Comparative Geography, this spurious name of Arba is attached to the Diyáleh; and even the restored orthography of Narban will be liable to the same error without explanation; for, in many later geographical works, the Diyáleh is actually named the Nahr Wán. It is necessary to observe, therefore, that when the canal became blocked up, the Diyáleh, which had been before absorbed in it, continued to flow in the dry bed, from Bakúbá to the city of Nahr Wán, and on this account, assumed the name in the lower part of its course.—See Yákút's Mo'jemo-l Beldán, under the head Nahr Wán, and Ĥamdo-l lah's chapter on rivers.

§ Yákút distinguishes between the two canals of Kátúl and Nahr Wán, and attributes them to different ages. The Kátúl he describes as the canal derived from the Tigris, in the vicinity of Sámarrá, and prolonged to the Diyáleh at Bakúbá: it was first excavated, he says, in remote antiquity, and subsequently repaired and augmented, both by Anúshíreván and Hárún al Rashíd, while the Nahr Wán was derived from the Diyáleh, at the city of Nahr Wán, and prolonged through the desert to Wašit. It was also a work of remote antiquity, and fell into ruin during the troubles in which the Khaliphate was involved on the rise of the Seljukian dynasty. I consider his authority

at the distance of 12 miles from the river, sent on to endeavour to seize the bridge, but this had been previously removed by the orders of Khosrau; and, as the Roman scouts also failed to discover any point at which the Nahr Wán was fordable, the Emperor had no resource but to abandon his attack on Ctesiphon, and retrace his steps into Persia. I conclude that he followed the route which is laid down in Idrísí; and which, conducted by the high Persian road as far as Kásri-Shírín, and from thence struck up through the modern district of Zoháb to Shehrizúr, crossing the Diyáleh by the ford of Bánákhilán. The town of Shehrizúr, named by the Byzantines, Siazur,* was situated, I have now no doubt, after examining the country, at the ruins of Yásín Teppéh, where there is an immense elevated platform, exceeding, I think, in height and extent, any of the mounds either at Babylon or Susa. He remained here until the 24th of February, as he expressly states in his letter to the Senate, and then resumed his march to Canzaca. In four marches along the high road to Canzaca, he would reach the town, usually called Báneh, at the foot of the great pass, leading across Mount Zagros, the distance being about 80 miles, and being divided into four regular menzils or stages. The proper name of this town is Berózeh,† Báneh being the title of the district; and here, accordingly, we have the representative of the Barza of Theophanes. At this place the Emperor remained seven days, according to Theophanes, employed, doubtless, in making arrangements for the passage of the mountain; and thus, as the year 628 was a bissextile, we may, without much chance of error, fix the date of his departure from Baneh, upon March 6th.‡ The remaining distance from Báneh to Takhti-Soleimán, along the direct route,

decisive, notwithstanding that the ignorant Arabs of the present day attach the name of Nahriwán to both canals; and although it is stated that a continued line of banks can be traced along the route of the Diyáleh, from the point where the ancient Kátúr joined that river at Bakúbá, to where the real Nahr Wán leaves the Diyaleh, about 18 miles above the point of its confluence with the Tigris. These banks may have been constructed to prevent inundation from the Diyáleh, after its waters were swollen by the immense stream of the Nahr Wán, and do not, in my opinion, at all prove the continuation of an artificial excavation between Bakúbá and the ruins of the town of Nahriwán.

* In the Emperor's letter Σιαζούρ. See Pasch. Chron. Edit. Dindorf, vol. i., p. 732.

† The Kurds believe this word Berózeh to be a corruption of Pírúzeh, a name derived from a certain Pírúz, who founded the place, but I should rather refer the two names of Báneh and Berzeh to the Kurdish words Bán and Berz, which have both the same meaning of "high or above," and apply most aptly to the very elevated position of this mountain district.

‡ The intercalary day of the Julian year occurred between the 23rd and 24th of February; if we suppose the Emperor to have left Shehrizúr upon this day, we can allow seven clear days for the halt at Barza: if the date of departure was the true 24th after the intercalation, we must include the day of arrival in the seven days' halt of Theophanes. The difference of a single day, however, either more or less, can be of no consequence to the general argument.

by Sekiz, measures, as far as I have had means of ascertaining from the peasantry, about 106 miles; and this interval, at the average daily rate of marching, of 5 parasangs, or between 17 and 18 British miles, which appears to me to be verified, as well by the ancient authorities as in its approximate application to the recorded itineraries of the march of armies in the East, both in times ancient and modern,* could not require less than six days' march for its passage—the date of the arrival of Heraclius, at Canzaca, or Takhti-Soleimán, being thus determined, by a very simple process of calculation, to be March the 11th, which exactly coincides with the statement in the Emperor's letter to the Senate—that, upon the 7th of April he had been already twenty-seven days encamped at Canzaca. I consider this march of Heraclius, from Shehrizúr, by the Báneh pass, to Canzaca, to corroborate, in a most remarkable way, the evidence which I have before adduced, of the identity of that city with Takhti-Soleimán: but there are also some other points of information contained in the Emperor's letter, which are worthy of being noticed, as they serve still further to strengthen the argument.

The pass of Báneh, I must observe, is the only point at which the mountain range of Zagros can be crossed after the autumn upon the road conducting from Shehrizúr into Media; † and there can be thus no doubt whatever as to its representing the passage of Mount Zara, mentioned by Heraclius. ‡ But after a few falls of snow this defile also becomes impassable; and all communication, except by foot travellers, is cut off between the eastern and western faces of the mountain. In the year of the Emperor's visit the winter appears to have set in remarkably late. The first fall of snow, indeed, as he himself mentions, did not take place until the 24th of February; and he was thus able to

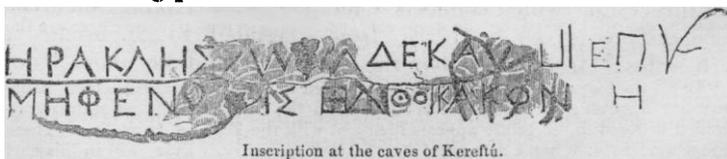
* Five ancient parasangs, or 150 Olympic stadia, are equal to $18\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles, or nearly $17\frac{1}{4}$ British, and this I have usually found rather below than above the average daily rate of marching in Persia, both of ancient and modern armies; however, I consider any systematic estimate for the measurement of a day's march, a most deceptive means of analysis, and to be avoided as much as possible in the illustration of Comparative Geography.

† Rich's Pass, named Garran; the Naukhán Pass, conducting from Penjwin to Meriwán, midway between Garrán and Báneh; and the Kortek Pass, leading into Sardesh, are all blocked by the snow very early in the season; and these are the only lines which cross the range between the Gates of Zagros, at Táki-Gerráh, and the Keli-Shím of Ushneí.

‡ In all the maps the name of Daroo is applied to these mountains, which, being the usual Kurdish contraction of Dára Kúh, and the *d* and *z* being constantly confounded in Kurdish, certainly appears identical with the Zara of Heraclius. There is, however, no such name at present known in the country. Every hill in this part of Zagros has some particular title; and the mountain above Báneh is named Khán, from a ruined khán, or caravanserai, in the pass; and sometimes Gird Kúh, from an old fort of this title, said to contain sculptures and inscriptions, on the summit of the range. I refer all these names of Zara, Dálá Hú, or Dalá Kúh above Zoháb, and perhaps even Zagros, to an original title of Dára Kúh, signifying, like Sháhú, "the royal mountain."

cross the mountains while the pass still remained open. Afterwards, however, he says it continued to snow uninterruptedly until the end of March; and the messengers, accordingly, whom he had dispatched on the 25th of the month, to treat with Siroes, found themselves unable to cross the range. The messengers left Canzaca on the 25th of March, and in four regular caravan marches, doubtless, reached the village of Mírideh, at the eastern foot of the pass. Beyond this, however, they were unable to proceed, the pass being blocked up by snow. At the same time they learned, that another party, sent by Siroes, was also detained upon the western side of the mountain with dispatches for the Emperor, and, deeming the intelligence of moment, they immediately sent back a courier to Canzaca. The man who conveyed the tidings of course travelled with expedition, and may be supposed to have performed the journey between Mírideh and Takhti-Soleimán, a distance of about 23 farsakhs, in two days. The Emperor thus writes that he received the news on the 30th of March, the sixth day after the departure of the messengers; and this circumstance alone, while it applies sufficiently well to Takhti-Soleimán, is at the same time quite sufficient to disprove the possibility of Canzaca being represented by any position so far removed from the Báneh pass as the modern town of Tabríz.

The Emperor on his march from the Báneh pass by Sekiz to Takhti-Soleimán must have passed the immediate vicinity of the Mithraic caves of Kereftú. It is only natural to suppose that he inspected these singular excavations; and the inscription upon the lintel of a doorway in the upper range of caves may possibly be ascribed to his visit upon this occasion. Sir R. K. Porter has given a copy of this inscription in his travels; but though he thought he detected the name of Heraclius, he did not attempt to draw any geographical inference from the fact.* I also annex a copy taken with great care by myself upon the spot; and while I confess myself unable to glean from it anything but perhaps the bare name of the Emperor, I still trust that its restoration, by some experienced archeologist, may throw a further light upon the interesting period to which I refer it:—



Inscription at the caves of Kereftú.

* Colonel Leake, to whom the original copy has been referred, says, "I have not been able to decipher the first line of the inscription of Kereftú beyond its first word, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ—Hercules; but this, together with the second line, which appears to be *Μη φηναξ εισίλθει, και αν η*, shows that the place was under the protection of Hercules, 'that no scoffer might enter, nor any evil.' Possibly the two lines may have been

But in this digression, to which I have been led in tracing the campaigns of Heraclius, I have almost lost sight of the subject of the fire-temple that I was engaged in illustrating. Heraclius, in his first visit to Canzaca, is said to have wholly destroyed the temple and the city; but that this could not have been the case is evident from his own letter, where he writes, that upon his second visit he found the district populous and well supplied; and that, pitching his camp on the immediate outskirts of the town, he took possession of the place, which was "sufficiently commodious, and contained about 3000 houses," in which he directed the soldiers to shelter their horses against the inclemency of the season. These 3000 houses doubtless formed the town, of which the remains are to be seen along the bank of the little stream in the valley below the hill. The fort upon the summit of the hill probably only contained the palace, the temple, and the dependent buildings, and, as I shall hereafter show, was always considered distinct from the city. Heraclius, upon the 8th of April, having concluded a treaty with Siroes, broke up his camp from Canzaca. In the words of Gibbon, "His return to Constantinople was a perpetual triumph; and after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, he peaceably enjoyed the sabbath of his toils." I shall now briefly finish what more I have to say on the subject of the temple. Hamdu-llah Mustaufi gives us one measurement which is of importance to verify the evidence that I have before brought forward in proof of the identity of this temple with that which is usually termed by the Orientals the fire-temple of Aذربíján. "Shehrizúr," he says, "is exactly half way between Modáin (or Ctesiphon) and the great temple of Aذربíján." Now that this is a measurement derived from some ancient authority, and therefore entitled to the more respect, is evident from the line being drawn from Modáin, a city which fell into ruin immediately on the establishment of the Mohammedan power, and was thus devoid of any geographical consequence to the Arabs. Had it been a measurement of the Arabian geographers the line would certainly have been drawn from Baghdád. Shehrizúr, as I have shown in tracing the march of Heraclius, is upon the direct line which connects Ctesiphon with Takhti-Soleimán. The distance given by Idrísí, from Baghdád to Shehrizúr, is 176 miles;* from Ctesiphon the distance would be about 10 or

verses: the form of the character belongs to the fourth or third century before Christ. The Macedonian kings, having derived their origin from Hercules, carried his worship into Asia, where he was identified with the Sun. Strabo informs us that the Macedonian princes resided at Ecbatana. No wonder therefore that an inscription of their time should be found in the vicinity."

* I have also travelled over the greater part of this line myself, and my own estimate corresponds with that of Idrísí. The distance from Soleimáníyeh to Baghdád, by the Seghermeh Pass, is estimated at 60 hours, or 180 miles; and this must have a trifling excess over the route to the same place, from Shehrizúr by Zoháb.

12 miles longer; and the measurement of this half of the line will thus be determined at something under 190 miles. Assuming the city of Shehrizúr to have been situated at Yásín Teppéh, which, from the appearance of the ruins, I cannot doubt, I can then give the estimated distance from that place to Mírideh, from my own road-book, to be 96 miles. From Mírideh, by Sekiz, to Tikán Teppéh, it is reckoned 18 farsakhs, or about 70 miles; and from Tikán Teppéh to the Takht I found to be 20 miles.* These three distances added together give 186 miles for the entire distance from Shehrizúr to Takhti-Soleimán; and as this measurement corresponds exactly with the other half of the line between Shehrizúr and Modáin, I think we may consider the question of the identification of the temple of Azerbáján, with the great Pyræum of Canzaca or Shíz, as finally and indisputably settled.

I have supposed that the sacred fire was restored to the temple when peace was re-established between the empires of Rome and Persia; but we cannot expect any notice of this event in so confused a period of the Persian annals. Shortly afterwards, when the Arabs invaded Persia, and the progress of their arms was duly registered, with religious care, we might have hoped to have found a notice of Canzaca among the other coeval cities of the empire, of which the capture is circumstantially recorded; but the forces under Somákand Bekír that were destined to attack Azerbáján travelled by the route of Hamadán and Zenján; and in the pacification of the province, which almost immediately succeeded, Canzaca, the capital, would seem to have altogether escaped the hostile visit of an Arab army. I have failed, at any rate, to discover a notice of Shíz, or indeed of any other city of Azerbáján Proper, during this period of history, which affords so much geographical illustration of the other provinces of Persia; † and it is only on this negative evidence, of no other city having arisen to usurp its place, that I conclude Canzaca to have retained its metropolitan character during the first two centuries of Islám, and to have then first yielded to the rising greatness of Marághah, which continued from that period till the invasion of the Moghuls, to be considered as the capital of the province. The Jacobite

* This part of the line is very circuitous: a great detour is first made to the N. to cross the mountains by the pass leading from Báneh to Mírideh: beyond that village it follows down the defile in the same direction until the mountains are fairly cleared, and then the road makes a sweep to the S., through Sekiz, to avoid the impracticable country upon the direct line along the Jaghatú and Sárúq. It is necessary to explain this; for the map distance from Báneh to Takhti-Soleimán is only 67 miles.

† Ibn A'thim, who chronicled the Arab wars, in which he was himself a sharer, does not even notice the Azerbáján campaign. Tabari gives the best account of it that I have met with; but he has no names in Persian Azerbáján. I shall hereafter show that a certain Mohammed Ibn 'Abdu-l Wahíd is said to have conquered Azerbáján, and to have established his provincial court in this very city of Shíz, though to what precise period of history the event refers I am, I confess, in ignorance. See p. 140.

primate of the East is said to have first appointed a Christian bishop of Ažerbiján, in the year of our Lord 630;* and we also find that Maranan, the metropolitan of Adiabene, at the beginning of the ninth century, withdrew a large part of Kurdistán from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Ažerbiján,† and annexed it to the bishopric of Salak;‡ but where the Christian bishop of Ažerbiján resided does not appear in any of the Syrian authors quoted by Assemani; and we thus lose the only clue that we could hope for to determine positively the capital of the province during the first ages of Islám.

Ašma'í, who wrote under Hárún al Rashíd about the time of the Mohammedan re-edification of Tabríz, describes the fire-temple of Shíz as remaining uninjured to his day. The travels of Mosa'er took place some twenty or thirty years after the era of Ašma'í; and the city and temple at that time still preserved their consequence; and this date (about A.D. 825) is, I believe, the latest that can be assigned in history to the Pyraúm of Ažerbiján. In the succeeding century the Mohammedan religion gradually superseded the fire-worship in all parts of Persia with the exception of Fárs, Sístán, and the Caspian provinces; and to this period we must refer the ruin and desolation of the ancient temple; for Tabarí, who finished his great history in A.D. 914, emphatically declares that in his day the temple was no longer in existence. The present appearance of the ruined edifice within the fortress of Takhti-Soleimán, which I conceive to mark its site, I have already described in the preceding Memoir.

In connexion with the temple, I have now only to consider the name of Ažerekhsh, which is applied to it by the anonymous author quoted in Zakariyá. Ažerekhsh, in the dictionaries, is explained as the ninth day of the month Ažer, on which a great festival was held by the ancient Persians; but this signification being unsatisfactory, I turn to another formation of the word Aderekhsh, or Derekhsh, which, in the Ferhengi-Reshídí,§ is expressly said to be identical with the Arabic orthography of Ažerekhsh. Aderekhsh is merely explained by "lightning and thunder;" but Derekhsh, besides this signification, has the more general meaning assigned to it, of "flashing, gleaming, glittering, &c.," which is employed in Persia at the present day. In the Ferhengi-Jehángírí, the Ferhengi-Reshídí, and the Borháni-

* Greg. Bar. Heb., quoted by Assemani, tom. ii.; De Syr. Monoph., under the head Harnua.

† Assemani, tom. iii. p. 484.

‡ Salak was the name applied by the Syrians to the Kurdish moutains between Media and Assyria. See page 73.

§ The MS. which I quote under this name is without a title; but I believe it to be the Ferhengi-Reshídí.

Káti', Derekhsh is also given as the name of a fire-temple in Arminíyeh, founded by the Rás Majúsi, or chief of the Magi, a title that would seem to indicate the prophet Zoroaster, but which, by some extraordinary confusion of Oriental tradition, is supposed by the lexicographers to apply to a certain Jew of Baghdád, also denominated Raso-l Baghal, or the mule's head.* The name of the place which contained the temple of Derekhsh is read by Hyde, Urumíyah;† but in all the lexicons that I have consulted, it appears under the form of Arminíyeh; and that this is the true orthography of the dictionaries is evident, from the Borháni-Káti', where Arminíyeh occurs in its proper alphabetical place, with the same story attached to it, of the temple founded by the Rás-Majúsi. At the same time this word, Arminíyeh, though written nearly in the same way as the Oriental title for Armenia,‡ cannot be supposed to refer to that province; for the Borháni-Káti', in the passage above noticed, describes it as "a well-known city, which contained the fire-temple of Derekhsh;" and adds that "the cities of Arminíyeh and Shíráz, and the fire-temple of Derekhsh, were said to have been founded by the Rás Majúsi."§

The perplexity which will at once be seen attaches to these notices of the temple to Derekhsh might be cleared up, I have no doubt, by a careful reference to all existing authorities. As the works that I could wish for, however, are not here accessible to my research, I can only illustrate the subject conjecturally.

The notices contained in the Persian lexicons relative to the antiquities of the fire-worship may, I think, be uniformly traced to the Ferhengi-Jehangíri, which was published in India at the commencement of the seventeenth century by the Ibn Fekthro-l-dín-Anjú, and the information of which upon that subject, derived from the ignorant Pársi priests of the time, is certainly not entitled to the respect which is usually paid to it. Regarding the seven fire-temples of Persia in particular, the statement of the Ferheng is a mass of fable, the evident fabrication of the Pársís of India; and the erroneous identification of Tabríz with the city of Aderbádegán, which contained the great Pyraeum of that name, I attribute to the same spurious source. But still, as few traditions are so false but that some glimmerings of truth may be drawn from them, I thus recognise, in the story of the Armenian

* Can this strange connexion of the Ráso-l Baghal and the fire-temple of Derekhsh have originated in a tradition of Cyrus or Kei Khosrau, whom we know to have been called the Mule?

