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PERSIA.

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A GENERAL SKETCH  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF PERSIA.

BY  
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B. F.R.S.

EDITOR OF THE  
'NARRATIVE OF THE EMPASSY OF CLAVIJO TO SAMARKAND.'



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1874.

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246. e. 178.



## PREFACE.

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IRÂN is a land of many glorious memories. Bright and glowing visions are conjured up by its very name.

We may picture to ourselves the line of Patriarch Kings worshipping their one God in days of old; the Monarchs who, as we learn from the Books of Isaiah and Ezra, obeyed the will of Jehovah, and were chosen instruments in his hands; who not only reared the famed palace of Persepolis for their own glory, but covered the land with aqueducts for the good of their people. How heart-stirring, too, is the narrative of Ferdausy, which tells of Rustam the hero of Irân, and of the struggle with the powers of evil, typified by Afrasiab and his Tûrânians!

In later times we are dazzled by the magnificence of the Sassanians and of the Khalifahs, delighted by the beauties of Persian poetry, and filled with astonishment at the conquests of Jengîz and of Tîmûr; while we dwell with pleasure on the revived glories of 'Abbâs the Great, and deplore the present misgovernment of modern Persia.

The following outline of Persian history, from the days of the first Paishdadian patriarch to the present year, will offer a connected sketch of the annals of that interesting country. The writer does not possess the advantage of a knowledge of the Persian language, and is dependent on translations for his materials. But he undertook the task because, in translating and annotating Clavijo's 'Embassy to Tîmûr,' he had occasion to refer to nearly all the translated Persian authorities and to the European writers on Persia; and he had amassed a large number of notes and memoranda chronologically arranged. He thought that the preparation of a connected historical sketch, based on these materials, would be acceptable at a time when Persia is receiving much attention from politicians, and would serve a useful purpose in time to come; seeing that Persia will always continue to be a most important neighbour State, with reference to British India.

In narrating the chief events of Persian history, geographical descriptions of the provinces and cities have been introduced, and sketches of the lives of the poets, with specimens of their works, will be found, when the stream of time brings us down to the days in which they flourished. The translations of Persian poetry are chiefly taken from the works of Sir William Jones, Sir Gore Ouseley, Atkinson, Falconer, Kirkpatrick, Eastwick, and Costello.

The materials for the history of Irân are exceedingly

voluminous. As regards the early history, which involves numerous disputed points, it has been thought best to give a sketch of the native stories preserved by the poet Ferdausy;<sup>1</sup> upon which the Grecian writers and the cuneiform inscriptions form parallel commentaries. Other native sources for this earliest period are the translations of *Mirkhond* by Shea, and of *Tabari* in the series of the Oriental Translation Fund.<sup>2</sup> Much light has been thrown on the Kaianian and Sassanian Periods by Sir Henry Rawlinson and M. Flandin; and Mr. Thomas, in his interesting numismatic treatises, has done a great deal to elucidate the history of the Sassanian Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

There are also many doubtful and disputed questions respecting the ancient Zend language, the early religions

<sup>1</sup> The *Sháh-Námah* of Ferdausy, in an abridged form, was translated by Mr. James Atkinson, of the East India Company's Bengal Medical Service, and published in 1832. The edition of Jules Mohn (4 vols., Paris 1838), is printed in parallel French and Persian columns. Mr. W. T. Robertson published the translation of the episode of *Rustam and Zohrab*, from the *Sháh-Námah*, at Calcutta, in 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabari* was the earliest Persian historian. He was born at Amol in 838, and died at Baghdád in 922 A.D. His work consists of six parts:—1. On the ancient kings of Persia. 2. The reign of Kai Kobad and the kings of Yemen. 3. On the Sassanian Dynasty. 4 and 5 on Muhammad, and 6, on the first four Khalífahs. In 1836 the translation of *Tabari*, which is the most ancient Persian work now extant, was published by the Oriental Translation Fund. *Chronique d'Abou-Djafar Muhammad Tabari, traduite d'après les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. i. (Paris 1836).

<sup>3</sup> The work of M. de Gobineau is not considered to be very sound or reliable as regards ancient Persian history.

of Irân, and the *Zend-Avesta*. In the chapter on this subject, the views of Dr. Haug have been condensed, though I am aware that Mr. Thomas and other learned Orientalists are not in accord with Haug on several important questions. In so brief a sketch it is perhaps the best course to give the conclusions of the leading modern Zend scholar, without venturing upon a reference to any of the disputed points.

The chapter on the Khalifahs is derived from various well known sources; but the account of the reigns of the Ommeyahs is almost entirely from the work of Conde.<sup>1</sup>

The events of the long period of 700 years, from the decay of the Arab power to the rise of the Sufâwi Dynasty, are pleasantly told in Malcolm's 'History.' The best native historian of this interval is Mirkhond<sup>2</sup> (more correctly Mir Khâwand), who derived his materials from nineteen Arabic and twenty-two Persian histories; but there is no entire English translation. It was translated by Pedro Texeira, and re-translated into English in 1715 by Stevens; and large portions are given by Major Price, Shea, and Morley. The best European authority on Jengîz-Khân, and the Mongol Dynasty of his descendants which ruled in

<sup>1</sup> *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España, sacada de varios Manuscritos y Memorias Árbigas, por el Dr. Don José Antonio Conde* (Paris 1840).

<sup>2</sup> For some account of the historians Mirkhond and his nephew Khondamîr, see page 228.



Persia, is the learned work of the Baron C. D'Ohsson.<sup>1</sup> For the life of Tîmûr and his successors the translated materials are ample. The great conqueror's own *Institutes* were translated by Major Davy, and edited by Prof. White at Oxford, in 1783. His *Memoirs* were translated by Major Stewart, and published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1830;<sup>2</sup> and the well known history by Sharafu-'d-Dîn Yazdi is accessible through the translation of Petis de la Croix.<sup>3</sup> But still more complete details respecting the Court of Tîmûr are to be gathered from the charming narrative of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo.<sup>4</sup>

For the period between the fall of the Tîmûrides and the rise of the Sufâwi Dynasty, in addition to oriental

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz Khân jusqu'à Tîmûr Beg ou Tamerlan, par M. le Baron C. D'Ohsson* (4 vols., Amsterdam 1852). It is based upon Chinese, as well as Turkish and Persian annals.

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting discussion respecting the authenticity of Tîmûr's *Memoirs*, in Professor Dowson's last volume. Their authenticity is proved by the fact that the *Memoirs* are quoted by Sharafu-'d-Dîn, who wrote only thirty years after Tîmûr's death. Accounts of Mirkhond and Khondamîr, and of other Persian historians and geographers, will be found in the *History of India as told by its own Historians. The Muhammadan Period. The Posthumous Papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., Edited and Continued by Professor J. Dowson* (Tribner, 4 vols., last 1872).

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire de Tîmûr Bec* (Paris 1722, 4 vols. 12mo.) It was translated into English by J. Darby, in 1723.

<sup>4</sup> *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Tîmûr at Samarkand. A.D. 1403-6. Translated for the first time, with notes, &c., by Clements R. Markham* (Hakluyt Society, 1859).

writers, we have the accounts of several Venetian travellers published by Ramusio, and recently translated into English and edited for the Hakluyt Society.<sup>1</sup>

When Shâh Isma'il founded the Sufâwî Dynasty, Persia, after ages of foreign domination, once more became a powerful nation. It was then that Europeans began to appear upon the scene; and the travels of Chardin, Tavernier, Pietro del Valle, Garcia da Silva, Herbert, Kœmpfer, Struys, Thevenot, Hamilton, Sanson, and Krusinski supply ample materials for history. Father Krusinski was an eye-witness of the events at Isfahân which led to the downfall of the Sufâwis. It was during the flourishing period of the Sufâwis that the Shirleys, those gallant knights who had been reared in that age of British worthies—the glorious reign of Elizabeth, visited the Court of Persia;<sup>2</sup> while Anthony Jenkinson penetrated into the wilds of Central Asia, and was the first Englishman who hoisted the cross of St. George in the Caspian Sea.

Nâdir Shâh, the last conquering sovereign of Persia,

<sup>1</sup> *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini: Edited with an Introduction by Lord Stanley of Alderley* (1873). *Travels in Persia by Caterino Zeno; Discourse of Messer Giovan Battista Ramusio on the Writings of Giovan Maria Angiollo; the Travels of a Merchant in Persia; and Narrative of the most noble Vincentio d'Alessandri. Translated and Edited by Charles Grey, Esq.* (1873).

<sup>2</sup> See the *Sherley Brothers: An Historical Memoir of the Lives of Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley, and Sir Robert Sherley, Knights. By one of the same House.* Printed for private circulation, by Evelyn Shirley, Esq. M.P.

has had many historians; but none, not even Sir William Jones, are to be compared with worthy Jones Hanway. His travels are written in the good old God-fearing spirit of the days of Raleigh and Gilbert, though he lived during the reign of the second George. The reader cannot fail to be attracted by the writings of this honest Englishman. His navigation of the Caspian, his journey through Mazandarân to the camp of Nâdir, his perils at Astrabâd, and the prayer to God which he composed when he was in danger of being sold as a slave to the Turkmâns, establishes a warm sympathy between the good old traveller and every one of his countrymen who reads his book.

The Dynasty of Zand followed on the death of Nâdir. Its great ornament, the wise and just Wakil, finds an impartial admirer in Sir John Malcolm; while Sir Harford Jones is a warm sympathiser in the misfortunes of the chivalrous but ill-starred Lutf 'Aly Khân, the last of his race.

On the fall of the house of Zand, the Kâjars, the present dynasty of Persia, rose to power; and the materials for their history are abundant. Englishmen have reason to be proud of the labours of their countrymen in Persia during the present century. Sir John Malcolm's Mission to Tehran, in 1810, not only resulted in his own valuable 'History,' but also bore rich fruit in the geographical memoir of Kinneir; and the travels of Pottinger, Lindsay, Christie, and Grant. From the

days of Malcolm the labours of Englishmen on the history and geography of Persia and Central Asia have been unceasing. We have the works of Harford Jones, of Ouseley, of Porter, of Morier, and of Fraser; which brings us to the death of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh in 1834. Mr. J. B. Fraser also wrote an historical account of Persia 'from the earliest ages to the present time,' for the Edinburgh Cabinet Library (1834). Since the death of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, a number of travellers have published their narratives. Todd, Monteith, Rawlinson, Sheil, Abbott, Selby, and several other officers have supplied most valuable information respecting the various provinces of Persia in the Royal Geographical and Royal Asiatic Societies' *Journals*. Eastwick, Binning, Stocqueler, Loftus, Layard, De Bode, Colonel Stuart, Lady Sheil, and Mounsey, have given us interesting narratives of their travels through or residence in Persia; and Captain Hunt has published a clear and soldier-like account of the operations in the Persian Gulf in 1856-57. Quite recently, the labours of Sir Frederic Goldsmid, Majors St. John, Lovett, Euan Smith, and Mr. Blanford, have thrown a flood of light on the geology and geography of Persia.

With the aid of these rich materials, and of the Treaties, Blue Books, *Asiatic Societies' Journals*, and other sources, the outline of Persian history has been brought down from the death of Agha Muhammad, where Malcolm's 'History' ends, to the present year.

*The History of Persia from 1800 to 1858*, by Mr. Watson, is very accurate; and its value is increased by the fact that the author had access to the archives of the British Mission. He carefully tested the truth of Persian statements, by comparing them with the accounts given by European authorities. But his work only treats of a period of sixty years; and there is no condensed narrative of Persian annals, covering the whole ground, and in a convenient form for reference.

The present book is intended to supply this want. It has also been thought desirable to introduce a chapter on the geography and history of the Persian Gulf, the principal authorities for which are the selections from the *Proceedings of the Bombay Government*, and the writings of that learned and accurate scholar, the Rev. George P. Badger; and another on Central Asia. Moorcroft, Burnes, Wood, Abbott, Conolly, Ferrier, Khanikoff, Vambéry, Fedchenko, and others, have made us acquainted with Central Asia; the geography and history of which region had been almost a closed book since the Emperor Bâber wrote his charming *Memoirs*. The problems relating to Central Asian geography have more recently been fully discussed, in learned and exhaustive essays, by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Colonel Yule.

In one of the Appendices, abstracts are given of the treaty engagements between Persia and England and Russia, and of Baron Reuter's Convention;

which, it has been thought, will be useful for future reference.

From the earliest ages, the hordes of Tûrân have pressed upon the northern provinces of Persia ; and a never-ending contest has prevailed between Irân and Tûrân, between races represented on the one side by the hero Rustam, and on the other by his adversary Afrasiab. This contest is the earthly symbol of Zoroaster's doctrine of the two principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman—good and evil.

In the modern history of Persia, these two antagonistic principles are represented by England and Russia, the friend and the foe of Irân.

The policy of England has been to strengthen the power, and ensure the independence of Persia ; and (though Mr. Canning, in 1826, evaded the obligations of a treaty, and deserted the Shâh in his utmost need) she has, on the whole, been the true friend of Irân. Our advice has ever been that her Government should devote itself to internal improvements, and to the amelioration of the condition of the country, and refrain from schemes of foreign conquest. When, too, the folly and insolence of our semi-barbarous ally forced us into hostilities, we proved an unwilling and a generous foe ; we did not rob Persia of an inch of her territory, nor a *dînâr* of her money, nor exact unnecessarily humiliating conditions, on the conclusion of peace.

Russia, on the contrary, has proved herself a modern

Tûrân—the spirit of evil, the enemy of Irân. Adopting an insidious policy, she has laboured, by means of bribery and intrigue, to undermine the power and independence of her neighbour. She has encouraged the Persian Government in ruinous and useless contests on the side of Herat; and, after she herself had engaged in unjust wars with Persia, at the conclusion of the treaties of peace in 1814 and 1828, she tore large and important provinces from her defeated enemy, excluded the vessels of the Shâh from the navigation of the Caspian, and saddled a debt of several millions upon the already impoverished State. Since the latter date, the Russians have maintained their influence in Persia by bribery, encroachments, and threats.

It remains to be seen whether the kingdom of Persia will retain her independence by embracing a close alliance with England, her true friend in peace, and generous foe in war; or whether she will succumb to the intrigues of her aggressive neighbour, who has always proved a bad friend, and an ungenerous enemy; eventually falling under the grinding yoke of the Northern Ahriman.





# NOTE

ON

## THE TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL NAMES.

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THE most eligible transliteration of Eastern names and words is still, unhappily, a *quæstio vexata*; and until a uniform system is generally recognised the existing divergence among authors will be perpetuated. Not professing to be a critical orientalist myself, and yet appreciating the importance of the subject, I have sought the aid of others in my essay to transcribe Oriental names in European characters as correctly as possible, without endangering, by pedantic transfigurement, the easy recognition of old forms in a new dress. In the first four chapters I have, for the most part, followed the hitherto prevailing method, the main peculiarity of which is the use of the acute accent (') over a vowel to denote prolongation, except in the case of incidental Arabic names which have been rendered somewhat differently. For the names of the Sassanian Kings I have followed Mr. Thomas. The attempt to combine the two systems has, however, damaged the uniformity of both; and as from page 102, where the History of the Khalifahs begins, and onward to the end of the work, Arabic terminology predominates, I judged that I could not do better than adopt the usage devised by the Rev. G. P. Badger, D.C.L., allowedly a competent authority in what relates to that language. Through

Dr. Badger's courtesy, I am enabled to set before the reader the following *rationale* of his system :—

‘My main object has been to convey the correct sound, and, as far as may be, to preserve the etymology of Arabic words, without resorting to unfamiliar expedients, such as the use of arbitrary diacritical points, &c.

‘Nobody can be more aware than I am that neither of these ends can be perfectly attained without the aid of devices of some kind to indicate the sound of those Arabic letters which are foreign to our language. But bearing in mind that persons unacquainted with Arabic would undoubtedly fail to pronounce such words correctly even with that help, I have eschewed resorting to it, resting satisfied at present with giving, through Roman letters, the nearest approach to the right sound practically attainable by the generality of English readers.

‘I represent both the ح and ه—two radically different letters, the first a deep pectoral, and the second a slight aspirate—by our *h*. Whenever the latter occurs as the feminine termination of a word, and preceded by the vowel *a*, as in *Mekkah*, *Jeztrah*, the *h* is nearly mute, as in our *heir*, *hour*. س, a sibilant, and ص, a faucial, I represent by *s*; ت and ط, the former our *t*, and the latter like the same letter as more emphatically enunciated by Irishmen, by *t*; and ق and ك—the first a guttural and the second like our *k*—by that letter only.

‘The other Arabic letters, which have no equivalents in our language, are خ, ذ, ض, ع, and غ. The sounds of خ and ض are expressed nearly enough for all practical purposes by *kh* and *dh* respectively. ذ I write *dz* and ط *zh*, by way of distinguishing them, and also for etymology's sake, rather than because the expedients convey any very clear idea of the proper native sounds. Those who are puzzled by the combinations may content themselves with pronouncing both as *z*. In order, however, to prevent the bizarre appearance of four consonants coming together in the transliteration

into English, whenever either of these four letters is double in the Arabic, I separate the combinations by a hyphen; thus, *fakh-khâr*, *nadh-dhâdh*, *kadz-dzâf*, *munâzh-zham*. Fortunately, such words are of rare occurrence.

‘I adopt the same expedient with ش—adequately represented by *sh*—when that letter is doubled; thus, *hash-shâsh*, *fash-shâr*. Also, when it occurs at the end of a syllable and is followed by *h*, as in *Mâsh-had*, which, otherwise, English readers might pronounce *Ma-shad*. And, again, when a syllable ends with *h* and the succeeding one begins with *s*, as in *Ah-sâ*.

‘The guttural ġ I express by *gh*, and the ξ with an apostrophe before the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, when they follow that letter in the Arabic, as ‘*Abd*, ‘*Irâk*, ‘*Ulamâ*, ‘*Sanâ’â*, and after the vowels when it occurs at the end of a word or syllable, as *rahâ’*, *Râdha’*, *ez-Zaïla’*.

‘The remaining Arabic consonants correspond generally with those of the English alphabet. The sound of our *c*, as in *cat*, being supplied by my use of *k*, I only resort to it, conjoined with *h*, to express the Persian چ, which is equivalent to our *ch* in *Charles*.

‘There are only three vowels in Arabic, in sound like *a*, *i*, *u*, in *far*, *pit*, *lunar*, respectively. The Arabic equivalent of *a* takes, in some positions, the sound of *e* in *beg*—a grammatical nicety seldom correctly observed; and I should have preferred expressing the corresponding Arabic vowel sound always by *a*; but the use of the *e* has so long prevailed, especially in writing the definite article *el* (properly, *al*), and such words as *Ahmed* and *Jeztrah* (correctly, *Ahmad*, *Jaztrah*), that I have, regrettingly, retained it in such cases. For the same reason I have retained the vowel *o* in names which have become familiar by long usage, such, as ‘*Omar*, ‘*Omân*, ‘*Othmân*, which should severally begin with ‘*U*.

‘To indicate the prolongation of a vowel, I place over it the familiar circumflex ( ^ ), as in *Bukhâra*, *Târân*, *Baghdâd*, in preference to the acute accent ( ' ) recently sanctioned by

the Government of India, whereby the hitherto universal use of that accent by English lexicographers to denote where a syllable should be accentuated is overlooked, and its utility lost. I retain it with that object, which is one of great importance in the pronunciation of Eastern names. Thus, *Kájar*, *Máskat*, *Láhej*, are severally marked as requiring the accentual emphasis to be given to the first syllable.

'The Arabic diphthongs are *ai*, *ei*, *au*, in sound like *ie* in *pie*, *ei* in *vein*, and *ow* in *how*. When doubled in the same word, I express the *au* by *aww*, as in *Tawwám*.

'The Arabic suffix  $\text{ـ}ي$ , when used to denote an ordinary or gentile adjective, I represent by *y*, which somewhat in the same way constitutes the formative of many of our English adjectives, as *windy* from *wind*, *stormy* from *storm*. I prefer this expedient to that which has recently been adopted, of expressing the suffix by a circumflexed *í* (as in *Hindí*), because that mark is generally used, as I use it, to denote a prolonged vowel, from which this adjective termination differs very essentially. The *y* in such cases should be pronounced with a ringing Italian *i* sound.

'I notice, lastly, that in addition to the use made of the apostrophe, as stated above, I avail myself of it, as in English, to denote the elision of a letter, as in *won't*. Its utility is great in this respect, especially in transliterating compound Arab names, which generally require to be put into the construct case. Thus, '*Abd-el-Majíd*, '*Násir-ed-Dín*, '*Abd-er-Rahmân*, should be written and pronounced '*Abdu-'l-Majíd*, '*Násru-'d-Dín*, '*Abdu-'r-Rahmân*, the apostrophe representing the elision of the *e* of the article, in its different forms here presented of *el*, *ed*, *er*, and the junction in one syllable of the *u*, the final vowel denoting the nominate of the nouns '*Abd* and '*Násir*, with the *l*, or second letter of the article, which remains. But however correct and desirable this style may be, I do not advocate its adoption in names which have become familiar to the ordinary English reader under a different form.

‘I wish it to be understood that my system is tentative only, and designed to facilitate the introduction of a perfect transliteration of Arabic into Roman characters, which shall correctly represent not the sound only, but also the etymology of the former language.’

If in the portion of the book already referred to I have knowingly departed from Dr. Badger’s system, it has been mainly in respect of those Oriental names which, by familiar usage hitherto, are more readily recognisable amongst us in a less correct form than that which he provides. Besides these, however, there will doubtless be found, in the multiplicity of Eastern words and names recorded, numerous errors and inconsistencies, for which I must crave the indulgence of the reader and critic.



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*Errata.*

Pages 1, 2, 17, 22 . . .	for	Ferdosi .	read	Ferdausy.
„ 3, 5, 13, 17, 26, 27 „		Khorassan .	„	Khurásán.
„ 5, 13 . . . . „		Kerman .	„	Kirmán.
„ 27 . . . . „		Meehed .	„	Másh-had.
„ 44 <i>line</i> 9; 48 <i>line</i> 14 „		Moslem .	„	Muslim.
„ 137 . . . . „		Muttra .	„	Mattra.
„ 297, 132 . . . . „		{ Naurshirvan } { Anushirwán }	„	Naushirwán.
„ 361 ( <i>note</i> ) . . . . „		Thompson .	„	Thomson.
„ 13 . . . . „		Turkomans.	„	Turkmáns.
„ 319 . . . . „		Zend .	„	Zand.

# HISTORY OF PERSIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PAISHDADIAN DYNASTY.

THE chief authority for the early history of Persia is the famous poet Ferdosi. His *Shah-Nameh* is founded on the most ancient traditions, embellished by his own rich imagination. Malcolm's history of the more remote ages is taken chiefly from Ferdosi, but also from the Arabian work called *Zinut-ul-Tuarikh*, and from a work called the *Dabistan*, written by Mohsin Fani, a native of Kashmir.

But for actual historical facts we are dependent on Herodotus, Ctesias, and the other Grecian writers, and on a few inscriptions.

Ferdosi's work is thoroughly Persian, embodying all the national legends. His version is alone received by the Persians themselves, and some knowledge of it is essential to a comprehension of their universally received notions of their own history. The *Shah-*

*Nameh* is not historical, but, like the *Annals of Livius*, it is national.<sup>1</sup>

In the most remote times it leads us to one of the cradles of the human race, the mountainous districts around the snow-clad peak of Ararat,<sup>2</sup> where some of the descendants of Shem still dwelt, and peopled Media—the modern province of Azerbaijan. They rapidly became rude and ignorant, until a king arose amongst them, named Kaiomurs, who is said to have been the son of Yessan Azum, the son of Elam, the son of Shem.

Kaiomurs was surnamed *Paishdad*, or the 'Just Judge,' and the dynasty he founded is called the *Paishdadian*. He reclaimed the people from barbarism, taught them to live in villages, and erected courts of justice; and it was not long before many neighbouring tribes, hearing of the blessings of his rule, placed themselves under his protection. He sent his brother into the distant East, to visit these new provinces, and

<sup>1</sup> An account of Ferdosi and his work will be given in a future chapter. The *Shah-Nameh* was translated, with parallel Persian text, by Jules Mohn. (4 vols. Paris, 1838.)

<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that Mount Ararat, near Erivan, is not the Ararat of Noah; nor was it ever said to be so until within the last 500 years. It was an invention of Armenian priests. The Ararat of Scripture means the whole of the mountainous country north of Mosul, and the plain of Nineveh. In our translation, it says the sons of Sennacherib fled into Armenia.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew says nothing of the kind, but that they fled into Ararat, that is, into the mountainous district north of Nineveh.—*Sir H. Rawlinson's Speech*, *Royal Geographical Society*, November 8, 1858.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xix. 37, 'and they escaped into the land of Armenia.'



shortly afterwards followed himself. Kaiomurs traversed the forest-covered hills of Mazanderan, and the wide pastures of Khorassan, and met his brother in a fertile valley; where, to commemorate the event, he is said to have founded the famous city of Balkh, or Bakhdi, as the name is given in the Vendidad.

The king's son Nadek was devoted to study, and retired to a little hermitage in the hills near the Caspian, where he was murdered by a race of Dīvs or magicians, the eternal enemies of Iran. His son Siamek was also killed in a battle with the Dīvs; and the aged Kaiomurs prepared a great army to avenge their deaths. His forces were joined by all the lions, tigers, and panthers in his dominions—for even the beasts left their forests to aid the just king; and the Dīvs were entirely defeated and torn to pieces.