† See *Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 104, where Hyde quotes from the *Jehangíri*.

‡ The province of Armenia is usually written *Arminíyeh*, with two long *i*'s.

§ I conclude that the author of the *Borháni-Káti'* gives this name on the authority of the *Ferhengi Jehangíri*, under the head *Derekhsh*, copying the orthography of *Arminíyeh*, which he found in that passage.

temple of Derekhsh a reference to the subject which I am now discussing. Canzaca was for a long period of time really included in the government of Armenia. The very name, indeed, is an Armenian modification of the true Persian title; and thus arose probably a connexion between Armenia and Shíz, which was perpetuated among the Pársís by the supposed authority of the Zend A'vestá;* but the author of the Ferheng must at the same time have been aware that it could not be the province of Armenia which the chief of the Magi, or Zoroaster, was said to have founded; and he appears therefore to have supposed a town of that name to resolve all difficulties. I cannot doubt, however, but that there are further indications in works to which I have not access, confirming the identity of this temple of Derekhsh with the Azerekhsh of Zakariyá; for Hyde, supposing the name Arminíyeh to refer to Urumíyah, places the temple in the Kurdish mountains; and Richardson even more explicitly describes Derekhsh as the name of a fire-temple in Kurdistán. In the next place, without any hesitation, I restore to its true orthography of Shíz the name, which, under the popular form of Shíráz, is united with that of Arminíyeh and Derekhsh, and ascribed to the prophet Zoroaster. This error I suppose to have arisen from Ibn Fekthro-l-dín himself, whose learning did not enable him to elucidate the obscure name of Shíz, that he must have found in some Persian or Arabic authority, and who accordingly took upon himself to change it to the more familiar orthography of Shíráz. The connexion of the three names, and their foundation being attributed to the chief of the Magi, fully bears me out, I think, in this amendment, particularly when we consider that Shíráz is a modern town, founded since the establishment of Islám; that there are no traditions whatever extant, except this solitary passage, to connect it in any way with Zoroaster, or the origin of the Magian worship; and that, in describing the Persian capital of Shíráz, the Borhání-Kāṭi', and the Ferhengi-Jehángirí, do not venture to repeat the tale of the Rás Majúsi, though under the two other heads of Arminíyeh and Derekhsh the story is detailed at length.† I thus consider the statement of the Borhání-Kāṭi' as referring directly to the temple of Azerekhsh, in the Armenian city of Shíz; and thus confirming the prevalence of the tradition which ascribed the temple to Zoroaster. When the name of Azerekhsh was first assumed, it is, of course impossible to de-

* The Airyamán of the Zend A'vestá, which is connected with Airyana, as the special object of the care of Ormazd, is uniformly rendered in the Pehleví by Yrmán, and supposed by the Pársi priests to refer to Armenia. See page 138, where I endeavour to attach these names to the ancient title of the province of Azerbiján.

† In the Borhání-Kāṭi', under both heads in the Jehángirí and Reshídí, only under that of Derekhsh.

cide. It may have been derived either from the eternal gleaming of the fire, or from the lightning-flash that is supposed to have first kindled the flame, and the name, no doubt, continued to attach to the temple until the edifice was finally ruined.

Having now concluded the evidence which, in illustrating the subject of the fire-temple of *Azerbáiján*, helps to establish the identity of *Canzaca* and *Shíz*, I should, properly, pursue the history of the Sasanian capital in its ascending series to the Roman ages; but before I quit the Oriental part of the inquiry, and turn back once more to the classics, I am anxious to give some extracts that throw a further light upon the application to the city of the territorial title of *Azerbáiján*, and also to make a few remarks upon the pretended verification of *Saint Martin*, which would place this city of *Canzaca* in the modern position of *Tabríz*.

I commence, then, with *Zakaríyá*, whose valuable extract regarding the city of *Shíz* has already been of so much assistance. In his other work, entitled the *'Ajáibo-l Makhlúkát*, he writes, under the head of *Nehri Azerbáiján*, that, "according to *Abúl Kasamo-l Jeihání*,* author of the *Mesalik wal Memálíko-sh Sherkýyeh*, there is a river in *Azerbáiján*, of which the waters congeal into hard stones of various sizes, and the author," he adds, "of the *Tohfeto-l Gheráib* writes of the same river of *Azerbáiján*, that the water, as it flows forth, becomes solid stone, and forms smooth and polished rocks." There can be no doubt, I suppose, that this description applies to the *Sárúk*, and its title of the river of *Azerbáiján* is therefore somewhat curious. Another Persian manuscript in my possession, the anonymous author of which usually follows *Zakaríyá*, has a longer description of the same river, and clearly marks the allusion to the *Jaghatú* and its tributary the *Sárúk*. "The river of *Azerbáiján*," it is stated, "rises in the mountains of the same name, and empties itself into the sea of *Tezúch*.† The waters are pleasant to the taste. In several places canals are derived from the river to irrigate the neighbouring lands, and these water-courses, as they intersect the country, presently congeal into a fine stone which they call marble, and appear like smooth polished rocks."

All that I propose from these extracts is to show that the river which rises at *Takhti Soleimán* was sometimes called the *Nahr-Azerbáiján*, and to infer that, as the name of the *Sárúk* was derived from the *Moghul* appellation which was given to that city, so

* This is the famous *Jeihání* whom I so often quote, and whose work I believe to have been translated by *Sir W. Ouseley*, under the title of "*Ibn Haúkal's Geography*." In my MS. *Ishkáló-l 'A'lem* his name is written *Abú-l Kásim* instead of *Abú-l Kasam*, which is the orthography uniformly employed by *Zakaríyá* in his quotations.

† The lake of *Urumíyah*, so called from the village of *Tezúchat*, its northern extremity. The name is sometimes written *Tezúj*.

also the Nahri-Azerbájján, in all probability, owed its name to a more ancient designation of the same place; but whether the city of Azerbájján received its title direct from the province and imparted it to the temple, or the temple first assumed the name and then gave it to the city, is, I think, a matter of very little consequence.

The author of the *Ferhengi Jehángírí* states explicitly that the name of Aderbádagán, the Pársí formation of the Azerbájján, was applied indifferently to the province, the city, and the temple; and I think, that in the course of my inquiry I have produced abundance of evidence to verify his statement. His reference, however, of this city and temple to the modern emplacement of Tabriz, I directly pronounce to be altogether inadmissible; and had not the identification happened to coincide with the results of Saint Martin's Armenian researches, I should scarcely have thought that it required to be disproved. It is an old saying, that the establishment of truth involves the refutation of error; and thus every argument that I have brought forward in favour of the verification of the Sasanian Canzaca, at the ruins of the Takhti Soleimán, applies with equal force against the possibility of that city being represented by the modern Tabriz; but still, as the high place which Saint Martin deservedly holds among the Orientalists of Europe demands more than a mere negative refutation of his authority, I shall briefly consider the grounds upon which his opinion was formed, and endeavour either to explain or disprove them.

Saint Martin asserts that the city of Tabriz is frequently mentioned in the Armenian histories under the title of Kandsag, and that, to distinguish it from another city of the same name to the north of the Arras, it was named particularly Kandsag Shahasdan, the Royal Kandsag, and Kandsag Aderbadagan, or Kandsag of Azerbájján.* Upon so interesting a point of comparative geography it would have been desirable that he should have quoted all his authorities. Not having done this, however, I can only follow him in the three solitary notices of Kandsag, which appear in his work on Armenia. The first of these is in the geography which bears the name of Moses of Chorene, but which is now generally assigned to a writer of the ninth century. It is there merely said that Media contains many cities, among which is Kandsag Shahasdan,† a statement from which nothing whatever is to be derived as to the identification of Kandsag with Tabriz or any other place.

Another notice occurs in the geography of Vartan, which was written about the beginning of the fourteenth century, to illus-

* Saint Martin's Armenia, tom. i. p. 129.

† Tom. ii. p. 371.

trate the more ancient work that I have before spoken of; and here, certainly, there would appear some grounds for Saint Martin's identification. "Adrabadagan," it is stated, "and Kandsag Shahasdan form the country of Tavrezh (or Tabríz):" and again, Heraclius is said to have regained the true cross from the Persians, which had been guarded for six years at Tabríz,* and to have carried it from thence to Constantinople; but still this authority is anything but conclusive. Kandsag Shahasdan is said to have been the country of Tabríz, not the city of that name; and perhaps the same explanation may be given of the detention of the true cross, and of the march of Heraclius from Tabríz to Constantinople. Again, the foundation of the city of Tabríz is ascribed in the same work of Vartan to an epoch which will not at all apply to the well-established antiquity of Gaza or Canzaca; and lastly, even if the geography of Vartan did distinctly state the identity of Kandsag and Tabríz, surely no great weight can be attached to a writer whose ignorance led him to confound the passes of Dariyel and Derbend, to identify Susa and Isfahán, to transport a province from the eastern extremity of Armenia to the position of Tiflis, to suppose that Sardanapalus was defeated by Arbaces at Ecbatana, and to commit a multitude of similar errors, historical and geographical, which it has required all the skill and learning of his editor to rectify and explain.

The third notice of Kandsag occurs in the anonymous itinerary that is translated by Saint Martin,† conducting from the Armenian capital of Tovin to all the great cities of the East. Here Kandsag Shahasdan is placed between Nakhchuván or Nakhshiván and Dispon or Ctesiphon, at the distance of 120 miles from the former and 370 from the latter; and again, Kandsag is said to be 100 miles distant from Niniveh.

By determining the age of this itinerary we can alone distinguish whether the name Kandsag applies to Shíz or to Tabríz; for the measurements, faulty in the extreme, suit one position equally as well as the other. Thus if the distance of 120 miles from Nakhshiván appears to indicate Tabríz, the measurement of 370 miles between Kandsag and Ctesiphon applies with equal accuracy to Shíz,‡ and the distance from Niniveh will require to be more than doubled before it will suit either one position or the other. These are the only points of evidence, as far as I can follow Saint Martin, upon which he has grounded his opinion of the identity of Canzaca and Tabríz. They are, I think it will be admitted, inconclusive enough, and altogether powerless against my arguments in favour of Takhti-Soleimán. I believe, how-

* Tom. ii. pp. 423-425.

† Tom. ii. p. 396.

‡ See p. 37, where I have calculated the distance from Modáin to Takhti-Soleimán at 372 miles. From Modáin to Tabríz must be above 500 miles.

ever, that, putting aside the true identification, I can show further reasons for the impossibility of Canzaca being represented by Tabríz.

Tabríz, the Armenian Tavrezh, was supposed, by the tradition of the country, to have been founded by Khosrau, the father of the great Tiridates, in commemoration of his successful foray into Persia to avenge upon Ardeshr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, the murder of his relative Ardován.* The name signifies, in Armenian, revenge, and under this title the place is uniformly mentioned in the history of Faustus of Byzantium,† an author who wrote at the end of the fourth century of Christ, when we know, from the contemporary Greeks and Latins, that the capital of Azerbáján was called Canzaca. Perhaps it may be thought that Faustus of Byzantium, in employing the exact orthography of Tavrezh, which signifies revenge, confirms the tradition relative to the foundation of the city by Khosrau; and as he lived only a century and a half after that era, this would be determinative against the antiquity of the site; but it is, on the other hand, possible that the pretended etymology may have been a fabrication of aftertimes, and I do not therefore lay any stress on his authority, further than as it seems to prove that, in that early age, when the two towns of Kandsag and Tabríz were both in existence, the Armenian historians clearly distinguished between them. According to all the Persian and Arabic geographers Tabríz was founded by Zobeideh, the wife of Hárúnu-l Rashíd, in the second century of Islám;‡ and as the Orientals are most particular in defining the antiquity of their cities, and rarely or ever ascribe an ancient site to a more recent era than it can really claim, I consider the prevalence of this opinion as quite destructive of the possibility of Tabríz representing the Median capital. The Canzaca of the Byzantines, which Heraclius left in A.D. 629, the metropolis of Azerbáján, must necessarily have retained its metropolitan character in A.D. 642, when the Arabs invaded the province; and it is impossible to understand how, if at that time Tabríz, under its own proper title, had really represented this city, the name which rose afterwards to such celebrity in the East should not be found in the historical records of the campaign. With Shíz the case was different; the city did not lie upon the line of march, and thus escaped the observation of the contemporary annalists; and when

* See Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 130, and tom. ii. p. 423; also Avdall's Armenia, vol. i. p. 155.

† He was an Armenian native of Byzantium, and is believed to have written his original history in Greek, of which the Armenian version only is now extant. For his notices of Tavrezh, see Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 130, note I.

‡ A.D. 791. The original town of the Arsacidan Khosrau had been destroyed, I conceive, in the desolating wars which the Sasanian monarchs waged against Armenia.

in after ages the spirit of inquiry attracted the notice of the literary Arabs to its interesting site, it had mouldered too long in ruin to enable them to reveal its ancient glory. Marághah is said to have been founded by Merwán, the general of the Khaliph Hisham,* in his expedition against Derbend about A.D. 740, and as it gradually rose into consequence, Canzaca must have declined before it. Between this period and the end of the eighth century I place the era of the geography ascribed to Moses of Chorene, which still names Kandsag Shahasdan as the chief city of Azerbáján. Tabríz must have been then a petty town, for it had not yet been re-edified by Zobeïdeh. It was familiar, however, to the Armenians under its own proper title, and if the Armenian geographer had intended to allude to it, I can see no reason for his employing a name different from that which had been used by Faustus of Byzantium. Tabríz was rebuilt about the close of the eighth century, but it long continued of too unimportant a character to attract the notice of the historians and geographers. Thus neither Aşma'í, nor Mosa'er, nor Tabarí, nor even Meş'údí, who all mention Shíz as the great city of Azerbáján, make any allusion to Tabríz. In the tenth century it appears first to have risen to the consideration of a town, secondary, however, to the capital Marághah. Ibn Haukel, according to Abúl Feda, says, that in his time (about A.D. 990) Tabríz was nearly equal in size to Khói; and Jeihání, who wrote shortly afterwards, places it in the same class with Deh Khwárkh, Deh Kherkán, Khói, Selmás, and Merend.† In the succeeding century it was destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt. It is mentioned in the campaigns of Toghrol Beg, both by the Greeks and Orientals,‡ and from that period it continued to rise in consequence, until, in the thirteenth century, Holákú made it, for the first time, the seat of the empire. After it became the metropolis of the Moghul sovereigns, the Armenians attached to it the epithet of Shahasdan or Royal,§ in the same way as they had formerly applied the title to Kandsag; and from this circumstance, as well as from its having succeeded to the metropolitan character of the ancient city, it is not impossible that the ignorant Armenians, who were quite unable to penetrate the gloom in which the fate of the real Canzaca was involved, adopted a belief in their identity. I have only further to remark that there is not a single vestige of antiquity at Tabríz which can be assigned to

* See Abúl Fedá under the head Marághah.

† Sir W. Ouseley (*Travels in Persia*, vol. iii. p. 412) has remarked many of these circumstances, which seem to disprove the antiquity of Tabríz, but he does not venture to offer any decided opinion on the subject.

‡ See Cedrenus, vol. ii. p. 770, and all the Oriental accounts of the Seljukian invasion of Armenia.

§ See Saint Martin, tom. ii. pp. 6-153.

any higher date than that of the Moghul sovereigns, and that, with the exception of the solitary notice in the Ferhengi-Jehán-gírí, which I trace to the very doubtful authority of the Median Pársis, I have never met with a single passage in Oriental works, prolific as they usually are in tales and legends of the olden time, that would pretend to include Tabríz among the ancient cities of the empire. All this appears to me quite conclusive against the possible identity of Canzaca and Tabríz; and when the evidence which I have brought forward in favour of Shíz is further taken into account, I believe the most prejudiced theorist will feel himself obliged to abandon the position of Saint Martin.

Having now, as I hope, satisfactorily verified the position of the Arabian Shíz, at the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, and having demonstrated the identity of that city with the Sasanian capital of Canzaca, I shall endeavour to trace up the fortunes of the city into an age less accessible to direct inquiry.

The notice of Procopius describes the city as the capital of Ažerbíján, in the middle of the sixth century. Two centuries earlier, at the time of the invasion of Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus also names Canzaca as one of the most considerable cities of Media.* We must next ascend to the time of the Armenian Tiridates, in about A.D. 297.

This monarch, the first Christian king of Armenia, was engaged in a long and arduous war with Narses of Persia, the seventh king of the Sasanian line.† Expelled from his country, he took refuge in the court of the emperors, and he steadfastly adhered to their alliance throughout the war which soon followed between Narses and Diocletian. When the Roman arms, accordingly, compelled the Persian monarch to purchase a disgraceful peace by the cession of many large and fruitful provinces, the fidelity of Tiridates was rewarded by the annexation of the important country of Atropatene to his paternal kingdom of Armenia.

Peter the Patrician, who records the negotiation of the treaty, states, that the limits of Armenia were extended as far as the fortress of Sintha, in Media,‡ by which I understand that Ažerbíján Proper, terminating in the natural boundary of the Kurdish mountains, was alone severed from the dominion of Persia, the name of Sintha being preserved in the title of Síná, which applies to these mountains in the middle ages; and which is now further corrupted to the modern pronunciation of Sehnah. I have now to quote the most important authority that we possess for the establishment of a connexion between Canzaca and the Median

* Lib. xxiii. cap. 6.

† For this period of history see the 13th chapter of Gibbon.

‡ In the *Exerpta Legationum*, p. 30.

Ecbatana. Moses, of Chorene, who wrote his Armenian history about A.D. 445, states, that Tiridates, visiting his newly-acquired territory of *Azerbĭjĭn*, "repaired the fortifications of the place, which was named the second Ecbatana, or the seven-walled city, and leaving there his own officers, returned into Armenia."* This allusion can only refer to the capital of the province, a place which, sixty-five years after the visit of the Armenian monarch, Ammianus names *Gazaca*; and which, from the evidence of Stephen of Byzantium, who quotes two writers of the second century, it is evident also possessed that name long anterior to the age of Tiridates. We have thus direct testimony that the city, which from the second to the fourth century was known in the country by the vernacular title of *Kandsag*, or *Canzaca*, sometimes during that period assumed its more ancient appellation of the second Ecbatana, or the seven-walled city; and, I believe, also, that the identity of name, and the very marked and peculiar epithet of "the seven-walled," which it is quite impossible to suppose could have belonged to two different cities, are sufficient to warrant my connecting the notices of Moses of Chorene and Herodotus; and asserting, that their exact coincidence of name, description, and geographical indication, can only be explained by a reference to the same place.

Ascending from the time of Tiridates, at an interval of about 70 years, we come to the age of *Ardešĭr Bĕbegĕn*, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty; who, as I have already shown, from George of Pisidia, must have re-edified the city of *Canzaca*. The fortifications which he built "in a strong place, and after the fashion of a lofty tower," I conclude to have been ruined in the rapid succession of devastating wars between Persia and Armenia, which occurred during the following reigns; they were repaired by Tiridates, and are doubtless the same massive walls which are still to be seen in their ruin encircling the mount of *Takhti-Soleimĕn*. The epithet of the seven-walled city I believe to have been retained from the fabulous ages of antiquity, as I shall explain in my remarks upon Herodotus, and to have had no connexion whatever with the fortifications of *Ardešĭr* and Tiridates; which, as far as I have been able to form an opinion, never exceeded one single line of defence. I have found no corroboration of George of Pisidia, in Oriental history; indeed, *Ibn-i Athĭr* is the only author that I know, who describes the campaigns of *Ardešĭr*, in Armenia, and *Azerbĭjĭn*;† and his account is altogether devoid of historical or geographical detail.

I have now reached the era of the Parthian empire, when the

* Lib. ii. c. 84.

† *Tabarĭ*, *Ibn Jauzĭ* and others, mention the name of *Azerbĭjĭn*, but without any detail whatever, and the Armenian accounts are confined to their own country.

province of Media Atropatene, or Media alone, as it is usually called by the contemporary historians of Rome (the ancient and general title having been retained only by this particular division of the province), formed a distinct and powerful kingdom; sometimes bestowed by the Parthian monarch on his nearest relative, as the first place of importance under him; but more frequently governed by its own hereditary line of sovereigns, descended from Atropates the Satrap, whose interests as often led them to oppose as to support the lord paramount of the feudal empire.* All the Greek and Latin accounts of this period, as far as they regard the capital of Media Atropatene, require the mutual illustration of each other; and I shall make no apology, therefore, for considering them as a distinct body of evidence, and collating their various statements, without any reference to the chronological order of the authorities.

I consider, then, that the various names of Phraata, Praaspa, Vera, Gaza, and Gazaca, that occur during this period of history, refer to one and the same city; which city, as the capital of the province, I am certainly justified in assuming to be the same that I have already traced up under the title of Gazaca, to an age immediately succeeding the destruction of the Parthian empire. The proof of both of these points will appear from a comparison of the authorities. In the account of Antony's famous expedition into Media Atropatene, Plutarch and Appian both name the city Phraata.† It is described by the former as "the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children." Dion Cassius, in his narrative of the same eventful war, gives it the title of Praaspa; he calls it the capital of the Medes, and notices the strong walls with which it was surrounded. Strabo again writes,‡ "The summer residence of the kings of Media Atropatene is at Gaza, a city situated in a plain, and in a strong fort, named Vera, which was besieged by Marc Antony in his Parthian war. It is 2400 stadia distant from the Araxes, "the river which separates Atropatene from Armenia." A doubt has been raised as to whether Strabo alludes in this passage to one or two places under the names of Gaza and Vera;§ but the whole

* Tac. Ann. lib. xv., c. 2, 31.

† Throughout this inquiry. See Plutarch's *Life of Antony*; Dion Cassius, lib. xlix., c. 25-31; Appian., pp. 158-168; and Florus, lib. iv., c. 10.

‡ Lib. xi., c. 18.

§ Almost all modern geographers have supposed a distinction; D'Anville places Gaza at Tabríz; and Vera between Sulţáníyeh and Kazvín.—Anc. Geog., tom. ii., p. 234. Mons. Barbié de Bocage (*Exam. Crit. des Hist. D'Alex.*, p. 817) approves of the identification of Gaza with Tabríz; and Rennell, in his map prefixed to the retreat of the 10,000, follows the authority of D'Anville regarding the emplacement of Phraata. Mr. Williams (*Ancient Asia*, p. 53) places Vera and Phraata at Sulţáníyeh and Abher supposes most strangely that Gaza merely signifies a treasury, and has no reference to the proper name of the city.

construction of the sentence appears to me most obviously to refer to a single city. The summer residence of the kings could be but in one place; and the measurement from the Araxes, also, most evidently indicates this one single metropolis. I may farther remark, that the place which Antony attacked is stated positively to have been the capital of the province, a description that we know can only apply to Gaza or Canzaca, though, on the supposition of Strabo's alluding to two different cities, the scene of contest will be represented by Vera:* and again, it is to be observed, that Pliny, who was of course fully aware of the particulars of the Triumvir's disastrous retreat, still only mentions the name of Gaza as the chief city of Media Atropatene.† I do not think, therefore, it can be considered of any weight against the argument, either that Ptolemy, who, as he consulted different itineraries, may be shown in every page to have repeated his notice of the same place, and not unfrequently even under the same name, should be thus supposed to assign different emplacements, in his Median tables, to the two cities of Gazaca and Pharaspa,‡ or that Stephen of Byzantium, who also sought for a diversity of names in all available authorities, should, in the same way, pretend to distinguish between the three cities of Gazaca, Praaspa, and Phraata. I now propose to show the application of all these accounts to the position of Takhti-Soleimán. The extraordinary strength of the place is apparent from the accounts of Antony's campaign. The Parthian and Median forces, in perfect confidence of its impregnability, did not, at first, attempt to relieve the fortress: they even allowed the Romans to erect a mound against the wall, unmolested, while they proceeded by another route to attack the division which was coming up under the command of Stianus; and Phraata fully justified their confidence in its strength, by successfully resisting every effort that was made to reduce it. The natural strength of a citadel on the summit of a mound, like that of Takhti-Soleimán, will explain this rare triumph of barbarian firmness over the combined exertions of Roman courage, discipline, and science.§ But the memorable retreat of Antony into Armenia, when he was compelled to raise the siege of Phraata, described by Plutarch with great topographical minuteness, affords far more determinate grounds for illustrating the position of the city. From Phraata there were

* The distinction of Strabo is evidently merely between the city of Gaza, in the plain, and the acropolis of Vera, upon the hill commanding it, against which latter place, of course, the attack of Antony was directed.

† Lib. vi., cap. xvi.

‡ I say "*supposed*," for it is very doubtful whether the Gazaca of Ptolemy is genuine.

§ The open city of Gaza, in the plain, I conclude to have been occupied by the Romans without opposition

two routes conducting into Armenia; the one a high road through a plain and open country to the left, which was that in all probability that was followed by Antony in his advance; the other by a more direct line, across the mountains to the right.

At Takhti-Soleimán I inquired of the Afshár chief how he would march, if suddenly ordered to Tabríz? "If I had troops," he said, "I should certainly take the high road to the left, and travel by the open line of Şa'in Kal'eh, the valley of the Jaghatú and the Miyándáb plain, and so on by the shores of the lake to Tabríz; but the line we generally follow conducts directly across the hills to the right, leaving Marághah at some distance on our left hand, and skirting Sehend till we descend upon the Tabríz plain." A glance at the map will explain these two roads most clearly and satisfactorily; and I cannot doubt but that it was along this mountain line that the Mardian guide conducted the troops of Antony. Upon the third day's march the Romans came to a valley where the Parthians had broken down the banks of a river and flooded the country, to oppose their progress. I learnt that, at the distance of about 8 farsakhs from Takhti-Soleimán, on the hill road, there actually was such a river, the main branch of the Kárengú, the waters of which were turned off during the spring to irrigate the little valley in which it flowed. The Romans now found themselves to be pursued by the enemy; and as on this and the three succeeding days they marched in square, and were exposed to constant attacks, they could have made no very rapid progress. The country appears to have been hilly, but still not so rugged but that the cavalry were able to act and drive in the Parthian horse, when they attempted to press upon the legions; and the account I received of this part of the line skirting the district of A'járí, exactly answers the description. On the seventh day of the retreat, when the army had probably marched about 70 miles, occurred the memorable engagement of Gallus, in which the Romans lost 3000 killed, and 5000 wounded. I have no means, of course, of verifying the exact field of battle, but it must have been in the hills to the E. of the Miyándáb plain.

After this followed the most trying part of the retreat. The Parthians, elated with their victory, kept up an incessant attack, while the Romans, at every onset, were obliged to form the testudo with their shields to protect themselves from the shafts of the enemy. The greatest distress prevailed among the troops; provisions were so scarce, that a loaf of barley sold for its weight of silver; and the soldiers found themselves compelled to eat the poisonous herbs and grasses of the country. The progress was thus necessarily slow; and 80 miles being, perhaps, as much as can reasonably be allowed for the distance traversed by the Romans under such circumstances, during the succeeding eleven

marches, I conduct the army, by this measurement, from the field of battle into the district of Mihrán-rúd, on the northern face of Sehend. The country appears to have been still mountainous, and yielding but little corn; but, as there was no distress on account of water, I conclude the streams to have been abundant; and these indications of general character are fully answered by the line along the eastern skirts of the great Sehend range, conducting by Teppéh-Teppéh and Kırk-Bólák,* to the district of Mihrán-rúd. There, on the 19th day of the retreat, there was a halt, to consult on the farther prosecution of the route. A range of lofty hills appeared in front, at the foot of which there was a spacious plain, and Antony believing that the Parthians had abandoned the pursuit, was anxious to descend into the open country. He was, however, warned that the enemy were in ambuscade below the hills, and that, if he ventured into the plain, he must expect the fate of Crassus. The road along the skirts of the mountains, he was told by the Mardian guide, was rugged and devoid of water, but it was his only safety. The camp was accordingly struck at sunset, and the troops, conveying their water with them, made a forced march of 30 miles † along the rugged sides of the mountains, pursued by the enemy, and in the morning descended to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but so salt that it could not be drunk with safety. Any one familiar with the country will at once recognise the sterile range of mountains to the eastward of Tabríz, and the great plain stretching away from its base to the shores of the lake, and will see that the Romans, filling their helmets and water-vessels at the Bosmich river, must during the night have followed along the rugged sides of the hills, beneath the 'Aini-'Alí, till, after a toilsome march, they descended, at morning, to the salt stream of the Ají, the only river of this nature, I believe, in all Azerbiján. They were told that there was a fresh-water stream at no great distance; and, accordingly, while it was yet day, they were again upon the march; but the night that followed was more dreadful than can be well conceived—all control and discipline were at an end—the soldiers, maddened with their thirst, committed the most horrible disorders—and Antony prepared for suicide, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. At length, however, the army reached the fresh-water stream, which I conclude to be the little river of Sáliyán, and the dangers of the march were over.‡ The Parthians maintained the pursuit no

* At "the forty fountains."

† This is probably an exaggeration; in my calculation I allow for this march about 25 British miles.

‡ The distance from the Ají to the Sáliyán river is about 15 miles, which I think amply sufficient for the night march of the Romans in their most weary and distressed condition.

further than this point; and the Romans, in six easy marches, traversed the remaining distance of 80 miles, which must have intervened, between the Sáliyán river and the Arrás, supposing the passage to have taken place at the thoroughfare of the Julfeh ferry. The distance which, from this illustration of the route, I suppose the Romans to have traversed in their retreat of twenty-seven days from Phraata to the Araxes, will be about 270 miles. I have no means of determining the precise measurement of the mountain line from Takhti-Soleimán to Tabríz, but it must be as near 170 miles as possible.

The Afshárs estimated the high road, by Şa'in Kal'eh, to be 50 farsakhs, or 200 miles; and the short cut across the hills they judged to be between 40 and 45 farsakhs, or between 160 and 180 miles.* I therefore take 170 as the mean, and adding to it the 100 miles which intervened between Tabríz and the Arrás, I find the whole distance to assimilate with the 270 miles, which, merely judging from the circumstances of the march, would seem to be a fair estimate for the twenty-seven days of the retreat, all the remarkable topographical features which occur upon the line corresponding at the same time, with singular accuracy, to the descriptive character of the country, that was copied by Plutarch from the narrative of an eye-witness: but there are other and more accurate means for verifying this distance than those which I have yet employed. Strabo, upon the authority of Dellius, an officer who commanded a division of the army, on this very occasion of Antony's retreat, determines the distance from Gaza to the Araxes, as it was travelled by the Romans, to be 2400 stadia; and to show that he employs in this passage the Olympic stadium, I may instance the Fragment of Livy, in which the same measurement is given at 300 Roman miles, equivalent, as near as possible, to 280 British miles.† Relying on the estimated distance of the line, in farsakhs, I really cannot pretend to fix the exact measurement within 10 miles, either more or less, nor, indeed, do I conceive that the Roman calculation is entitled to any greater degree of dependence upon its minute accuracy. The best means that I have of judging, give me an approximate valuation of 270 British miles; and this I regard as quite near enough the estimate of 300 Roman miles, to answer all the purposes of geographical illustration.

I must now consider the evidence of Pliny. Mr. Williams, in his ingenious, though, I believe, erroneous argument on the iden-

* Among the Turks of Azerbáján, the farsakh is fully equal to 4 British miles; but in all other parts of the country $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles will be found nearer the value.

† Strabo, lib. xi., c. 18; and Livy, Fragment. I conceive that Livy, Strabo, and Plutarch all followed the same authority of Dellius in their notices of Antony's retreat.

tity of Isfahán with the Ecbatana of Media Magna, supposes that Pliny received the greater part of his information on the internal geography of Persia, from Tiridates, the Parthian king of Armenia, who visited Rome during the reign of Nero;* but as this visit occurred 40 years before the age of Pliny, I think the source of information may well be doubted. At any rate, from where-soever the intelligence was drawn, there is so much confusion and inaccuracy in all Pliny's Persian geography, that it will rarely admit of verification. Thus, in reference to the present subject he says, that "Gaza, the chief city of Atropatene, is 450 miles distant from Artaxata, and measures the same from Ecbatana of Media."† The Artaxata of Hannibal, which is doubtless that alluded to by Pliny, was situated on the Arrás, in the modern district of Mákú; and the measurement of a point from that city, on the direct line to Hamadán, the real representative of the Ecbatana of the greater Media, which shall be equidistant from both places, will conduct us to the plain of Miyándáb, where the ruins of Leilán may be supposed to suit the indication;‡ but there are several circumstances which I shall presently detail, that appear to me conclusive against the possibility of Leilán representing Gaza; and even to make the position accord with the evidence of Pliny, the only single authority in its favour, it will be necessary to suppose that he mistook the true purport of the geographical information, and assigned to the half interval between Artaxata and Gaza the measurement that should, in reality, have been applied to the entire distance between Artaxata and Ecbatana. I believe, however, there is an equally plausible way of explaining Pliny, without affecting the already established identity of Gaza and Takhti-Soleimán. Pliny, in the measurement of 380 Roman miles from Susa to Ecbatana, across Mount Charban, would seem to have been really aware of the true position of the Median capital;§ but, in the passage which immediately succeeds the notice of Gaza, and which, it is evident, can only refer to the same Ecbatana of the Medes that is before stated to be equidistant with Artaxata from Gaza, the Latin author most clearly and explicitly betrays, that by this name of Ecbatana, he intends to denote the Macedonian city of Europus. "Ecbatana," he says, "the capital of Media, was founded by King Seleucus; it is 750 miles distant from the great Seleucia, and 20 from the Caspian gates."||

* *Anc. Asia*, p. 51.

† *Lib. vi. cap. 16*, edit. Hardouin.

‡ This is the supposition of the German geographer, Reichard: he proposes, however, to follow the route to Hamadán, by Zenján, and to look for Gaza at the Kizil Uzen.

§ *Lib. vi. cap. 31*, edit. Hardouin.

|| *Lib. vi. cap. 17*, edit. Hardouin.

Without inquiring into the reason of this singular application of the name of Ecbatana to the city of Rhages, which, re-edified by Seleucus, assumed the Grecian title of Europus, it is sufficient for my present purpose to verify the measurement that is drawn from it. Europus, near the site of the ancient Rhages, was situated in the position of the modern town of Verámín, and a line from hence to Takhti-Soleimán, by Teherán, Kazvín, and Zenján, will measure, as nearly as I can calculate, 325 British miles. From Takhti-Soleimán, along the high road to Tabríz, and so on to the Julfeh ferry, measures, as I have already shown, about 300 miles. There is no direct road, I believe, now travelled from Tabríz to the ruins of Artaxata, at the embouchure of the Mákú river;* but the deviation to the left will necessarily cause an excess of 20 or 30 miles, over the distance to the Julfeh ferry; and we thus obtain the same measurement of about 325 miles for the line to Artaxata from Takhti-Soleimán, that I have shown to apply to the road distance between that place and Pliny's Ecbatana. The comparative measurement being thus so satisfactorily verified, there is no great object, I believe, in seeking to restore the corrupted numbers of the manuscript of Pliny; but I may, at the same time, suggest, that if we suppose CCCCL to have been an error of some ancient copyist, for CCCD, the positive determination of distance will apply, with the same minute correctness, as the comparative, and thus establish, in one instance at any rate, the accuracy of the Latin geographer.

I have spoken of the possible identity of Leilán and Gaza, for which the appearance of the ruins, and, perhaps, the authority of Pliny, seem to have found some advocates. The reasons that I consider to be determinative against it are briefly these: Gaza is mentioned as the summer residence of the Median kings, but Leilán, in the Miyándáb plain, is positively one of the very hottest spots in all Azerbáján. In Antony's retreat, the distance will not in any way coincide, nor is there any shorter road from Leilán to the Arrás, than along the borders of the lake of Urumíyah, a natural feature of so marked and peculiar a character, that it is impossible to suppose it could have been overlooked in the narrative of the expedition, had it been seen upon the line of march. Again, Leilán is perfectly well known in Oriental geography. It is described in the 14th century, by Hamdu-llah, as "a small town in the district of Marághah, surrounded with gardens, and producing corn, cotton, grapes, and excellent fruit, and watered by the river Jaghatú;" and in no author have I ever met with an

* Col. Monteith has, I believe, the credit of first fixing the position of the ancient Artaxata. The ruins of Ardashár, near Eriván, which have been so often assigned to the Armenian capital, mark the site of the second Artaxata, a city that rose into power after the destruction of Hannibal's Artaxata by Corbulo.

allusion to it in ancient times. I fear, then, that to the ruins of the fort, which certainly are calculated to attract attention from their appearance, can be assigned no earlier date than that of their Moghul sovereigns, and that its identification with Canzaca, which disfigures Colonel Monteith's map of Aذربíján, must be expunged from the future editions.*

Ptolemy next presents himself; and I confess I enter on his examination with very little pleasure or confidence. From the evidence which he gives of the comparative position of places in relation to each other, he sometimes may afford useful hints to corroborate the statements of other authors; but I doubt whether a geographical identification of any consequence in the East was ever discovered by the mere indication of his tables, or whether any one at the present day would be content to build an argument on so very doubtful an authority. I do not propose, therefore, to derive any support from his testimony: if I can give a reasonable explanation of his errors, I shall be more than satisfied.