Kaiomurs, after a long reign, was succeeded by his great grandson Hushang, the son of Siamek, a prince renowned for justice and wisdom. He discovered fire by the collision of flint and iron, and wrote a book called *Jauvidan-Khird* (or 'Eternal Wisdom'), full of wise sentences. Many of them have been preserved, and among others were the following:

'Thunder is seldom heard, but the sun shines every day. We see ten thousand instances of God's goodness for one extraordinary act of vengeance. Let kings imitate Him by doing all the good they can; and let them always remember that though death is in their power, yet life is not.' Hushang is often said to

have been the founder of a religion ; but there can be little doubt that the more thoughtful Persians worshipped a supreme God, and continued to do so for ages. It is indeed very remarkable that, of all the nations in the world, Persia is the only one that has never, at any period of her history, worshipped graven images of any kind. The Vedic elemental faith was succeeded by the creed of Zoroaster, which was superseded by Islamism. Sir William Jones observes that 'the primeval religion of Iran was that which Newton calls the oldest of all religions' :

'A firm belief that one supreme God made the world by His power, and continually governs it by His providence ; a pious fear, love, and adoration of Him ; a due reverence for parents and aged persons ; a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation.'<sup>1</sup>

Hushang founded Susa, and subdued the people on the shores of the Persian Gulf ; thus his empire extended over the present kingdom of Persia.

In the north were Azerbaijan, or Media, a mountainous district whence the first Paishdadian settlers had originally come ; the fertile little province of Ghilan ; and the forest-covered mountains of Elburz, running through the province of Mazanderan, near the shores of the Caspian Sea. Further to the East was a line of pastures and hilly country extending towards

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jones's Works, vol. i. p. 87.

Balkh, and bounded on the North by the deserts of Turan, and on the south by the salt desert of Kerman : this is the province of Khorassan. In the east and south-east part of Persia is a vast salt desert, 400 miles long and 200 broad, abounding in salt marshes, and crusted with a coat of brittle earth, interspersed with rocky ridges. It extends to the province of Sistan, which here divides Persia from Afghanistan. The valleys of central Persia abound in valuable vegetables and fruits, and rich pastures, and the orchards produce every kind of fruit known in Europe. From Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana) to Shiraz, near Persepolis, there is a lofty chain of mountains, with several majestic peaks capped with perpetual snow. On the western side are spurs of hills, crowned with oaks and walnut trees, and well-watered valleys, possessing a generous soil, and producing pomegranates, cherries, figs, vines, corn, barley, and excellent pastures for sheep and cattle. On the eastern side is a lofty plateau.

In this range of mountains rise the rivers Karún and Kerkhab, which fall into the Persian Gulf ; and on their south-west side a vast plain extends to the Shat-el-Arab,<sup>1</sup> and Tigris. Here the ancient city of Susa was built.

The narrow strip of arid and level country which extends from the mouth of the river Karún, along the shores of the Persian Gulf, resembles Arabia in soil and climate. It consists of a succession of sandy plains, with occasionally a large plantation of date palms, near

<sup>1</sup> After the Tigris and Euphrates unite, the river is called *Shat-el-Arab*.

the wells and fresh water rivulets, which are thinly scattered over this barren region.

Hushang ruled over this country, so diversified with fertile valleys, rich plains, lofty mountains, and barren deserts, for many years, and was at last killed in an attack upon some barbarians, when a large rock was thrown upon him.

He was succeeded by Tahamurs, who died at Balkh after a long reign; and the crown of Persia then descended upon the head of the renowned Jamshid.

Jamshid founded the famous city of Istakar, called by the Greeks Persepolis,<sup>1</sup> thirty-five miles from the modern town of Shiraz. He introduced the use of music and wine; and invented a more correct method of calculating time by the solar year, in which, in the space of 130 years, a month was intercalated. New Year's day, called *Noroz*, was celebrated as a great religious festival.

Many learned men from distant countries frequented his court; and it is said that Taou, the famous Chinese rationalist, and Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher, became acquainted in the palace of Jamshid. At least, it is recorded that at nearly the same time, and in countries more than a thousand miles apart, Taou and Pythagoras both discovered the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid, and it is known that they both visited Persia.

Jamshid was much helped in the business of

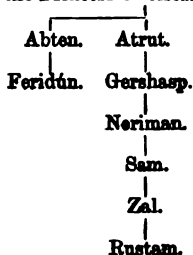
<sup>1</sup> Called also *Tukt-e-Jamshid*, the 'throne of Jamshid.'

government, by considering the transactions of bees ; and his renown spread over all the civilised world.

But terrible reverses overshadowed the latter years of his life. Persia was invaded, from the west, by a prince named Zohak with a great army, who defeated the forces of Iran, and the unfortunate Jamshid fled to Sistan, and there married a daughter of the prince of the country, and became the ancestor of the heroic Bustam.<sup>1</sup> He was, however, at length captured, and put to a cruel death by order of Zohak—who had him sawn in two with a fish's bone.<sup>2</sup>

Zohak was a cruel tyrant, with a meagre pallid face and wild sparkling eyes. He had a serpent growing

<sup>1</sup> Jamshid = the Princess of Sistan.



<sup>2</sup> Ferdosi relates that the cause of Jamshid's fall was his inordinate pride, and forgetfulness of God.

All looked up to the throne, and heard and saw  
 Nothing but Jamshid : he alone was King,  
 Absorbing every thought ; and, in their praise  
 And adoration of that mortal man,  
 Forgot the worship of the great Creator.

. . . . .

Whoever proudly neglects the worship of God,  
 Brings desolation on his house and home.

When brought before Zohak, Ferdosi describes him as

. . . . . oppressed with shame. He stood  
 Like the narcissus bent with heavy dew.

out of each shoulder, which gnawed the flesh, and he used the remedy of continually washing them with children's blood. Among his victims were the sons of a blacksmith named Kâf, who ran up and down the street of his native town, crying out for vengeance upon the tyrant, and waving his apron in the air. He soon collected a large army, defeated Zohak in a great battle, and besieged him in a castle of Azerbaijan, still known by his name.<sup>1</sup> The tyrant was captured and confined for life in a cave amongst the mountains of Elburz; and the noble blacksmith Kâf placed Feridún, the son of Abten, the son of Jamshid, on the throne.

Malcolm believes that the tyranny of Zohak is intended to represent the period of Assyrian domination; and Sir H. Rawlinson suggests that the notices of Persians, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, 'will go far to verify the suspicion of the subjection of the race to the Assyrian yoke being figured under the tyrannical rule of Zohak; and will enable us, in the end, to introduce something like accuracy and order into the traditions embodied in the Shah-Nameh.'<sup>2</sup>

On the death of Jamshid, Feridún had been concealed by his mother in the mountains of Elburz, where the royal child was nourished by a cow, named Purmaiah; and, in remembrance of this, he carried an iron mace with a cow's head on it (called *Gurz*

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Monteith's Journal in Azerbaijan.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson's *Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria* (1853). Note p. 46.

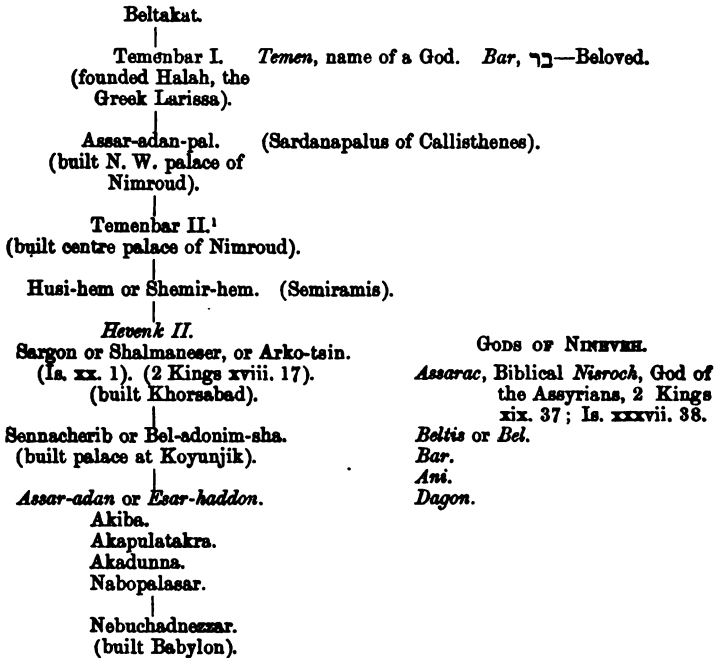
Sir H. Rawlinson said, he believed that *Zohak* was identical

*gavisir*) as his weapon in battle. At the age of sixteen he joined the army of Kâf; and, on the

with Astyages the Mede.—*Speech at Royal Geographical Society*, November 8, 1858.

In modern Persia, there is a tradition that Feridûn buried Zohak under the peak of Demavend.

Sir H. Rawlinson has ascertained the succession of many of the Assyrian kings from the Cuneiform Inscriptions at Nimroud, &c.



<sup>1</sup> The annals of *Temenbar II.*, on an obelisk in the centre palace of Nimroud, have been deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson. As far as they concern ancient Persia, they say (*Temenbar* himself speaking):

'In the 18th year I crossed the river Zab, and went against the country of the Arians (Medes?) *Sut-mesitch*, King of the Arians, I put in chains, and I brought his wives, and his warriors, and his gods, captives to my country of Assyria. And I appointed Yanvu, the son of Khanah, to be King over the country in his place.

'In the 24th year I went out of the land of the Arians, and received the tribute of the 27 kings of the Persians. Afterwards I removed from the land of the Persians, and entered the territory of the Medes. I punished the evil-disposed. I gave the cities over to pillage.' Rawlinson believes these Persian tribes to have been settled at Rhages and on the Caspian; and that *Temenbar's* Inscription is synchronous with the first Fargard of the Zend Avesta. The Medes might then be the people of Atropatene (Azerbaijan).

overthrow of Zohak,<sup>1</sup> succeeded to the throne of Persia.

The apron of the blacksmith Kâf, the saviour of his country, became the Royal standard of Persia, and remained so until it was captured by the Muhammadans in the fatal battle of Cadesia, a thousand years afterwards. It was called *Darafsh-e-Kâwani* ('Standard of Kâf'), and was covered with jewels.

Feridûn was a great and wise king. He married a daughter of Zohak, and had two sons, Selm and Tur. On her death he married secondly the beautiful *Iran Dukht*, or Daughter of Iran, and had a son named Erij.

When the king became very old, he divided his empire amongst his sons, giving Selm the Western country, Tur the Eastern, while to Erij, the son of his beloved Iran-Dukht, he gave Persia.

But the two elder brothers were discontented, and reproached their father with injustice. Erij resolved

<sup>1</sup> On the overthrow of Zohak, his two grandchildren, named Suri and Sam, fled to Nevahend; and eventually the latter fled, with his wife and children, and ten horsemen, to the mountains of Ghorî, where he built the castle of Zomyandesh. At the time of the Prophet Muhammad, Ghorî was ruled by Shist, a descendant of Shuja, son of Sam, who was converted to Islamism. Amir Yahye, descended from Shist, was contemporary with Harûn-er-Rashid. His descendant Muhammad Ghorî, overthrew the Ghaznavide dynasty, and conquered Lahore. He invaded India in 1191, and was defeated by the Rajahs of Delhi and Ajmir, at a place eighty miles from Delhi. He fled to Lahore. Pithau Rai of Ajmir collected 800,000 horse and 8,000 elephants on the former field of battle; and Muhammad Ghorî utterly defeated him. Muhammad Ghorî's two slaves became the rulers of Delhi and Bengal.—From *Ferishta*.



to give up his share of empire, rather than be the cause of dissension which afflicted his father. He, therefore, repaired to the camp of his brothers to make the offer, but was cruelly murdered by them. The unfortunate prince implored them to spare his life, exclaiming—

Will you ever allow it to be recorded  
That you, possessing life, deprive others of that blessing?  
Pain not the ant that drags the grain along the ground,  
It has life, and life is sweet and delightful to all to whom it belongs.

But they showed him no mercy, and sent his head to their father Feridún.

The old man fainted at the sight, and when he recovered, he exclaimed—

‘May they never more enjoy a bright day! May the demon Remorse tear their savage bosoms! As for me, I only desire from God that gave me life, that he will continue it till a descendant shall arise from the race of Erij to avenge his death.’

The daughter of Erij, named Peri-cheher (or ‘Fairy Face’), was married to Pushung, a nephew of Feridún, and their son, Menucheher, was the image of his grandsire, Erij. He was the cherished hope of his father, and of old Feridún, who brought him up and educated him carefully. At length, he was old enough to take the field against his wicked uncles,<sup>1</sup> and defeated them, killing both Selm and Tur. From *Tur*

<sup>1</sup> The brothers, fearing the prowess of Menucheher, sent an embassy with costly presents to Feridún, to avert the approaching storm. Feridún showed the envoy his great warriors: Gavar (Kâf),

the name *Turan* is derived, whose wildernesses were peopled by his descendants.

On his death the aged Feridún left the throne to Menucheher, saying :

‘Believe, my son, that every day of your life is a leaf in your history. Take care, therefore, that nothing be written in it which is not fit for posterity to see.’

Feridún was the greatest monarch of the Paishadian Dynasty, and the Persian poet thus speaks of him :

‘The happy Feridún was not made of musk and amber. By his justice and generosity he gained great and good ends. Be thou just and generous, and thou shalt be a Feridún.’

Menucheher was a wise prince, and turned many wildernesses into fertile plains, by making aqueducts and cutting water courses. The aqueducts were made

and his two sons Shahpuar and Shirueh, and Karún, and Sam, and Nariman ; and then the old monarch indignantly exclaimed :

Hence with your presents, hence away,  
 Can gold or gems turn night to day ?  
 Shall gold a father's heart entice  
 Blood to redeem beyond all price ?  
 Hence, hence with treachery ; I have heard  
 Their glowing falsehoods every word.  
 The brothers of my murdered boy  
 Who could a father's hope destroy,  
 An equal punishment will reap  
 And lasting vengeance o'er them sweep.  
 They rooted up my favourite tree,  
 But yet a branch remains to me.  
 Now the young lion comes apace,  
 The glory of his glorious race ;  
 He comes apace to punish guilt,  
 Where brother's blood was basely spilt ;  
 And blood alone for blood must pay ;  
 Hence with your gold, depart, away !—Atkinson's *Sháh-Námah*.

by a succession of small wells, a few yards from each other, connected at the bottom by a channel.<sup>1</sup> They commenced at a spring, and led across the plains, thus irrigating and making fertile what was formerly desolate and barren.

It was during the reign of Menucheher that the first irruption of the lawless hordes of Turkomans is recorded to have taken place.

The north-eastern frontier of Persia is formed by the desert of Turan, and from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea at Astrabad, nearly to Herat, there is a line of low hills, interspersed with fertile valleys, and rich pasture abounding in antelopes and wild asses. They form the province of Khorassan, which is bounded on the north by the Turkoman Desert (or desert of Turan), and on the south by the great salt desert of Kerman.

From time immemorial the wild roving tribes to the north have periodically invaded Khorassan, sometimes only making insignificant predatory excursions, but at others they have come in such numbers as to overrun the whole of Persia. Such were the invasions of Afrasiab, Togrul Beg, and Zengis Khan.

In the reign of Menucheher, Afrasiab, king of Turan, a descendant of Tur, invaded Khorassan with a great army; and, after a long war, was finally driven back by Sam, the king's minister and general. Afrasiab agreed to confine himself, for the future, in the territory between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes (Sihun

<sup>1</sup> Called *Kanats*.

and Jihun). A place called Tash-kurghan, on the eastern slope of the Pamir, is still called the city of Afrasiab.<sup>1</sup>

The prosperity of Menucheher was owing to the wisdom and courage of his minister Sam, who was Prince of Sistan. This minister, and his renowned son and grandson, Zal and Rustam, were all Princes of Sistan; and for many years their lives formed a more prominent part of Persian history than those of the kings whom they served.

Sistan, a province between Persia and Afghanistan, is a flat country, with low hills here and there. One third of its surface is moving sand, and the other two thirds are composed of compact sand and clay, rich in vegetable matter, and covered with woods of tamarisk and *saghes*,<sup>2</sup> reeds, and abundant pasture.

The Helmund,<sup>3</sup> rising in the mountains near Kabul, flows into Sistan, and empties itself into the lake of Zirreh.<sup>4</sup> It is by far the finest river between the Tigris and the Indus. In the first part of its course it flows through scarped defiles, and is ob-

<sup>1</sup> Tash-kurghan is a very remarkable place. No English traveller has ever been there; but Sir Henry Rawlinson has collected all that is known about it, in a note to his *Monograph on the Oxus*, *R. G. S. Journal*, xlii. p. 503.

<sup>2</sup> The name of *Sistan* is said by some to be derived from the *saghes* wood, much used by the Persians for burning. It was formerly called *Saghestan*, and its true etymology is the country of the Sagan or Sacæ.

<sup>3</sup> Etymander of the Greeks.

<sup>4</sup> Sistan, in the Behistún Inscription, is called *Zoraka*, or 'the Lake Country.'

structed by enormous masses of rock, but a little above Girishk it is less confined, and is turned to account in irrigating the plain. It is here ninety yards wide, the water cold, clear, and fresh, and the banks covered with luxuriant vegetation. The average depth is two fathoms, and the current very rapid. On this part of its course the land on either side is cultivated, but lower down there is nothing but grass land and woods. The lake of Zirreh, into which the Helmund flows, is now almost completely dried up. Opposite the mouth of the Helmund, there was once an island in the lake, with ruins, which are said to have been the castle of Rustam.

After the retreat of Afrasiab, Sam lived in Sistan, and had a son named Zal, who was born with golden hair.<sup>1</sup>

The young Zal was brought up on the banks of the Helmund, and passed his time in hunting and warlike

<sup>1</sup> Sam, horrified at his son's white hair, and being told by his friends that

If not a demon, he at least  
Appears a party-coloured beast,

took him up Mount Elburz, and exposed him to be devoured by wild beasts. Elburz was the abode of that strange fabulous bird, called the *Simurgh*: which kindly took Zal, nourished and protected him for several years. A dream at last led Sam to go and seek his son on Elburz, when the *Simurgh* restored him, and they returned to Sistan. The *Simurgh* told Zal that he would assist him in difficulty or danger, and that he must never cease to remember it. The warm-hearted bird added:

I have watched thee with fondness by day and by night,  
And supplied all thy wants with a father's delight;  
O forget not thy nurse—still be faithful to me—  
And my heart will be ever devoted to thee.

exercises. One day, as he was following the chase amongst the wild mountains near Kabul, he came to a lonely tower, on the summit of which was a beautiful damsel. They gazed upon each other and fell in love, but there was no way of getting up. At last the lady loosened her hair, which was so long that it reached the ground, and thus the young Prince ascended. The lady proved to be Rudabeh,<sup>1</sup> a daughter of Mihrab,<sup>2</sup> king of Kabul, who consented to their marriage.

Zal and Rudabeh were the parents of Rustam, the great hero of ancient Persian history. The Simurgh assisted at his birth.

After a long and prosperous reign, Menucheher was succeeded by his son Nudar. During his time, Afrasiab again invaded Persia, and the aged Sam died while marching to resist him. The King of Turan

<sup>1</sup> Ferdosi thus describes Rudabeh :

Her name Rudabeh ; screened from public view,  
 Her countenance is brilliant as the sun ;  
 From head to foot her lovely form is fair  
 As polished ivory. Like the spring, her cheek  
 Presents a radiant bloom—in stature tall,  
 And o'er her silvery brightness, richly flows  
 Dark musky ringlets, clustering to her feet.  
 She blushes like the rich pomegranate flower ;  
 Her eyes are soft and sweet as the narcissus,  
 Her lashes from the raven's jetty plume  
 Have stolen their brightness, and her brows are bent  
 Like archer's bow. Ask ye to see the moon ?  
 Look at her face. Seek ye for musky fragrance ?  
 She is all sweetness. Her long fingers seem  
 Pencils of silver, and so beautiful  
 Her presence, that she breathes of heaven and love.

<sup>2</sup> Of the race of Zohak.

was thus enabled to advance into Khorassan, where he defeated and killed Nudar. But, in the meanwhile, Zal collected an army, and after a bloody war, which brought famine and pestilence in its train, he forced Afrasiab to retreat into Turan, and placed Zab, the lawful heir, upon the throne of Persia. Zab was a good prince, though fond of eating, and he invented several kinds of sauces and broths. Afrasiab had confined many Persian nobles in the castle of Sari, the capital of Mazanderan, who were released by Zal. The ruins of this castle were standing in 1743, with four ancient temples, in the form of round towers 120 feet high.<sup>1</sup>

Zab was succeeded by his son Kershasp,<sup>2</sup> the last of the Paishdadians. In his reign, while Zal was in Sistan, Afrasiab again invaded Persia, slew the King, and conquered the whole empire.

Thus ended the Paishdadian dynasty, that of the earliest rulers of Persia, who lived in times so very distant that many writers have believed the whole of their history to be fabulous. Yet the universal traditions of a country, and on such was Ferdosi's History founded, are generally based on truth; and at all events the rebellion of Kâf is not a fable, for his apron was captured by the Arabs in the fatal battle of Cadesia, and thus confirmed the truth of this event in the remote history of Persia.

The Persians, in the Paishdadian period, were pro-

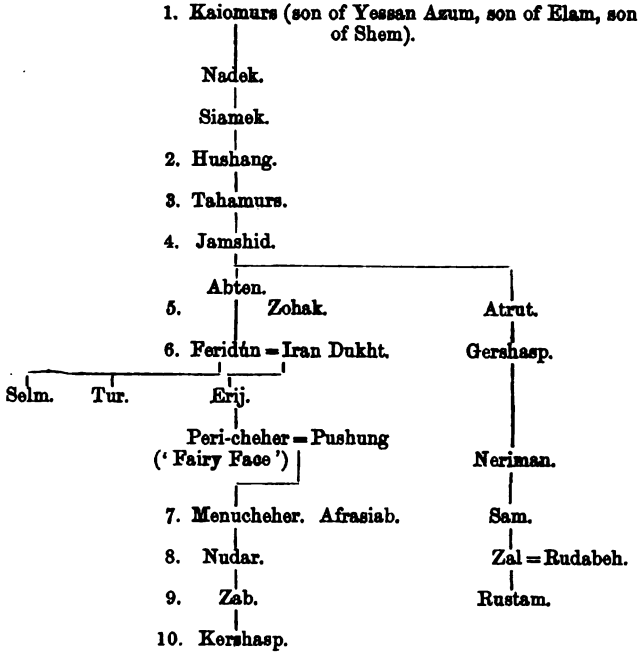
<sup>1</sup> Jonas Hanway's Travels.

<sup>2</sup> The Arbiânes of Ctesias.

bably a virtuous and primitive race, and held the belief in one God.

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PAISHDADIAN KINGS.





## CHAPTER II.

## KAIANIAN DYNASTY.

FOR several years, while the barbarian King Afrasiab tyrannised over the conquered children of Iran, Zal the Prince of Sistan, brooded over the misfortunes of his country, and trained up his heroic son Rustam amongst the tamarisk woods on the banks of the Helmund.

At length he succeeded in collecting a great army, composed of Persian fugitives ; and Rustam was sent to the fastnesses of the Elburz mountains, to invite Kai Kobad, a grandson of the Paishdadian King Menucheher, to come from his concealment, and accept the crown. He encountered the fugitive Prince at the foot of the snowy peak of Demavend, and after a feast, during which the cup circulated freely, they proceeded to the camp of Zal, and Kai Kobad was proclaimed King of Iran, and thus founded the Kaianian dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

Rustam then advanced against Afrasiab, with the cow-headed club of his grandsire Sam. He slew 1,160 enemies, and drove the armies of Turan beyond the

<sup>1</sup> From *Kai*, an epithet signifying regal rank, which was prefixed to the names of several of their kings. The Kaianian dynasty is the Achaemenian of the Greeks.

Oxus. Kai Kobad enjoyed a long reign: and he was so famous for his justice, that during his life the people of Iran ceased to lament the death of Feridún.

Kai Kobad <sup>1</sup> is believed to be the Dejojces of Grecian writers. He founded the city of Ecbatana, on a conical hill, in Azerbaijan, and surrounded it with seven walls, one inside the other, and overtopping each other by the battlements alone. These battlements were all of different colours: the first being white, the second black, the third scarlet, the fourth blue, the fifth orange, the sixth silver, and the seventh gold.<sup>2</sup> In the centre was a palace and a treasure-house, while the people were ordered to construct their dwellings round the outer wall. The plain in which it is situated, now called *Takhti Soliman*, when in the spring the

<sup>1</sup> Kai Kobad was the *Dejojces* of Grecian writers.

Herodotus says:—‘I shall follow the Persian historians, whose object it appears to be, not to magnify the exploits of Cyrus, but to relate the simple truth. There was a certain Mede named Dejojces, the son of Phraortes, a man of much wisdom, who had conceived to himself the desire of obtaining sovereign power.’—*Book I.*

The Grecian story of the rise of Dejojces is evidently fabulous. Grote says:—‘Of the real history of Dejojces we cannot be said to know anything; for the interesting narrative of Herodotus presents to us, in all points, Grecian society and ideas, not Oriental.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘The colours of the battlements are manifestly a fable of Sabeian origin; the seven colours mentioned by Herodotus being precisely those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies.’—Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*.