The first difficulty which I meet with is the distinction of two cities of Gazaca, and Pharaspa with the assignments of geographical positions, that remove them from each other upon the map almost as far as the distance between Tabríz and Teherán. Gazaca is placed in lat. $41^{\circ} 10'$, and long. $81^{\circ} 15'$; and Pharaspa in lat. $40^{\circ} 30'$, and long. $85^{\circ} 30'$.† The discrepancy of these positions alone would seem to prove that either the numbers are corrupted, or that two different places must be alluded to; and I believe I can show reasons for placing Ptolemy's Gazaca altogether out of the field of inquiry. In many of the manuscripts this name does not occur at all, the word being written Azaga. It is placed in the extreme north of Media, within a degree and a half of the Araxes, which could not have been the case, I think, had Ptolemy intended to represent the city; that, he must have been well aware, was determined by the retreat of Antony to be nearly 300 Roman miles S. of the river. The longitude, also, when viewed comparatively with the great natural features in the vicinity, bears the same evidence of distinction. Azaga is placed more than a degree to the W. of the Median lake.‡ It is even beyond the great mountain-barrier of Zagros, and above five de-

* I must also notice another curious illustration of comparative geography in this map. At Kal'eh Zohák, near Sereskend, are placed the ruins of Atropatene. Now, from whence this name is drawn I am at a loss to guess. Procopius is the only single author among the classics who applies the provincial title to the capital, and in his history it is named Ardabigan, which there can be no question is identical with the Canzaca of other authors. I must further remark, that I passed a day minutely examining the ruins of Kal'eh Zohák, and that I was able to satisfy myself that no city whatever ever could have existed there. The ruins are those of a strong Sasanian fortress, such as are to be met with in all parts of Persia.

† Ptol., lib. vi. c. 2.

‡ The Lake of Urumiyah.

grees from the Amardus or Kizil Uzen. It is therefore certain that the Alexandrian geographer, Agathodæmon, who constructed maps to illustrate the tables of Ptolemy, must have followed some other authority in placing Gazaca near the river Amardus, in the region of the Margasii;* and if the name of that people may be recognised in the modern title of Marághah, his evidence will thus rather strengthen the arguments in favour of Takhti-Soleiman than add any weight to the errors and confusion of Ptolemy.

I assume, then, that the position of Pharaspa is the only point that requires to be examined; and even this will be found sufficiently difficult. From some cause, which is not duly explained, there is a greater tendency to exaggeration in Ptolemy's latitudinal measurements of Western Persia than in those of any of the contiguous countries; and this exaggeration in the latitude of the Albanian gates, the northernmost limit of Western Persia, will be found to reach a maximum of five degrees, the gates being placed on the parallel of 47° , while the true latitude is 42° . Now if any general principle whatever can be employed for the restoration of Ptolemy's distorted measurements to their true equivalents, it is evident that it can only be the assumption of his error of excess being equally distributed, within certain limits, over equal spaces; and accordingly a reduction, at the rate of five in forty-seven, should give the relative value of all the latitudes of Western Persia.† But there appear to have been at the same time so many other particular causes of vitiation in the construction of Ptolemy's tables, such as a reference to itineraries, and an attention to recorded distances of other authorities, that it is, I believe, impossible, for any uniform scale of rectification to answer with correctness, in its practical application, to any great section of his geographical system. In the present case, however, the reduction gives a satisfactory result; and I believe, indeed, it will be generally found to apply as well as any uniform scale can possibly be expected. The rate of reduction for the latitude of $40^{\circ} 30'$, which is that assigned to Pharaspa, will be $4^{\circ} 18'$; and this, subtracted from Ptolemy's numbers, will give the corrected measurement of $36^{\circ} 12'$; the true position being determined astronomically at $36^{\circ} 28' 12''$.

But if we can only obtain this imperfect verification of latitude by an almost arbitrary system of reduction, what can we hope for in the far more complicated question of longitude? It seems to have been the usual custom for geographers of late‡ to follow the formula of reduction in the proportion of seven to

* See Cellarius, *Ant. Geog.*, vol. ii. p. 671.

† It has been often remarked that all Ptolemy's maritime positions are more accurate than his inland; and this scale therefore cannot be expected to apply to the latitudes in the Persian Gulf.

‡ See Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* vol. i. p. 113; and Murray's *Asia*, vol. i. p. 48..

five, which was first proposed by M. Gosselin, for the rectification of the longitudes of Ptolemy;* but as the principle on which his calculation depends is altogether fanciful, and has long been banished from the field of geographical inquiry,† I can hardly think the mere practical applicability of the scale which is derived from it to be sufficient to warrant its adoption without any explanation of the reasons of coincidence. The question, however, is not so obscure as it has been thought; for as Ptolemy himself in detailing the longitudinal system of his geography, as far as it regards the construction of his map of Central Asia, affords us a direct explanation of the causes of his error of excess; so at the same time his own evidence points out the only means of analysis by which this error can be rectified with a due respect both to theory and practice. The foundation of his longitudinal measurement of Asia was, as he himself declares, the recorded itinerary of the caravans that traded between Rome and China;‡ and in constructing a map from these materials his errors of projection were threefold.

Firstly, on a line from Hierapolis, upon the Euphrates, to the stone tower, which must have been situated a short distance to the eastward of Yârkend, he converted road distance to measurement upon the map, at a uniform reduction of one in eleven and a half, instead of one in eight, or, perhaps, which would be more accurate upon so long a line, one in seven. Secondly, he committed the astronomical error of computing an equatorial degree at 500 instead of 600 Olympic stadia; and thus upon the line of the itinerary which was assumed to be about the parallel of Rhodes, or in latitude $36^{\circ} 21'$, he allowed only 400 stadia to a degree of longitude, while the true measurement was 480; and, thirdly, in converting the schœni of the itinerary into Olympic stadia, which gave him his element for computing the degrees of longitude, he assumed their uniform identity with the Persian parasang of Olympic stadia, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles, whilst I believe the schœnus to have been the natural measure of 1 hour, employed by all caravans, both in ancient and modern times, to regulate their daily march, and to have averaged, as near as possible, a distance of 3 British miles.§

The amount of excess caused by these three errors in the elements of Ptolemy's computation may then easily be calculated; and they will be found to fix the scale of rectification at a reduction nearly in the proportion of ten to seven (strictly $\frac{4}{3}\frac{2}{17}$ ||), a rate

* In the "Geographie des Grecs Analysée."

See the admirable treatise on Ancient Geography by M. Larenaudière, chap. i., in Malte Brun's Geography.

† Lib. i., cap. 11.

§ The Parthian stations of Isidore of Charax, where he employs the schœnus in describing the caravan route from Zeugma to the frontiers of India, confirm this valuation in the most decisive manner.

|| 115 schœni are valued, according to Ptolemy's calculation, at $7^{\circ} 30'$. Their true geographical equivalent, on the line of the Rhodian Diaphragm, would be $5^{\circ} 17'$.

which I believe will answer with greater accuracy than M. Gosselin's proposed correction of seven to five along the particular line of Central Asia, and which has the advantage of being based on rational and direct evidence, afforded by Ptolemy himself, instead of pre-supposing, with M. Gosselin, the existence of a system of astronomical observation among the early Asiatic empires, far superior to that possessed by the geographers of Greece, and rivalling the perfection of modern science.* In the present case this scale applies, without any considerable error; for Ptolemy's measurement from Hierapolis to Pharaspa, $14^{\circ} 15'$, reduced in the proportion of ten to seven, will be equivalent to $9^{\circ} 58'$, which is within half a degree of the true interval; and, considering the rough materials with which he worked, this approximative accuracy is all, I think, that can be looked for. Respecting the relative position of Ptolemy's Pharaspa to the great natural features in the vicinity, I may also remark, that it is placed correctly enough between the river Amardus and the Median lake; and that the mountain-barrier of Zagros appears nearly a degree to the W. of it.

At the same time, however, I must observe with respect to Ptolemy, that I do not pretend to advocate any systematic rectification of his Asiatic geography. We may perceive, it is true, without much trouble, the causes of his error; and in some instances we may succeed in correcting his measurements, by a mere attention to those causes; but I believe that, until we are able to analyse all his various sources of information, and to trace, in particular, every stage of his caravan route through Asia, it is in vain to expect to identify the greater part of his positions, or to render his work of any real benefit to the science of comparative geography. I shall endeavour to explain, in one connected form, the many vicissitudes of name which the capital of Media Atropatene appears to have undergone, when I arrive at the period of its foundation. I have only here to remark, that the names of Vera, Praaspa, &c., applied to the castle upon the mound; and that the titles of Gaza and Gazaca were employed to designate the town in the plain. Early in the second century the town would seem to have dwindled into insignificance, though the castle retained its celebrity; for Arrian, who wrote under the Emperor Adrian, names Gazaca as a large Median village; † and this may be, perhaps, the reason why, if my preceding argument is correct, Ptolemy only included Pharaspa in his Median catalogue. However, the place must soon afterwards have recovered its importance; for Quadratus, who wrote also in the

* See Murray's Asia, vol. i. page 479.

† See Stephan. de Urbibus, under the head Γάζακα.

second century, describes Gazaca as the largest city in Media;* and Agathodæmon, who is supposed to have framed his maps about the same time, gave a conspicuous place to the Median Gazaca.

Before I now quit this portion of the inquiry, and ascend to the times of the Median Ecbatana, I beg to recapitulate the state of the argument as it at present stands. I have clearly and demonstratively shown the identity of the Arabian Shíz with the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán. I have established, as I think, most conclusively, the connexion of this Arabian Shíz with the Sasanian Canzaca; and I have now traced up the history of the same city, under various names, to a date preceding the Christian æra, showing the applicability of the best authorities to this place, and this place only, and explaining the errors of others in a way that can, I hope, leave little ground for cavil. It thus follows that, in the first century before Christ, the capital of Media Atropatene is proved to have occupied the site of the ruins now known under the title of Takhti-Soleimán. Beyond this period, it is no longer possible to keep up the sustained historical connexion on which I have hitherto based my argument. The Parthian wars, it is true, which occupy so conspicuous a place in the Roman annals, were preceded by the Syro Macedonian empire of the East, of which we also possess imperfect notices; and this dynasty, again, arose upon the ruins of Alexander's conquest, the best authenticated period of ancient history; but still, in all these great political convulsions, Media Atropatene escaped being made the theatre of contest, and the internal geography of the province thus remained, until the time of Antony, almost a dead letter in Western science. The site of a great capital, however, rarely changes, except upon some change of dynasty, when the national character of the country undergoes a corresponding alteration; and then the event can scarcely fail of being commemorated, either in history or tradition. I think, therefore, that if I can show the original capital of Media Atropatene to have been named Ecbatana, and can, at the same time, glean a few notices of the place from history under the same title in succeeding ages, during which the province enjoyed an almost uninterrupted tranquillity, I shall be authorised in assuming the identity of that ancient Ecbatana with the city which represented the capital in the time of Antony; and when I further show the applicability to Antony's Phraata of all the descriptive evidence regarding the Atropatenian Ecbatana, and explain and verify the various mutations of title which at present obscure the argument, I believe the identification will be allowed to be proved with as near an

* See Stephan. in loco cit. I take the age of Quadratus from M. de Sainte Croix, in the Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alex.

approach to demonstration as the science of comparative geography will admit.

I ascend at once, then, to the æra of Herodotus, and before I consider his geographical, I must necessarily, to avoid perplexity, devote a few remarks to his historical, evidence. In the very narrow limits here allotted for discussion, I cannot be expected to enter at any length upon the controverted points of chronology between the extinction of the Assyrian monarchy, in the person of Sardanapalus, in B.C. 821, and the æra of Cyrus the Great, in B.C. 559. The subject has been elaborately treated by Mr. Dickenson, in a very able paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* ;* and though I confess that I am hardly prepared to admit, in its full extent, his individual identification of the Median Arbacidæ with the lower Assyrian dynasty, or his attempted reconciliation of oriental with classic history, yet that he has clearly established the novel and, at the same time, most interesting historical fact of a distinction between the two Median dynasties of Herodotus and Ctesias, is not, I think, to be disputed. These two authors, be it remembered, both drew their materials from the national records of Persia ; and it cannot be supposed, therefore, that a dynasty described by one as composed of nine kings, and continuing for 267 years, can possibly refer to the same family which the other limits to four kings, and to a duration of 156 years, especially when, in the two lists, there is not a single identical name except the last. That all chronologers, indeed, from Eusebius and the Syncellus down to the present century, have insisted on assimilating these two discordant lists, instead of authenticating their labours, only proves how much of system, and how little of rational criticism, has hitherto pervaded the inquiry. I take it for granted, then, that the dynasty founded by Arbaces, after the first destruction of Niniveh, is different from that which owed its origin to Dejoces, above a century later ; and this distinction of the two families, involving also a distinction of two Median kingdoms, affords me the first evidence of there having been two Median capitals of the name of Ecbatana. Arbaces, it is stated by Ctesias, after the capture and destruction of Niniveh, conveyed the treasures of Assyria to Ecbatana, the seat royal of Media ; and the city is said, by the same author, in another passage, to have existed from the most remote antiquity, and to have been beautified and enlarged by Semiramis, in one of her Asiatic tours ; the general description evidently alluding to Hamadán, the seat royal of the greater Media, though perhaps in one particular Ctesias, in common with many others, borrowed a tradition from the less ancient site.† Whether the kings who

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. art. 16.

† I allude to the famous cut of Semiramis, which supplied Ecbatana with water.

succeeded Arbaces resided at Niniveh or Hamadán, is of little consequence to the argument. It is sufficient that, after a lapse of five generations, which are recorded by Ctesias, with no other remark than the duration of the respective reigns, Artæus, the lineal descendant of Arbaces, ascended the throne of Asia in B.C. 691. During his reign a great revolt occurred of the provinces of interior Persia, and though the rebels are named by Ctesias, Cadusians, yet, as it is impossible to suppose 200,000 men could have been raised from this single tribe, I am inclined to include in the rebellion the neighbouring province of Media Atropatene;* indeed, it is not impossible but that the leader of the revolt, who is named Parsodes by Ctesias, and who rendered himself independent of the great Median empire, may be the Dejoces of Herodotus, Parsodes, or Phrazad, being an affiliative epithet given him from his father Phraortes.†

I now take up the narrative of Herodotus. He states that the Medes, (by which we can only understand the inhabitants of Media Atropatene, for Artæus was upon the throne of the greater Media,) after the period of their revolt, finding the evils of living without laws or government, unanimously elected Dejoces, a native Median, to be their king. "Dejoces," he then says, "was no sooner seated upon the throne, than he commanded his subjects to build a city, and to fortify and adorn it, bestowing his attention upon no other place. The Medes, obedient to the command, erected that great and strong city, now known under the name of Agbatana, where the walls are built circle within circle, and are so constructed that each inner circle overtops its outer neighbour by the height of the battlements alone. This was effected partly by the nature of the ground, a conical hill, partly by the building itself. The number of the circles was seven, and within the innermost were built the palace and the treasury. The circumference of the outermost wall was almost equal to that of Athens. The battlements of the first circle were white, of the second black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue,

Mr. Williams supposes himself to have discovered this in the Zendebrúd of Isfahán, but he is quite mistaken in the grounds upon which he builds his argument. However, it must be allowed that, at Hamadán, the true Ecbatana of Ctesias, there is nothing of the sort; and, moreover, the physical characteristic, recorded by Ctesias, of the city being built upon the declivity of the lofty mountain of Orontes, is utterly irreconcilable with a scarcity of water. I am, therefore, inclined to suspect that, in describing the wonderful tunnel of Semiramis, Ctesias must have employed a tradition of the other Ecbatana, referring to the time when the Zindáni-Soleimán became suddenly exhausted of its waters, and they were diverted by a subterraneous channel into the basin of the Takht.

* It is worthy of remark, that the Cadusians are almost invariably associated with the Atropatenian Medes in all subsequent history.

† For the account of the Median dynasty by Ctesias, see Diod. Sic., lib. ii. c. 3. For the Atropatenian dynasty of Herodotus, see that author, lib. i., from cap. 95 to cap. 130.

of the fifth orange—"all these were brilliantly coloured with different paints; but the battlements of the sixth circle were gilt with silver, and of the seventh with gold."

"Such were the palace and the surrounding fortifications, that Dejoces constructed for himself; but he ordered the mass of the Median nation to construct their houses in a circle round the outer wall."

It has been asserted, that Herodotus furnishes us with no hint from whence we may infer the relative position upon the map of the Agbatana, which he thus curiously describes,* but this is not the case. I have already shown that, as the capital of the Atropatenian Medes, it must necessarily have been in *Azerbĭjĭn*; and Herodotus, in another passage, confirms this natural inference in the most direct and positive manner. "The pastures," he says, "where they kept the royal cattle, were at the foot of the mountains north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine Sea. In this quarter, toward the Sapires, Media is an elevated country, filled with mountains, and covered with forests, whilst the other parts of the province are open and champaign."† These mountains, again, north of Agbatana, are frequently mentioned by Herodotus in his episode of the birth and education of Cyrus, as immediately contiguous to the city; and the indication, therefore, of the Sapires and the Euxine Sea applying to them, will necessarily fix the position of the capital of Dejoces, as far as Herodotus was himself aware of it, in the northern and mountainous division of the province, or *Media Atropatene*, distinguished from the champaign country of *Media Magna* to the south.

There is then, I believe, no place in this province that will so well suit the description of Herodotus as the spot which we find, in after ages, still holding its metropolitan character. The conical hill, surrounded with walls, is a marked and peculiar feature that certainly does not exist at present in any part of *Azerbĭjĭn*, except at the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimĭn*.

I will now endeavour to explain the story of the seven walls. This is manifestly a fable of Sabæan origin, the seven colours mentioned by Herodotus being precisely those employed by the orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, or the seven climates in which they revolve. Thus *Nizĭmĭ*, in his poem of the *Heft Peĭker*, describes a seven-bodied palace, built by *Bahrĭm Gŭr*, nearly in the same terms as Herodotus. The palace dedicated to Saturn, he says, was black—that of Jupiter, orange, or more strictly sandal-wood colour ‡—of Mars, scarlet—of the Sun, golden—of Venus, white—of Mercury, azure—and of the Moon,

* Williams's *Ancient Asia*, p. 2.

† *Lib. i. cap. 110.*

‡ In Persian, *Šandali*; in Greek, *Σανδαράκινος*.

green, a hue which is applied by the orientals to silver.* I cannot believe that at Agbatana the walls were really painted of these colours; indeed, battlements gilt with gold and silver are manifestly fabulous; nor do I think that there ever could have been even seven concentric circles; but in that early age, when it is doubtful whether mithraicism, or the fire-worship, had originated in this part of Asia, it is not at all improbable that, according to the Sabæan superstition, the city should have been dedicated to the seven heavenly bodies, and perhaps a particular part assigned to the protection of each, with some coloured device emblematic of the tutelary divinity; and that, after the lapse of 1000 years, during which the city had enjoyed the highest religious celebrity that it could reach, in preserving within its walls the most sacred fire of the Magians, the original Sabæan superstition was not effaced, is evident from the Armenian history, where, as I have already shown, at the end of the third century of Christ, the capital of Media Atropatene was still characterised as “the second Ecbatana,” or “the seven walled city.” †

Herodotus probably received his account of Agbatana from the Medians whom he met at Babylon; and that he should have accurately preserved an indication of its geographical position, and the remarkable feature of an embattled conical hill, is perhaps as much as can be expected from him. He must have been grossly deceived in estimating the circumference of the outer wall at nearly the size of Athens; indeed, that a palace built for the residence of a single man should be nearly twenty miles in circuit, is, of course, a palpable absurdity. ‡

I believe the mound of Takhti-Soleimán to have been first surrounded with defences by the Median Dejoces, and the area within the walls, which was amply sufficient for the noblest palace that kingly splendour could devise, to have been reserved by him for his exclusive residence. The great mass of the city, as Herodotus declares, was in the plain below, and this distinction between the palace and the city was preserved as long as the place continued to be inhabited.

In attempting to connect the ancient oriental legends with legitimate Grecian history, I do so under great reservations, for, as we attain a more accurate knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions, everything tends to show the authenticity of the one, and the fabulous character of the other; indeed, when we find

* See the Poem of Heft Peiker, in the Khamseh of Nizámí. Pers. MS.

† It is very curious to observe, in connexion with this subject, that the figures of the heavenly bodies were preserved as objects of adoration in the temple of Shiz, or Canzaca, above sixteen centuries after the æra of Dejoces, as long, indeed, in all probability, as the temple continued to retain its sacred character.

‡ See Larcher's Herodotus, tom. i. p. 357, where he has collected all the ancient authorities regarding the size of ancient Athens.

that in the time of Darius Hystaspes the genealogical glory of the regal family was identified with the line of the Achæmenidæ, tracing its descent through that illustrious dynasty from some great primeval ancestor named Amakhem, and his offspring Pelubiya, the progenitor of the Pehlevís (and whom I take to be the Zeus and Perseus of the Greeks), and that the nobility of all collateral races, whether connected with Arbaces, or Dejoces, or even Cyrus, was overlooked in this exclusive consideration of the direct line of hereditary royalty, it does appear to me too much to expect that, after an interval of 700 years, the revival of literature should have still found the recollection of those early revolutions of empire so strongly impressed upon the public mind as to afford data, in the romantic histories which were then first embodied, for assigning to each hero of popular tradition his true representative in the page of history. However, it is possible that, in matters connected with the Magian religion, a few great traits of geography and history may have escaped the general disfigurement of antiquity, and when I also consider that in the reign of Ardeshr Bábegán the province of Ažerbíján, and its ancient and holy capital, naturally attracted the great share of popular attention, I gain some clue to explain the general character of verisimilitude which pervades the notices regarding these places scattered through the pages of the Zend A'vestá. I believe there are sufficient reasons for identifying the Airyana Vaedjô, or Airyana the pure, of the Zend A'vestá, with Ažerbíján. Monsieur Quatremère has succeeded, in the most satisfactory manner, in tracing the application to the province of Media, of the names of Aria and Ariana from the remotest antiquity down to times comparatively modern;* and it could have only been, I think, to suit a preconceived theory that Anquetil du Perron, in translating the supposed works of Zoroaster, insisted on assimilating the title of Airyana to that of the province Arran, north of the Araxes, which derived the name, doubtless, from the same source, but which there is little reason to suppose could have assumed it prior to the æra of Mohammed. Bearing in mind the tradition of Zoroaster having first appeared in Shíz, or Ecbatana, and also taking into account the real antiquity of this city, which, as the capital of the province, seems in all ages to have assumed upon occasions the provincial title, we shall now derive many curious points of illustrative evidence from the writings of the early Magians. Airyana the pure, or I'rán Vij, as it is uniformly named in Anquetil's translation, was supposed to have been the first terrestrial habitation erected by Ormazd. It was a place of delight and abundance, unequalled for its beauty in the entire

* In a long and most excellent note to his translation of the Moghul history; I have not the work at hand to quote the page to which I refer.

world, until Ahrimán caused to appear in the river that watered it the great snake, which afflicted its hitherto genial climate with the severest horrors of winter. Aïryana, again, is said to have been peopled by Ormazd with a heavenly race, and when Jemshíd appeared upon the earth, it was in this place that he fixed his residence, and, with the assistance of this heavenly race, that he established his authority over the world.* In a letter which I lately received from the great Orientalist Von Hammer, at Vienna, he says, "It is eighteen years ago since I proved, in the ninth volume of the Vienna Review, the identity of Jemshíd and Dejoces; and this has been since confirmed at full length by Hotty's Researches (Hanover, 1829)." I should scarcely venture, I confess, myself to pronounce the direct identity of any fabulous character with a real historic personage; but still I cannot doubt that many of the great deeds of Dejoces were transferred, in oriental tradition, to Jemshíd, the favoured hero of romance; and among these, the establishment of the Median kingdom, and the building of Ecbatana. The Vendídád goes on to say, that in Aïryana the rigour of the winter was excessive, the mountains and the whole country were covered with snow, but when the snow is melted, on the return of spring, the rills descending from the mountains scattered around an universal verdure—and then the description commences of the famous palace and citadel built by Jemshíd, or Dejoces, in this favoured spot.

Jemshíd, it is said, erected a Var, or fortress, sufficiently large, and formed of squared blocks of stone; he assembled in the place a vast population, and stocked the surrounding country with cattle for their use. He caused the water of the great fortress to flow forth abundantly. The soil was rich, and produced all that could be desired, and the enamelled fields scattered around delightful odours—the country was excellent, and resembled heaven. And within the Var, or fortress, Jemshíd erected a lofty palace, encompassed with walls, and laid it out in many separate divisions; and there was no high place, either in front or rear, to command and overawe the fortress.† The surrounding country he peopled abundantly, and placed in the most flourishing condition, and he applied himself to perfect Var-afshuvé, or "the Var, abounding in all things."‡

These passages I have selected from the second chapter of the Vendídád, as bearing the most marked application to the site of Takhti-Soleimán. The natural beauty of the surrounding country in the spring season, when the melting snow descends in rills from

* See Anquetil du Perron's Zend Avesta, Vendidad, Fargard. i.

† Anquetil gives this optional reading, vol. i. p. 276 note 2.

‡ See Zend Avesta, Vendidad, Farg. ii

the mountains, is, as I have remarked in my preceding memoir, proverbial throughout Persia. The severity of the winter is equally characteristic; for I suppose there is no inhabited part of *Azerbĭjĭn* where the snow lies as deep as around *Takhti-Soleĭmĭn*. The circumstance of the great snake, also, which *Ahrimĭn* created in the river, is, perhaps, not less curious, when we remember that there are so many stories of this nature connected with the Median dynasty, from its bearing the family name of *Azdehĭk*,* or the dragon, and when we see that at the present day a ridge of rock, formed by the calcareous deposit of the water, retains this very title of "The Dragon." I may also notice the isolated hill, there being no high place to command it, either in front or rear; the massive walls of hewn stone, and the palace inside, laid out in divisions, the cause of which I have conjectured in explaining *Herodotus*; the causing the water to flow forth abundantly by an aperture, doubtless made in the rocky banks of the lake; and the rich and productive character of the neighbouring lands; and I may assert, I think, that these are all exact and determinative points of evidence, that it is impossible to verify at any spot in all *Azerbĭjĭn*, or, perhaps, in all Persia, but at the ruins of *Takhti-Soleĭmĭn*. Indeed I can only account for the extraordinary accuracy of the description, by supposing the *Vendĭdĭd* to have been written in the reign of *Ardešĭr Bĕbegĭn* by *Magian* priests, who were familiar with the localities, and who had received traditional accounts of the real ancient foundation of the city by the Median king, *Dejoces*. There is no direct indication that I can find in the *Zend* books of the geographical position of *Aĭryana*, or of its capital, which is named, in *Pehlevĭ*, *Vĕr-Jem-gird*, or the fortress of *Jem*, though *Anquetil*, and, after him, *Saint Martin*, repeatedly state that it was contained within the limits of *Aĭryaman*, which they translate by *Armenia*.† A general connexion is certainly perceptible in the *Vendĭdĭd* between the three names of *Aĭryaman*, *Aryama*, which *Anquetil* conceives to be *Urumĭyah*, and this title of *Aĭryana*. They are all mentioned as the special objects of the care of *Ormazd*, and among the first places that embraced the law of *Zoroaster*; but I think it more probable that they should all relate to the kingdom of *Aria* or *Media Atropatene*, and its capital, *Ecbatana*, than that the *Magians*, in the time of *Ardešĭr*, should have been supposed to commemorate either the petty and obscure town of *Urumĭyah*, which was unknown in history, or the hostile nation of

* The Arabic form is *Azdehĭk*. The Persian *Azhdehĭk*, or *Azhdeha*.

† *Zend Avesta*, tom. i. part ii. p. 429, and *Saint Martin*, tom. i. p. 271. *M. Bur-nouf*, the best *Zend* scholar living, doubts that the *Aĭryaman* of the *Zend Avesta* applies to a country at all.—See "*Essai sur le Yaçna*," tom. i. part i. p. 107 of the *Notes et Eclaircissemens*."

Armenia, which there is no reason to believe ever observed, with any degree of purity, the dualistic principles of Zoroaster. That the Indian Pársís, however, understand that these two words, Aryama and Airyaman, to relate to Urumiyah and Armenia, is more than probable : and we thus see the origin of the tradition which assigned to the former town the birth-place of Zoroaster, and supplied the author of the Ferhengi-Jehángírí with the stories of the cities of Armíniyah and Shíz, and the fire-temple of Derekhsh having been founded by the Magian prophet. Airyana, the pure, however, is the great theme of awe and admiration ; and in the Vendídád it is expressly said that Zoroaster here first promulgated the law,* a statement which in its resembling the tradition of Shíz, recorded by Zakariyá, is strikingly confirmative of the identity of the two places. To the Pehleví Bundeshesh, or the Pehleví, translations of the Zend Avestá, I cannot allow an antiquity nearly reaching that of the writings in the Zend language. The Bundeshesh, indeed, I believe, can be distinctly proved, by its geographical nomenclature, to be a work of the twelfth or thirteenth century ; and I do not, therefore, attach much weight to its explanation of the more ancient positions. The author, however, though he confounded Vár-Jemgird, or the fortress of Jemshíd, which the Vendídád names simply Var, with a certain fabulous Jemkend, in the country of Dámaghán, appears to have rightly understood the locality of Airyana the Pure, or, as it is written in Pehleví, I'rán Vij. It was on the borders, he says, of Atún-Pádegán, or Azerbíján ;† and he repeats the tradition, that “ Zoroaster, when he received the law from Ormazd, first published it with success in I'rán Vij and Mediyómáh” (perhaps the country of Media, which the word literally signifies, rather than the name of a person, as Anquetil supposes), “ embraced the excellent religion.” ‡ He also states that Zoroaster was begotten in I'rán Vij ;§ and all these indications seem to refer to the Arabian Shíz. In another Pehleví fragment it is mentioned that Zoroaster returned to I'rán Vij, after having declared the law to Gushtásp,|| and that on this occasion his wife washed herself in the Rúd Kansé (or river of Kansé), a name which certainly recalls to mind the river of Ganza, or Canzaca.¶

I have stated my opinion of the modern character of the Bundeshesh. The names of Chejest, applied to the lake of Urumiyah ; of the Khejend-rúd, or river of Khojend ; the Arez-rúd, or river of Herhaz, in Mázenderán ; and the Teremet-rúd, or river of

* Zend Avesta, tom. i. part ii. p. 109.

† Zend Avesta, tom. ii. p. 410.

‡ Idem, p. 419.

§ Idem, p. 393.

|| Zend Avesta, tom. i. part. ii. P.N. p. 37.

¶ In the Pehleví translation of the Vendídád of Jámásp this river is said to be in Atún Pádegán.—See Zend Avesta, tom. i. part ii. p. 269, note 1.

Termed, in Turkistán; with a multitude of other names, that appear to me wilfully 'disfigured from their true modern forms: * all incline me to this judgment; but there are two names connected with the I'rán Vij, which, if my identification of them is allowed, will distinctly prove an era subsequent to the Moghul invasion of Persia. These names are Chekayet Dayeti, applied a river or rivers of Azerbáján.

In the Bundelesh they are merely mentioned in connexion with I'rán Vij; † but the Zerdusht Námeš, as it is followed by Anquetil in his life of Zoroaster, would appear to state that they were passed by the pseudo-prophet on his road from Urumiyah to I'rán Vij, when he was travelling to the mountains to seek inspiration from Ormazd. ‡ With this indication, then, I restore them to their true Turkish orthography, of Jaghatú and Taghatú, or Tatáú; and if this homely illustration is admitted, while it strengthens my argument in favour of Takhti-Soleimán, it will at the same time show from what a most unworthy source the modern cosmogony of the Pársis is derived. Indeed I should scarcely wonder if the famous bridge, Chinevád, where the Pársis believe the final judgment will take place, and which the Bundelesh describes as upon the Chekayet or Jaghatú, § should turn out to be the Kız Kóprí, near Şa'in Kal'eh; and the Gate of Hell, in the vicinity, may also be the Zindáni-Soleimán. But I must leave further speculation, and return to my argument.

Airyana I have supposed to apply to the province of Azerbáján, and sometimes, possibly, to its capital city. The Var of Jemshíd refers, I believe, exclusively to the citadel. The original root of this word is the Sanskrit Vara, signifying, "encompassing, surrounding;" and in all succeeding ages the name was applied either as a proper title, or in its general signification of a fortress to this citadel of Ecbatana. Thus the Zend Var, the Βάρης|| of the Greeks, which is always employed to denote the treasury-citadel of Ecbatana; the Vera of Strabo, applied to the Median fortress, which was attacked by Antony; the Balaroth or Vara-rúd (the river of Vara) of Theophylact; and the Βαρισμάν, or keeper of the Baris, which is used by the Emperor Heraclius, in reference to the governor of this very fortress of Canzaca. The Persian Bárú, "a wall of fortification," is, of course, referrible

* Thus (page 367) the mountains of Kúmish or Dámaghán are named Mad no friyad, which I believe to be the Arabic Ma'deno-l-Faulád, or "mine of steel," the mountain-district to the present day retaining the title of Faulád Maħalleh.

† Pages 364, 365, and 392.

‡ Zend Avesta, tom. i. part i. p. 20.

§ Tom. ii. part ii. p. 365.

|| Βάρης is explained by Hesychius and Suidas, with a variety of meanings, all relating to an embattled citadel. The word, however, is, I believe, almost exclusively applied by the Greeks to the fortresses of Persia.

to the same root; and it is curious that this root should assimilate so nearly to the words employed in the Semitic languages: *Bíreh* in Hebrew; *Bírhá* in Syriac; and *Bírenhá* in Chaldee; also to denote an embattled citadel.

I wish I could give as satisfactory an explanation of the title which applied to the city as of that adopted by the fortress; but this, I fear, is unattainable. The author of the *Pentaglot lexicon*, indeed, refers the Hebrew *Achmetha*, which appears to have been the Chaldaic way of writing the Grecian *Agbatana*, or *Ecbatana*,* to a root signifying “to guard, protect, or collect together;” and though the derivation is not free from exception, yet as the connecting links of the Syrian *Ahmetán*, the Armenian *Ahmetan*, and the Persian *Hamadán*, serve to show that the true Oriental pronunciation of the word is in favour of this etymology. I believe that it may be received in preference to any other.† The great objection seems to be that the derivation of a Persian or Median name should be rather sought for in the Indo-Bactrian than in the Semitic languages; but against this it may be argued that the name was certainly in use in Syria; that if it were first introduced into Media by Semiramis it would necessarily be Semitic; and that we have no proof as yet that the Median language was not itself of that family. Be the derivation, however, what it may, there can be little question but that the title was applied exclusively to cities which contained a strong citadel for the protection of royal treasures. We have unquestionable evidence that in the two Median *Ecbatanas* were deposited the treasures of the king.‡ The Persian *Ecbatana* of Pliny and Josephus can only be represented by the treasury-citadel of *Persepolis*.§ There are grounds for supposing a treasury to have existed in the strong position of the Syrian *Ecbatana* upon Mount Carmel, which is noticed by Pliny and Herodotus;|| and lastly, if there ever were an Assyrian *Ecbatana*

* See Schindler's *Lexicon*, under the head **חמא**, p. 596.

† There is no one, I believe, at the present day who would be inclined to pay any regard whatever to Bochart's fanciful derivation of *Ecbatana* from the Arabic *Aghbeth*, signifying “dust, or brick-coloured” (*Phaleg.*, lib. iii. c. 14); and Scaliger's reference of the word to the Hebrew *Béthan*, “a palace,” is, I think, equally unsatisfactory. Buxtorf derives the Hebrew *Achmetha* either from **חמא**, which he translates by “serinium,” or from **חמה**, “heat,” *Achmetha*, or *Ecbatana*, having been a royal summer residence. This is quite in the style of “*lucus a non lucendo*.”

‡ The notices of the Atropatenian treasury-citadel I have already given. For the treasury of the *Ecbatana* of Media Magna, see *Ctesias* in *Diod. Sic.*, lib. ii. c. 3; all the historians of Alexander; *Strabo*, p. 731; and *Isid. Char.* in *Hudson's Minor Geographers*, vol. ii. p. 6.

§ *Plin.*, lib. vi. c. 29, and *Joseph. Ant.*, lib. x. c. 11, s. 7. Josephus places this *Ecbatana* in Media; but the description unquestionably refers to the palace or castle of *Persepolis*.

|| *Lib. v. cap. 19*; *cap. 64*, *Her.*, lib. iii.

—a point that I think very doubtful*—the castle of 'Amadíyah, which, according to Mr. Rich, retains to the present day the title of Ekbadan, and which is the strongest fortress in all Kúrdistán, will best suit the indication.† I assume, then, that the title of Ecbatana merely signifies a treasure-city; and in this way I explain both the error of Pliny, who applied the name to the Arsacidan stronghold of Europus, distinguished from their open capital of Arsacia, which was situated at some distance to the S.,‡ and the similar mistake of Ammianus Marcellinus, in alluding, under the title of Ecbatana, to the city of Isfahan, which in his day formed the Sasanian capital of Central Persia.

In the Atropatenian city of Ecbatana, Dejoces built a palace and a treasury. Cyrus conveyed to the same place the captured treasures of Lydia; and these ancient trophies of national glory were believed to be still deposited there at the time of the invasion of Heraclius. We thus perceive at once the natural cause of the change of name in the Atropatenian capital. The exotic Ecbatana was translated, under a native dynasty, into its vernacular synonym of Gaza;§ and the modification which the name farther experienced, to the Armenian form of Gazaca, Canzaca, or Kandsag, perpetuated to the ages of its latest decadence its original character of the city of treasures. But there are other names employed in the campaigns of Antony, which are, perhaps, even less susceptible of direct explanation. If the city were ever really named Phraata, as it appears in Plutarch, Appian, and Stephen, it could only have been a temporary appellation imposed upon it in honour of the Arsacidan king, Phraates; and this I scarcely think probable. The title in Dion Cassius, Ptolemy, and Quadratus, is written Praaspa, Pharaspa, and Phraaspa, words which are nearly similar, and which bear evident marks of a Zend etymology. The literal signification of Phraaspa in Zend would be, “abounding in horses;” and when we find in Strabo and Polybius that this was really one of the great characteristics of the province,|| we at once acknowledge the propriety of the epithet. There are two other ways, however, of explaining

* See Ammianus, lib. xxiii., c. 6, and Plutarch, in the life of Alexander. I doubt, however, the existence of this Assyrian Ecbatana.

† Kúrdistan, vol. i. p. 153.

‡ Lib. vi. c. 17. This Ecbatana, the Ragau of the book of Tobit, and Rhages of Alexander, is represented by the remarkable ruins of Kal'eh Erig, near Verámin: the ruins of Arsacia are to be seen at Shehri-Toğhán, in the desert, 12 miles S. of Verámin.