‘Thus Dejojces collected the Medes into a nation and ruled over them alone. These are the tribes of the Medes:

‘Buse	Arizanti
Parétacêni	Budii
Struchates	Magi.’— <i>Herodotus</i> .

rills descend from the mountains, is proverbial for its beauty throughout Persia.<sup>1</sup>

Kai Kobad was succeeded by his son Kai Kaús,<sup>2</sup> the Cyaxares<sup>3</sup> of the Greeks, and the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith. The first act of this king's reign was the rash invasion of the mountainous districts of Mazanderan, on the shores of the Caspian; but he was entirely defeated by his opponent, the Dív Safid or White Demon, and cast into prison.<sup>4</sup> Rustam determined to attempt his rescue, and mounted on his good horse Reksh, he boldly entered the wild territory of the Dívs.

He entered Mazanderan alone, by a pass which winds round the snow-capped peak of Demavend. Here the Persian hero was surrounded by magnificent scenery. Bold and picturesque rocks of limestone, groves of oak trees, and deep ravines, with streams

<sup>1</sup> *Ecbatana* means a treasure city. Two cities of this name became successively the capitals of Persia. The first one, built by Dejoces, may now be traced in the ruins on the hill at *Takhti Soliman*, in Azerbaijan. Sir H. Rawlinson has written a full and very interesting account of them. *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. x. p. 65.

The second *Ecbatana*, where Varahrán, or Ahasuerus, held his court, is the same as the modern Persian town of Hamadan.

<sup>2</sup> Dejoces was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who conquered the Persians. He was killed in a battle with the Assyrians of Nineveh. His son Cyaxares succeeded him.

<sup>3</sup> Cyaxares was succeeded by his son Astyages. He had a daughter named Mandane, whom he married to a Persian of royal race, named Cambyses. Then follows in Herodotus, the story of the birth of Cyrus.

<sup>4</sup> The army of Kai Kaús is said to have been struck blind: and this is clearly the eclipse of the sun, which the Grecian writers say occurred when King Cyaxares fought the Lydians. It was foretold by the philosopher Thales.

dashing through them, surrounded him at every turn. In this country fruit trees abound, the birds sing very merrily, and beautiful trees, in great variety, clothe the hills, with vines twisting round them.<sup>1</sup>

With the aid of Reksh, Rustam penetrated far into this unknown and mysterious land; and overcame a lion, a serpent, a sorceress, a giant, an army of Divs, and lastly, the Div Safid himself. He then rescued Kai Kaús, and restored him to his own dominions.

But this foolish king had no sooner been released from one difficulty, than he plunged into another. His next act was to attack the king of Hamaveran,<sup>2</sup> and demand his daughter in marriage. But Kai Kaús was taken prisoner, and Afrasiab immediately took the opportunity of crossing the Oxus with a great army.

In this emergency Rustam was again called from Sistan to the rescue. The hero first defeated the king of Hamaveran, forcing him to give his daughter Sudabah to Kai Kaús; and then advanced rapidly across Persia to oppose Afrasiab.

Then it was that the famous episode occurred, which is called by the poet Ferdosi, 'A tale full of the waters of the eye.'

In the days of his early youth Rustam had married a lady named Tamínuh, but very shortly afterwards he left her to serve his country, through many glorious

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Stuart's Tour in Mazanderan.

*Maz* means 'mountains'; *anderan*—'within'; in the Pehlvi language.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Assyria.

wars. She gave birth to a son named Zohrab, but fearing lest Rustam should claim him, she sent him word that it was a daughter. Before leaving her, however, Rustam took off his seal, charging her, if delivered of a son, to bind it on his arm as a token of recognition; and she obeyed this last injunction. When Zohrab grew up, though aware that Rustam was his father, he entered the service of Afrasiab, and in many battles carried terror into the Persian ranks.

At length the two armies met on the banks of the Oxus. Zohrab challenged the bravest Persian hero to engage him in single combat, and Rustam, under a feigned name, stood forward between the opposing hosts. The duel that followed was long doubtful; but at length Rustam dealt his adversary a mortal blow with his terrible cow-headed club, and Zohrab sank to the ground. The unfortunate youth warned his conqueror 'to shun the anger inspired by parental woes, and bade him dread the vengeance of the mighty Rustam.'<sup>1</sup>

Zohrab proved his words by exposing the ring that his mother had fastened round his arm, and the wretched father was overwhelmed with grief. He permitted the army of Afrasiab to retire beyond the Oxus, and carried the corpse of his son into Sistan, where it was buried.<sup>2</sup>

Kai Kaús had a son, named Siawush, of a noble and generous disposition, but who had incurred the resentment of his step-mother Sudabah, the daughter of the

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of the *Shah-Nameh* by Robertson.

king of Hamaveran. She accused him to the king, and he was forced to seek safety at the court of Afrasiab, where he was received with joy. He first married a daughter of Piran Wisa, the minister; and afterwards he obtained the beautiful Feringis, Afrasiab's own daughter, for his wife.

He received the land of Chin, or Chinese Tartary, as his wife's dowry; and retired to its delightful capital Kang,<sup>1</sup> where, says Ferdosi, 'the warmth was not heat, and the coolness was not cold.' Here he passed his time, with his beloved Feringis, in improving the condition of the people; until he was treacherously put to death by Gursivas, a brother of Afrasiab.

He left a son, named Kai Khusru, who was also ordered to be murdered, but the little child was concealed by the good old minister, Piran Wisa.

On hearing of the death of his son, remorse seized upon Kai Kaús, and, having put the wicked Sudabah to death, he marched an army into Turan to avenge the murder of the brave and generous young Siawush. The hero Rustam joined him from Sistan, and the armies of Afrasiab were again encountered near the Oxus. Rustam fought the bravest of the enemy, and hurled him back into the ranks of Turan. He then attacked and overcame Afrasiab himself, who retreated across the Oxus, and again ordered Kai Khusru to be sought out and put to a cruel death.

<sup>1</sup> The ruins, which mark the site of this ancient capital, are near Yarkand.—Rawlinson's *Monograph on the Oxus*. *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. xlii. p. 504.

Sir Henry suggested (*Jour. R. A. S.*, vol. x. pp. 146 and 321) that *Kang* was a Pehlvi word, signifying 'heaven.'

But the young prince fled eastward from Turan, and is even said to have wandered beyond the sea of China. He was, however, at length discovered by a faithful Persian warrior, who led him home and restored him to the aged Kai Kaús. The old king resigned the throne to his grandson; but in his retirement Kai Khusru paid him the greatest attention, and this conduct of the new king gladdened the hearts of his subjects.

Kai Kaús is said to have been fond of astronomy; and in pursuit of this favourite science he neglected the affairs of his kingdom to such an extent, that Rustam once angrily said to him, 'Hast thou managed thy affairs so well on earth, that thou must needs meddle with those of heaven?' It is generally supposed that the reigns both of Cyaxares and Astyages are comprised in that of Kai Kaús, and that Kai Khusru was Cyrus the Great.<sup>1</sup>

The final war with Afrasiab followed very soon after the accession of Kai Khusru. One day some peasants

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus says, in the time of Cyrus, that Persia was made up of the following tribes:

*Pasagardæ.* The chief tribe. Also the name of Cyrus's capital.

*Achæmenidæ.* The royal race. A clan of the Pasagardæ.

*Maraphians.*

*Maspian.*

*Panthæalians.*

*Derusæans.*

*Germanians,* engaged in husbandry. (Kerman?)

*Daans.*

*Mardians.*

*Dropicans.*

*Sagartians,* who were Nomades. They lent 8,000 horsemen to the army of Xerxes, armed with daggers and *lassoes*.

from the frontier districts of Khorassan, came to the king to complain that wild hogs were laying waste their fields.

A young nobleman and a great favourite of the king, named Bijun, volunteered to extirpate them ; and he was accompanied, owing to his youth, by the warrior Gurgin. Bijun killed many hogs, and Gurgin few ; and the latter, wishing to get the tusks from his young comrade to present to the king, determined to lay a trap for him. As they were sitting on a hill which commanded an extensive view towards Turan, Gurgin told young Bijun that he was the most valiant of heroes, and described the distant valley where the beautiful Muneja, the daughter of Afrasiab, resided.

He said : ‘ Seest thou yon valley of variegated hues, what a scene to fill the heart of a valiant man with joy ! Behold the sweet groves, beautiful gardens, and flowing streams. The stalk of the lily bends under the weight of the flower, and the whole grove is charmed with the fragrance of the rose bushes. See how the graceful pheasant moves among the flowers, while the doves and the nightingales warble from the branches of the cypress. Behold Muneja, daughter of Afrasiab, who, like the sun, irradiates the garden. If you make one day’s journey forward, you will reach the beautiful valley.’<sup>1</sup>

The temptation was too strong for young Bijun, who advanced into Turan, and was captured by the guards of Afrasiab. He was thrown into a pit, and his life was

<sup>1</sup> Ferdosi.



only preserved by the secret attentions of Muneja, who was touched by his youth and his devotion for her.

On receiving tidings of the misfortune of his young favourite, Kai Khusru, being joined by Rustam, advanced with a great army towards Turan. The first place they attacked was the fortress of Kelat, in Khorassan, about thirty miles N.E. of the present city of Meshed; which was defended by Ferud, a son of Siawush, by the daughter of Piran Wisa, and therefore half brother to Kai Khusru. Kelat<sup>1</sup> is situated on a very high hill, only accessible by two narrow paths. On the summit there is a plain, twelve miles in circumference, well watered and covered with verdure. Ferud was killed in defending his castle, and the hosts of Iran crossed the Oxus. Here they encountered the army of Turan, commanded by old Piran Wisa; and a great battle was fought.<sup>2</sup> The aged minister was killed, Afrasiab fled, and his ally, the Emperor of China, riding on a white elephant, was taken prisoner.

Kai Khusru then advanced into Turan, captured all its cities, and Afrasiab, after a very long reign passed in continual wars against Persia, after wandering about for months on the shores of the Caspian, was finally put to death.

<sup>1</sup> The birthplace of Nadir Shah.

<sup>2</sup> Kai Khusru, beholding the field of battle, exclaimed '*Kharesmi-bud*,' (I have my desire). The plain has ever since been called *Kharism*, or Khiva. A Persian geographer, writing in 1268 A.D., gives a different derivation for the word *Kharism* or *Khuwârism*. See Mr. Badger's extracts from *Zakaria-bin-Muhammad-bin-Mahmûd, el-Kazwîny*. (*Ocean Highways*, N. S., p. 151.)

Having thus put an end to his most formidable enemy, the king turned his arms to the West, and conquered Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. After a reign of sixty years, he resigned his crown to his adopted son Lohrasp, his own by affection; and devoted the remainder of his life to religious exercises. He is said to have retired to the banks of a stream in Azerbaijan, where he disappeared.

Kai Khusru<sup>1</sup> was a great and good, as well as a very successful prince. Fires were lighted during his reign, on the mountains of Elburz, as emblems of light and goodness; and he also seems to have believed in the God of the Jews. For when Isaiah wrote concerning this king, he spoke of him as 'my Shepherd, who shall perform all my pleasure;'<sup>2</sup> and when Daniel told Cyrus of this saying, the king readily testified his obedience and sincere belief that there was one true God: as afterwards appeared in his edict restoring the Jews.<sup>3</sup>

Lohrasp,<sup>4</sup> after a short reign, retired to a valley near Balkh, and became an ascetic in a Buddhist temple,

<sup>1</sup> Or Cyrus.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah xlv. 23, xlv. 1, and 'my anointed.'

<sup>3</sup> Ezra i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cambyses, on the death of his father Cyrus (by Cassandane) took the kingdom. B.C. 527 or B.C. 525 he invaded Egypt. After killing the calf-god Apis, Cambyses became mad. He sent to Susa, and caused his full brother Smerdis to be killed. He had a passion for wine. While he still lingered in Egypt, two Magi (brothers) revolted. One was Patizeithes, the other pretended to be Smerdis, whose death was concealed from the people. When Cambyses heard it, he sprang on his horse, meaning to lead his army to Susa, but his sword slipped out of the scabbard and killed him. Cambyses reigned seven years, and left no children.—*Herodotus*.

leaving the throne to his son Gushtasp,<sup>1</sup> the Darius Hystaspes of Grecian writers; in whose reign the so-called Zoroaster arose, the reformer of the religion of Iran. Gushtasp, also, built the famous palace at Persepolis, near Istakar, the city of Jamshid, and made it his principal residence.

Persepolis is situated in a plain, eighteen leagues long and four broad, watered by the river Bendemir

<sup>1</sup> Gushtasp was probably the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks. Herodotus relates that, after the death of Cambyses, a Persian noble named Otanes, discovered, through his daughter, that the Magian usurper was not Smerdis. He therefore took certain other nobles, went into the palace, and slew the Magian.

Names of the nobles according to Herodotus.	{	Ardomanes . . . . .	Ardumanish	} According to the Inscriptions at Behistún and Nakah-i-Rustam.
		Gobryas . . . . .	Gaubaruwa	
		( <i>Darius's bow-bearer</i> )		
		Intaphernes . . . . .	Vindaparna	
		Megabyzus . . . . .	Bagabukaha	
		( <i>Father of Zopyrus</i> )		
		Hydarnes . . . . .	Vidarna	
Otanes . . . . .	Utana			
Darius . . . . .	Darazavush			

On the anniversary of the day on which the Magian was slain, in every year, the Persians held a great festival called *Magophonia*. All the Magi must remain at home on that day. It was a perpetual warning to the priests, against trenching on the civil power.

Darius married Atossa, } daughters of Cyrus.  
 Artystone, }  
 Parmys, daughter of Smerdis.  
 Phædima, daughter of Otanes.

The true name of the Magian usurper, according to the Inscriptions, was Gomates.

Darius established twenty governments under satraps—*Khshatraps* of the Behistún Inscription, from

*Khshatram* . . . . . Crown or Empire.  
*Pa* پاس or پان . . . . . Keeper.

and other streams, and covered with villages adorned with pleasant gardens and shady trees. The palace, built by Jamshid at the N.E. end of the plain, and enlarged by Gushtasp, is described in an oriental work called the *Zinut-ul-Mujalis* :

Jamshid built a fortified palace at the foot of a hill, which bounds the fine plain of Mardasht to the N.E., and is called *Koh-i-Rahmat*, or the 'Hill of Mercy.' The platform on which it was built has three faces to the plain, and one to the mountain. It is formed of a hard crystalline limestone, and every stone used in this building is from nine to twelve feet long, and broad in proportion. The stones are exquisitely joined together, and are often, if not invariably, hollow. There are two great flights of stairs to this palace, so easy of ascent that a man can ride up them on horse-back ; and on the platform several temples were erected.

'Some most beautiful and extraordinary figures ornament this palace ; and all the pillars which once supported the roof are composed of three pieces of

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TWENTY GOVERNMENTS OF DARIUS :

- |  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. Ionians, Magnesians, Æolians, Carians, Lycians. | 11. Caspians.             |
| 2. Mysians, Lydians.                               | 12. Bactrians.            |
| 3. Phrygians, Paphlagonians.                       | 13. Armenia.              |
| 4. Cilicians.                                      | 14. Mekran.               |
| 5. Syrians.  | 15. Sacæ.                 |
| 6. Egypt.  | 16. Parthians and Arians. |
| 7. Sattagydians, Gandarians.                       | 17. Æthiopians of Asia.   |
| 8. Susa.   | 18. Alarodians.           |
| 9. Assyria.  | 19. Moschi.               |
| 10. Media.   | 20. Indians.              |

stone, joined in so exquisite a manner as to make the beholder believe that the whole shaft is one piece.'

Standing figures, in long robes, with short spears, fluted caps, and a quiver and bow, are sculptured on the walls of the staircases; and the sides of the terraces are ornamented with admirable bas-reliefs. The platform is now covered with broken shafts, capitals, and fragments of building ornamented with exquisite sculpture. Each pillar is formed of carved stone, and is ornamented in a manner so delicate that it would seem difficult to rival it in a carving upon the softest wood. The pillars, before their destruction, were six deep every way, in four divisions, but only ten are now standing. Their height was sixty feet, fluted in fifty-two divisions, with pedestals in the form of the cup and leaf of the lotus, and capitals surmounted by double demi-bulls.

The face of the mountain behind this beautiful palace is ornamented with sculpture, and there are two tombs cut in the rock. One of them has four pilasters, with double-headed unicorns for capitals, supporting an architrave. Inside there is a chamber, forty-six feet long, and having three cells for bodies on one side.

It is remarkable that there are no remains of a city close to the ruined palace, which was probably only used as a summer retreat, with magnificent temples and a place of royal sepulture. The ruins are four miles from the remains of the city of Istakar. The abode of the King of Iran was enriched with ivory, silver, and amber; and his golden throne was placed under a canopy, supported by four pillars. Large gardens and parks surrounded the palace; its halls

were thronged with Persian nobles, and the splendid feasts were enlivened by music and the songs of women. On certain occasions the humblest peasant could bring his complaint to the personal notice of his sovereign, who sat in state with a crown on his head, and a purple band, an emblem of royalty, round his forehead.

The princes and noble youths of Persia were taught justice, prudence, fortitude, and clemency by the learned men; and, as Herodotus says, from their earliest youth they learnt to manage a horse, use the bow,<sup>1</sup> and speak the truth.<sup>2</sup>

While Gushtasp was adorning and beautifying the palace of Jamshid, the reformer Zoroaster is said to have first made his appearance in the mountains of Azerbaijan. But the difficult questions relating to the time he lived and to the religion he established will be discussed separately in the next chapter.

The young Prince Isfandiar, son of Gushtasp, a great warrior who extended the arms of Persia into the remotest lands of the West,<sup>3</sup> was one of the first to embrace the faith of Zoroaster, and when Arjasp, king

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah speaks of the 'quiver of Elam.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Their sons are carefully instructed, from their fifth to their twentieth year, in three things alone—to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.'—*Herodotus*.

<sup>3</sup> Isfandiar was the Xerxes of the Greeks. The Oriental historians scarcely mention the invasion of Greece, and the defeats and disasters he met with. It is probable that the war, so glorious for the Greeks, was never generally known about in Persia; just as many Frenchmen, when the Allies were at Paris, had never heard of Trafalgar.

The numbers of the army of Xerxes, 1,000,000 men, must have been a gross exaggeration.

of Turan, refused to abandon his idolatry, Isfandiar prepared to make war upon him.

But Arjasp is said to have suddenly invaded Persia, seized the city of Balkh, and put the holy Zoroaster, and many other priests, to the sword. His triumph was, however, of short duration. Isfandiar advanced against him, and retook Balkh, defeating and killing the King of Turan.

He then prepared to invade Sistan, where the old warrior Rustam had refused to embrace the faith of Zoroaster. The hero was most unwilling to fight with Isfandiar ; but at length they met in single combat on the banks of the lake of Zirreh, and the king's son was killed. His dying request was that Rustam would educate his son Bahman ; and the body of the young prince was conveyed to Balkh.

But the glorious career of Rustam, the greatest of Persia's heroes, was drawing to a close. Through the treachery of a Prince of Kabul, he fell into a pit that had been dug for him, with his faithful horse Reksh, and his dying act was to transfix his murderers with an arrow. His son Feramurz was driven out of Sistan ; but his grandson, named Azer-ba-zin (literally 'fire upon the saddle'), recovered the patrimony of his ancestors.

On hearing of the death of his son, the old king died after a very long reign, and was succeeded by his grandson Bahman, the son of Isfandiar.

Gushtasp, or Darius, was 'a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice, and has the honour of having his name recorded in Holy Writ as a favourer of God's

people, and a promoter of his worship.'<sup>1</sup> He, as well as Cyrus, believed in the God of the Jews, for in his decrees relating to the temple at Jerusalem he expresses as much.<sup>2</sup>

Bahman, or Ardeshr Dirazdast ('long-handed'), the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks, and the Ahasuerus of the Bible, displayed great wisdom in the internal regulations of the empire, and was a just and good king.

He deprived Belshazzar,<sup>3</sup> a wicked ruler, of the government of Babylon, and often resided in that famous city himself. But his favourite residence was at Ecbatana, the modern city of Hamadan, where he enjoyed the society of Esther, the beautiful Jewess.

At Hamadan the face of the country is undulating, the soil rich, the water good, and the climate singularly clear, healthy, and bracing; with picturesque mountains at hand, for retirement during the heat of summer. The numerous plantations and gardens in the plain are watered by the streams that descend from the glaciers of Elwand. In the centre of Hamadan is the tomb of Esther and Mordecai. The entrance is by a low door, and the tomb occupies the whole of the internal space, leaving only a narrow passage for walking round. Jewish pilgrims, for a thousand years, have covered the walls with their names.

<sup>1</sup> Prideaux's *Connection*, vol. i. p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra vi. 9; and Ezra vi. 12, which is yet stronger.

<sup>3</sup> This must have been some subordinate governor, and not the monarch who was killed a century before, by Darius the Mede. This Darius the Mede was probably Kai Kaús.



Bahman was succeeded by his daughter Homai,<sup>1</sup> who was followed by her son Darab I. ; whose son Darab II. was the Darius Codomanus of the Greeks.

In his reign Alexander the Great conquered Persia, and the Kaianian dynasty, the most glorious in Persian history, came to an end. During the period of its existence the Persians enjoyed a degree of happiness and prosperity far beyond what has ever been experienced since. The evils of despotism were checked by a powerful warlike nobility ; manners were softened and refined by a spirit of chivalry which prevailed throughout the country, during the Kaianian dynasty ; and the heroes of Iran are not praised more for their valour than for their clemency and munificence.

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#### GREEKS AND PARTHIANS.

The conquests of Alexander the Great form the most wonderful and interesting narrative in ancient history. On his death his most able general, Seleucus (called Nicator, or 'the Conqueror') seized upon Syria and Persia, and for five centuries the children of Iran were oppressed by foreign conquerors.

Seleucus was succeeded by Antiochus Soter, who was

<sup>1</sup> *Homai* means a 'bird of Paradise.' Homai, is said, by some authors, to have built the Chebel Minar, at Persepolis.

followed by Antiochus Theos.<sup>1</sup> In his reign a chieftain named Arsaces, called by the Persians Arshk, slew the Viceroy Agathocles, threw off the Grecian yoke, and founded the Parthian Empire. He declared that he had recovered the apron of the blacksmith Kâf, the revered standard of Iran, and thus induced the Persians to assist him.

Arsaces fixed his residence at Rhé or Rhages, near the modern city of Tehran; and the chiefs of all the mountain tribes formed a confederacy under him, called the *Mulûk-ul-Sawdiif*, or the 'Commonwealth of Nations,' consisting of practically free feudatories. This was the Parthian kingdom of Roman writers.

The Parthians are called by Strabo, Carduchi, or Kurds; and it is probable that their army consisted partly of the wild tribes of Kurdistan, and partly of warriors from the deserts of Turan.<sup>2</sup> They stemmed the torrent of Roman conquest towards the East; their arrows and mode of warfare astonished and terrified the disciplined legions of Rome; and Crassus, amongst others, was defeated and killed by the Parthian general Surena.

They are scarcely mentioned by Ferdosi and other Oriental writers, and so few of their actions were recorded that the historian Khondemir exclaimed in despair, 'God alone knoweth the truth.' It would appear

<sup>1</sup> Seleucus Nicator . . . B.C. 312.  
 Antiochus Soter . . . B.C. 280.  
 Antiochus Theos . . . B.C. 261.  
 Arsaces . . . B.C. 250, founded the Parthian Empire.  
 Death of Crassus . . . B.C. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Called by the Romans *Massagetæ*, or Scythians.

from this, that they oppressed and treated with contempt the learned men of Persia, who looked upon them as barbarians, and neglected to record the events of their reigns.<sup>1</sup>

At length, however, a bright day once more dawned upon Iran, after having for five centuries groaned under the tyranny of Greeks and Parthians. In the year 228 A.D., Ardeshr, a descendant of the Kaianian monarchs, rose in rebellion, threw off the Parthian yoke, founded the Sassanian dynasty, and restored the kingdom of Persia to its former glory.

<sup>1</sup> The succession of the Parthian kings, and the events of their reigns, can only be gathered from Roman writers.

KAIANIAN KINGS.

	According to Persian Writers	According to Grecian Writers
<i>Herodotus.</i>		
Succeeded		
B. C. 708	Kai Kobad .	Dejoces
" 656		Phraortes
" 633	Kai Kats	Cyaxares
" 593		Astyages
" 558	Kai Khusru .	Cyrus
" 527	Lohrasp .	Cambyzes
" 520	Gushtasp .	Darius Hystaspes
" 486	Isfandiar .	Xerxes
" 466	Bahman .	Artaxerxes Longimanus
" 425		Xerxes II. and Sogdianus (2 months) (7 months)
" 424	Homai .	Darius Nothus
" 406		Artaxerxes Mnemon
" 359	Darab I. .	Ochus
" 338	Darab II. .	Darius Codomanus
Ob. 331		

There are strong grounds for believing that Cyaxares founded the great Median kingdom, in 633 B.C.—Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 409.

Dates according to Usher	
B.C. 556.	Darius the Mede, or Astyages, takes Babylon.
" 549.	Cyrus deposes Astyages.
" 548.	" takes Babylon.
" 547.	" sets the Jews at liberty.
" 529.	" dies. Cambyses succeeds.
" 521.	Cambyses dies.
" 520.	Darius or Ahasuerus succeeds.
" 516.	Ahasuerus marries Esther.
" 485.	Xerxes succeeds.
" 473.	Artaxerxes succeeds.
" 333.	Alexander the Great invades Asia.
" 330.	Darius Codomannus killed.
" 323.	Alexander the Great died.
" 261.	Antiochus Theos, king of Syria.
" 218.	Antiochus the Great.