§ The Greeks, it is well known, uniformly asserted their adoption of the word Γαζα, “a treasury,” from the Persian. Brisson de Règ. Pers. Princip., p. 157, has collected the evidence of all antiquity on this subject. The root, however, is of Semitic origin, but was probably very early naturalised in Persia. In modern Persian it is modified into the term Ganj.

|| Strabo, p. 523; Polyb. lib. v., c. 55.

the title, which are scarcely less plausible. In the Vendídád the place is named Verofshuwé, or the "abundant Var;" and this is not very dissimilar to the Greek corruption; and, again, Zohák, whose connexion with the Median dynasty of Dejoces, however Persian fable may disguise the fact, is still unquestionable, was named Azdeháq, or "the Dragon," and Biverasp;* and from this last title might have originated the barbarous Praaspa, which still adhered to the capital of the Dragon dynasty. I now take up the last of the many titles which I have shown to have been bestowed on the Atropatenian Ecbatana; and this title of Aírýana participated between the province and the city in the same way as, in after ages, Ažerbíján was employed to denote both the one and the other, affords a most curious, and, at the same time, a most gratifying subject of inquiry. The evidence of the Zend A'vestá is, I think, strikingly illustrative. Herodotus also mentions that the Medes (by which, as I have already shown, he means the inhabitants of Media Atropatene) were anciently called Arii.† It is possible that the Hará of the Israelitish captivity may be referrible to the same source; for it is worthy of remark that the Hará of one passage is replaced in the other by "the cities of the Medes."‡

And the book of Tobit, again, as far as the authority goes, appears to me quite decisive of the application of this title to the Atropatenian capital. In the very reign of Dejoces, as it would seem from a comparison of dates, Tobias was sent by his father from Niniveh to Rhages. Now, between these two capitals there have been in all ages but two routes; and what makes the discrimination between these two routes in antiquity so very difficult is, that they both traversed a Median capital of the name of Ecbatana. The two roads conducting to the two Ecbatanas are distinctly marked at the present day by a continued line of antiquarian monuments, which, I think, have been never put together in a connected series. Thus, on the direct route to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, we have the mound at Arbela; the pillars with cuneiform inscriptions at Sídek, and Keli-Shín; the village of Háik, immediately on descending the mountains, which, in thus preserving the name of the great Armenian patriarch, has evident claims to antiquity; the very remarkable artificial teppeh in the plain of Soldúz, on which is built the fortress of Nákhodeh; the tomb, and other remains at Inderkesh, near Só-új Bóláq; the ruined bridge of Kiz Kópri; and, finally, Takhti-Soleimán. On the other route we have Arbela; the naphtha pits of Kerkúk, where, from the testimonials of all antiquity, there must be some

* D'Herbelot writes the name Piurasb, which is incorrect.

† Lib vii. cap. 62.

‡ See 1 Chron., c. v. v. 26; and 2 Kings, c. xvii v. 6

most interesting remains;* the famous But Kháneh, or idol-temple, on the skirts of the plain of Shehrizúr; the ruined city of Húrín; the sculpture at Sheikhán; the arch at the gates of Zagros;† Baghistane, or Bísitún; the temple of Kengavar; and the Ganj Náneh, in the defile leading into Hamadán.

Even, did ancient authors afford no illustration of these routes, I think the monuments themselves would clearly mark the lines of communication; but still the very clearness of this proof of their existence rather increases the difficulty of their distinction. We find in our English copy of the Book of Tobit, translated from the Greek, that Tobias arrived at the Median Ecbatana, on the route from Niniveh to Rhages;‡ but as a city of this name would have occurred on either line, we do not thereby obtain any clue to the determination of which route he followed. Certainly if we refer to the map we shall at once see that the line by Shehrizúr, Zoháb, and Hamadán, will cause an excess of more than a hundred miles above the distance along the direct road through Takhti-Soleimán. Both the routes, however, were followed in antiquity; and the deviation, therefore, is no proof against Tobias having been conducted along the southern line. As far as research is concerned, then, it certainly is not a little curious to find that in the Latin copies of Tobit the name of Ecbatana of Media does not occur at all; that the marriage with Sara, and the other events, which in our version are described as taking place at Ecbatana, are assigned in the Latin copies to Rhages;§ and that the only place which is mentioned on the line between Rhages and Niniveh, and which must thus necessarily be the same as the Greek Ecbatana, is Charran.||

This place, moreover, is stated to be situated between Rhages and Niniveh, at the distance of 11 stages from either. In illustrating the geography of the ancients, we must pay particular attention to the rough estimates of distance which are calculated in stages or days' journey. These stages, which answer to the *Menzil* of the present day, cannot be verified by their assimilation to any uniform distance, either along the road or upon the map: local causes will arise to lengthen or shorten them, according to the character of the country which they traverse; and the only

* Besides the evidence of Strabo, Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, and Ptolemy, I may observe that the naphtha pits of Kerkúk occur in the sacred writings of the Bráhmans, and are still sometimes visited by devotees from India.—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 297 and 434; and vol. iv. p. 374.

† I have mentioned all these places in the Memoir published in the *Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc.*, vol. ix. part i.

‡ Tobit, c. vii. v. 1.

§ The Vulgate account is certainly most confused; for if the marriage with Sara took place at Rhages, where is the other city of that name to which the angel was despatched to recover the money from Gabel (c. ix. v. 3)?

|| Vulgate, c. xi. v. 1.

means of illustration is thus to compare the ancient estimate with the Menzils of the present day. In the present instance I give the stages exactly as they are now travelled. From Verámín* to Teherán, 1; to Kazvín, 3; to Zenján, 4; and to Takhti-Soleimán, 3,—making an aggregate of 11. Again, the stages from Takhti-Soleimán are: to Só-új Bólák, 3; to Soldúz, 1; to Ushneî (the villages of Háik, or Sirgán), 1; to Sídek, 1; to Rowándiz, 1; to Herír, 1; to Arbil, 1; to the Greater Záb, 1; and to Mósul, 1,—which also give a result of 11, and, I believe, correspond in actual distance to a nicety with the other half of the line.

The Ecbatana of the greater Media or Hamadán, I may remark, at the same time, will not in any way suit this indication. From Verámín to Hamadán, is 9 stages; and from Hamadán to Mósul is 19. It remains to verify and to explain the name of Charran, † which I shall be able to do with much exactitude, when the course of my argument again carries me down to the Arabian geographers. Here I shall only say that the word is identical with Arrán; and that of this we have a striking proof in the analogous instance of the great Mesopotamian city, the name of which was written indifferently, either with the initial guttural Kharrán and Harrán, or without it, Arrán, and, perhaps, more simply Ar-Rán. In the time of the Greek and Latin geographers, as the names of Aria and Ariana had been extended over almost all the countries that professed the Arianian religion of Zoroaster, it is not surprising that the particular provincial title from which the name arose should have escaped their observation. Apollodorus, as he is quoted by Stephen, is, perhaps, the only author who directly alludes to the Arrán or Ariana of Media. ‡ The name of Ariana, he says, is applied to a nation who border on the Cadusians; and, when we remember that the Cadusians, whose proper seat was in Tárom and the Gilán mountains, extended their sway over all the neighbouring countries, doubtless including the hill country of Zenján, and had been, moreover, associated with the Atropatenian Medes in their original revolt under Dejoces, and probably during the whole period of their later history, we shall perceive the application of the passage. It has been surmised by Saint Martin and Quatremère, that the Airán of the Sasanian coins and inscriptions, rendered letter for

* The ancient Rhages, as I have already mentioned, was situated at Kal'eh Erig, near Verámín, and must not be confounded with the Arabian Reî. The ancient road probably led from the plain of Sul'táníyah, by Sojás, to Takhti-Soleimán; but this would only shorten the distance a few miles.

† The Catholic critics have laboured hard to explain the geography of the Latin version of Tobit, but, as it appears to me, they have only involved the subject in a greater confusion.—See Hardouin. *Opera Selecta*, p. 543.

‡ Stephan. de Urbibus in voce 'Aqavá.

letter by the modern term *I'rán*, owes its origin to the same source;* and what is more to the purpose, M. Quatremère has distinctly proved, that, in the whole range of Armenian history, the names of *Arii* and *Airán* are uniformly employed, with a special and direct reference to *Media*, and the *Medes*—a remarkable point of evidence, that requires only to be further strengthened by the observation that the *Medes*, of all later history, are the inhabitants of *Media Atropatene*; and that the *Arii*, of the *Armenians*, should, therefore, in all probability, be confined exclusively to the people of this province. I now descend into a later age; and I am able to prove that this very title of *Arrán*, which I have traced down from the *Charran* of *Tobit*, and the *Airyana* of the *Zend A'vestá*, actually applied to the district or town of *Takhti-Soleimán*, within the last 700 or 800 years. The distortion which Persian names undergo, in being reduced to the pronunciation and orthography of the *Arabs*, is well known. An initial, *a*, followed by a double letter, is, in particular, perpetually confounded with the definite article, *Al*, coalescing with the first letter of the proper name to which it is prefixed. Thus, the Persian name of *Arrás*, applying to the river *Araxes*, is always written by the *Arabs* *Al-rás* which has, indeed, the same pronunciation; but which, according to the rules of the *Arabic* language, should give to the river the proper name of *Rás*. In the name of *Arrán*, also, whether applying to the province *N. of the Araxes*, or to the town and district of *Takhti-Soleimán*, the same confusion is observable. Thus, the name is written indifferently *Arrán*, or, with the article *Al-Rán*; (pronounced *Arrán*) and some authors, deceived by the formation of the latter word, have supposed the real title to be *Rán*. This will be more apparent by the following extracts:—

Mes'údí, as I have already shown in two passages of his work, associates the names of *Shíz* and *Ar-Rán*, and that, too, in cases where he can only allude to a single city; thus proving, that if I have succeeded in identifying *Shíz*, I have also verified the position of *Ar-Rán* at the same place. But *Yáḳút* is even more satisfactory, clearly showing this identity; and, at the same time, explaining the loss of the initial guttural, which I have alluded to in the *Charran* of *Tobit*. In the *Morásido-l Ittilá'*, under the head of *Arrán*, we first find a description of the province of that name, *N. of the Araxes*; and it is then stated that *Arrán* is sometimes used to denote the famous city of *Ḥarrán*,†

* *Saint Martin*, tom. i. p. 274.

† This is the great *Sabæan* city named *Charran* in *Genesis*, and *Charræ* by the *Greeks*, the seat of the scene of the defeat of *Crassus*.

in Diyár Mođhár.* Under the same head, in the Moshterek, we find “Arrán is a celebrated province, adjoining Azerbájján, containing the cities of Beilekán and Ganjeh; secondly, it is the title of a castle in the territory of Kazvín; and thirdly, it is a title of the famous city of Harrán.”

I now turn to Ar Rán, the orthography employed by Mes’údí, and I find in the Morásid, “Ar Rán is a town between Marághah and Zenján, possessing mines of gold and lead;” and in the Moshterek, “Ar Rán is a town and district adjoining the province of Azerbáján; and, I consider this place to be altogether distinct from the province of Arrán. ’Omar Ibn Moĥammed El Hanafí, † says, that he conquered Azerbáján and Armíníeh; and reigned at Ar Rán, until he caused the inhabitants to sleep in quiet; and freed the place from all wicked men.” I have not the volumes of the Mo’jemo-l Beldán, which contain these names of Arrán and Ar Rán, but, under the head of Harrán I find it there stated that “the first founder of this famous city is supposed to have been Rán, the brother of the Patriarch Abraham; and he is said, in memory thereof, to have imposed his name on it, which was Arabicised into the present formation of Harrán.” I may also quote a single line from the Ferhengi-Jehángírí, which mentions Arrán as “the name of a particular district (belúk) of Azerbáján;” evidently not in allusion to the provinces of that name; and concludes the subject by stating that Abú-l Fedá and Mes’údí employ both the orthographies of Arrán and Ar Rán, in reference to the province; and that the ancient Georgian title applied to the same country, was Rání.‡

From these sources of evidence, I think, then, I am able to show, 1st, That the analogous instance of Harrán and Arrán warrants my asserting the identity of the Charrán, of Tobit, with the Persian Arrán; 2ndly, That the Ar Rán, of the Arabian authors is merely an arbitrary orthography employed to express a name, whose true Persian pronunciation was Arrán, in one word; and, 3rdly, That this name of Ar Rán, associated with Shíz, by Mes’údí, in evident reference to a single town, is assigned by Yákút to the same relative position between Marághah and Zenján; and further characterised by the same peculiar circumstance of possessing mines of gold and lead, must necessarily be another title for the same place. The only pretence at distinc-

* Diyár Rabí’eh, Diyár Bekr, and Diyár Mođhár, are the three divisions of Northern Mesopotamia in Arabic Geography.

† I suspect this Moĥammed to have been a general under the Ommiade Khaliph ’Abdo-l Melik Ibn Merwán, towards the close of the first century of Islám, but I cannot speak with confidence.

‡ Saint Martin, tom. i., p. 271.

tion that Yákút attempts, is in assigning the name of Arrán to the town, and Shíz to the district ; but, if a distinction is to be kept up, I think this should rather be reversed, and that we should assign the title of Arrán to the surrounding country ; the Airyana, the pure, of the Vendídád, and Shíz, to the town of Canzaca ; or, perhaps, to the particular embattled mound that formed its most remarkable feature.

I shall attempt little more of argument, for, I confess, I think now that the identification of Ecbatana is established.

Returning to the period of the Median dynasty, we find that Dejoces, after a reign of 53 years, was succeeded by his son Phraortes. This monarch is identified by some chronologers with the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith, as well from a supposed resemblance of name, as from the circumstance of his defeat and death, by the Assyrian king of Niniveh, mentioned in that Book, coinciding with the record of the same event, preserved by Herodotus. The name, however, if it is corrupted from Aphrazad, or Phraazad, should rather apply to Dejoces, the son of Phraortes,* and the building of Ecbatana, would seem to denote the same monarch. I cannot admit, indeed, any direct identity between the names of Arphaxad and Phraortes ; the one is evidently a compound, and the other appears in the tablets of Bísitún, rendered letter for letter with the same orthography as that employed by Herodotus : the Fráurtish of the inscription is the fourth captive figure that appears bound and suppliant before Darius, in his character of Archimagus. He is described as the king of Media, of the race of Húkhsheter (a Zend compound, which the Greeks seem to have hellenised into Oxathres) ; but, as the part of the inscription which particularly describes his character and fate is illegible, I cannot determine whether this Phraortes is the second Median king, whose subjugation of the Persians may have led Darius, when the empire had passed into the hands of a family of that nation, to exhibit him, under the appearance of a captive, for the mere gratification of the national vanity ; or whether, as I confess, it appears to me far more probable, the passage of Herodotus, which mentions a revolt of the Medes under Darius, and which, in its supposed application to the times of Darius Nothus, has been a source of some perplexity to the critics,† should not really be understood as alluding to an insurrection of that nation, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, which was speedily crushed, and the leader of which would not unnaturally be represented amongst the other vanquished warriors who yielded to the Persian arms. But to return to the

* According to Herodotus both the father and son of Dejoces were named Phraortes. Syncellus gives the orthography of *Ῥαράορτης*.

† See Larcher's Herodotus, tom. i., p. 382.

Arphaxad of Judith, and the description of Ecbatana, which is certainly very striking. "Arphaxad," it is said, "the king of the Medes, reduced many nations under his power, and he built that great city which he named Ecbatana. It was built of stones squared and hewn; and he made the walls 70 cubits in breadth and 30 cubits in height, and he erected towers of the height of 100 cubits; and the towers were square, and measured upon each face a space of 200 feet, and he built gates of the same height as the towers."*

As the Arphaxad, of Judith, is necessarily either the first or second king of the northern Median dynasty, this description must refer to Takhti-Soleimán rather than to Hamadán. The common tendency of eastern hyperbole has, probably, somewhat exaggerated the dimensions of the fortress; yet the coincidence with Herodotus and the Zend A'vestá is certainly striking; and the authority, if not synchronous with the events described, is, at any rate, entitled to the confidence of a Chaldee legend of great antiquity. The Assyrian king is afterwards said to have defeated Arphaxad; but the Vulgate mentions nothing of the subsequent capture and destruction of Ecbatana, as we read in the English version; and, whether we suppose the Median king to have been Dejoces or Phraortes, the evidence of Herodotus would seem decisive against such an event ever having occurred.

Phraortes, after the disastrous result of his Assyrian campaign, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. This title has been recognised as a compound of the Persian Keï, a royal epithet applied to the early Persian kings; and the proper name, Axares, which name, I must observe, in all its modifications, of Ahasuerus, Assuerus, and Xerxes, is positively identical in its elements, with the cuneiform, Khshyarsha, or, which is the same thing (with the prefix of the definite article), Ah Khshyarsha. I cannot doubt that this king sate upon the throne of his sire and grandsire, at the Atropatenian Ecbatana. He marched from that place against Niniveh, to avenge his father's death, but was recalled by an invasion of the Scythians; in describing which, Herodotus again clearly shows, that by the name of Media he implies Atropatene.

"From the Palus Mæotis," he says, "to the Phasis and Colchis, it is reckoned thirty days of good travelling. To pass from Colchis into Media, one has to traverse a range of mountains; but the passage is very short, for the Sapires are the only nation that intervene between these countries. The Scythians, however, did not enter Media upon this side; they passed higher up and by a longer route, leaving Mount Caucasus on their right; †

* Chap. I., b. 1, 2, and 3. I follow the Vulgate in preference to the English translation, which gives even more exaggerated measurements.

† Lib. i. c. 104.

that is, they traversed the pass of Derbend, and from thence burst into Media.

The Medes, under Cyaxares, as it is well known, were defeated, and for 28 years submitted to a foreign yoke. It is probable that the Scythians, in their usual spirit of encroachment, sought to extend their conquests over the contiguous kingdoms; for Ctesias notices, under the reign of Astybaras, the contemporary monarch of greater Media, a war with the Sacæ, which continued for many years, and occasioned great slaughter, but was finally accommodated without any decisive results upon either side. The Atropatenian Medes, after an interval of 28 years, recovered their liberty; and Cyaxares then led them a second time against the Assyrian Niniveh, which was finally overthrown and destroyed by him in B.C. 595. On his return from this great conquest by the direct route across the mountains, I conceive that he, most probably, erected the pillars of Sidek and Keli-Shîn, to commemorate his crowning victory; and he no doubt closed his days in his paternal capital of Ecbatana. Tobias, at about the same time, is stated to have died in extreme old age, at Ecbatana, of Media,* having migrated with his family from Niniveh during the reign of Dejoces, when "for a time there was peace in Media;"† and I cannot question but that this is the same Ecbatana or Charran which he had visited upon his journey to Rhages.

It seems most probable that Cyaxares in the overthrow of the great kingdom of Niniveh, also brought under his sway the countries of Media Magna, governed by the Arbacidæ, who were either identified, or at any rate very closely connected with the Assyrian dynasty; and that he thus, in his own person, first united the sovereignty of the two Medias. His son Astyages, in all probability, continued to hold his court in his hereditary capital and thus I refer to the Atropatenian Ecbatana; all the incidents of the birth and education of Cyrus the Great, as far as they may be historically received, in the writings of Herodotus, Xenophon, and Justin. With regard to the Oriental accounts of this period of history, if any great national revolution could be expected to survive in the popular traditions, it certainly would be the delivery of Persia from the condition of a subjugated province, and the consolidation of Asiatic empire, in the person of Cyrus the Great. I accordingly recognise, in the fabulous stories of Zohák and Ferídún, the translation of the kingdom from the Medes to the Persians; the traits of similarity, indeed, between the historical account of the Median family of Dejoces, and the Persian stories of Dhohák, Arabicised into Zohák, are too striking to be overlooked. The two names, in the first place, are

* Tobit, c. xiv. b. 14.

† Tobit, c. xiv. b. 3.

nearly identified. Zohák was likewise called Azdehák, or the Dragon, the same name with the Greek Astyages; and the Dragon race of Armenia, whom history represented as the descendants of Astyages, were believed in popular tradition to derive their origin from the Dragons that issued from the shoulders of Zohák.* Again, the length of the reign of Zohák, extending to 1000 years, evidently implies a dynasty; and all tradition is unanimous in describing it as a foreign dominion (that is, foreign to Persia proper), which was at length set aside by a native family. Altogether it appears to me that the Persians must have adopted from Astyages the last of the dynasty, the name of Azdehák, which they employed to denote the family; that, in reference to the descent of Astyages from Dejoces, they likewise made use, in the same way, of the title Dhohák; that they also included, under the reign of this Dhohák, the three generations of Astyages, Cyaxares, and Phraortes; but that as Phraortes was the first who brought the Persians under subjection to the Median yoke, although, employing the name, they did not, in the person of Dhohák, refer to the character of his father Dejoces; but rather assigned to that monarch as the founder of a great civil, and, perhaps, also religious polity, the career of wisdom, glory, and kingly power, which belongs to the fabulous Jemshíd; and it is further very curious to observe, that there was some extraordinary confusion on this head among the ancient Persians, when they first began to communicate their history to the Arabs; for Mes'údí says, that in some of their legends Jemshíd was made identical with Zohák.

This view presents, however, a thousand difficulties, the usual results of collating history with fable: my object in detailing it is merely to show that the Persians, in supposing Ferídún to have established the seat of empire in his native province of Azerbijdán seem to have had an indistinct idea of the royal and metropolitan character of the Atropatenian Ecbatana in the time of Cyrus, after the recovery of Persian independence. The Vendídád even ascribes the birth of Ferídún to the city of 'Verene, the squared,' (or probably built with squared stones,†) which certainly recalls to mind the Var of Jemshíd, at the Atropatenian Ecbatana; and I believe I trace another form of this word, referring to the same epoch of history, in the Barene of Ctesias.‡ Herodotus says that, after the Lydian campaign, Cyrus brought the captive Cræsus and his treasures to Ecbatana, and when Ctesias, therefore, writes that Cyrus bestowed upon Cræsus the city of Barene, near Ecbatana, I only understand him to have assigned his pri-

* See Moses, Choron. lib. i. c. 21, 29, 30, and 31, and lib. ii. c. 24, 46, and 58.

† Zend Avesta, tom. i. part I. p. 269.

‡ In Excerpt. Ctes. apud. Phot., also Stephen in voce Βαζίνν.

soner an honourable residence in the Var, or Baris, of the Atropatenian capital. But it may well be asked, if the Ferídún of Persian tradition is Cyrus, who is Kei Khosraú? and how are all the intermediate reigns to be disposed of? I can only suppose that, as there are stronger traits of identity between Kei Khosraú and Cyrus, than in any other instance where Greek and oriental history can be compared, except perhaps between Zohák and the Median dynasty; the Persian fabulists, in the story of Ferídún, must have merely embodied the remembrance of their delivery from a foreign yoke, whilst, in the romance of Kei Khosraú and his immediate predecessors, they sought to obtain from the proper and provincial lineage of Cyrus, perfectly distinct from the succession of Median or Assyrian royalty, a long and connected line of regal ancestry, for the mere purpose of ennobling the birth of their great national warrior. Kei Káuś, the grandfather of Kei Khosraú, is, at any rate, identical with the Cambyses of Herodotus, who was the real father of Cyrus, for the name is written Kábús in the cuneiform inscriptions,* the same with the Georgian Kapos, the Zend Kavaus, and the Persian Kábús, which was long a favourite title among the Dilemite sovereigns;† and, if we could only further trace up the real genealogy of Cyrus between Cambyses and Achæmenes, we should perhaps discover other marks of identity with the preceding generations of Persian story. I have already observed the many characteristic traits in the early legends of Persia that connect Kei Khosraú with the city, the fortress, and the temple of Shíz, and these all incline me to the belief that the Ecbatana, which is mentioned in Grecian history in reference to Cyrus, is the capital of Media Atropatene, and not of Media Magna.

But after this period it becomes most difficult to discriminate between the two cities. To which of the two Ecbatanas is to be referred the remarkable passage in Ezra is, I think, very doubtful. The Jews, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, prayed that search might be made in the royal treasure-house of the kings of Babylon for the decree which Cyrus had deposited there relative to the rebuilding of the temple. The words which are employed in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, to denote this treasure-house, Genziá, Gezá, and Gaza,‡ all recall to mind the Gaza of Atropatene; but the succeeding verse, "and there was found at Achmetha, in the palace, that is, in the province of the Medes,"§ where the Hebrew Ahmethá is rendered in Syriac by Ahmethan,

* The Kábús of the inscriptions is the son of Cyrus, thus showing the true oriental form of the Greek *Καμβύσης*.

† The name of Kei Káuś is frequently written in old Persian Kávús, and Ibn Jauzi, in the *Merato-z Zemán*, expressly says that the Arabic form, Kábús, is corrupted from this; he thus writes the name of Kei Káuś, either Kávús, or Kábús.

‡ Ezra, c. v. i. 17, and c. vi. v. 1.

§ C. vi. v. 2.

would seem to point out, in the resemblance to the modern pronunciation of Hamadán, the capital of Media Magna. The Septuagint, however, regarded Achmetha, in which they could hardly avoid recognising the familiar title of Ecbatana as a generic name for a city, and, accordingly, rendered it, by πόλις;* and it is also worthy of remark, that Josephus and all the Christian Greeks, although retaining the proper name of Ecbatana, yet agree with the Greek Scriptures in employing the word βάρις† to express the Hebrew Bîrthá (the palace), which is used as the distinctive epithet of the city; and I confess that, as every thing seems to prove the attachment of Cyrus to the city of his nativity, rather than to the stranger capital of the greater Media, I should be inclined to suppose that he had there deposited in the famous βάρις, or Var, his Jewish decree, along with the other records and treasures of the empire.

It follows, also, in regard to Herodotus, that if his Ecbatana of Dejoces is to be identified with Takhti-Soleimán, the city which he describes under the same name as the capital of all Media, in his distribution of the Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes, will necessarily be represented by the same place;‡ and this, I confess, presents some difficulty, for we cannot but suppose the other Ecbatana to have been fully equal, if not indeed as the more ancient city, superior to the Atropatenian capital. However, Herodotus never visited Media; and as it is clear that, in the accounts of the province which he received at Babylon, he altogether failed to distinguish between the two capitals, the confusion of his evidence in this instance is, perhaps, nothing more than might be expected. That the Southern Ecbatana, however, was in reality the Median capital of Darius Hystaspes may be inferred from the tablets of the Ganj Náneh, where that monarch has commemorated his name and titles; and, indeed, subsequently to this æra, in a few instances only, can we discern with any clearness that, under the name of Ecbatana, an allusion is intended to the Atropatenian city. The Median Agdabata of Æschylus § may be either the one or the other; but it is curious that the epithet of Ἀχαισαῖα, which the scholiast to this passage asserts to have been anciently applied to the city, should in its evident derivation from the Zend, Ah Khshaihya, the king, resemble so closely the title of Shahasdan, or royal, which we know to have been the distinctive epithet of the Sasanian Kandzag. The statement, also, which appears in a host of authors, of Ecbatana having

* Some of the MSS., however, say ἐν Ἀμασά ἐν πόλει. See Polyglott Bible, vol. i, p. 833.

† The MSS. of the Septuagint that use the expression, ἐν πόλει ἐν τῇ βάρει, certainly appear to employ βάρει as the proper name of the city.

‡ Lib. iii. cap. 92.

§ Persæ, vers. 927.

formed the summer residence of the Persian kings,* is alike deficient in any evidence of distinction, for if Hamadán enjoys an agreeable summer climate, and still traditionally retains the character of having been honoured by the annual visits of the ancient sovereigns,† so Takhti-Soleimán also, in all times, ancient and modern, has been proverbially celebrated in the East for its delicious coolness during the summer months; and Strabo's statement of the Median kings having resided in their summer palace of Gaza, is verified at the present day by the summer encampment of the Prince Governor of Khamseh, which is often pitched during the hot months in the delightful pastures around the ruins of the Takht. Perhaps the only marked geographical application to the Atropatenian Ecbatana which occurs between the æra of Darius and the Macedonian invasion, is that contained in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, where, however, it is impossible to say whether Xenophon himself recognised the distinction, or whether he merely repeated the popular story of the country, without understanding its real allusion. When he was at the foot of the Carduchian mountains he heard, he says, of a route conducting eastward across the range to Ecbatana and Susa,‡ which route, I think, must necessarily refer to the famous line by Rowándiz and Sídek, leading to the capital of Atropatene, and from thence by Kurdistán and Mesobotene to Susa; for the route from the same point to Hamadán would have conducted nearly due S. for nearly 200 miles before it crossed the mountains, and this is evidently the road which was described to him as leading in a southerly direction into Media.

I now come to the Macedonian invasion of the East, a period which it might be expected would clear up all the difficulties relative to the Ecbatana of Northern Media, but which, on the contrary, will really be found to aggravate those difficulties in no trifling degree, and which, in fact, may be considered as the great cause of all the perplexity that involves the subject at the present day. If we only attended to the writers previous to this æra, we might, without much hesitation, say that the two cities were distinguished, the Arbacidan Acbatana of Ctesias being evidently a different city from that described under the same name by Herodotus, and that the native Greeks, who perused the two histories in their closets at Athens, confounded the names, and merely recognised one great Median capital of Ecbatana, we might regard, perhaps, as the natural consequence of an identity

* For the summer residence of the ancient kings at Ecbatana, see Brisson, de Reg. Pers. Princip., p. 5,859,860, where he has enumerated all the authorities.

† This is mentioned by Zekáriyá in the Atháro-l Beldán, under the head of Hamadán.

‡ Xen. Cyrop., lib. iii.

of title. But that Alexander, who sought with so much care and assiduity for geographical information relative to all the countries which he traversed, should have resided in one Ecbatana, without penetrating the mystery of the double name, is a circumstance most difficult to account for ; but which, notwithstanding, I conceive to be no less certain than that this very ignorance served to perpetuate the confusion in all subsequent geography. It can only be explained by the reflection that neither did Alexander himself ever enter the province of Ažerbíján, nor were a party of his troops even admitted, at any time, within the frontiers of the forbidden country ; or if, indeed, as I almost suspect, the gold mines of Hysperatis, which Menon was sent to examine, may be recognised in the metallic riches of the mountainous country on the Asped-rúd,* or Kizil Uzen, still, even in this case, as the detachment was utterly destroyed by the wild mountaineers, no intelligence whatever could have been derived from the exploratory attempt.† Atropates, or Atrapes, who was the governor of Media Atropatene under the last Darius, and who, it is to be remarked, by the historians of Alexander's campaigns, is invariably named the Satrap of Media, the Governor of Media, or the leader of the Medes, observed, with the Macedonians, a line of careful and sagacious policy that preserved the independence of his country almost alone amid the ruins of prostrate Asia, and enabled him to transmit the crown to a long line of illustrious descendants. The general of the Medes and Cadusians, at the battle of Arbela,‡ retired to his native fastnesses after that disastrous combat, and for a time appears to have been still prepared to support the falling fortunes of Darius ;§ but when the Persian monarchy became extinct, and Alexander returned victorious from his Indian campaign, Atropates was among the first to propitiate the conqueror by the tender of his nominal allegiance, and thus to secure to himself the unmolested government of his native province.|| He even strengthened himself by a family alliance with Perdiccas,¶ and is further said to have displayed before the Macedonian king a strange exhibition of female warriors on his last visit to the greater Media ;** but we have distinct evidence, at the same time, that, in his distant and guarded connexion with

* Strabo, p. 529.

† Saint Martin supposes the Hysperatis of Strabo to refer to the district of Ispcr, N.E. of Er. Rúm (tom. i. p. 69), but in another passage Strabo appears to denote the same place under the name of Sysperatis (the sibilant and aspirate being commutable in ancient Persian), and this he places to the S. beyond the limits of Armenia, and bordering on Adiabene (p. 503), which will not at all suit the northern position of Ispcr ; neither did the troops of Alexander at any time approach the vicinity of Erz Rúm.

‡ Arrian, lib. iii. c. 8.

§ Ibid., c. 19.

|| Ibid., lib. xvi. c. 29.

¶ Ibid., lib. vii. c. 4.

** Ibid., c. 13.

the Greeks, Atropates never, in any degree, compromised his real independence, or permitted any foreign interference whatever in the administration of Atropatene. To this exclusive and forbidding policy, then, on the part of the native chief, can be alone attributed the ignorance of the Greeks. That they did positively hear the name of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, I think I can clearly show; but it would seem that the caution of Atropates had thrown so much obscurity over everything connected with his country, that they were unable to distinguish his capital from the Median city of the same name which they captured and occupied, and of which they transmitted their accounts to posterity.

Thus I cannot doubt that, when Arrian states Darius to have fled, after the battle of Arbela, through the mountainous tract of Armenia into Media, along a road which was by no means commodious for the march of a large army,* he must necessarily refer to the line by Rowándiz and Sídek, to which I have so often alluded; and Diodorus, therefore, in writing that the fugitive monarch, having crossed the mountains, first came to Ecbatana, where he endeavoured to rally his scattered forces,† must, in the same view, obviously denote the capital of Media Atropatene. But Darius, after sending out Atropates to raise his warlike and perhaps tributary neighbours the Cadusians and Sacæ, must have moved himself to the more central and commodious position of the capital of greater Media; and when the Greeks thus found their enemy in occupation of Hamadán, on their advance from Persepolis, it is not surprising that they at once identified this Ecbatana with the city of the same name, which they heard of as his first place of refuge after crossing the mountains into Media.

Perhaps, if we had the original memoirs of Alexander's captains, we should be able to unravel even more successfully the labyrinth of Grecian ignorance: with our present mutilated means, the illustration must be chiefly conjectural; and I confess that, in this part of the inquiry, I shall be more than satisfied, if I can give a reasonable solution of errors, which I regard as the only real difficulty affecting the sustained connexion of my argument.

On the dismemberment of the Persian empire, after the death of Alexander, Atropates, or, as he is often called, Atrapes, retained, of course, the government of Atropatene, which, I see little reason to doubt, then first received that title as its proper and provincial appellation.‡ It is also, perhaps, worthy of remark, that, in the distribution of the provinces of Alexander's

* Lib. iii. c. 16.

† Book xvii. c. 7.

‡ See Diod. Sic., lib. xviii. p. 587; Strabo, p. 523; Polyb., lib. v. c. 55; and Ptol., lib. vi. c. 2.

empire, both Justin and Orosius* name the government of *Atrapes Media the Greater*, as if it had at this time really eclipsed in strength and power the more extensive regions of *Southern Media*, which we know to have long continued under the administration of *Pithon*.

The line of *Atropates* continued undisturbed in their possessions for above a hundred years, and, no doubt, held their court in the provincial capital of *Ecbatana*. At length, however, *Antiochus the Great* prepared, for the first time, to bring the kingdom of *Atropatene* under subjection to the *Syro Macedonian* empire; and the account which *Polybius* gives of this expedition,† compared with his notice of the subsequent war between the same monarch and *Arsaces of Parthia*, clearly betrays his inability, even in the advanced stage which geographical knowledge had attained in his day in the *Alexandrian school of Eratosthenes*, to distinguish between the *Ecbatana*, which was the capital of *Atropatene*, and the other and more ancient *Ecbatana* of the greater or southern *Media*. In describing the country of *Atropatene*, which was invaded by *Antiochus the Great*, he says, that it was separated from *Media* by a single range of mountains, and extended northerly to those parts of *Pontus* which were above the river *Phasis*,‡ and also approached very near to the *Hyrceanian Sea*, thus clearly defining the province of *Azerbáján* divided by the *Senna* mountains from the *Southern Media* § and including within its northern frontier all the country below the *Kur* and *Phasis*. And, again, in following the march of *Antiochus* against *Parthia*,|| he places *Ecbatana* beyond any question in this province, by describing it as situated in the northern part of *Media*, and commanding all that part of *Asia* which lay along the *Mæotis* and the *Euxine Sea*, whilst, at the same time, in continuing his description of the city, all the other indications of its being built on the declivity of *Mount Orontes*, or *Elwend*, of its having been from the most ancient times the seat of the royal residence, and of its possessing the palace, the treasury citadel, and the temple of *Anaia*, or *Anaitis*, which are noticed by so many other authors, as belonging to the *Ecbatana* of the greater *Media*, point out a most obvious reference to the site now occupied by the modern town of *Hamadán*.

It has been sometimes said, that this northern emplacement of

* Justin., lib. xiii. ; Oros., lib. iii. c. 23.

† Lib. v. c. 55.

‡ *Polybius* repeats this indication of the extent of *Media Atropatene* to the north in two other passages.

§ With regard to the southern frontiers of *Azerbáján*, I must observe that the early Arab geographers uniformly extend them to the line of *Holwán*, *Dinewer*, and *Hamadán*; and that no objection, therefore, can be taken to the position of *Takhti-Soleimán*, midway between this line and the *Araxes*, in reference to its representing the capital of the province.

|| Lib. x. cap. 29.

Polybius will not admit of explanation, even on the supposition of Ecbatana being represented by Tabriz;* but I cannot allow any weight to this objection, for if the kingdom of Dejoces and Atropates extended northward to the Caucasus, as there is every reason to believe, then the capital of that kingdom, whatever may have been its exact position, would, in a political point of view, be said to command the countries that lay along the Mæotis and the Euxine Sea.

It appears to me beyond a question, that Polybius, in his famous notice on Ecbatana, has confounded distinct notices of two different cities, that is, that he identified the Ecbatana which he heard of as the capital of the Atropatian province invaded by Antiochus, and to which he assigned accordingly its correct geographical position, with the city of the same name which was familiar to him from the writings of the historians of Alexander and his successors, and which was really taken and plundered by Antiochus the Great on his march from Seleucia to Hecatompylos. Had Artabazanes, the king of Atropatia, resisted the invasion of Antiochus, and stood a siege in his impregnable fortress, the problem of the double Ecbatana could have hardly failed of being at length cleared up; but this was not the case; the old monarch yielded at once to the terms offered by Antiochus—the Grecian army, required for other purposes, was at once withdrawn from the province—and a deeper obscurity than ever settled down again upon the name of its mysterious capital.