## LIST OF THE PARTHIAN KINGS.

(Given by Major Vans Kennedy).

List in the <i>Muntakhabat Twarikh</i> , by Hassan ben Muhammad ben Khaki Shirazi, a chronological work, A.D. 1610	Moses Choronensis	I. Justin II. Josephus III. Tacitus IV. Playfair's Chronology
	Years.	Years.
<i>Ashak I.</i> . . . 15, 12, 10	<i>Arsaces I.</i> . . . 31	<i>Arsaces I.</i> . . . } I.
<i>Ashak II.</i> . . . 20, 7	<i>Artases I.</i> . . . 28	<i>Arsaces II.</i> . . . }
<i>Shapur</i> . . . 42, 61, 60	<i>Arsaces II.</i> . . . 77	<i>Priapatus</i> . . . }
<i>Babrum</i> . . . 11, 50	<i>Arsacanus</i> . . . 30	<i>Phraates I.</i> . . . }
<i>Palash I.</i> . . . 10, 12	<i>Arsaces III.</i> . . . 31	<i>Mithridates I.</i> . . . }
<i>Hormus</i> . . . 19, 12, 16	<i>Arses</i> . . . 20	<i>Phraates II.</i> . . . }
<i>Narsi</i> . . . 14, 40, 2	<i>Arastivus</i> . . . 46	<i>Artaban</i> . . . }
<i>Firus</i> . . . 17	<i>Artases II.</i> . . . 33	<i>Mithridates II.</i> . . . }
<i>Palash II.</i> . . . 12, 21	<i>Darius</i> . . . 30	<i>Orodes</i> . . . }
<i>Khoerou I.</i> . . . 40, 7, 10	<i>Arsaces IV.</i> . . . 19	<i>Phraates III.</i> . . . }
<i>Palash III.</i> . . . 24, 22	<i>Artases III.</i> . . . 20	<i>Phraolaces</i> . . . } II.
<i>Ardawan I.</i> . . . 13	<i>Peroses</i> . . . 33	<i>Orodes</i> . . . }
<i>Ardawan II.</i> . . . 23	<i>Valeres</i> . . . 50	<i>Vonones</i> . . . }
<i>Khoerou II.</i> . . . 16, 19	<i>Artabanus</i> . . . 31	<i>Artaban</i> . . . }
<i>Palash IV.</i> . . . 12		<i>Gotarzes</i> . . . }
<i>Gudars I.</i> . . . 30	This list looks as if it was made by him- self.	<i>Bardanes</i> . . . } III.
<i>Narsi II.</i> . . . 20		<i>Gotarzes (again)</i> . . . }
<i>Gudars II.</i> . . . 10		<i>Vonones</i> . . . }
<i>Narsi III.</i> . . . 11		<i>Vologeses I.</i> . . . }
<i>Ardawan III.</i> . . . 31		<i>Pacorus</i> . . . }
		<i>Khoerou</i> . . . }
		<i>Vologeses II.</i> . . . } IV.
		<i>Vologeses III.</i> . . . }
		<i>Artabanus</i> . . . }



DERIVATION OF PERSIAN NAMES—*continued*.

(Rawlinson.)

<i>Hystaspes</i> . . . <i>Vishtaspa</i> ('possessor of horses'), Zend. <i>Vishia</i> (to acquire). <i>Asp</i> (horse).	} ZOROASTER :	Rawlinson { זֵרָא, Zira עִשְׁתָּרִית, Ishtar,	} (seed of Ish-tar), Venus.	
<i>Otanes</i> . . . { <i>Hu</i> (good), { (strong of body), <i>Tanu</i> (body), } Zend.				
<i>Tigris</i> . . . <i>Tigra</i> (an arrow).				Brochaus { <i>Zara</i> } golden star { <i>Thrustra</i> , } (Aryan).
<i>Xerxes</i> . . . <i>Kshshayu</i> (king).				Burnouf { <i>Zarath</i> } having yellow { <i>Ustra</i> , } camels.

*Vendidad-Sade*, p. 361.

## BEHISTŪN INSCRIPTION,

cut by Darius's order, in the face of a rock near Kermanshah, in three languages : and deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson.

## (EXTRACTS.)

1. ' I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the dependent provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian.

3. ' Says Darius the king, from antiquity our family have been kings.

5. ' Says Darius the king, by the grace of Ormuzd I am king ; Ormuzd has granted me the empire.

6. ' Says Darius the king, these are the countries which have come unto me, by the grace of Ormuzd I have become king of them—Persia, Susiana, &c., &c., &c.

8. ' Says Darius the king, within these countries the man who was good, him I have right well cherished, whoever was evil, him have I utterly rooted out.

10. ' Says the Darius the king, this was what was done by me after I became king. A man named Cambyses, son of Cyrus, of our race, was king before me. Of that Cambyses there was a brother, Bardes was his name, of the same mother and of the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards that Cambyses slew Bardes. When Cambyses had slain Bardes, it was not known to the people

that Bardes was dead. Afterwards Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. Then the state became wicked. Then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia and in Media, and in the other provinces.

11. 'Says Darius the king. Afterwards there was a certain man named Gomates, a Magian. He thus lied to the state, "I am Bardes, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses." Then the whole state became rebellious. From Cambyses the state went over to him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. He seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses, unable to endure it, died.

12. 'Says Darius the king. The empire of which Gomates the Magian dispossessed Cambyses, that empire from the olden time had been in our family. After Gomates the Magian had dispossessed Cambyses, he became king.

13. 'The state feared Gomates the Magian exceedingly. He slew many people who had known the old Bardes. No one dared to say anything of Gomates the Magian till I arrived. Then I prayed to Ormuzd. Ormuzd brought help to me. Then, with my faithful men, I slew that Gomates the Magian, and those who were his chief followers. By the grace of Ormuzd I then became king, Ormuzd granted me the sceptre.

14. 'The empire that had been taken away from our family I recovered. As it was before, so I made it. The temples which Gomates had destroyed I rebuilt. The sacred offices of the state, both the religious chants and worship, I restored to the people, which Gomates the Magian had deprived them of.

15. 'Says Darius the king, this is what I did, after that I became king.

18. 'Says Darius the king, then I went to Babylon, against that Nidiatabelus, who was called Nabochodrossar. The people held the Tigris, there they were posted, and there they had boats. I brought the enemy into difficulty, Ormuzd brought help to me. By the grace of Ormuzd I crossed the Tigris. Then I went to Babylon. We fought a battle. Ormuzd brought help unto me. The enemy were driven into the water, the water destroyed them. Then I took Babylon, and slew that Nidiatabelus, &c., &c., &c.'

## NAMES.

Grecian.	On Behistún Inscription.
Darius . . . . .	Darazavush.
Gomates . . . . .	Gaumata.
Nidiatabelus . . . . .	Naditabira.
Cyaxares . . . . .	Uvakshatarchya.
Ormuzd . . . . .	Auramazdá.
Babylon . . . . .	Babirun.
Media . . . . .	Madan.
Gobryas . . . . .	Gaubaruva.
Nabochodrossar . . . . .	Nabukdrachara.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE ZEND AVESTA.

IF the Vedas are the most ancient extant writings of which we have any knowledge, the Persian Gathas undoubtedly rank next in antiquity. In them we first find the dawn of a higher and purer worship than the deification of the elements; and to them, therefore, we must turn for those conceptions of an Almighty Creator and a future life, of which but faint traces are to be found in the Vedic Hymns.

At the outset it is necessary to bear in mind that the Vedic Aryans and the ancient Persians were essentially the same people; that originally their religion was identical; and that there is as little difference between Sanscrit and Zend as between Attic and Doric or Ionic Greek.

Herodotus, as is well known, gives some account of the religion of the Magi. Ctesias, the physician of Artaxerxes, Deinon, Theopompos of Chios, and Herimippos<sup>1</sup> the Peripatetic, all wrote on the same subject;

<sup>1</sup> Said by Pliny to have translated the *Zend Avesta*. He was a learned scholar of Alexandria.

but their works are lost, though fragments have been preserved by Plutarch, Pliny, Cornelius Nepos, and others. Strabo, in his fifteenth book, Pausanias, and Agathias also wrote accounts of the Magian religion. Among the Arabs, Masudi (A.D. 950) gave some notices of the sacred books of the Parsees; and Shahrastani of Baghdad, a writer on religious creeds (A.D. 1153), had a better opinion of that of the Magi than most other Moslem writers.

But we gather little or nothing that is really authentic from these ancient writers, all of whom were foreigners who were ignorant of the language in which the sacred books of the Persians are written. It is to the scholars of modern Europe that all our reliable knowledge on this difficult subject is due; and the following is a brief sketch of their labours.

Hyde, the celebrated Oxford scholar, published in 1700 his *Historia religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*.<sup>1</sup> His sources of information were from Grecian, Roman, Persian, and Arabian writers; but he was unable to read the original texts of the Zend Avesta, though he possessed several manuscripts.

After Hyde, in this field of research, followed the enthusiastic Anquetil du Perron, whose romantic voyage to India in search of the Zend Avesta is so well known.

<sup>1</sup> Second edition, 1760, 580 pages. The *Saddar*, his authority, is quite modern, only written two centuries before Hyde's own time.

Mr. James Fraser, factor at Surat, collected MSS., now at Oxford. Author of *Life of Nadir Shah*.

1720, Mr. George Bowcher, merchant at Surat, sent home a copy of the *Vendidad-Sade*.

Having resolved to procure manuscripts of all the sacred books of Zoroaster in Western India, he entered himself as a sailor on board a ship of the French East India Company bound for Bombay, in 1754. Arriving at Surat, he bribed one of the most learned Dustúrs (Parsee priests) to procure him manuscripts, and teach him the language. In 1759, he set about making a French translation of the Zend Avesta; and in 1761 he sailed for Europe, having purchased many manuscript copies of the sacred books of the Parsees. These he compared with manuscripts in England, and he finally deposited the whole of his collection in the library at Paris, where they still remain. In 1771, he published his *Zend Avesta, the work of Zoroaster, translated into French*, 2 vols. 4to. His work, though incorrect and inaccurate, nevertheless gives a notion of the whole of the Zoroastrian ideas.<sup>1</sup> But it was only in the easier parts that he could gain an approximate idea of their contents, and he was unable to distinguish cases, tenses, or moods. Yet his descriptions of rites and ceremonies are quite correct: he was trustworthy, wrote only what was taught him by the Parsee Dustúrs, and much is due to him as the founder of all researches subsequently made into the Zend Avesta.

Erasmus Rask, a Danish scholar, followed in the footsteps of Anquetil. He went to Bombay to purchase Zend and Pehlvi manuscripts, and in 1830 deposited the most ancient known copies of two of the sacred

<sup>1</sup> Jones, then a young man, wrote a pamphlet attacking Anquetil. He said, 'Either Zoroaster did not write this book, or he did not possess common sense.'

Persian books<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1323)<sup>2</sup> in the royal library at Copenhagen. In 1826, he wrote a pamphlet 'On the Age and Genuineness of the Zend Language.'

At about the same time Eugène Burnouf, Professor of Sanscrit in Paris, applied his knowledge of that language to a discovery of the rudiments of Zend grammar and etymology. He discovered the incorrectness of Anquetil's translation, and published a lithographed copy of some of that scholar's manuscripts, being the first edition of Zend texts that ever appeared in Europe, 1829-33. Burnouf died in 1852.<sup>3</sup>

In 1829, Justus Olshausen, at Hamburg, published an edition of the first four chapters of the Vendidad; and Francis Bopp endeavoured to give an outline of the Zend grammar, chiefly according to the results arrived at by Burnouf, in his Comparative Grammar.

Frederic Spiegel, in 1850, was employed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Vendidad* and *Izeshne*.

<sup>2</sup> Dates 1186 and 1258 given for copies now lost. Text of Zend MSS., the same, only spelling varies.

The most ancient Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament are about two centuries older :

*Codex Laudensis*, twelfth century.

*Codex Carlsruhensis*, A.D. 1106.

*Codex Viennæ*, A.D. 1019.

*Codex Casenæ*, end of eleventh century.

*Codex Parisiensis*, twelfth century.

<sup>3</sup> ' *Etudes sur les Textes Zenides*,' in Journal of Paris Asiatic Society.

' *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*,' 1835, showed the close connection between Sanscrit and Zend. Sanscrit *S* becomes *H* in Zend, *H* becomes *Z*. Proper names of the Veda are found in the Zend Avesta.

Bavarian Government to copy all the Zend manuscripts in Paris, Oxford, London, and Copenhagen, and he published a translation. Hermann Brockhaus of Leipsic, in the same year, published an edition of some of the sacred books (*Vendidad, Yasna, and Visparat*) in Roman characters.

In 1841-43, a Danish scholar named Westergaard visited both India and Persia; and it is to him we owe the first complete edition of the Zend Avesta, published in 1852-4, with a dictionary and grammar.

Martin Haug, Professor of Sanscrit in the Púna College, commenced the study of Zend in 1852. Being convinced, like Burnouf, that the language of the Vedas stands, among all Aryan dialects, nearest to the Zend, he studied the language of the Rig-Veda Sanhita also. In 1858-60, he published at Leipsic the *Five Gathas, i.e., Collections of Songs and Sayings of Zarathrustra*, 2 vols.; and in 1862, at Bombay, his *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*. Thus, from Anquetil to Dr. Haug, the study of Zendic literature is barely a century old.

We must now glance at the history of the Zend Language, and at the channels through which the ancient Persian sacred books in that language passed down into the hands of the modern Parsees.

Dr. Haug divides the ancient language of Iran into the Bactrian and Median branches. The Bactrian branch is that in which the scanty fragments of the sacred Persian scriptures are written. It was dying out between B.C. 300 and 200. In the Median branch a few documents are extant in the cuneiform inscriptions

at Persepolis and Behistún. It is closely allied to the Bactrian of the Zend Avesta, but shows some peculiarities. This language was undoubtedly the mother of modern Persian, though the differences between them are great. The ancient tongue had many inflexions, like Zend and Sanscrit, in nouns, verbs, and genders, while the modern Persian has lost nearly all. In the time of the Sassanian dynasty we learn from the inscriptions and coins that the language, as regards the want of inflexions, was much in the same state as it is now. The Sassanian coins (A.D. 235-640) also show many Semitic words with Aryan terminations.

Soon after the Moslem conquest many Arabic words were incorporated into the Persian tongue. In the Sassanian age there was also a mixture of Persian with Chaldee, which was called Pehlvi, extending from A.D. 200 to 700; Pazend from 700 to 1100; and modern Persian from 1100 to the present time.

The ancient Zend is rich in inflexions in the verbs and nouns, and is a genuine sister of Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic. But in the present texts of the Zend Avesta there are grammatical defects, the uninflected state of words being used instead of their original inflected state. Dr. Haug attributes this to the want of grammatical studies among the ancient Persians as a separate science, as was the case with Sanscrit among the Brahmans. Thus the Zend grammar was never fixed in any way by rules, and corruptions and abbreviations gradually crept in. With the Brahmans, on the other hand, grammar was a

separate branch of study, and to this we owe the wonderfully correct and accurate grammatical state of the text of the Vedas.

The Persian dynasty, which upheld the Zoroastrian creed, fell when Alexander overran Asia. During the reigns of the Parthian Arsacidæ, B.C. 335 to A.D. 235, most of the sacred writings were lost, but their successors, the Persian Sassanidæ, in their endeavours to revive the faith, searched after all the fragments which were still extant, and to this we owe that part of the Zend Avesta which has reached our time.<sup>1</sup> After the Muhammadan conquest, the Parsees fled to Western India with the fragments of their scriptures, which had thus been recovered by the Sassanian kings; and that thriving band of exiles, in Surat, Púna, Bombay, &c., has carefully preserved the sacred writings of their Zoroastrian ancestors to our time.

We now come to a consideration of the antiquity of the ancient Persian scriptures.

Looking at the mass of writings which compose them, and the time it would take for the accumulation of so extensive a literature, Dr. Haug is of opinion that the earliest fragments extant, the Gathas, cannot be placed later than 1500 B.C.; while the whole body of writings forming the Zend Avesta may have been collected together at about 500 B.C.

Dr. Haug says:—‘The extensive ancient literature contained in the Nosks was already complete in 400 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Zend Avesta: *Avesta* being the original sacred text, and *Zend* the commentary. *Pazend* denotes the further explanation of the Zend doctrine.

It was, of course, the work of centuries, and its beginning may be placed at 1500 B.C. ; for, at least, a thousand years must have elapsed before such a various and bulky sacred literature could grow up out of the seeds sown by the great founder of the Persian creed, Zarathrustra Spitama.'

We have the names of all the books, with short summaries of their contents. The whole scripture consisted of twenty-one parts, called Nosks, each containing Avesta and Zend, that is, an original text, and a commentary on it : viz.—

1. *Setudar* . . . . (Praise-worship), containing the praise and worship of the *Yasatas*, or angels.
2. *Setudgar* . . . Prayers and instructions to men about good actions; chiefly those enjoining another to assist his fellow-man.
3. *Vahista-mathra* . On abstinence, piety, and religion.
4. *Bagha* . . . . An explanation of religious duties, how to guard against hell, and reach heaven.
5. *Dam-dat* . . . Knowledge of this and a future life, revelations of God concerning heaven, earth, water, trees, fire, men, and beasts. On the resurrection of the dead, and the passing of the bridge Chinvat.
6. *Nadur* . . . . On astronomy, astrology, geography, &c.
7. *Pacham* . . . . What food is allowed or prohibited.
8. *Ratushtai* . . . . (Fifty chapters, only thirteen extant at the time of Alexander the Great). Treated of kings and high priests.
9. *Burush* . . . . (Sixty chapters, extant at the time of Alexander). The code of laws for kings; also on the sin of lying.
10. *Koshusarub* . . On metaphysics, natural philosophy, and divinity.



11. *Vishtasp Nosk*. . . On the conversion of King Gushtasp, and propagation of religion.
12. *Chidrusht* . . . On the nature of divine things, obedience due to kings, agriculture, and the reward of good actions.
13. *Safand* . . . . On the miracles of Zoroaster.
14. *Baghan Yesh* . . . Praise of high angel-like men.
15. *Jarasht* . . . . On human life; why some are born in wealth, and others in poverty.
16. *Nayarum* . . . . Code of law; what is allowed, what prohibited.
17. *Husparum* . . . . On medicine and astronomy.
18. *Domasarub* . . . . On marriages, and treatment of animals.
19. *Huskarum* . . . . Civil and criminal law.
20. *Vendidad* . . . . Removal of uncleanness of every description, from which great defects arise in the world.
21. *Hadokht* . . . . On the creation; its wonders.

Of these twenty-one books, only one is completely preserved, namely, the *Vendidad*. It contains an invaluable sketch of the geography of ancient Persia, and an enumeration of its provinces. Of the *Vishtasp Nosk* fragments are extant,<sup>1</sup> but not yet known in Europe. The most ancient and sacred fragment of all, called *Yasna* or *Izeshne*, is not contained in any of the Nosks, but many verses are quoted from it in the *Vendidad*, as most sacred and scriptural.

The portions of the Zend Avesta now extant, and collected in the edition of Westergaard, are—

- I. *Yasna (Izeshne)*, including the five *Gathas*.
- II. *Visparad*.
- III. *Vendidad*.
- IV. *Yashts*, twenty-four sections, including fragments of the *Hadokht* and *Vishtasp Nosks*.

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<sup>1</sup> In the library of Dustúr Nurshirvanji of Púna.

- V. *Afrigan*, }  
 VI. *Nyayish*, } Prayers used by the modern Parsees.  
 VII. *Gah*, }  
 VIII. Miscellaneous fragments.  
 IX. *Sirozah*, or calendar.

The authorship of the whole Zend Avesta was ascribed to Zoroaster, as one man, by the ancient Greeks and the modern Parsees. This is manifestly impossible; but if we take the name *Zarathrustra*, not as that of an individual, but as the spiritual head of the ancient Persians generally, the difficulty ceases, and the founder is distinguished by the name *Spi-tama*.

At the head of Zend literature are undoubtedly the five Gathas, which, there is reason to think, were the work of Zarathrustra Spitama himself, and his immediate disciples,<sup>1</sup> who preached to their countrymen a new and more pure religion, exhorting them to leave idolatry, and to worship the living God only.

It is to the Gathas, therefore, which occupy the same sort of position as regards the Nosks as the Rig Veda does as regards the Brahmanas and later Vedas, that our attention must chiefly be directed in this enquiry.

From the Gathas, and the later sacred writings, which contain more or less of the sayings and doctrine of the founder of the ancient Persian religion, we

<sup>1</sup> The names of his disciples, who are mentioned, are—

*Kava.*

*Vistaspa.*

*Jamaspa.*

*Frashoashtra.*

gather all that can ever be known of those remote ages ; and it has thus been discovered, almost beyond a doubt, that Zarathrustra Spitama was a reformer of the elemental religion of the Rig Veda, and that he caused a separation between two great branches of the Aryan stock.

The Vedic and Zarathrustrian Aryans, it must always be remembered, were once the same people : Zend and Sanscrit are but dialects of one language.<sup>1</sup>

That the ancient Persian religion was originally a protest against the coarse worship of the Rig Veda is made evident in several ways. In the Vedas, the name for divine beings is *Deva* ; in the Zend Avesta the same word is the general name for evil spirits (*Div*). *Ahura* is the first part of *Ahura-mazdao*,<sup>2</sup> (Ormuzd) in the Zend Avesta, while in the later Vedas and the Puranas the *Asuras* are evil spirits.<sup>3</sup> But, with regard to this latter word, it is still more remarkable that in the Rig Veda the *Asuras* are not evil but good spirits ; and that it was not until later times, after the reformer had adopted the word to express the Deity, that it was used in an evil sense by the Rishis of the Vedas. Several of the Vedic gods are actually to be found in the Zend Avesta, some as devils, others

<sup>1</sup> The *Mantras* of the Vedas are the same as the *Manthras* of the Zend Avesta. Zoroaster is called a *Manthran*, or speaker of Mantras.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding to the Sanscrit *Asuro-medhas* (' Wise Spirit '). *Auramazda* of the Behistún Inscription is a corruption of *Ahura-mazdao* of the Zend Avesta.

<sup>3</sup> The Zoroastrians pronounced every Sanscrit *S* as *H*. Thus *Sindhu* (' river ') became *Hindhu*, in Persian. The Greeks dropped the *H*, hence *India*.

as angels. Thus *Indra* is mentioned in the list of devils (*divs*) in the Vendidad. *Mithra* is a Persian angel; the Vedic form of the word being *Mitra*. *Aryaman*, a Vedic deity, is *Ahriman*, the evil genius of the Persians; and there are several other instances of the same nature.

The reformation of the great Zarathrustra Spitama must, therefore, be placed after the composition of most of the hymns of the Rig Veda. But that event took place before the Yajur Veda was composed, and we thus narrow its epoch between two periods, which, however, are themselves uncertain. That Zarathrustra flourished before the Yajur Veda period, appears from the following consideration: Among the metres used in the Yajur Veda seven are marked by the epithet *asuri*. These *asuri* metres, which are strange to the whole Rig Veda, are actually found in the Gathas of the Zend Avesta, which professedly exhibits the doctrine of the Ahura religion. This shows clearly that the old Gatha literature of the Zend Avesta was perfectly wellknown to the Rishis who compiled the Yajur Veda.<sup>1</sup>

The reformer must have appeared before the two great Aryan peoples of India and Persia separated, and when they were still living as one people, otherwise it is impossible to account for the identity of language, and of the names of deities and spirits, good and evil. If it be true that Zarathrustra flourished 1500 B.C., the earliest Rig Veda hymns must date at least as far back as 2000 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Haug, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Berosus, as preserved by Eusebius, mentions a Median dynasty

Thus, in the remotest ages, we find the earliest people of whom any traces have reached us, invoking the spirits of the sun, the wind, the air, the dawn, with simple hymns of prayer and praise on the Bactrian mountains. Some few of the loftiest intellects, the most thoughtful of the Rishis, had conceived and even expressed an idea of a great First Cause; but it was not until the appearance of Zarathrustra Spitama that this sublime doctrine was openly and earnestly preached to the people. It evidently encountered violent opposition, and may have been the moving cause of the separation of two of the Aryan families, one pouring down into India, the other spreading itself over Media and Persia.

Of the opposition and antagonism of the Vedic Rishis against the Bactrian reformer there is good evidence. The Vedic religion is a belief in and worship of the *Devas*, the Persian of the *Ahuras*. In the earliest Vedic hymns the word *Asura* is used in a perfectly good sense, and there must once have been a vital struggle between the professors of the *Deva* and those of the *Ahura* religion, in consequence of which the originally good meaning of *Asura* was subsequently changed to a bad one in the Vedas. The struggle and separation must have taken place soon after the Vedic Aryans immigrated into India,<sup>1</sup> and when the majority of the Rig Veda hymns were

of Babylon beginning with a King Zoroaster, long before Ninus; his date would be 2234 B.C.—*Max Müller*, p. 209 (*note*).

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller says that the Zoroastrians were a colony from Northern India; that they had been together for a time with the Vedic Aryans, and that, a schism taking place, the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Persia.

already composed. Zarathrustra's attacks were directed against the Soma (Homa) sacrifices, as well as against the blind worship of the elements.

The Gathas, five in number, are a collection of metrical pieces, containing prayers and hymns, together with abstract thoughts on metaphysical subjects. The metres are of the same nature as those of the Vedic hymns.<sup>1</sup>

In the Gathas we have the real sayings and teachings of Zoroaster himself, mixed probably with those of his disciples, Jamaspa, Vistaspa, and Frashoastra. The great founder of this religion inculcated his teaching by means of allegory. Thus, in the first Gatha,<sup>2</sup> Geus-urva, the soul of the animated creation, is made to implore the assistance of the archangels, on account of attempts on his life. Mazda replied to Ardibehesht, the angel who had been appointed to protect this soul of the earth, that Geus-urva was being cut to pieces for the benefit of the agriculturist, and Zoroaster was then endowed with eloquence to bring this message to the world.

Geus-urva (literally 'soul of the cow') is the earth, here compared to a cow. By the cutting to pieces ploughing is to be understood, and the sense of this decree is that the soil is to be tilled. Zoroaster here acts as the prophet of agriculture.

In the third section of the first Gatha, Zoroaster, standing before the sacred fire, makes a speech to a

<sup>1</sup> *Gatha* means a song, from the root *gdi*, 'to sing.' They are in a more ancient dialect than the rest of the Zend Avesta.

<sup>2</sup> 1. *Gatha Ahunavaiti* (7 chapters, 101 verses of 48 syllables).

meeting of his countrymen, calling upon them to forsake the worship of Devas (the Vedic gods), and to bow only before Ahuramazdao (*Ormuzd*).

We can almost fancy to ourselves the scene which was thus enacted in those far-off days. The imposing form of the prophet standing erect beside the sacred flame, and proclaiming to the people the worship of one God. A momentous occasion—the first explicit declaration of a belief in one Almighty Creative Power was then made; the great truth spread, with electric speed, through the dense crowd of listeners, and the remotest ages have been affected by the grand speech of that father of poets and philosophers, when he so solemnly called upon the people to worship one God, and to choose that day between good and evil.

‘I will now tell you, who are assembled here,’ he began, ‘the wise sayings of the most wise; I will recite the praises of the living God, and the songs of the Good Spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of those sacred flames.

‘Every one, both men and women, ought to-day to choose his creed. Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us!

‘In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits. Be good, not base. You cannot belong to both, therefore perform ye the commandments which, pronounced by the wise God himself, have been given to mankind.’

In the fourth section of the first Gatha, the *Urvâtas*,

or sayings of Ahuramazdao, are revealed to Zoroaster, and it is here declared that the chief means of checking evil influences is the cultivation of the soil. In the fifth section idolatry and its evil consequences are depicted. Addressing the gods of the Vedas, the reformer exclaims,

‘Ye Devas have sprung out of the evil spirit, who takes possession of you by intoxication (Soma juice), teaching you manifold arts to deceive and destroy mankind, for which you are notorious everywhere.’

In the first section of the second Gatha<sup>1</sup> the mission of Zoroaster is announced, in the second he receives instructions respecting the highest matters of human speculation, and in the third he appears before a large assembly to propound his new doctrine.

In the second section the prophet seeks knowledge from the Almighty. ‘I will ask thee, tell it right, thou living God! How arose the present life? By what means are the present things to be supported? Who made the sun and stars? Who causes the moon to increase and wane, if not Thou? Who made the water and trees of the field? Who is in the winds and storms that they so quickly run? Who is the Creator of the good-minded beings? Thou wise!

‘I will ask thee, tell it right, thou living God! Who made the lights of good effect, and darkness? Who made morning, noon, and night, always reminding the priest of his duties?’

In the third section Zoroaster propounds his doc-

<sup>1</sup> 2. *Gatha Ustavaiti*.



trine. 'I will tell you of the two primeval spirits of life.' His leading idea is Monotheism, while his speculative philosophy admits of Dualism, or the supposition of two primeval causes of the real and the intellectual world. His predecessors worshipped a plurality of gods, *Devas* and *Asuras* (*Ahuras*), but he reduced the plurality to a unity, and called God *Ahura-mazdao*, the *Ahura*, or Spirit, which is called *mazdao*, that is, 'wise.' His notion of *Ahura-mazdao*, as the Supreme Being, is identical with that of Elohim or Jehovah. A separate evil spirit is entirely strange to Zoroaster's theology, though the opinion appears in later books, such as the *Vendidad*.

In the *Gathas*, however, two primeval causes are supposed. The one, who produced reality and truth, is called *Vohu-manô* ('good mind'), the other, through whom came unreality and falsehood, *Aken-manô* ('nought mind'). They are said to be twins, and are spread everywhere. In the *Gathas*, also, two intellects or lives are spoken of, and this seems to allude to the idea of body and soul. Immortality is also clearly expressed, and a future state of pleasure and pain. Heaven is *Gorotmon* ('House of Hymns') and *Vashista*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Modern Persian *Behesht*, from which word *Paradise* is borrowed, in the New Testament. Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4; Rev. ii. 7.

It is literally a park or garden. In the Septuagint it is used for the garden of Eden. In the New Testament the word appears to be used for the abode of the departed spirits of the good, between death and the resurrection; except in Revelations ii. 7, where it seems to mean either the garden of Eden, or Heaven itself, if the passage be taken figuratively. See also Song of Solomon, iv. 13; Eccles. ii. 5; Nehemiah ii. 8., where in our version פַּרְדֵּיִם (*Paredais*) is rendered 'orchard,' and, in Nehemiah, 'forest.'

Hell is *Drujo-demana* ('the House of Destruction') and *Duzak*, and between the two stands *Chinvat-Peretu*, 'the bridge of the judge.' The resurrection of the body is a genuine Zoroastrian dogma, and there is not the slightest trace of its having been borrowed from a foreign source.<sup>1</sup>

The three last Gathas are collections of ancient songs, and are much shorter than the two first.<sup>2</sup> All five are included in the *Yasna* or *Izeshné*.

Another important feature in the theology of Zoroaster was the existence of archangels or attributes of God; thus *Bahman* was the vital faculty in all living beings of the good creation, *Ardibehesht* was the genius of living flame, light, brightness, and splendour, *Shahravar* of metals and wealth, *Aspendermad* of the earth, *Khordad* and *Amerdad* of vegetation; *Serosh* was the angel who stands between God and man—the great teacher. The first six of these were the six *Amshaspands* or archangels. Zoroaster and his disciples inculcated their lessons by imaginary conversations with these archangels, who were thus made to preach the principles of industry, virtue, and the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Of all the virtues brotherly love is esteemed the most, and women received an equal place with men.

We must here pause awhile, for the above is all that can be gleaned, from the earliest sacred books, of the

<sup>1</sup> *Haug*, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> 3. *Gatha Spenta Mainyusys*.

4. *Gatha Vohu Khshathrem*.

5. *Gatha Vahistoistis*,

teaching of Zoroaster himself. The later scriptures may contain more or less of his sayings, but they were written long after his death, when many corruptions had crept in to mar the beauty of his purer creed. The five Gathas alone contain the writings of the great reformer himself.

The result of our enquiry so far is that, after the ancient Aryan stock of Central Asia had for centuries contented themselves with a system of worship of the elements by hymns of prayer and praise, a few of the most thoughtful of the Rishis began to conceive an idea of a Supreme Being, above and beyond the visible world; that, in process of time, a great and commanding mind arose amongst these Aryan Rishis in the person of Zoroaster, denouncing the Vedic worship, and preaching the doctrine of Monotheism to the people; that there was a schism between the Vedic people and the followers of the reformer, and that the latter separated from the Hindú-Aryan stock, and formed the Persian nation, while the former became the ancestors of Brahmanic Hindús. Finally, we find that the religion of the reformer, as contained in the five Gathas, consisted of a belief in one all-wise Spirit, the Creator and Preserver, of a future state of rewards and punishments, of the resurrection of the body,<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Yet Dr. Whately suggests the following questions as all sufficient proofs of the Divine origin of the Jewish religion, because they are unanswerable!

<sup>1</sup> How it happens that our sacred books ascribes the creation of the world immediately to the Supreme Being? How came one semi-barbarous people to reach the idea that their God was Creator and Lord of the whole world, *an idea that no other nation of anti-*

the existence of two antagonistic principles, of good and evil, of the duty of man to adhere to one and resist the other, and of the inculcation of industry, especially in agriculture, of truth, of purity, and of justice.

After the death of the first Zoroaster he was followed by a succession of priests, who continued to add to the works left by him during the following thousand years; until at last, in the days of Gushtasp or Darius, the great mass of Persian sacred literature was collected together in the Zend Avesta. In this long period much was added which is opposed to the pristine teaching of the reformer himself; an actual evil spirit appears who finds no place in the doctrine of the Gathas, and a minute and complicated system of worship was gradually elaborated, as the people grew in wealth and civilisation.

Of the relics of the Zend Avesta which have come down to our time, the greater portion consists of these more modern productions.

After the Yasna (Izeshne), which contains the Gathas, follows the Visparad, a collection of prayers referring to the preparation of sacred water, and the consecration of offerings. Next comes the Vendidad, or code of religious, civil, and criminal laws, in twenty-two chapters, called *Fargards*, which is probably the

*quity ever reached?* How it happens that the Christian promise of eternal life, through *the resurrection of the body* at the last day, is so different from any promise of eternal life that was ever made by man. These are peculiarities which no other religion but Christianity, and those which directly borrowed from Christianity, possess.'—Whately's *Cautions for the Times*, p. 507-9.

joint work of many high priests during a period of several centuries. Some of the sayings may be from Zoroaster himself; but the descriptions of ceremonies and observances are too minute to allow of a very early date being assigned to the whole.

In the first three Fargards there is a very interesting enumeration of the sixteen Aryan countries over which the religion of Zoroaster then extended,<sup>1</sup> some legends of King Jamshid, and the praise of agriculture as the most meritorious work. The fourth Fargard contains the moral code; and it is remarkable that the intention to commit a crime is here stigmatised as being equal in guilt to the actual commission: 'When a man rises to murder, that is, attempt at murder; when he seizes with an evil intention, that is, the consummation of murder.'<sup>2</sup> The remaining Fargards relate to ceremonies and observances, the treatment of dead bodies, purifications, and the construction of *Dokhmas*, or 'towers of silence.'

The Yashts<sup>3</sup> are prayers addressed to one Divine Being, or to a certain class of Divine Beings, as the *Amshaspands* or archangels. They were collected and published for the first time in Westergaard's edition.

In the prayer to Ormuzd, the twenty names of the Supreme Being are enumerated; and amongst them we

<sup>1</sup> The Vendidad list has been critically examined by Sir Henry Rawlinson.—See *Royal Geographical Society's Journal*, vol. xlii. p. 500.

<sup>2</sup> See Matt. v. 21, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Yashti* means worship by prayers and sacrifices.

find *Ahmi* ('I am'), *Ahura* ('living'), and *Ahmi yat Ahmi* ('I am that I am').<sup>1</sup> There is also a prayer to the *Haftan*, or seven Spirits (Ormuzd and the six Arch-angels), to Ardibehesht, to Khordad, and to Ardvi Sura Anahita, the mighty goddess.

The Afrigans are short blessings recited before meals. The Nyayish, or hymns of praise, are five in number, to the sun (*Khurshed*), to the angel of the sun (*Mithra*), to the moon (*Mâh*), to water (*Abân*), and to fire. The two first must be said thrice a day by every Parsee, the third once a month; and the Gahs are short prayers.

Such are the fragments which have reached us, of that great mass of Persian sacred literature which was formerly contained in the Zend Avesta.

For many centuries the pure religion of Zoroaster prevailed, or held its own against Buddhism and Magism; and in the Behistún Inscriptions, which were carved, on the rock near Hamadan, by order of Darius, probably a thousand years after the death of the great reformer, there is still no sign of any worship of the elements, but only a worship of one Supreme Being, with occasional mention of an evil spirit.<sup>2</sup> But the religion described by Herodotus is elemental, the Magi worshipped Mithra and Homa (Sun and Moon), and thus a more corrupt belief appears to have existed in ancient Persia, by the side of the elevated ritual of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ex. iii. 14 :

אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי (Ehyeh asher Ehyeh. 'I am that I am,' or 'I will be that I will be.')

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson's *Herodotus*.

the followers of Zoroaster. The upholders of Zoroaster's creed appear even to have been in a minority at one time. Buddhism was embraced by king Lohrasp at Balkh, while the elemental religion of the masses made head against the pure worship of the advanced thinkers. Hence the unsuccessful attempt of the Magi on the death of Cambyses, a full account of which is given on the Behistún Inscriptions, as well as in the pages of Herodotus.

This antagonism in ancient Persia, between the elemental worship of the Magi, a worship resembling that of the Vedas, and the pure religion of Zoroaster, explains many points which would otherwise be obscure in this portion of ancient history. The errors which had thus either crept into the Persian religion, or were allowed to exist side by side with it, are possibly referred to in the Book of Isaiah, where Cyrus is emphatically reminded of the doctrine of the Gáthas.<sup>1</sup>

It was not until after the canon of the Zend Avesta was complete, that the ancient Persians, the Aryan monotheists, came in contact with the Jewish people, the Semitic monotheists, during the captivity of the latter in Babylon, but before the Persian conquest of Babylon, for Jeremiah mentions the chief of the Magi

<sup>1</sup> See also note, p. 56. 'I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God beside Me: I girded thee, though thou has not known Me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside Me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.' Isaiah xlv. 5, 6, 7.

(רַב־מֶלֶךְ),<sup>1</sup> in the retinue of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 600. Ezekiel also appears to allude to the religion of Persia;<sup>2</sup> and Isaiah speaks of Cyrus (כּוֹרֶשׁ Koresh) as the anointed of the Lord, the shepherd who executes the Lord's decrees, the man appointed by the Lord's counsel, strengthened by the Lord to subdue the heathen.<sup>3</sup>

The Jewish people were thus for a long time in very close contact with the Zoroastrians, after the canon of the sacred writings of the latter was closed. Here then are the three ancient nations, whose sacred books have reached us: the Vedic Aryans, the Zoroastrians, and the Jews; the two former Aryan, and the latter Semitic.

The last two, the Zoroastrians and the Jews, were monotheists. The Zoroastrians believed in one Supreme God—Ahura-mazdao; in a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the resurrection of the body. The Jews, down to the period of the Captivity, held no doctrine of a future state. Bishop Warburton endeavoured to prove the Divine legation of Moses by the absence of this doctrine,<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Whately adopts the same line of argument;<sup>5</sup> so that the fact is admitted on high authority. After their return to their own land, having sojourned for half a century amongst Zoroastrians, one sect, at least, of the

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxxix. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah xlv. 1.

Isaiah xlvi. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. viii. 16.

Isaiah xlv. 28.

Isaiah xlv. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Stanley's *Bible: its Form and Substance*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Cautions for the Times*, p. 509.



Jews—the Pharisees—began to hold the Zoroastrian doctrines, of a resurrection of the body, and of a future state of rewards and punishments. The Persian word for Heaven, *Paradise*, was also adopted by the Jews, and appears in the New Testament.<sup>1</sup>

These indications of a contact between the two monotheisms of the Aryan and of the Semitic races are deeply interesting; for, by this means, it is possible that the influence of that most ancient of seers and prophets, the mighty Zarathrustra Spitama, may be felt even in the present age.

There is evidence, which has been discussed by Sir Henry Rawlinson in his monograph on the Oxus, that Buddhism prevailed in the valley of the Oxus at a very early period, superseding the Zoroastrian religion; and that the Kaianian kings, immediately preceding Gush-tasp, were Buddhists. In that king's reign, the reformer arose, who made a stand both against the Magians and Buddhists, and carried the king with him; restoring the ancient creed of Zarathrustra Spitama. Sir Henry speaks of the valley of the Oxus as having been the battle-field between Buddhism and Zoroastrianism for a thousand years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also note at p. 56. The Book of Enoch, so full of allusions to a future state, to angels, and to other Zoroastrian ideas, was probably written by a Jew who had had much intercourse with learned Persians.

<sup>2</sup>

*Dualism and Sabæanism.*

'The truth seems to be that the Aryans, who overran Asia from the Hindú Kúsh to the Persian Gulf, were but a small element in the population of the countries subdued by them; and thus, though at first they imposed their religion, which was *Dualism*, very soon a reaction took place. The religion of the masses made head against

the invading worship. The Magi grew in power. Taking advantage of the long absence of Cambyses in Egypt, Gomates seized the throne, the Magi perhaps designing a transference of power from the warrior to the priest caste.

‘When it was found that Gomates was not Smerdis, the nobles rose, Darius by right of birth took the lead; Gomates was killed, and a massacre of the Magi followed. Dualism was restored, and the annual festival of the Magophonia instituted.

‘In the *Behistún* Inscription, Darius fully describes this revolution. Hence Darius enjoys the reputation of being a great religious reformer, and hence he is said to have been contemporary with Zoroaster.

‘The later Persian religion, after Magism had corrupted it, was still regarded as the system established by Darius. Hence the introduction of Gushtasp into the Zend Avesta; and hence Darius was supposed to have reformed and purified the religion of the people, under the inspired advice of Zoroaster.’—Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*.

## CHAPTER IV.

## SASSANIAN DYNASTY.

TOWARDS the end of the second century of the Christian era, one Sassan<sup>1</sup> was chief of the hamlets of Khír, 70 miles south-east of Persepolis, and was in charge of the fire temples. His son Bábek, on the mother's side, was descended from the Kaianian kings, and his grandson Ardeshír grew up with lofty ideas of his kingly birthright.

Young Ardeshír, in very early youth, was entrusted to the care of the local ruler of Darabjird, whom he succeeded in his government. This town is situated in an extensive plain, interspersed with villages and cultivated land. A small river flows past it, which is surrounded by groves of orange and lemon trees, yielding such an abundance of fruit, that it is exported to every part of Persia.

But Ardeshír could never rest satisfied with a subordinate post; and, full of a patriotic ambition to restore the religion and government of Persia, he

<sup>1</sup> From *Sassan*, the dynasty was called Sassanian.

collected an army and conquered Fars, Kirmân, and 'Irâk.

At this time the Parthian sovereign of Persia was a weak prince, named Arduan, called by the Romans Artabanus, a descendant of Arsaces. While Ardeshîr made these rapid conquests, he remained in the mountainous districts around Hamadân and Kirman-shâh; but at length he resolved to hazard all on a pitched battle. The armies met on a plain called Ram Hormazd, about thirty miles from the sea, and near the modern city of Shuster. After a desperate battle Arduan was killed, and Ardeshîr was hailed on the field as *Malkân Malkâ*, or 'King of Kings,' a title ever since borne by the sovereigns of Persia.<sup>1</sup> The whole empire, as well as part of Tûrân, acknowledged the sway of this descendant of the Kaianian kings, the hallowed apron of Kâf became the national standard, the religion of Zoroaster was restored throughout the empire, and a native sovereign once more ruled in Persia. His style, as appears from the coins, was 'the Ormazd Worshipper, divine Ardeshîr, King of Kings of Irân, of divine origin from God.'

Ardeshîr fixed his capital at a place called Madayn, or Ctesiphon, on the banks of the Tigris. The Parthian kings had formerly established a camp at Ctesiphon, to watch the Greek city of Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator, on the opposite side of the river; but during the reign of Ardeshîr, Ctesiphon was transformed from a camp into a rich and populous city.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Eighteen miles south of Baghdâd.

It was admirably situated on a sort of peninsula, so that the Tigris embraced the greater part of the town.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 240 A.D., Ardeshír, after a long and glorious reign, resigned the crown to his son Shapúr. He had effected a wonderful revolution in the condition of his country; and, after groaning under the foreign domination of Greeks and Parthians for five centuries, he had the glory of restoring it to its pristine power and splendour.

Two of his favourite sayings were :

‘There can be no power without an army, no army without money, no money without agriculture, and no agriculture without justice.’

And

‘When a king is just, his subjects must love him, but the worst of all monarchs is he, whom the wealthy, and not the wicked, dread.’

His dying speech to his son has also been preserved by the pious care of Ferdausy.<sup>2</sup> Ardeshír’s last words were :

‘Never forget, my son, that as a King, you are at once the Protector of Religion and of your Country. Consider the altar and throne as inseparable; they must always sustain each other. A sovereign without religion is a tyrant, and a people who have none may be deemed the most monstrous of all societies; for it is by holy laws that a political association can alone be bound. May your administration be such as to

<sup>1</sup> Kinneir’s *Memoir*.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm says that Ferdausy is undoubtedly correct in his account of this speech, as he copied it from ancient Pehlvi manuscripts.

bring, at a future day, the blessings of those whom God confided to your fraternal care, upon both your memory and mine !

Shapúr I. had a glorious war with the Romans, and took their Emperor Valerian prisoner, in 260 A.D. This victory is commemorated on rock sculptures at



SHAPÚR I.

Naksh-i-Rejáb. The Roman writers accuse Shapúr of treating his prisoner with cruelty, and it is certain that Valerian died in captivity ; but the sculptures give no indication of any indignity to the captive, and Persian writers say that Valerian was employed in the construction of the celebrated irrigating dam near Shuster. These wars with the Romans, though glorious to the

Persian arms, are not so interesting as the internal government of the Sassanian kings. Yet Shapúr's campaigns to the westward certainly had a direct effect on the language, and probably on the civilisation of the Persians. Indeed Mr. Thomas's suggested translation of the Hajiabad Inscription indicates the conversion to Christianity of the Persian King, probably by the Heresiarch Manes, who, however, fled from Persia, and returned after the accession of Shapúr's son, Hormazd. Shapúr is said only to have desired wealth, that he might use it for good and great purposes; and he constructed many useful public works, and founded several cities.

The chief of these was Nishâpûr,<sup>1</sup> a town in Khurâsân, which is prettily situated amidst gardens and villages grouped near to one another. In the time of Shapúr, the plain in which Nishâpûr is situated was irrigated by 12,000 water-courses, but at the present day most of them are dry; nevertheless, there is amazing fertility, and the climate is delicious. To the north are high mountains almost encircling the plain, and many villages lie in the gorges and on the slopes. Near Nishâpûr there are the most famous turquoise mines in the world.<sup>2</sup>

Shapúr made his son Hormazd Governor of Khurâsân, with Nishâpûr as his capital; and the young prince distinguished himself by repelling the invasions

<sup>1</sup> *Ni*, 'reeds,' and *Shapúr*, from the reeds growing round it, according to some writers. But others say that the word is Nishabûr, and that it has no special meaning.

<sup>2</sup> See Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*; Kinneir's *Memoir*; Heeren's *Researches*.

of the hordes of Tûrân. Envious persons at court, however, excited suspicions of his son's fidelity in the breast of Shapúr; and on hearing of his danger, Hormazd caused one of his hands to be cut off, and sent it to his father, desiring him to accept that unquestionable mark of his devotion. Shapúr, struck with horror, ever afterwards treated his son with perfect confidence, and in A.D. 271, Hormazd succeeded his father.<sup>1</sup>

Hormazd founded a city near Shuster, in the romantic valley of Ram-Hormazd,<sup>2</sup> where the people still show an orange-tree, which he is believed to have planted.

Varahrán I., a mild and munificent prince, succeeded his father Hormazd, and ruled his subjects with justice and moderation.<sup>3</sup> He executed the famous Manes, founder of the Manichæan heresy.<sup>4</sup> He was followed by his son, Varahrán II., in whose reign the Roman Emperor Carus carried his arms across the Tigris, and for a short time occupied Ctesiphon.<sup>5</sup> His son Varahrán III. was succeeded, after four months, by his brother Nersehi.

Nersehi waged a long war with the Roman Emperor Galerius; and was eventually forced to cede Azerbaijan to Teridates, king of Armenia, the ally of Rome; who was descended from Arsaces the founder of the Parthian dynasty. Teridates fixed his capital at Tabriz, which he enlarged and improved.

<sup>1</sup> Hormisdas of the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> *Ram* means 'rest,' 'the rest of Hormazd.' *Ram* in Pehlvi is the same as *Aram* in modern Persian. Both mean 'rest.'

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 272.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 276.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 293.



Hormazd II., the son of Nersehi, reigned for seven years,<sup>1</sup> but died before the birth of his son. The *Mobeds*, or priests, however, declared that the queen's child would be a boy, and he was crowned before he was born by the loyal nobles of Persia.

The baby king succeeded as Shapúr II.<sup>2</sup> During his long minority the Arabs of el-Bahrain invaded the southern coasts of Persia; the tribes from Túrân overran Khurâsân; and the Greeks crossed the Tigris. On coming of age, Shapúr first chastised the Arabs, and dislocated the shoulders of all he captured, as a punishment for their cruelties to the unprotected villagers on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Hence he is always known as Zu'laktáf, or 'Lord of the Shoulders.' He also waged a successful war with the Roman Emperor Constantius, and afterwards obliged the Emperor Julian to retreat with disgrace from Mesopotamia.

Shapúr raised the Persian empire to a state of great prosperity. He defeated all his enemies, captured the strong Roman fortress of Nisibis between the Tigris and Euphrates, conquered Armenia, and extended his dominions in every direction.

His favourite saying was :

'Words may prove more vivifying than the showers of spring, and sharper than the sword of destruction. The point of a lance may be withdrawn from the body, but a cruel expression can never be extracted from the heart it has once wounded.'