Little more can be gleaned from history of Atropatene, or its capital Ecbatana. The Atropatenian kings would seem to have remained tributary to Antiochus the Great during the prosperous state of his eastern empire; for his ambassadors, in their endeavours to deter the Achæans from joining the Roman confederacy, included the Medes and Cadusians among the wild and terrible nations of the East, with which they asserted the Syrian monarch was preparing to burst upon Europe.† After the death of Antiochus, in B.C. 175, the Parthian monarchs rapidly extended their conquests over all Western Asia; and Media, doubtless, with its sister kingdoms of Hyrcania and Elymais, while they continued virtually independent, still found themselves obliged to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of the king of kings. In the famous Mithridatic war, the king of Media took no active part; but when Lucullus, in prosecution of that war, led the Roman legions against Tigranes, Darius, the king of Atropatene, who had been rendered tributary to that monarch, brought a powerful contingent to the support of the Armenians, and commanded the right wing of the Armenian army in the great battle that ensued.‡ Shortly

* Williams's *Anc. Asia*, p. 60.

† Livy, book xxxv. c. 48.

‡ Plutarch in *vitâ Luculli*, and *Dion Cassius*.

afterwards, Pompey succeeded Lucullus in the command, and, after completing the reduction of Armenia and the dependent provinces, there are some circumstances which seem to render it more than probable that he entered Atropatene, and perhaps even visited its capital, Ecbatana. Plutarch, indeed, states, that from the plains of Múghán, where Pompey noted the surprising number of snakes, for which the plain is notorious at the present day, he returned to Armenia the less, and there received the friendly embassies of the kings of Media and Elymais;* but all authors are agreed that he exhibited Media among the other conquered nations of the East at his triumph on returning to Rome, which would hardly have been the case had he never penetrated farther into the province than the plains of Múghán. Velleius Paterculus also states, that he entered victoriously into Media.† Dion Cassius, again, describes him as taking up his winter quarters at Aspid after the Albanian war.‡ from whence he detached Afranius§ into Assyria, to drive back the Parthians from Arbela, and where he concluded his negotiations with Phraates, the Parthian king, before retiring to the lesser Armenia. And Orosius distinctly writes, that, after the reduction of Armenia and the neighbouring countries, Pompey entered Parthia, and advanced to Ecbatana, the capital city of the Parthian kingdom.|| If we might suppose that, by Aspis, or Aspid, Dion Cassius refers to the Asped-rúd, the campaign would be rationally explained. From the plains of Múghán, Pompey, declining prudently enough to lead his army into the dense forests of Tálísh,¶ would have moved by the route of Ardebil to Miyáneh, near the Asped-rúd, or Kizil Uzen; and here, or in the vicinity, while he was negotiating with Phraates, he may possibly have received the homage of the Atropatenian king, or, indeed, he may even from hence have visited that monarch at his capital of Ecbatana. But the evidence is too scanty to afford any certain grounds of illustration. All that I propose to show from it is, that if Pompey, in his expedition into Atropatene, visited, or had any connexion with a city of the name of Ecbatana, it must have necessarily been this capital of Northern Media, rather than the Parthian metropolis, which Orosius, misled by the identity of name, supposed it to represent. I have only farther to remark, that the son of this monarch, Darius, contemporary with Pompey, was the Artavasdes, or Artabazus, whom we find, at

* See Plutarch's Life of Pompey.

† Lib. ii. c. 40.

‡ Lib. xxxvii. c. 7.

§ Afranius is said to have met with great difficulties upon his march, and I conclude therefore that he travelled by the Rowándiz road.

|| Lib. vi. c. 4.

¶ This is certainly a more rational explanation of Pompey's abandonment of his advance on Hyrcania, than the reason assigned by Plutarch, of his being obliged to return on account of the multitude of snakes.

the period of Antony's invasion, seated on the throne of Northern Media, and holding his court in the capital of Praaspa; and I believe that I have thus fulfilled my promise of establishing an historical connexion between this city of Praaspa, or Gaza, identified at the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, and the ancient capital of the province founded by Dejoces the Mede.

There are still, however, a few points of evidence to be drawn from the geographers which are worthy of being noticed, as they serve to show that, in compiling from the works of others, they stumbled occasionally upon the name of the Atropatenian capital, and employed the evidence relating to it, whilst they probably remained in ignorance of its true application.

Eratosthenes, the keeper of the Alexandrian library under Ptolemy Euergetes, was the first, it is well known, to introduce a systematic arrangement, on principles of approximate correctness, into the geographical science of the ancients. The foundation of his system was the protraction of an imaginary parallel between the 36th and 37th degrees of latitude, from the pillars of Hercules, at the western extremity of the line, to the further limit of Asia upon the east; and upon this parallel, which was called the Diaphragm of Rhodes, he proposed to mark off the longitudinal measurements of the known world. It does not enter into the object of the present inquiry to analyse the means which he employed for the valuation of these measurements in stadia. It is sufficient to observe, that his protraction of the line of the diaphragm was verified at many points by the observation of the solstitial shadows, and that a degree of moderate correctness is thus perceptible in the general preservation of an approximate equality of latitude. The pillars of Hercules, the southern coasts of Sicily, Peloponnesus, and Attica, Rhodes, the Gulf of Issus, Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, and the passage of the Tigris, at Niniveh, will none of them be found to vary many minutes from the assumed parallel of $36^{\circ} 21'$. "Beyond this point," says Eratosthenes, "the line was drawn in succession through Gaugamela, the river Lycus, Arbela, and Ecbatana, along which road Darius fled from Gaugamela, and so on to the Caspian gates, the entire distance from Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, being 10,300 stadia."*

Now, independently of the allusion to the flight of Darius, which I have already endeavoured to show must have been by the Rowándiz road to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, a reference to the map will at once show us the necessary application of the Ecbatana of Eratosthenes to this emplacement, rather than to the southern position of Hamadán. Hamadán is $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to the S. of the

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 79.

diaphragm, and above 1° S. of a right line, drawn from Niniveh, to the Caspian gates, while the latitude of Takhti-Soleimán is within a very few minutes of the assumed parallel; and the place, moreover, is upon the direct line connecting the two points. Eratosthenes, doubtless, computed the valuation of his longitudinal distances from the itineraries of travellers, and the recorded marches of armies; but, in determining the line of his great diaphragm, everything tends to prove an attempt at scientific accuracy; and although, therefore, one great line of communication did in reality lead from Niniveh, by Hamadán, to the Caspian gates, yet that, in illustrating a great geodesic measurement, he should have referred to this circuitous track in preference to another route, which was also travelled nearly in a direct line between the two points that he wished to connect, appears to me altogether contrary to reason. Perhaps, if we could test the relative applicability of his measurement of 10,300 stadia between Thapsacus and the Caspian gates, to the two routes conducting to that point by Hamadán and Takhti-Soleimán, the indication to the latter site would be more marked and decisive; but I confess, that neither can I assure myself of a correct standard for the evaluation of his stadium, nor can I, upon so long a line, ascertain the road distance with sufficient accuracy to obtain grounds of any value for a comparative estimate. Another author, whom I propose to examine, is Strabo. It has been conjectured that this writer was ignorant of the true position of the Median capital, from his omitting that definite information with regard to relative distance from other places with which he usually illustrates his geographical notices;* but the existence of two Ecbatanas will perhaps more reasonably suggest that, as he assumed a reference to one place in all the various allusions to a city of that name, which he met with in the many authors that he consulted, his caution preferred a total silence on the subject of geographical position to the perplexity of statements directly contradictory; and the same clue, also, will resolve the ambiguities that attend his incidental mention of Ecbatana in several passages of his work. Thus, where he directly describes Ecbatana as the capital of Media Magna, he, no doubt, alludes to the site occupied by the modern city of Hamadán; † but, in all his general geographical notices, the position of Takhti-Soleimán will far better suit his indications. “The greatest part of Media,” he says, “is composed of cold and elevated regions. Such are the mountains situated above or to the N. of Ecbatana, and those which adjoin Rhagæ and the Caspian gates. Such, in one word, is all the northern part of Media, extending as far as Matriana and Armenia. That part of

* Williams's *Anc. Asia*, c. 67.

† Page 524.

the province situated below, or to the S. of the Caspian gates, contains low ground and valleys." It possesses an excellent soil, singularly fertile in all sorts of productions but the olive, which either does not exist, or is only found small and dry.*

It is evident that Strabo here alludes to two great geographical divisions of Media, each possessing physical features of a distinct and peculiar character. The northern division, in fact, or Media Atropatene, cold, sterile, and mountainous, and the southern, or Media Magna, warm, fertile, and champaign; and the Ecbatana, therefore, which is made use of to illustrate the cold and mountainous regions of the North, must obviously be the capital of Media Atropatene. This description of Strabo, indeed, I regard as a mere amplification of the passage in Herodotus, which I have already quoted, and, as in that passage, the northern em- placement of the city is defined beyond a liability to mistake, by the indication of the Sapires and the Euxine sea: so in this, which is drawn from it, we must necessarily also infer an allusion to the same place, of which, however, it is more than probable, Strabo was himself unconscious. The mountains N. of Ecbatana, I conceive to be Sehend, Sevilán, and the many branches thrown off from the great Kurdistán range, or in some instances, per- haps, that range itself. It is needless to observe that there are no mountains whatever immediately to the N. of Hamadán. In two other passages I also recognise the same application to the northern Ecbatana, rather than to Hamadán. "Mount Abus," he says, "from which the Euphrates and Araxes flow, the one eastward and the other westward, is near the road that leads to Ecbatana, by the temple of Baris:"† and again in his quotation of the opinion of Polyclitus, regarding the floods of the Euphrates and Tigris, we find, "the highest mountains are in the northern parts above Ecbatana; as they stretch towards the S., they diverge, extend themselves, and become much lower.‡ Nothing decisive can, of course, be drawn from either of these notices; but the Ecbatana route near Mount Abus, now called Bíu Gól,§ would seem to allude to the high road by Báyzid and Tabriz, which Antony followed to Phraaspa; and the high mountains N. of Ecbatana, in thus repeating the expression of Herodotus, can only be reasonably explained by a reference to the Atropatenian capital.

The last author, whom it is of any importance to notice, is

* Lib. xi. p. 525.

† Lib. xi. pp. 520, 531. This temple of Baris has sorely puzzled the heretics. I almost suspect that the passage τῆς βασιλίδος νεών, refers to the famous fire-temple in the Baris of Ecbatana, and that the expression is used to illustrate the site of the capital rather than of the line of road.

‡ Page 742.

§ Saint Martin, tom. i. p. 39, 43; lit. "the thousand lakes."

Ammianus Marcellinus. In describing Adiabene, or Assyria proper, he writes, that, "in this province, is the city Ninus, which formerly possessed the empire of Persia, still bearing the name of Ninus, the husband of Semiramis, formerly a most powerful monarch; and Ecbatana, and Arbela, and Gaugamela, where Alexander, after the various risks of war, crushed Darius in a successful battle."* Now, as Ammianus, accompanying the retreat of Jovian, actually marched by the confines of this province of Adiabene, his geographical evidence would naturally be expected to be almost of a decisive character; experience, however, has proved, that, except upon the immediate line of the Roman military operations, his indications are of little value. In his general Asiatic geography, the servility with which he has copied from Ptolemy is notorious; and, indeed, in all cases, I think beyond the sphere of his own personal observation, his pretended description of the Persian provinces will be found nothing more than a bare recapitulation of the great names of history. Thus, in the present instance, the defeat and flight of Darius had united and immortalised the names of Gaugamela, Arbela, and Ecbatana; and, as Ammianus must have been aware that the city, where the fugitive Darius had first attempted to rally his broken troops after the battle, could not possibly be represented by the remote position of Isfahán, which he had been erroneously led to identify with the Ecbatana of Media Magna, he seems with a nearer approach to truth than might have been expected, to have imagined an Ecbatana in the Kurdish mountains to suit the historical indication. I cannot of course suppose that he was at all aware of the real emplacement of this Ecbatana, to which Darius fled after the battle of Arbela; his assigning the city to Adiabene, and mentioning the Atropatenian capital under the name of Gazaca, are decisive against this; but still his distinction of the two Ecbatanas is very remarkable, and would seem to show that he felt the perplexity of the ancient notices, and had fortunately hit upon the only way in which they admitted of a rational explanation.

I have now concluded all the historical and geographical evidence which I consider in any way essential to the illustration of the Atropatenian Ecbatana. There are, it is true, many other passages in which it would be desirable to analyse and explain the obscurity of classical authors, which has arisen from a confusion of the two kingdoms of Media, and of their similarly-named capitals of Ecbatana; but as I have already far exceeded the limits which I proposed in drawing up the present memoir, I shall reserve all other points of discussion for a future paper on

* Lib, xxiii. c. 6.

the Ecbatana of Greater Media.* A short précis then of the substance and result of my inquiry is all, I believe, that is further required.

I have shown that Herodotus describes the capital of Media Atropatene under the name of Ecbatana, with certain traits of descriptive character only applicable to the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán; that the same place is called in the Book of Tobit Charran;† which title I have succeeded again in tracing down through various fields of evidence to the time of the Arabs, by whom the city occupying the site of Takhti-Soleimán, was still named Arran, identical with Charran, in its latest stages of existence; that the ancient Persian name of Var, also attached to the castle of this city of Dejoces, was preserved in the Greek Vera, the distinctive epithet of the fortress besieged by Mark Antony at Takhti-Soleimán; that Gaza, the more familiar appellation of the Atropatenian capital, is but the translation of its ancient name Ecbatana; that Alexander and his officers, in failing to penetrate to this city, failed also to discover its distinction from the Ecbatana of Greater Media; and, that the confusion of all subsequent geography is to be referred to this source; that later authors preserve notices of Ecbatana, which can only be explained by their application to the Atropatenian capital of that name; the authors themselves, at the same time, appearing in their ignorance to refer them to the other city; that this connected series of ambiguous allusions to the Ecbatana of Northern Media continues from the point where we lose sight of the city, under a distinct and positive form of evidence, up to the period when the capital having changed its name, becomes familiar to the Romans, under the title of Gaza; and here I close the most ancient, and, consequently, the most difficult part of the inquiry.

The next stage of the inquiry takes up the argument at the period of Antony's Median war; it connects all the notices which occur in classic authors of the Atropatenian capital, between this era and the extinction of the Parthian monarchy; it assumes, as a natural inference, strengthened by an accumulation of inductive evidence, all tending to the same point, that this capital must ne-

* The present inquiry is of course incomplete without this supplement; for the great argument in favour of a distinction of two Ecbatanas, is the inapplicability to the northern emplacement of Takhti-Soleimán, of all the historical evidence of Alexander's campaigns. I can only say here, however, that I consider all the notices of Ecbatana which I have not already, reversing the order of the argument, specified, to refer to the position of Hamadán.

† Perhaps it may be thought that, considering the apocryphal character of the book of Tobit and the geographical irreconcilableness of the Greek and Latin versions, I attach an undue weight to the authority; still, however, the Latin version was in existence before the time of St. Jerome, and the evidence therefore, as far as regards the name of Charran and the equi-distance of 11 stages from Rhages and Nimiveh, ascends at least to the third century of Christ.

cessarily occupy the same position as the one which has been hitherto traced under the name of Ecbatana; and, in showing the application to the site of Takhti-Soleimán, of all the recorded measurements and all the illustrative evidence of the period, it, at the same time, verifies the preceding argument, and passes on the great question of the identification of the Ecbatana of Dejoes to the more tangible epoch of the Sasanian dynasty.

In the third stage of the inquiry the great object is to establish a connexion between the Byzantine account of the Atropatenian capital, and the Oriental notices of the same city; and this is effected by showing the events assigned by one party to Canzaca, to be described in the annals of the other, as occurring at the great city of Shíz; and by detailing the evidence common to both parties, of the famous temple that contained the most sacred fire of the Persians being situated in this city of Canzaca or Shíz, which was the capital of the province of Azerbiján. There are, besides, several measurements and other traits of evidence in this period of history, which uniformly accord in their applicability to the site of Takhti-Soleimán, and thus tend most forcibly to strengthen and consolidate all the preceding parts of the argument. The inquiry is then brought to a close by the verification of the position of the Arabian Shíz in modern geography. The detailed account of this place which I have extracted from the work of Zakariyá Kazvini, compared with my own personal observation of the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, cannot leave the shadow of a doubt as to the identity of the two places; and I believe that, in the connexion and result of these four points of analysis, a difficulty is thus solved, which for want of a little attention and a correct topographical knowledge, has continued to the present day the great problem of Asiatic Comparative Geography; and which, in the obscurity which it has hitherto cast over the map of ancient Persia, has presented one of the chief impediments to the spread of this interesting and instructive science.

Baghdád, 22nd May, 1839.



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Longitude

Nazuk

Supan Tagh

Charpanak

FASHI

Bethis

Sert

Chelek

Kermo

Mediyad

Ehbab

Ermuz

Jan sar

Jezeirah ibn Omar

Zakha

Merjan

Dulome

Elkosh

Ali Agha

Hazir

MOSUL

Sem

Alun Kupri

Kirkuk

Naptha pits

Diyala

Tekri

Diir

Samarah

Kabil

BAGHDAD

Bakobah

Shahrban

Karabagh

Shahrban

Kasri Shirin

Binkudrah

Khani kin

Kiril Robot

Shahrban

Bakobah

Shahrban

Bakobah

Shahrban

Bakobah

Shahrban

Bakobah

Arbawak

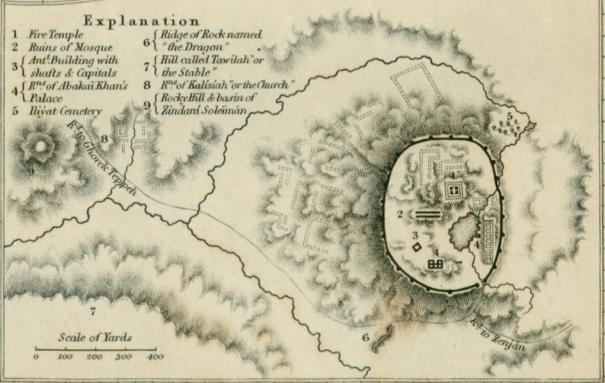
Map of
MAJOR H.C. RAWLINSON'S
 Route from
TABRÍZ by TAKHTI SOLEÏMAN to GILÁN;
 and to illustrate his
 MEMOIR on the
ECBATANA or ATROPATENE.
 1838.

English Miles.
 0 10 20 30 40 50

Major Rawlinson's route is coloured Red.



Ground Plan of
Takhti Soleïman
 or the
ECBATANA
 of Atropatene.



- Explanation**
- 1 Fire Temple
 - 2 Ruins of Mosque
 - 3 Arch'd Building with shafts & Capitals
 - 4 Ruins of Abakakhan's Palace
 - 5 Great Cemetery
 - 6 Ridge of Rock named "the Dragon"
 - 7 Hill called Tavilah or the Stable
 - 8 Ruins of Bahsiah or the Church
 - 9 Rocky Hill & basis of Zindan Soleïman

Scale of Yards
 0 100 200 300 400

Longitude East from Greenwich.