In 380, Shapúr was succeeded by his son Ardeshér II.,

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 301 to 309.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 309.

who in 384 was deposed by his brother Shapur III. ; and the latter king having been killed by the fall of a tent, in a violent gust of wind, his brother Varahrán IV. succeeded him in A.D. 386.<sup>1</sup>

Varahrán was surnamed *Kirmanshâh*, from having previously been governor of the province of Kirmân ; and he perpetuated the name by building a city called



VARAHRÁN IV.

after him, Kirmanshâh, which is still a large and populous place.<sup>2</sup>

Numbers of gardens line the gorge that lies west of the city, and thousands of sheep are reared in the neigh-

<sup>1</sup> The ancestor of the Rajpút Rajahs of Johdpúr, named Basdes, married his daughter to Varahrán IV., in A.D. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Great quantities of beautiful Persian carpets are now made in Kirmanshâh and its neighbourhood. They are celebrated for the taste of the patterns, the fineness of the wool, and the durability of the colours. The carpets are made in the villages, by women and children. Four stakes fixed in the ground, which serve to twist the woollen threads, form the simple mechanism employed in weaving these beautiful carpets.—Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*.

bouring mountain pastures. On the north, the plain of Kirmanshâh is bounded by a lofty range of mountains, on the sides of which the famous excavations and sculptures of *Taki-Bostan* were cut by order of King Varahrân IV.<sup>1</sup>

They were intended to commemorate his own reign and that of his father, the great Shapúr II. In one place there is an arch cut in the rock, sixty feet high, twenty deep, and twenty-four broad. Over the centre there is a crescent, and on each side of it an angel with a diadem in one hand and a cup in the other. In the centre of the arch there is a man in armour, with a shield, lance, quiver, and bow; and a crown on his head. Near this cave, there are two sculptures beautifully executed, one of a boar hunt, and another of a stag hunt.<sup>2</sup>

There is, also, another cave of the same shape, with a bas relief of two kings (Shapúr and Varahrân) holding a ring and standing on a prostrate Roman soldier. Zoroaster is standing by their side, his head covered with rays of glory. These magnificent remains may still be seen in the face of the mountain, to attest the former greatness of the Sassanian kings.

The favourite residence of Varahrân IV., was the little town of Khonsar,<sup>3</sup> between Hamadân and Isfahân, whither he was wont to retire in his intervals of rest from the cares of state. In approaching Khonsar from

<sup>1</sup> About six miles from Kirmanshâh.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneir's *Memoir*. Flandin et Coste.

<sup>3</sup> One hundred and fifty miles from Hamadân, and ninety-two from Isfahân.

the west, the road is completely shaded on both sides, for a distance of four or five miles, by every species of fruit-tree which the country produces. Khonsar itself is in a very narrow valley, with gardens to each house; and dark frowning rocks hang close over the luxuriant foliage of the fruit orchards.

Varahrán IV. was succeeded by his son Yezdegird I.,<sup>1</sup> surnamed by the mobeds of Irân, *Ulathim*, or 'the Sinner'; probably on account of his enlightened toleration of other religions. After a reign of sixteen years he was killed by a kick from a horse. Though abused by the Persian authors, and called *Ulathim*, he is universally praised by all the Greek and Roman writers, as a wise and intelligent prince. Two of his favourite sayings were :

'The most wise monarch is he who never punished when in a rage; and who followed the first impulse of his mind, to reward the deserving.'

And

'The thought of eternity cannot for a moment be absent from the mind without its verging towards sin.'

Yezdegird had intrusted his son Varahrán to the care of Noman, the chief of all the Arab tribes under the protection of the Persian government. The young prince passed his earlier years in the wild life of the desert, and became so devoted to the chase that he was surnamed *Gór*, or 'the wild ass,' from his fondness for hunting that swift and strong animal.

The luxurious nobles of Ctesiphon opposed his acces-

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 397.

sion, fearing the wild character of this child of the desert, but their resistance never became formidable.<sup>1</sup>

The first act of King Varahrán V. was to reward his tutor Noman, the second was to pardon all those who had opposed him. His valour, his munificence, and his virtue are the theme of every historian; and his generosity was so great that his ministers were forced to entreat him to reserve part of the revenue for his own use.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after his accession, the chiefs of Tûrân crossed the Oxus, and overran Khurâsân with 20,000 men. King Varahrán, who had been expected to march against them, disappeared; dismay and universal terror spread through Persia, and the army of Tûrân indulged in unguarded confidence. One night, however, they were suddenly attacked by the lost Varahrán at the head of 7,000 of the best and bravest warriors of Irân, and the invaders were entirely defeated, and driven across the Oxus. Varahrán also waged a successful war with the Roman Emperor Theodosius.

Varahrán Gôr was one of the best monarchs that ever ruled Persia. The happiness of his subjects was the sole object of his life, and his government was simple and patriarchal. He is said to have introduced 12,000 musicians and singers into Persia from India,

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 417.

<sup>2</sup>

#### ORIGIN OF THE GIPSIES.

Varahrán Gôr, in about A.D. 430, transported two tribes, called the Getæ (*Gêton*) and Sacæ (*Sangan* or *Zingani*), who lived in Sindh, forcibly from the banks of the Indus to Balúchistán.

Gradually they were forced westward by the pressure of other tribes; in 630 they are found near Susa, on the banks of the Karûn. In the time of the Abbassides these tribes were living on the banks, and near the mouths of the Euphrates and Karûn,

to divert the common people, whom he had once seen dancing without music.

Varahrán's favourite hunting ground was the valley of Ujan, thirty-eight miles north of Persepolis, on the road to Isfahán. It is also called the '*Valley of Heroes.*' It possesses the finest pastures in Persia, and abounds in game. Here Varahrán built a palace, and passed his time in hunting the strong and fleet wild ass, or the timid antelope.<sup>1</sup>

This king was proud of his excellence in archery, and kept up a communication with their brethren on the Indus. Some of them were pirates in the Persian Gulf, and all were thievish and very unmanageable. They still preserve their religion and Hindústání language.

In A.D. 800-20, the Abbasside Khalifah ravaged their country, and carried of 87,000 families to the northward, stationing them in the gates of Cilicia, near Tarsus. Here they remained over 200 years. Thence they were pushed on by the Muhammadan armies, through Asia Minor; forming as it were a *buffer* between the Greeks and Saracens. They are mentioned in the wars between the Saljukians and Greek Emperors.

In 1380 they crossed the Bosphorus. In 1400 they are found on the Thracian side; whence they wandered, as *Gipsies*, to Bohemia, and other parts of Europe.

<i>Mug</i>	.	'face'	in	Gipsy	and	Hindústání.
<i>Ken</i>	.	'house'	"	"	"	"
<i>Kush</i>	.	'good'	"	"	"	Persian.
<i>Bâl</i>	.	'hair'	"	"	"	"

<sup>1</sup> The first rhythmical composition in the Persian language is recorded to have been the production of Varahrán Gôr. He was tenderly attached to a female slave named Diláran, who accompanied him in his parties of pleasure. One day the king encountered a lion, and held him for some time by the ears, in spite of his efforts to free himself, exclaiming in verse—'I am as the raging elephant, I am as an active and mighty lion!' Diláram replied in the same strain; and Varahrán, being struck with the cadence of these accidental verses, desired the courtiers to produce something in imitation: but they never went beyond a single distich.

and on one occasion he brought his favourite wife to the valley of Oujan, to exhibit his skill in her presence. An antelope was found asleep, and he shot an arrow with such precision as to graze its ear. The animal awoke, and put up its hind hoof to its head. Another arrow transfixed the hoof to the ear. Varahrán turned to his lady, in expectation of warm praises, but she coolly observed, '*Practice makes perfect.*' Enraged at this uncourtly observation, he ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish; but her life was saved by Varahrán's good and able minister, Meher Narsi, who allowed her to retire to a small village, where she lodged in an upper chamber, to which she ascended by a flight of twenty steps. On her arrival the young girl bought a small calf, which she regularly carried up and down stairs every day. This exercise she continued for four years, and her strength gradually increased with the weight of the animal.

Varahrán, who supposed his favourite to be dead, once stopped at the village, and was astonished to see a young woman carrying a great cow up a flight of twenty steps. He sent to enquire how so delicate a girl could perform such a feat, but she refused to communicate her secret to any one but the king. Varahrán went to the house, and on repeating his admiration at what he had seen, the lady raised her veil, and coolly observed, '*Practice makes perfect.*' Delighted with that love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, Varahrán embraced his long lost favourite, and they lived very happily together, until they were separated by death.

Varahrán Gór lost his life in chasing a wild ass, over his favourite hunting ground.

The valley of Oujan abounds in springs, whose sources form very dangerous morasses, and the king suddenly plunged with his horse into one of them, and was never seen again.

He was succeeded by his son Yezdegird II.,<sup>1</sup> a wise and brave prince, who retained Meher Narsi, the able minister of his father, in his councils. Hormazd III., the son of Yezdegird II., was deposed by his brother Fîrûz, with the aid of a king of Tûrân named Khush Nuaz.

In 464 Vagharsh succeeded his father Fîrûz, but was deposed by his brother Kubâd,<sup>2</sup> who also received aid from the wandering tribes of Tûrân. This king loved a beautiful lady of Nîshâpûr, and by her he had a son; who afterwards succeeded his father, as Naushîrwân, the most renowned of the kings of the Sassanian dynasty.

When Naushîrwân ascended the throne, in A.D. 530, he ordered all bridges to be repaired, new edifices to be built, and encouraged schools and colleges. Philoso-

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Kubâd disapproved of the arbitrary mode of taking one-tenth of the produce of the land, as well as the general poll tax, called *Kheraj*. He intended to have made measurement of all the arable land of Persia, for the purpose of ascertaining an equitably fixed revenue; but his plans were stopped by death. The Sassanian kings, when calamity overtook the crops of a village, indemnified the cultivators for their seed out of the treasury. They said: 'The cultivator is our partner in profit; how then shall we not share with him in loss?'—Baillie *On the Land Tax*, p. 19. From the *Futawa Alumgîri*.



phers from Greece and India resorted to his court, and the *Fables* of Pilpay were translated into Persian. His minister, Abuzurg-a-Mihir was a man of extraordinary wisdom, whom he had raised from the lowest station at Merv. His virtues and talents shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch who employed them. He is said to have introduced the games of chess and draughts from India into Persia.

Naushírwân introduced excellent arrangements for the government of the different provinces, and established a fixed and moderate land tax throughout his dominions.<sup>1</sup> But the most useful and durable monument of the Sassanian kings is the famous dyke at Shuster,<sup>2</sup> commenced by Shapúr I., and completed by Naushírwân. The dyke, which is still perfect, is made of cut stones, cemented by lime and fastened together by clamps of iron, 20 feet broad and 1,200 feet long. In the centre there are two small arches, so as to allow part of the river Karûn to flow in its natural bed, while the rest of the water is led off to irrigate the beautiful and fertile plain of Shuster. This is a far more glorious monument of the Sassanians than the palaces that they were accused of constantly erecting for their own selfish gratification.

<sup>1</sup> He adopted the plans of his father Kubâd. He instituted a land measure of sixty square *kissery guz*; and, computing the produce of such a quantity of land to be a *kufîz* (valued at 8 dirhems), he determined that a third part should be the proportion of revenue.—*Ayn-Akbary*.

<sup>2</sup> This dyke was repaired by Timûr, and afterwards by General Monteith, under the orders of Muhammad 'Aly Mîrza, son of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, in 1810.

*Shus* means 'pleasant' in Pehlvi, and *shuster*, 'more pleasant.'

Naushîrwân, in his war with the Romans, though twice checked by Belisarius, captured Antioch, and advanced to the shores of the Mediterranean. On the other side he crossed the Oxus, and forced several nations of Tûrân, India, and Arabia to acknowledge his sway; while the Emperor of China sought his friendship, and sent an embassy to his court.<sup>1</sup>

But Naushîrwân was more famous for his justice than for his conquests. A Roman ambassador, who was sent to his court at Ctesiphon, while admiring the beautiful view from the windows of the king's palace, remarked an uneven piece of ground, and asked the reason why it was not rendered uniform. 'It is the property of an old woman,' said a Persian noble, 'who has objections to selling it, though often requested to do so by the king, and he is more willing to have his prospect spoilt than to commit violence.' 'That irregular spot,' replied the Roman, 'consecrated as it is by justice, appears more beautiful than all the surrounding scene.'<sup>2</sup>

Naushîrwân built the palace of Tak Kesra, the ruins of which are all that remains of the city of Ctesiphon on the Tigris. The façade is covered with stories

<sup>1</sup> Naushîrwân carried his arms to Fargânah and India: the first place certainly, as his invasion is mentioned in Chinese records.—*De Guignes*, vol. ii. p. 469.

Sir H. Pottinger (*Travels*, p. 386), gives a minute account of Naushîrwân's march along the sea coast of Mekran to Sindh.

There is a current story that the Rajpût Ranas of Mewar are descended from Naushîrwân.

<sup>2</sup> A similar story is told of one of the Khalifas of Spain.

of blind arches; and in the centre is a vaulted entrance, 72 feet wide by 85 feet in height and 115 in depth. This great arch is still standing, after a lapse of 1,300 years, for it was erected in about 550 A.D. Naushîrwân also founded a city, on the road between Ctesiphon and Susa, in a valley which runs out westerly from the plain of Sirwan, and on the northern acclivity of a spur of the Zagros Mountains. The ruins still exist, and are the most perfect remains of a Sassanian city in Persia. The buildings are composed of massive stone walls, cemented with a lime plaster from the neighbouring hills. They all have a foundation of arched subterranean vaults, above which was a single arched passage, divided into several apartments, surrounding a court-yard. In a few cases there are remains of a second story, also arched; but beams of wood appear never to have been made use of in these Sassanian buildings. Flowers and rude patterns may still be discerned upon the cement patterns of the interior walls. The buildings are crowded together, and are about a mile in extent.

Naushîrwân died in 578, and was buried at et-Tûs, in Khurâsân. At his death the Empire of Persia extended from the Red Sea to the Caspian, from the Euxine to the distant banks of the Jaxartes, and from the Mediterranean to the Indus. But Irân had attained to the height of her prosperity, and this brilliant reign only preceded her fall by about sixty years.

Naushîrwân's favourite saying was, 'That man is the greatest who is least dependent on worldly means for his enjoyment.'

This great king was succeeded by his son Hormazd IV., who had been educated by Abuzurg-a-Mihir, the famous minister of Naushîrwân, and often called by Roman writers the Seneca of the East.<sup>1</sup> Soon after his accession rebellions broke out in various parts of the empire, and he was eventually dethroned by Khusru Parvîz, his own son, who succeeded him.

Khusru Parvîz put down the insurgents with the aid of the Greek Emperor Maurice; but on the death of his benefactor he invaded Syria, took Jerusalem in A.D. 611, and brought the wood of the true cross, inclosed in a golden box, in triumph to Ctesiphon. His victorious armies then conquered Egypt and Asia Minor, and for ten years a Persian camp was established on the shores of the Bosphorus, threatening the city of Constantinople.

It was during the brief period of his occupation of Syria that Khusru Parvîz is believed, by Mr. Fergusson, to have erected the wonderful palace of Mashita, in Moab, recently discovered and described by Mr. Tristram. He carried away many Greek and Syrian workmen, and it is supposed that he employed some of them to erect a hunting box in Moab, for his sojourn when he passed that way, for he was passionately attached to the chase. Mr. Tristram remarks, in his work on Moab, that a Persian architect employing Byzantine workmen might be expected

<sup>1</sup> Hormazd put the virtuous and learned Abuzurg to death, on a suspicion that he had become a Christian.

Mîrkhund calls him 'The embellished frontispiece of the volume of wisdom.'

to produce just such a work as this palace of *Mashita*.<sup>1</sup>

Khusru Parvîz also sent a large army into Yemen, under Wahrâz, who subdued that country, with Hadramaut and 'Omân.

Khusru Parvîz enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of his victories,<sup>2</sup> and indulged in every kind of luxury and extravagance, forming a mournful contrast to the real greatness of his glorious grandsire Naushirwân.

Dastajird,<sup>3</sup> the splendid palace of Khusru Parvîz, was sixty miles north of the city of Ctesiphon. The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks and herds, and the park was full of pheasants, peacocks, roebucks, and wild boars; 900 elephants, 6,000 horses and mules, and 8,000 camels were always kept there for the use of the great king and his retinue; and 40,000 columns of marble and plated wood supported the roof of the palace.

There still exist the remnants of a capacious edifice, with numbers of subterranean vaulted chambers under it. The great hall is 60 feet square, and entered by four arched doors, and the walls are 12 feet thick and 40 feet high, but the roof has fallen, in . . .

In this superb retreat Khusru Parvîz enjoyed the society of the lovely Shîrîn, whose beauty has been the constant theme of Persian poets. A youth, named

<sup>1</sup> *The Land of Moab*, by H. B. Tristram, F.R.S. (Murray, 1873), pp. 195-215; and the interesting chapter on *Mashita*, by Mr. Fergusson, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> *Gibbon*, chap. xlvi.

<sup>3</sup> The Greeks called it Artemita, 48 miles from Baghdâd. Kinnear says 120 miles. It is probably identified with the ruins at Eski-Baghdâd, visited by Rich.—*Residence in Koordistan*, vol. ii. p. 251.

Ferhad, fell so deeply in love with Shîrîn, that Khusru Parvîz declared he would resign her, if the lover could cut through an immense rock called *Besitûn*, about twenty miles north of Kirmanshâh, and bring a stream from one side of the hill to the other.

When Ferhad was on the point of completing his almost superhuman labour, an old woman was sent to tell him that Shîrîn was dead; for Khusru Parvîz had become alarmed lest he should complete his work, and claim his reward. The wretched youth, on hearing the destruction of his hopes, clasped his hands above his head, and, jumping off the highest part of the rock, was dashed to pieces.

The remains of Ferhad's labour are still to be seen at the eastern end of the long range of barren mountains that bound the plain of Kirmanshâh on the north. They terminate abruptly in a high perpendicular rock, in one place cut to a smooth surface, and projecting over the road like a canopy. (Hence the name of *Besitûn*, from *sitûn*, 'a pillar,' and *be*, 'with-out.')

Near this, on a high part of the rock, a group of figures, in the form of a procession, is sculptured.<sup>1</sup>

While Khusru Parvîz was in the full enjoyment of his prosperity, which he bore so ill, he received a most ominous message. He was encamped on the banks of the rapid river Kára-su, which falls into the Tigris, when a letter was put into his hands, from an

<sup>1</sup> There are much more ancient inscriptions at *Besitûn*, carved by order of Darius Hystaspes. They have been deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson. See extracts from them, at the end of the chapter on the Kaianian dynasty.

obscure citizen of Mekkah, inviting him to acknowledge the writer as the Apostle of God.

He rejected the invitation, and threw the epistle into the river. 'It is thus,' exclaimed the messenger, 'that God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Khusru.'

It is remarkable that from this time nothing but disaster followed the once fortunate king; the Romans reduced him to the verge of destruction; and the followers of Muhammad, whose message he had despised, had, in a few short years, utterly overthrown the great Persian Empire.

The Roman emperor, Heraclius, who for years had been confined, by the inroads of the Persians and Avars, almost within the walls of his capital, had no sooner collected a small army, than he at once displayed extraordinary military talent, and entirely retrieved his fortunes. In his first campaign he successfully invaded Syria; in his second he crossed the Black Sea, landed at Trebizond, overran Georgia, and even penetrated into Persia itself, as far as Isfahân. In his third campaign<sup>1</sup> he entirely defeated Khusru Parvîz, in a great battle on the site of ancient Nineveh, captured and destroyed his splendid palace at Dastajird, and triumphantly restored the true cross to Jerusalem.

These long wars brought unaccustomed misery on the people, and several insurrections broke out in the different provinces. The unfortunate Khusru Parvîz was thrown into prison and put to death by his own son Shirôyah; and the beautiful Shirîn poisoned herself over his grave.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 622.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 628.

The life of this wretched king presents one of the most remarkable vicissitudes of fortune in history, but Khusru Parvîz had never borne his prosperity well; he had oppressed the countries that were conquered by his armies, and his reign forms a striking contrast to that of the good Naushîrwân.

His son Shîrûyah<sup>1</sup> concluded an ignominious treaty with the Roman Emperor Heraclius, but died after a reign of a few months. Anarchy then began to prevail throughout Persia; Pûrân Dukht and Azarmi Dukht,<sup>2</sup> two daughters of Khusru Parvîz, succeeded each other on the throne, and were both murdered by the turbulent nobles of Ctesiphon; and in 632 Yezde-gird III. the son of Shâhriâr, the son of Khusru Parvîz by Shîrîn, ascended the throne, and for a few years held, with a trembling and unsteady hand, the reins of the tottering government.

But the fierce and fanatic Arabs, wrought up to a pitch of intense devotion by their new religion, were already gathering, in threatening masses, on the frontier of the doomed empire of Irân. The young king, of a mild and generous disposition, was weak and inexperienced, having passed his early life in seclusion at the ancient city of Istakar. The command of the Persian forces was intrusted to a general named Rustam, who had formerly been governor of Khu-râsân. The Saracens, under the renowned Saad ibn Abu Wakkâs, a friend of the Prophet, advanced across the Euphrates, and the two armies encountered each other on the plain of el-Kâdinyah, in 636 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *Siroes of the Greeks.*

<sup>2</sup> *Arzemia of the Greeks.*



For three days and nights the battle raged with great fury. The heroes of Irân, not unworthy of their mighty ancestors, performed prodigies of valour; but their valour availed nothing. On the third day the Persian host was routed, Rustam was killed, and the hallowed apron of the blacksmith Kâf fell into the hands of the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

The conquering Muhammadans then marched upon Ctesiphon, the capital of the empire, and Yezdegird fled to Holwan, at the foot of the hills of Azerbaijan.

The splendid palaces of Ctesiphon became a prey to the wild Arabs; inestimable works of art, jewels, gold and silver, were shared amongst the rude soldiery, and the city was then abandoned. Nothing now remains of it but a part of the palace of Khusru Parvîz, seen afar on the plain. The bricks, of which it is built, are as hard as granite, with their surfaces nearly as polished as porcelain. The city walls, of great thickness, may also be traced.<sup>2</sup>

Saad then sent a detachment in pursuit of the fallen king, who had taken refuge in the stronghold of Holwan,<sup>3</sup> on the road between Ctesiphon and Kirman-shâh.

The fortress of Holwan, which is also called Kalahi-Yezdegird, immediately overhangs the modern town of Zohab. It is formed by a shoulder, projecting west-

<sup>1</sup> It had been enlarged from time to time, with silk and gold embroidery, until it was 22 feet long, and 15 broad. It was also decorated with gems of inestimable value.

<sup>2</sup> See page 85.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest cuneiform Babylonian record is at Holwan, engraved on a tablet; to commemorate the victories of a king named Tamsin over the mountaineers.

ward from the mountain of Dalahu; and is girt on three sides by an inaccessible precipice. On the fourth, it was defended by a wall and dry ditch of colossal dimensions, drawn across from one precipitous scarp to the other, a distance of about two miles. The wall was flanked by bastions at regular intervals, and was about 50 feet high and 20 in thickness. The hill itself is 2,000 feet above the plain of Zohab, and the fortified table-land on its summit covers an area of about 10 square miles. Sir H. Rawlinson says it must have been perfectly impregnable, in an age when artillery was unknown.

The names of many places in the neighbourhood still retain vestiges of the last of the Sassanian kings.

In an adjacent gorge there is a natural cave, very difficult of access, called the Hárám-Khanah of the princess Shahr-bánu, the daughter of Yezdegird, and wife of the Imám Hásan. At the foot of the gorge is the little village of Zardah, surrounded by gardens, which are watered by a delicious stream; and here there are the remains of two contiguous palaces, called the Diwán-Khanah and Hárám-Khanah of Yezdegird. The one, a quadrangular building, 100 yards square, of which the foundations alone remain; the other, a large enclosure, containing the remains of numerous buildings. The architecture is in a rude and massive style.

The river Holwan rises 20 miles east of Zohab, in the gorge of Rijab, which Sir H. Rawlinson describes as one of the most beautiful spots he has seen in the East. It is very narrow, scarcely 60 yards in width,

and closed in by a line of tremendous precipices on either side. From one end to the other it is filled with gardens and orchards, through which the stream tears its foaming way, till it emerges into the plain below, near Zardah. The defile is famous for its delicious fruit; and an Arabian writer says that, 'the figs of Holwan are not to be equalled in the whole world.'

The unfortunate Yezdegird, with his demoralised troops, dared not even to make a stand in the impregnable fortress of Holwan;<sup>1</sup> but, on the approach of the Arabs, he fled to Istakar, thence to Sistan, and thence to Merv, on the confines of Khurâsân. Meanwhile the Muhammadans besieged a part of the remnant of the Persian host in the fortress of Jabula, near Holwan, and captured the place, after a gallant defence of six months. For the few following years the Persians prepared to make a last desperate struggle for their independence; while the Muhammadans, under the command of Numân ibn Mukry, concentrated their forces to complete the conquest of Irân.

In 641, the Arabians marched from el-Kûfah to the plain of Nevahend, about forty miles from Hamadân, where the last remnant of the Persian army, commanded by a nobleman named Firûz, was intrenched in a strong position. After skirmishing for two months, the army of Irân came out to battle; but the onslaught of the Muhammadans was irresistible; 30,000 Persians were

<sup>1</sup> Holwan is the *Calah* of Asshur (Genesis x. 11), and the *Halah* of Israelitish captivity (2 Kings xviii. 11). The neighbourhood abounds in ruins of the Sassanian times.

pierced by their lances, and Fîrûz was killed in the retreat. The battle of Nevahend decided the fate of Persia; the cities of Hamadân, Isfahân, Kazvîn, and Istâkhar surrendered after a slight resistance; and the empire fell under the yoke of the fanatic Caliph 'Omar.

After wandering as a fugitive for several years, Yezdegird once more came to Merv, where the governor offered to give up his king to the Khakan of Tûrân. The ill-fated prince fled alone, and on foot, from the town. He reached a mill eight miles from Merv; and the miller killed him while he was asleep, for the sake of his splendid clothes, and cast his body into the mill stream.<sup>1</sup> But the villain was put to death by the people of Merv, and the body of the last of the Persian kings was conveyed to Istakar, and buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors.

Yezdegird left two sons, Fîrûz and Varahrân, and a daughter who married Hâsan, the son of 'Aly and Fâtimah, and grandson of Muhammad. She had a numerous progeny.

Fîrûz, the son of Yezdegird, left two daughters in Persia, one of whom married the Khalîfah Walîd, and was mother of the Khalîfah Yezîd; and the other, named Dara, became the wife of Bostenay, the Chief of the Jews in Mesopotamia, called the *Prince of the Captivity*.

Fîrûz himself fled across the deserts of Tûrân, and sought shelter at the court of Tait Sûng, the Emperor of China. He was kindly received, appointed to the post of Captain of the Guard, and granted the palace and large estate of Sigan, in the north-western part of

<sup>1</sup> August, A.D. 651.

China. Here a small colony of fugitives from Irân collected round him, and long retained the ancient religion and usages of Zoroaster in their exile. Fîrât left a son named Narses, called by the Chinese Ni-ni-cha; and Gibbon says that his grandson, after a faint and fruitless enterprise, ended his days in the palace of Sigan.<sup>1</sup>

Yezdegird was the last sovereign of the house of Sassan: a dynasty which ruled Persia for 415 years; and, says Malcolm, 'the memory of which is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the fame of Ardeshr, of Shapur, and of Naushirwân.'

The kings of the Sassanian dynasty were a very handsome race of the pure Aryan type. We learn this fact from their coins, of which there is almost a complete series; as well as from the rock sculptures. Shapur I. was famous for his manly beauty, and the tradition is borne out by the bas-relief copied by Flandin, and reproduced by Mr. Thomas. In this bas-relief his head is encircled by a cap, from the sides of which rise eagle's wings, and the whole is surmounted by a globe. The monarch wears bushy side curls, and a beard tied at the point, and merging into a jewelled drop. The head of Varahrân Kirmanshâh, carved on the amethyst now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, is also that of a man of extraordinary personal beauty, with large eyes, prominent well formed nose, and firm

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. li. On the authority of D'Herbelot, Dean Milman, in a note, mentions Narses or Ni-ni-cha, on the authority of St.-Martin. M. St.-Martin, the friend of Remusat, and editor of the *Journal Asiatique*, died 1832.

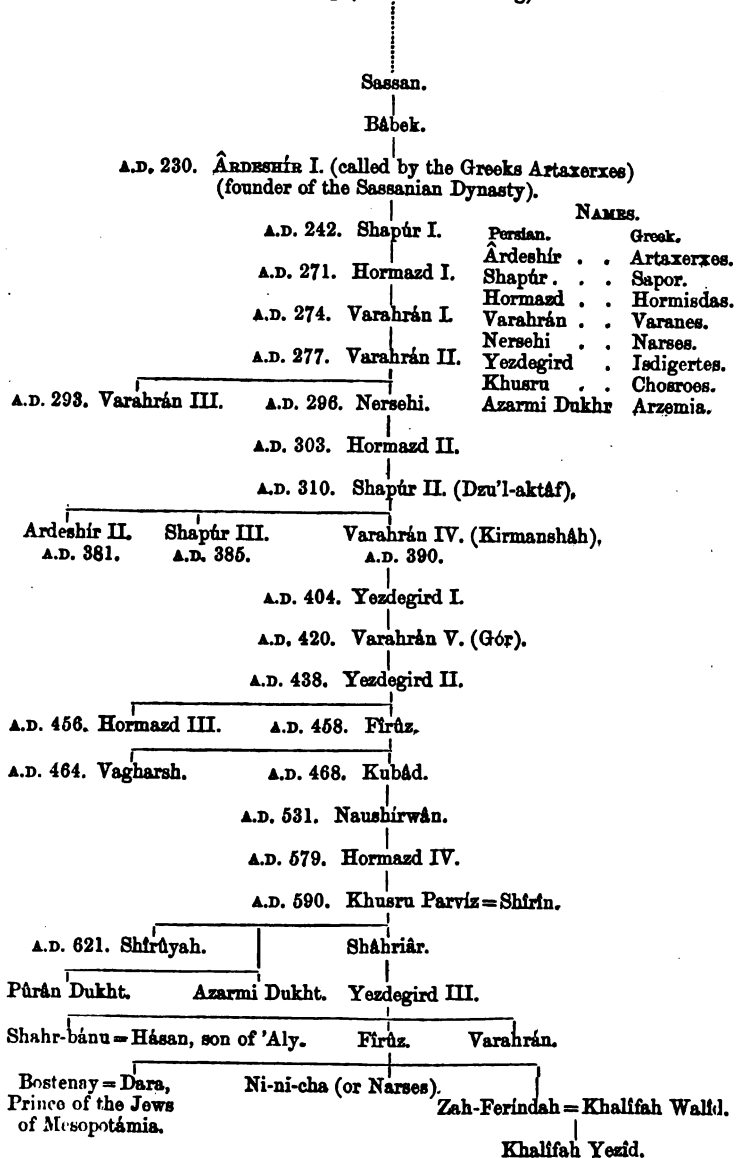
chiselled mouth, the whole forming a most striking profile. Similar handsome faces, with a strong family likeness, are represented on all the coins; which sometimes have a queen or eldest son associated with the monarch. On the reverses of the Sassanian coins are fire altars, apparently the portable altars carried before the kings in processions.<sup>1</sup>

The pure religion of Zoroaster was overthrown by the Arabs. Its *mobeds*, or priests, were slaughtered in great numbers, many fled to India and China, and the people who remained faithful to their ancient creed were cruelly persecuted by their fanatical conquerors. The town of Yezd, at the present day, contains 6,600 honest and industrious *Ghebres*, or fire-worshippers; and the Parsis of Bombay still retain the religion of Zoroaster, and are the most worthy, industrious, and honest portion of the native population of India. Jonas Hanway tells us that, ten miles N.E. of Baku—the Caspian sea-port, on a dry rocky waste, there are several ancient stone fire temples. In one of them, near the altar, there was, in his time, a large hollow cone, from the end of which issued a blue flame. The *Ghebres* declare that it is everlasting, and that it has continued ever since the Flood. In former days devout pilgrims used to flock to the sacred flame in great numbers.

<sup>1</sup> For interesting notices of the Sassanian coins, gems, sculptures, and inscriptions, see *Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals, and Coins*, by Edward Thomas, Esq. (Trübner, 1868); and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii. N. S. 1871-72, p. 280. See also the magnificent work of Flandin.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

Gushtasp (the Kaianian King).



## THE PARSÍS.

A BODY of Ghebres or Parsís took refuge in the Isle of Ormuz, and thence sailed to India. The first port they landed at was Diu, in the Gulf of Cambay. Thence they removed, in A.D. 717, to Sanjan, 5' south of Damaun, where they found favour in the eyes of Jadao Rana, the ruler of the place, and were permitted to reside. Several successive emigrations took place afterwards. The Parsís built a fire temple at Sanjan, in 721, and kindled the sacred fire. For 300 years they lived in peace, during which time they settled at Surat, Broach, Cambay, and Nausari.

In 1507 the Parsís of Sanjan assisted the Rajah against a Muslim invader from Ahmadabad. They behaved with great valour under their leader Ardeahír, and defeated the Muslims; but in a second battle Ardeahír fell, and the Muslim Aluf Khân occupied Sanjan. The Parsís fled to Nausari, where their brethren had become an opulent and influential race. The sacred fire was finally removed to Udwará, 36 miles south of Surat.

At Surat the Parsís carried on business as brokers to European firms; and in 1662 they came to Bombay. An early settler was one Lowjee, a shipwright, who superintended the building of the E. I. C.'s vessels. Under his supervision the Bombay dockyard was founded in 1735, and the post of master builder of the yard has ever since been filled by descendants of Lowjee.

Of the Parsís or Ghebres who remained in the fatherland, there were 1,000 families, or 6,658 souls in Yezd and its vicinity, in 1854: at Kirmán, 450; Tehran, 50, chiefly gardeners, and a few shopkeepers at Shíráz. They are very ignorant, most of their books having been destroyed during Agha Muhammad's tyranny. But centuries of oppression have not been able to destroy the strong, muscular, and hardy appearance of the Zoroastrian. He is greatly superior in strength to the modern Persian, and very industrious. Ghebres are employed in a garden adjoining the Sháh's harem at Tehran, being chosen on account of their character for purity and honesty. But a heavy poll tax is imposed on the Ghebres, and great cruelties are often practised on them.



The Parsís in the Bombay Presidency (of whom 44,091 are in the Island of Bombay)	
number . . . . .	. 182,563
Ghebres . . . . .	. 6,000 in Persia.
Total of Parsís and Ghebres . . . . .	. <u>188,563</u>

The Parsís in Bombay are divided into two sects, called Sháharsahis or Rasamis and Kadmis, not differing in doctrine, but merely as to the date for the computation of the era of King Yazdegerd, whence they count their years.

Parsí children, at the age 6 years and 3 months, are admitted into the religion of Zoroaster. The child is seated before the Dastúr (priest), who pronounces a benediction; the *kusti*, a woollen cord of 72 threads, is then passed 3 times round the waist, and tied in 4 knots, during the chaunting of a hymn. The first work, wherever the Parsis settle, is to build a tomb (*dokhma*), called 'the tower of silence,' for their dead. The body is carried to the *dokhma*, generally in a solitary place (those at Bombay are built on the highest part of Malabar Hill), and, being placed on an iron bier, is exposed in the *dokhma*. The fowls of the air soon denude it of flesh, and the bones fall through an iron grating into a pit beneath, whence they are removed to a subterranean chamber, made for the purpose.

In Bombay there are 3 fire temples—built in 1780, in 1830, and in 1844, respectively.

The earliest Parsís of wealth and position at Bombay all raised themselves from obscurity by their individual enterprise; and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy himself was the son of poor parents. There is now a Parsí mercantile house established in London (Messrs. Cama and Co.).

The Parsís are upright and honourable in their dealings, their word is their bond. They have shared largely in the establishment of railways and banks; a number of them are shipowners; many devote themselves to the improvement of large landed property, and the finest houses in Bombay are owned by them.

Sir John Malcolm said :—' There is no body of natives in India so remarkable for their intelligence and enterprise as the Parsís.'

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy was the most generous merchant in India; Jamsetjee Dorabjee was the foremost native railway contractor; Rustamjee Byramjee obtained, by public competition, in 1857, a commission as assistant-surgeon on the Bombay establishment. Dadabhoj Naorojjee was lately Professor of Natural Philo-

sophy in the Elphinstone Institution ; Dosabhoy Framjee was editor of the *Bombay Times*, author of a *History of the Parsees*, and of a work called the *British Raj* ; and Framjee Nusserwanjee, Cowasjee Jehangir, and Manockjee Nusserwanjee, are opulent Parsis, famous for their acts of generosity and of benevolence.

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy has at different times released many prisoners confined in jail for debt ; built causeways, for the benefit of the public, between Bombay and Salsette ; erected hospitals ; established institutions for relief of the poor at Bombay, Surat, Nausari, and other places ; and built works for the supply of water. To the poor, the needy, and distressed, he has always held out a helping hand, without reference to race or creed.

Sir Jamsetjee was knighted in 1842. In 1843 he received a gold medal, set in diamonds, from the Queen ; and in 1858 he was created a baronet, settling £10,000 a year on the baronetcy ; to which Sir Cursetjee Jamsetjee has since succeeded. A statue to the noble old follower of the creed of Zoroaster has been put up in the townhall of Bombay.

Up to 1856 Sir Jamsetjee had devoted upwards of 221,981*l.*, to purposes of public charity and benevolence.

'He is now full of years,' said Sir Henry Anderson, 'and the evening of his days is brilliant with the lustre which anticipates the praises of posterity.' He died April 14, 1859, aged 76. His donations to public objects amounted altogether to 300,000*l.*

*Parsis in the Bombay Presidency.*

(1858.)

Independent annuitants . . .	2,657	
Merchants and brokers . . .	61,298	
Writers and Accountants . . .	11,028	} Half in the service of Government.
Domestic servants . . .	5,468	
Liquor sellers . . .	5,227	
Priests . . .	5,656	
Pensioners . . .	1,274	
Medical men . . .	577	
Money changers . . .	1,535	
Wood-workers . . .	4,101	
Stationers and printers . . .	616	
Carried forward . . .	99,437	

Brought forward . . .	99,437
Policeman . . . . .	1
Auctioneers . . . . .	128
Bakers and confectioners . . .	1,417
Drapers and mercers . . . . .	328
Jewellers and watchmakers . .	1,125
Other trades, &c. . . . .	4,459
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b><u>106,895</u></b>

See *History of Parsees*, by Dosabhoj Framjee. London, 1858.

## CHAPTER V.

## RISE OF ISLÂM.

*The Khalîfahs.*

THE ominous message which the great Persian king, Khusru Parvîz received on the banks of the Kára-su, was the forerunner of one of the most stupendous revolutions the world has ever witnessed: a revolution which extended its influence over the whole of Asia, Northern Africa, and Spain; and which has continued to direct the destinies of many races of men to the present day. In no country has it established a more enduring and universal influence than in Persia; and some account of the rise and progress of Islâm is, therefore, necessary to complete a historical sketch of that country.

The numerous wandering tribes of Arabia, divided into two great branches—the descendants of Joktan and of Ishmael—had never, before the rise of Muhammad, directed their ambition beyond the limits of their own sandy deserts.

The children of Ishmael were the most warlike and powerful of these tribes. Many of them wandered over the deserts, plundering caravans, and dwelling in tents, by the side of wells which are scattered at vast intervals

over the trackless wilds. Others collected together in towns, near the sea coasts, and became eminent, as well for the success of their commercial enterprises, as for the poetry and apothegms composed by some of their members.

The most renowned of the descendants of Ishmael were the people of the tribe of Kuraish, whose founder Fihhr (surnamed *Kuraish*, or the 'Sea Monster') was lineally sprung from the outcast son of the patriarch Abraham.

The Kuraish, under the leadership of the head of their tribe had, during the fifth century, seized upon the sovereignty of the ancient city of Mekkah, and the guardianship of the Ka'abah, where the idols most venerated by all the tribes of Arabia were preserved. The Arabs of the Kuraish worshipped a strange idol, called *el-'Uzza*, the 'Exalted One,' studied the motions of the planets, and the positions of the fixed stars, and enriched the ports of the Red Sea by their commerce. The head of their family was Prince of Mekkah.

In the middle of the sixth century, 'Abd-Manâf, surnamed *el-Kâmar*, or 'The Moon,' from the beauty of his countenance, was Prince of Mekkah, and chief of the noble tribe of Kuraish. At that time an army headed by an Abyssinian chief, and accompanied by elephants, advanced against Mekkah. A war ensued, and Hâshim, the son of 'Abd-Manâf, distinguished himself above the brethren of his tribe; in consequence of which his posterity obtained a kind of tacit ascendancy in the Kuraish.

But, though for the moment less powerful, yet not

less remarkable for their valour and other noble qualities, were the children of Omeyyah, a grandson of 'Abd-Manâf, and these rival families divided the tribe into Hâshimites and Omeyyahs.

Muhammad,<sup>1</sup> the son of 'Abdallah by the beautiful Aminah, and great-grandson of Hâshim, was born in 572. Though born to poverty, he managed, by his extraordinary talent and audacity, to assume the lead among the Hâshimites, declaring himself to be the Prophet of God; while, at about the same time, the august and noble Abu-Sufyân, grandson of Omeyyah, became chief of the Kuraish.

The strange doctrine of Muhammad soon began to excite attention; and while, on the one hand, he made converts of many influential Arabs, among whom were his cousin 'Aly, Abu-Bekr, afterwards his father-in-law, Saad, 'Othmân, Ez-Zubair, Abdu-'r-Rahmân, 'Omar, and Hâmzah; on the other, he excited great uneasiness in the minds of the elders of the Kuraish. When, at length, the earnest preaching of the reformer began to disturb the tranquillity of Mekkah, Abu-Sufyân formed a league against him, with most of the chiefs of his tribe.

The enmity of these men was not to be despised; and Muhammad, after concealing himself for some time in the cave of Tûr, with the faithful Abu-Bekr, where he composed many chapters of the Kurân,<sup>2</sup> fled to el-Medînah,<sup>3</sup> in 622. Here the townspeople readily

<sup>1</sup> *Muhammad* means 'the praised one,' or 'one endowed with praiseworthy qualities.'

<sup>2</sup> *Kurân*, 'the Reading, Book'; from *kâra*, 'to read.'

<sup>3</sup> This flight was called *el-Hijrah*, from the root *hâjara*, 'to

gave in their adherence to the new religion, and the Prophet soon found himself at the head of a formidable body of men.

The trade of the merchants of Mekkah was, at that time, very considerable. Within forty miles of the gates of the city was the port of Juddah on the Red Sea, whence came the produce of Abyssinia. From Yémen came myrrh, aloes, frankincense, and other merchandise, which was conducted in long caravans across the desert to Syria; and the returning merchants brought back precious goods from the marts of the East.

A year after the Híjrah, Muhammad received tidings that Abu-Sufyân was escorting a caravan from Syria to Mekkah, and he determined to attack it. He therefore advanced to a place called Bedr, about twenty miles from el-Medínah, and attacked the caravan, which he succeeded in capturing, after great slaughter. Many prisoners were taken, among whom was the Prophet's uncle 'Abbâs, who was the ancestor of a long line of Khalífahs. Abu-Sufyân, however, retreated in good order to Mekkah.

Furious at the loss of so many of their kindred, and at the plunder of their caravan, preparations were immediately made by the people of Mekkah to punish the audacity of the fanatics at el-Medínah. The reserve of the new army was led by Hindâ, the wife of Abu-Sufyân, who vowed vengeance against Hámzah, the murderer of her kinsmen.

flee'; and from it the Muslims count their year. July 17, A.D. 622.

In 625 Abu-Sufyân advanced against Muhammad, who came forth to meet him with about a thousand men, and encamped on a hill called Ūhud, about four miles north of el-Medīnah. After a partial success, the Muslims were entirely defeated, but retired in good order, leaving several of their leaders dead on the field. Among these was Hāmzah, whose body was insulted, and whose heart was torn out, and gnawed by the revengeful Hindâ. In 627 the Kuraish formed the siege of el-Medīnah with 12,000 men, but it was raised; and during the following years the influence of Muhammad spread so rapidly, and he gained so many converts among the neighbouring tribes of Arabia, that he was in a position to bid defiance to the Kuraish at Mekkah, and make a truce with them on equal terms.

During the continuance of the truce, Muhammad marched suddenly upon Mekkah, and Abu-Sufyân, who came out to meet him, was taken prisoner. Entering the city when its inhabitants were completely off their guard, he firmly established his authority there in 629, destroyed the idols of the Ka'abah, 360 in number, and forced the whole tribe of Kuraish to embrace Islâm.

A few of his greatest enemies were put to a cruel death, several escaped; but the remainder, including the lady Hindâ, the ruthless enemy of the Faithful, were pardoned.

So great, however, was the respect and fear which the Prophet still felt for Abu-Sufyân, the chief of the Kuraish, that he was treated with the utmost con-



sideration. Finding that fortune had turned against him, and convinced by the arguments of reason, and the still stronger one of necessity, he deemed it consistent with his dignity to embrace the new doctrine, and to profess, with his family, a belief that there was one only God, and that his cousin Muhammad was his Prophet.

He himself became leader of part of the forces; and his son Mu'âwiyah was appointed secretary to Muhammad, who had previously married Umm-Habîbah, a daughter of Abu-Sufyân.

From this time the house of Omeyyah advanced rapidly in power. Muhammad died in 632, and his three immediate successors were his old companions, Abu-Bekr, 'Omar, and 'Othmân.<sup>1</sup> During their reigns the conquests of the Muhammadans extended with unprecedented rapidity. The Arabs, accustomed for ages to confine their wanderings to the deserts of their own country, and to pass their lives in breeding superb horses, and tending camels, flocks, and herds, rapidly received a surprising stimulus from their new creed, formed themselves into large armies, and invaded the neighbouring countries to spread the true faith by force of arms.

Syria, after a few campaigns, was conquered, and the Khalifah<sup>2</sup> 'Omar entered Jerusalem in triumph.

<sup>1</sup> 632. Abu-Bekr, *i.e.*, 'the Father of Bekr.' His daughter Âishah married Muhammad.

634. 'Omar. His daughter Hâfiah married Muhammad.

644. 'Othmân.

<sup>2</sup> *Khalîfah*, 'a Successor,' *i.e.*, to the Prophet; from the root *khâlafâ*, 'to succeed.'

'Amru, one of the greatest of Muhammadan generals, overran Egypt, and, by the Khalifah's order, burnt the priceless library of Alexandria; and the mighty empire of Persia, whose kings had once defeated and led in chains the emperors of Rome, was shattered at one blow, on the plains of el-Kâdinyah. Its stately religion was driven from the temples of Ctesiphon and Istâkhar to the recesses of mountain fastnesses; and the scorn and hatred in which it was held by true believers, is exemplified by the tales concerning Bahrâm the Magian, in the *Arabian Nights*. A few poor fire-worshippers in Yezd, and the Parsis of Bombay, now represent that religion of fire and the sun which, in times gone by, counted millions upon millions of votaries.

While the conquests of the Muhammadans were thus spreading far and wide, Mu'âwiyah, the son of Abu-Sufyân, had succeeded in establishing himself as Governor of Syria.

The Khalifah 'Othmân was assassinated in 655, and 'Aly, who had married Fâtimah, the daughter of Muhammad, was inaugurated in the mosque at el-Medînah; but Mu'âwiyah refused to take the oath of allegiance, and even claimed the khalifate for himself. 'Aly, whose arm was far stronger than his head, and who, though possessing many fine qualities, was quite unfitted for supreme command, succumbed before his adversary, and was assassinated while officiating in the mosque of el-Kâfah, in 660. He is described as rather short, with a youthful and frequently smiling countenance, large eyes, a long beard, and bald head. He

was very brave and generous, and possessed a remarkably sweet temper.

Soon after his death, a numerous sect of believers sprang up, called *Shí'a'ah*, who declared that 'Aly, his two sons, Hásan and Husain, and the descendants of the latter, were the true Imâms; and that a belief in their inalienable right constitutes the most important article of the faith.

'Aly's two sons, when they were little children, were the favourites of the prophet Muhammad, who often took them into the pulpit with him when he addressed the people. Hásan<sup>1</sup> succeeded his father; and, ascending the pulpit, he thus spoke to a great multitude which was assembled at el-Kûfah, to witness his inauguration:—'You have killed a man on the same night in which the Kurân came down from heaven, in which 'Ísa (Jesus) went up to heaven, and in which Joshua, the son of Nun, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors be ever equal to him.'

Hásan, who was of a mild and unwarlike disposition, resigned the khalífate to the ambitious Mu'áwiyah, and enjoyed the pleasures of a private life at el-Medînah for eight years, when he was poisoned by one of his wives named Ja'adah, who had been bribed by the new Khalífah. Hásan married the princess Shahr-bánu, daughter of Yezdegird, the last of the Sassanian kings of Persia.

Thus the head of the house of Omeyyah, the son of

<sup>1</sup> *Hásan* means 'handsome.'

the most formidable of the enemies of Muhammad, became his *Khalifah*, or Successor ; and by establishing an hereditary dynasty, and introducing the luxuries and arts of civilised life, completely altered the whole tone of society among the true believers,

Hitherto the Successors of the Prophet had been simple in their mode of life, and by their dress and appearance might have been mistaken for the meanest of their subjects. 'Omar, dressed in a coarse cloth, and seated on the ground before the door of a mosque, received embassies from the greatest kings of the earth.

Mu'awiyah changed all this. The seat of government was removed to the beautiful city of Damascus, the *Khalifah* adopted the gorgeous style of former Eastern potentates, and the arts and sciences of their neighbours were rapidly introduced among the formerly rude and austere Muslims.

Retaining the same zeal for proselytism and lust of conquest, as characterised the first outburst of Islâm, the followers of Muhammad gradually allowed their religion to assume a milder and more refined form ; and amidst the grumbling of a few old bigots, splendid mosques and palaces began to rise in Damascus, and other large towns of the empire. The worship of one supreme God, and veneration for his Prophet, or exponent upon earth, was, in theory, a sublime conception, and elevated the minds of the subjects of the *Khalifahs* above the wretched idolatries practised by the ancestors of most of the conquered peoples. The Persians alone may be excepted.

The prayers and observances of the Faithful were simple and beautiful. Morning and evening they turned their faces towards Mekkah, and repeated the 'Fâtihah,'<sup>1</sup> or opening verses of the Kurân :—

'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise [belongeth] to God, Lord of all creatures, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Ruler of the Day of Judgment. Thee do we worship, and of Thee do we ask assistance. Direct us in the right way—the way of those to whom Thou hast been gracious; not of them with whom Thou art angry, nor of those who go astray. Amen.'

The devoted faith of those warriors, who with courageous hearts conquered half the civilised world, cannot fail to win the admiration even of the enemies of their religion.

It was the fortune of the house of Omeyyah to direct the conquests of these fervent heroes, and to rule an empire extending half round the world—from Lisbon to the confines of China; while, at the same time, they cultivated the arts of peace at Damascus.

Towards the close of the reign of Mu'âwiyah, his armies laid siege to Constantinople itself, the capital of the Roman emperors, and for five years were its walls surrounded by the forces of Islâm. Thus, in 668, little more than forty years after the obscure Arab enthusiast was first heard of by the nations of the West, a vast fleet and army of his followers threatened the very existence of the Roman empire. Another

<sup>1</sup> *Fâtihah*, 'an opening,' 'an opening chapter'; from *fâtaha*, 'to open.'

army of Arabs conquered the whole of Northern Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic.

Mu'âwiyah was succeeded in 680 by his son Yezîd, in whose reign the conflicting claims of Hâsan and Husain, the sons of 'Aly, were set at rest for ever. Hâsan, of a peaceful and gentle disposition, had resigned his right to the khalifate; but his brother Husain raised an army, and defied the power of Yezîd. The melancholy fate of this unfortunate prince forms the burden of many a song, and has been told in the agreeable narratives of Washington Irving, and of Curzon.<sup>1</sup> His tragic end, on the plain of Kerbela, in 680, forms the plot of a tragedy which is now acted before the court of the Shâh of Persia.

Having destroyed all his enemies, Yezîd died in 683. 'May he be accursed of God!' exclaims the Arab chronicler.

Hisson Mu'âwiyah II.,<sup>2</sup> became Khalifah when twenty-one years of age. He was a melancholy youth, weak in mind and body; and was obliged to remain in darkened rooms, on account of a disease in his eyes; hence his surname, 'The Father of Night.' After reigning for six months, he refused to hold office any longer, declining also to name a successor. His grandfather, he said, had displaced a better man than himself, as also had his father,<sup>3</sup> and he himself was unfit for so great a post.

Marwân I.,<sup>4</sup> a grandson of Yezîd I., and former secretary to the Khalifah 'Othmân, succeeded Mu'âwiyah II.

<sup>1</sup> *Curzon*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning 'Aly and Husain.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 683.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 683.

He was a tall meagre man, with a pale face, and beard dyed yellow. After reigning two years, his wife threw a pillow on his face while he was asleep, and sat upon it until he was smothered.

In 685, 'Abd-el-Málík ascended the throne of the Omeyyad Khalífahs. He reigned for twenty years, during which time the conquests of the Arabs in Africa were extended and consolidated, and Carthage was taken from the Greeks. 'Abd-el-Málík built the mosque el-Aksa at Jerusalem, and converted the Church of St. John, at Damascus, into the principal mosque of the city. Mr. Fergusson observes that these buildings are rude and clumsy, showing that the Arab conquerors had not yet acquired artistic tastes. He is said to have been the first Muhammadan sovereign who coined money. He died of the dropsy in 705.

During the rule of his son<sup>1</sup> el-Walíd I.,<sup>2</sup> extensive conquests added to the already immense extent of the Arabian empire. While on one side Spain was over-run by Músa and Târik, on the other his nephew conquered Bukhâra, and destroyed the idols of Samarkand.

In 706, fifty-five years after the final conquest of Persia, the Arabs under Kútbah, governor of Khurâsân, crossed the Oxus. During the next six years he subdued Bukhâra, Samarkand, and Khuwârizm as far as the Sea of Aral. In 713 he extended his conquests over Fargânah to the banks of the Jaxartes.

The Khalífah himself, however, was devoted to the refined arts of peace, and remained in his capital of

<sup>1</sup> *el-Walíd*, 'the Begotten,' or 'the Servant.'

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 705.

Damascus. He was tall and robust, with a broad flat nose, and much pitted with the small-pox. In the erection of the great mosque at Damascus, el-Walid may be considered to be the founder of the Saracenic order of architecture.

Forbidden by their Prophet to make any graven image or representation of man or animal, the Arabs adorned their buildings with ever-varying and intricate patterns, verses from the Kurân in the beautiful Arabic character, and other devices in which they exercised an endless ingenuity. The tall slender pillars, supporting the horse-shoe arch, and domes and minarets formed the chief points of a style of architecture never surpassed for grace and beauty, which rose to its highest state of perfection in the glorious Alhambra.

el-Walid<sup>1</sup> also built the great mosque at Damascus, where 600 lamps were suspended by golden chains. He was succeeded by his brother Sulaimân,<sup>2</sup> who was very handsome. It is related that once, as he was admiring himself in a mirror, and exclaiming to those around him, 'I am the king of youth;' a slave girl answered, 'You are beautiful. Who can deny it? This only fault have you, that your beauty is mortal, that it will pass away as a summer breeze, as a flower of the field will it fade.'

During his reign Georgia and Mazanderân were conquered by his general Yezîd-bin-el-Muh'allab; and his brother Mâslamah, the greatest general of the house of Omeyyah, led an army across the Hellespont at

<sup>1</sup> He married a daughter of Yezdegird, last king of Persia.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 714.



Abydos, and the Arabs a second time besieged Constantinople.

Meanwhile the Khalifah Sulaimân advanced with another army through Asia Minor, but died of a surfeit in his camp at Calchis. He had demolished two baskets of eggs and figs, which he ate alternately, a quantity of marrow and sugar, seventy pomegranates, a kid, six fowls, and an immense number of the grapes of et-Tâif, in one morning. The siege of Constantinople was then raised.

'Omar, whose mother, Omm-Asma, was a daughter of the great Khalifah 'Omar, succeeded his cousin Sulaimân. He was in every respect different from his predecessor. In all religious observances he was strict, and his virtues add lustre to the dynasty of the Benu-Omeyyah. Gibbon says 'the throne of an active and able prince (meaning Sulaimân, who ate himself to death) was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot.'<sup>1</sup> 'Omar was, on the contrary, the best and most humane of the Omeyyah Khalifahs. On the first day of his accession, he prohibited the revolting custom of cursing 'Aly from the pulpit—a custom which had been in vogue since the time of Mu'âwiyah I.

He died in 719, and the Arabian poet Sharîf, el-Músawý, said of him, 'O son of 'Abdu'l-'Azîz! if human eyes ought to weep, they should weep for you. You freed us from the cursing of 'Aly, and, if it is possible, you should be freed from it yourself.'

Yezîd II., a son of 'Abdu'l-Málik, followed 'Omar in

<sup>1</sup> *Gibbon*, vol. v. p. 180; *Conde*, p. 84, *et seq.*

the Khalifate; and he made the renowned general Máslamah, governor of Khurásân. Yezid was very handsome, and devoted to pleasure. He had two young slave girls, whom he loved far better than himself, named Habíbah and Salímah. Salímah having died, he kept the body in his room until it was decomposed; and being reproved by his brother, he replied, 'They all tell me this, but I have no other alleviation for my grief.' It is said that after she was interred, he again took the beloved remains from the tomb, and looking upon it with wild anguish, he died with his Salímah in his arms, at the early age of twenty-nine.

Such love passages are of frequent occurrence among the Benu-Omeyyah princes, as indeed they are throughout the records of the first few centuries of Islâm; and the stories of the *Arabian Nights* are confirmed by the authentic testimony of history. No people appear to have loved more deeply than the Arabian youths, when their nation was in its full vigour, and women were adored by them with a chivalric ardour that would have done honour to the knights of Christendom.

Though occupying a very different position from the women of Europe, they have exercised an equal influence over the minds of men, and on many occasions, as regents and ministers, have risen to the highest stations. Áishah, the wife of Muhammad, led armies to the field, as did Hindâ, the spouse of his rival Abu-Sufyân. Nor have they been less eminent in the cultivation of more peaceful pursuits; and among the Arab ladies of Spain, during the reigns of the princes of the house of Omeyyah, there were more poetesses, author-

esses, and female literatæ, than have appeared in any single country, even in modern times. By the religion of Muhammad, though carefully kept from the public gaze, and subjected to much restraint, the women as well as the men were admitted to the joys of Paradise; their husbands were enjoined to treat them with respect and consideration, and the Kurân secured to them many important rights and privileges.

In 723, Hishâm succeeded his brother Yezîd II. He had a cast in his eye; and, in imitation of the Prophet, dyed his beard with henna and *kátam*.<sup>1</sup> The inscription on his seal was ‘Wise judgment is a fat beast of burden.’

His general, Máslamah, made incursions into the Greek dominions, and besieged Nice in Bithynia. He also drove the Turks out of Armenia. In 738, Zaid, the son of Husain, and grandson of ‘Aly, rose in rebellion at el-Kúfah, but was defeated and pierced through the brain with an arrow by the Governor of ‘Irâk. His body was burnt, his ashes thrown to the winds, and his head placed on the gates of Damascus. Hishâm had a mania for dress, and his enormous wardrobe loaded 600 camels.

In 747, he was succeeded by his nephew el-Walîd II., a son of Yezîd II. This Khalîfah was impious and careless of religion; indeed, it is said that towards the end of his life he openly professed Zendicism. He led a dissolute life, bathed in wine, and entered the sanctuary at Mekkah with stag-hounds; but at the same time he loved music and wrote poetry.

<sup>1</sup> *Kátam*, *Buxus dioica*, *Forsk. Flor. Æg. Ar.* p. 159.

But his depravity excited the indignation of all true believers: the cities of Syria rose in rebellion against him, and he was put to death in his palace near Damascus. His head was cut off and nailed on the gates of the town, while his cousin was proclaimed Khalifah as Yezîd III. The fall of el-Walîd II. was a fatal blow to the house of Omeyyah, and increased the influence of the numerous conspirators in all parts of the empire; especially that of the family of Abbasides, descendants of 'Abbâs, that uncle of Muhammad who was taken prisoner after the battle of Bedr.

Yezîd III. was son of Mah-Afrîd, the daughter of Fîrûz, and granddaughter of Yezdegird, the last king of Persia of the house of Sassân. After a troublous reign of four months, he died of the plague.

For a short time his brother Ibrahim filled the vacant throne; but he abdicated in favour of his warlike relative Marwân II.,<sup>1</sup> who assumed the Khalifate in 744.

Soon after his accession to power, the Abbasides, who had long been intriguing secretly, rose in rebellion, in the persons of the brothers 'Abdallah-Abu'l-'Abbâs, es-Saffâh and Abu-Ja'afar, el-Manstûr. Marwân was warned of the danger, by a sage named Nâsr-ibn-Sayyâr, who said to him, 'Among the cold ashes I can discern small sparks. I fear lest they should burst into open flames.' At first the sedition on the banks of the Euphrates appears to have caused the Khalifah little alarm. He trusted to be able to quell it with ease, for he had formerly reaped a harvest

<sup>1</sup> He had been Governor of Azerbaijan.

of glory, during a brilliant campaign in Georgia; and was surnamed 'the (warlike) ass of Mesopotamia.'<sup>1</sup>

The rebellion of the Abbasides, however, soon became too formidable to be despised.<sup>2</sup> es-Saffâh had been proclaimed Khalifah at el-Kûfah, and had collected a large army, chiefly from the provinces of Persia. Marwân II. advanced against him, and the hostile forces encountered each other at a place called Tubar, near Mosul.<sup>3</sup> The Omeyyah army was entirely defeated by the rebels, and the unfortunate Khalifah fled first to Hims (Emesa), and then to Damascus; but the gates of both these ungrateful cities were closed against him.<sup>4</sup> Chasing him as the hungry leopard follows the timid gazelle, es-Saffâh routed the ill-fated Marwân again, in Palestine; <sup>5</sup> and finally he was defeated and killed in Egypt. His head was cut off to be embalmed and sent to es-Saffâh. When his tongue was cut out, a ferret ran off with it, as a punishment from God, it was said by the Abbasides, for his blasphemous language while living. His sons, 'Obaid-Allâh and 'Abdallah, fled into Æthiopia, and were there murdered.<sup>6</sup> The Abbaside Khalifah, who had thus succeeded in his rebellion, ordered the

<sup>1</sup> Himâr-el-Jazirah: the asses of that country being, in his days, remarkable for their unparalleled fortitude and intrepidity.

<sup>2</sup> Sulaimân-bin-Hishâm rebelled at el-Bâsrah, with an army of 10,000 men. Marwân defeated him.

<sup>3</sup> The ex-Khalifah Ibrahim fell in this battle, fighting for his successor and relative Marwân II. Some say he was drowned in the Euphrates after the battle was over.

<sup>4</sup> The Abbasides plundered Damascus for three days.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 749.

<sup>6</sup> Marwân was a valiant and magnanimous prince, thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. The inscription of his seal was '*O wise man! remember death!*' He was a great eater.

whole family of the Omeyyah to be exterminated. His uncle 'Abdallah invited ninety princes of that unfortunate house to a banquet, and treacherously butchered them. Many more were murdered at el-Básrah, and their bodies were left exposed, to be eaten by dogs and vultures.

Not content with these cruel massacres, es-Saffâh disturbed the repose of the dead. He caused the bodies of the Khalifahs Mu'âwiyah I., Yezîd I., Abdu'l-Mâlik, and Hishâm, to be dug up, and burnt, and their ashes to be scattered to the winds.

Thus ended the dynasty of the Omeyyah Khalifahs of the East.<sup>1</sup> For a period of eighty years they had reigned over an enormous empire; and though some of them had been profligate tyrants, the majority had been remarkable either for the encouragement of architecture, poetry, and the arts of peace, or for the splendour of their warlike achievements. In fact, the period of their rule was the most brilliant in Muslim annals; and, on the death of Marwân II., the Abbaside Khalifahs found themselves in possession of the largest empire in the world.

A more glorious fate still awaited the house of Omeyyah. Though its hope seemed utterly extinguished by the overthrow of Marwân II., and it was well nigh annihilated by the cruel policy of the Abbases, one youth of that noble family escaped the general massacre. He it was who was destined to raise his house, phoenix-like, from its ashes, and to found another dynasty of the Benu-Omeyyahs in Spain,

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 661-745.

whose splendid career of 250 years forms one of the most striking periods in the early history of Europe.

Abu'l-'Abbás, es-Saffáh, the first Abbaside Khalífah, died in 753; and was succeeded by his brother Abu-Ja'afar, el-Mansúr, who founded the city of Baghdád on the Tigris, 15 miles above the ancient Persian capital of Ctesiphon, and established the seat of his government there. In his reign a final and desperate attempt was made by the Persians in Khurásán to regain their liberty; but it was crushed by the armies of the Khalífah, and hope gave way to despair in the hearts of the fire-worshippers. El-Mansúr died in 775, and was succeeded by his son el-Máhdy, in whose time a new and formidable sect of fanatics arose in Persia.

One Hákim-bin-Háshim of Máru (Merv), who had formerly been secretary to the governor of Khurásán, gave himself out as a prophet, in the country beyond the Oxus (called by the Arabs Ma-warâ-'n-Nahr). He is generally known as *el-Mukánna'*, but was also called by the Persians *el-Bourkâý*, 'the Veiled,' because he covered his face with a gilded mask to hide his deformity, having lost an eye in battle, and being otherwise very ugly; though his followers said he did it, lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders.

Many proselytes flocked to his standard from Kash and Samarkand, and he retained them in their delusion by performing seeming miracles, one of which was to make a moon rise out of a well for many days together. This gave him the name of *Sázandah-Mah*, 'the Moon-maker,' in Persia.

On the approach of the Khalífah's army, he retired into one of his strongest fortresses; and, when all hope was gone, he poisoned the whole garrison, burnt their bodies, and then jumped into a tub of aqua-fortis, which consumed every part of him, except his hair. The sect of el-Mukánna' continued to exist, beyond the Oxus for 500 years, waiting for a grey-headed man riding on a greyish beast, the individual whom el-Mukánna' foretold would be the next Prophet.<sup>1</sup>

The Khalífah el-Máhdý was profuse and extravagant; and it is recorded that when he went on a pilgrimage to Mekkah, he was followed by camels laden with snow, in which the most delicious fruits were cooled, to refresh him in the burning Arabian deserts. He was tall, handsome, and very swarthy.

His eldest son, Mûsa, el-Hády, succeeded him in 785; but he died the next year, and was followed by his brother Hârûn.

Hârûn, er-Rashíd, the hero of the *Arabian Nights*, was the most illustrious of the Abbaside Khalífahs. He was about twenty-two years of age at the time of his accession, and had already distinguished himself in his wars with the Grecian emperors.

In his reign the Khalífate reached the height of its prosperity. Baghdád became the most flourishing city in the East; and the rich products of China and India were brought by Arabian merchants to the port of el-Básrah, and thence up the Tigris to the capital.

<sup>1</sup> Moore, in his *Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, follows the historical account, given by Sale, very faithfully. Azim is his only imaginary character.



The internal laws and regulations of Hárûn were an improvement on the meagre rules of Muhammad. The Kurân, indeed, had soon been found quite insufficient as a code of laws ; and all the sayings and traditions of the Prophet were collected from his wives and companions. This collection was termed *es-Súnnah*, and was regarded by the orthodox as of equal authority with the Kurân. But many parts of the Kurân and the Súnnah were obscure and figurative ; and several divines devoted themselves to the explanation of the sacred text.

The four most eminent of these were Málík-bin-'Anas ; Muhammad-bin-Idrís, esh-Shâfa'iy ; Ahmed-bin-Hánbal ; and Abu-Hanîfah ; who have since been canonised as the four Imâms of the orthodox Muslims, and whose followers are known respectively as Málíkis, Shâfa'is, Hánbalis and Hánafis. The followers of Abu-Hanîfah were chiefly guided by their own judgment, while the three other schools adhered more tenaciously to the letter of the sacred writings. Abu-Hanîfah was brought into great credit by Abu-Yûsuf, the chief justice to Hárûn, er-Rashîd.

The memory of the great Khalîfah is stained by the unjust execution of his faithful wazîr, his comrade in all the strange adventures which are recorded in the *Arabian Nights*, the famous Ja'afar, el-Bârmaky, or the Barmecide.<sup>1</sup> This took place in 802. Ja'afar's mother had

<sup>1</sup> The el-Barâmaikah, or Barmecidea, were of Persian descent :

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      Bârmák (originally a Mobed of the fire
      temple at Balkh).
      |
      Kâhlid.
      |
      Yahyâ, Secretary to the Khalîfah el-Mâhdy.
      |
      —————
      |           |           |           |
      Muham. Fadhl. Mâsa. Ja'afar = Abbâsah.
                                |
                                Hârûn, = Zubaidah.
                                er-Rashîd.
  
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been the Khalífah's nurse, but her prayers could not save him from the capricious anger of Hárûn; and the entreaties of his father Yahyâ, who had been Hárûn's tutor, were alike unavailing. 'It is rare to read the

Bármak was introduced to the Khalífah Abdu'l-Málik. The Khalífah had two jewels, which betrayed the vicinity of poison by rubbing together. On the approach of Bármak he was thus led to suspect he carried poison. Bármak acknowledged the fact, and explained that it was the custom of all Ghebres of rank to carry with them this means of escaping from their enemies. He gradually rose in the Khalífah's favour, and was promoted to high rank.

His son Khâlid publicly embraced Islâm.

Khalid's son Yahyâ, the trusted councillor and tutor of Hárûn, had four sons, one of whom was Ja'afar; and they held the foremost places in the court and camp of their master, with whom their influence was, for a long time, unbounded.

Hárûn had an extraordinary attachment for Ja'afar the Barmecide, and could not bear him out of his sight. The Khalífah also loved his sister Abbâsah, who was a woman of extraordinary charms and beauty, with extreme affection. Hárûn proposed that Ja'afar should marry Abbâsah, on condition that he should never see her, except in the Khalífah's presence, so that all three might constantly be together without impropriety. Ja'afar long resisted. 'How should I,' he said, 'the son of a Ghebre, be allied to the family of Hâshim?' When his father Yahyâ, his brother Fadhl, and his other brothers, heard the proposal, they too were filled with sorrow.

At length Ja'afar consented; but he forgot the cruel and absurd commands of the Khalífah, and Abbâsah became a mother. This was told to Hárûn by a slave of his favourite wife Zubaidah.

The tyrant was furious. Ja'afar was put to death under circumstances of diabolical treachery by his unworthy master—enough a hundred times to overbalance all the glory that has ever been ascribed to him. Yahyâ, and his other sons, were cast into prison, where the former died, and the latter were murdered. Abbâsah was condemned to be buried alive.

Numberless tales are told of the munificent generosity, the forgiving temper, and other noble qualities of the ill-fated Barmecides. It is a satisfaction to think that the tyrant Hárûn, er-Rashîd, suffered from the pangs of remorse to his dying day.

history of an Eastern sovereign, unstained by atrocious crimes. Deeds of blood, wrought through unbridled passion, are ill redeemed by ceremonious devotion, and acts of trifling, perhaps ostentatious humility.<sup>1</sup>

In 807, Hârûn, er-Rashîd, marched to Khurâsân to oppose a rebellious lieutenant, but was taken ill and died on the road, and was buried at Tûs (the modern Mâsh-had), in 808.

His son and successor, el-Mamûn, was a great patron of literature.<sup>2</sup> He ordered many Grecian works on science to be translated; and several, which have been lost in the original, were preserved in the Arabic translations.<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen were studied in the colleges of Baghdâd; and the astronomers<sup>4</sup> of the Khalîfah el-Mamûn accurately

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon.

<sup>2</sup> el-Mamûn filled all his offices with Persians, and married Buran, the daughter of his Persian wazîr. In his time lived Abu-Nuwâs, the poet. 'Love and wine were the two stars which guided the life of this poet;' and he scorned Muslim bigotry. *Abu-Nuwâs*, 'Father of Hair,' from his long flowing locks, was born in A.D. 767, in a village of Khuzistân. When eight years old he came with his mother to el-Bâsrah, and thence with a poet named Wahfb-bin-el-Hubâb, to el-Kûfah, where he was instructed in poetry. Abu-Nuwâs died A.D. 815. He was intimate with Hârûn and his sons.

<sup>3</sup> el-Mamûn's teacher was a Persian named Abu'l-Hâsan 'Aly-ibn-Hânzah Bâhman-ibn-Abdallah-ibn-Fîrûz, surnamed el-Kassaï, a Persian, and an excellent grammarian. He died at er-Rây (Rhé), in 811.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabs, under the Khalîfah el-Mamûn, began to apply themselves to astronomy, in about A.D. 813. Under this prince lived one Habâsh, who composed three sorts of astronomical tables. The Arabs followed the system of Ptolemy, translated his *Syntaxis*, and made it their sole study. The first observations that are properly their own, were made by el-Bâthany, in Mesopotamia, of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, A.D. 882. Dr. Halley calls el-Bathany

measured a degree on the plain of el-Káfah, thus determining the circumference of the earth.

In 841, el-Mu'tásam<sup>1</sup> succeeded his brother el-Mamún,<sup>2</sup> and with him the glory of the Abbasides expired. Mercenary Turks were brought from the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes, to be enlisted in the Khalífah's body guard ; while Baghdád became the centre of a luxurious

'Vir admirandi accuminis, ac in administrandis observationibus exercitatissimus.' Ibn-Yúnus (with others) observed three eclipses at Cairo—a solar in A.D. 977.

” ” 978.  
lunar ” 979.

<sup>1</sup> el-Mu'tásam reigned 8 years,  
8 months,  
and 8 days.

He was the 8th Khalífah of the house of 'Abbás.

In the 218th year of the Híjrah he began to reign.

Was born in the 8th month of the year (Sha'abán).

Fought 8 battles.

Possessed 8,000 slaves.

8,000,000 dinárs,  
and 80,000 dirhems, } in his treasury.

Died, in his 48th year,  
on Thursday 18th Rabíá' (October 21, 841).

These circumstances induced the Arabs to call him *el-Múthmin*, or the Octonary or eighth.

#### TAHERITES.

Táhir Zhu'l-Yamnain, A.D. 820, was made Governor of Khurásán by the Khalífah el-Mamún. He declared himself independent.

Tullaihah. 828. 'Abdallah. Capital at Nisháptr.  
Ob. 845.

Táhir, confirmed in the Government of Khurásim by the Khalífah el-Wáthik.

Muhammad, an indolent voluptuous person ; fell into the hands of Ya'kúb-ben-Lais, who killed him, A.D. 872.

and enervating civilisation. The court and capital of el-Mu'tásam are described in glowing terms by Abulfeda :

'Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were swimming on the Tigris ; while the palace contained 12,500 pieces of silk tapestry, embroidered with gold, and magnificent furniture, amongst which was a tree of gold and silver, with eighteen large branches, on which sat a variety of birds of the same precious metal.'

El-Mu'tásam was succeeded in 842 by his son el-Wáthik b' Illáh, who was followed in 847 by his brother el-Mutawákkal, a cruel tyrant, who increased the number of his Turkish guard. But they proved more dangerous to the Khalifah than to his subjects, for in 861 they cut him into seven pieces, and placed his son Muntásir on the throne.

For a long time this licentious Prætorian guard murdered or enthroned the wretched Khalifahs at their pleasure. Sunk in the lap of sloth, the Abbasides entirely lost the warlike virtues of their ancestors ; Spain, Africa, Egypt, Persia, and Syria were, one by one, torn from their grasp ; independent princes rose up in the distant provinces of the empire ; and the Commanders of the Faithful became contemptible puppets in the hands of ambitious chiefs.

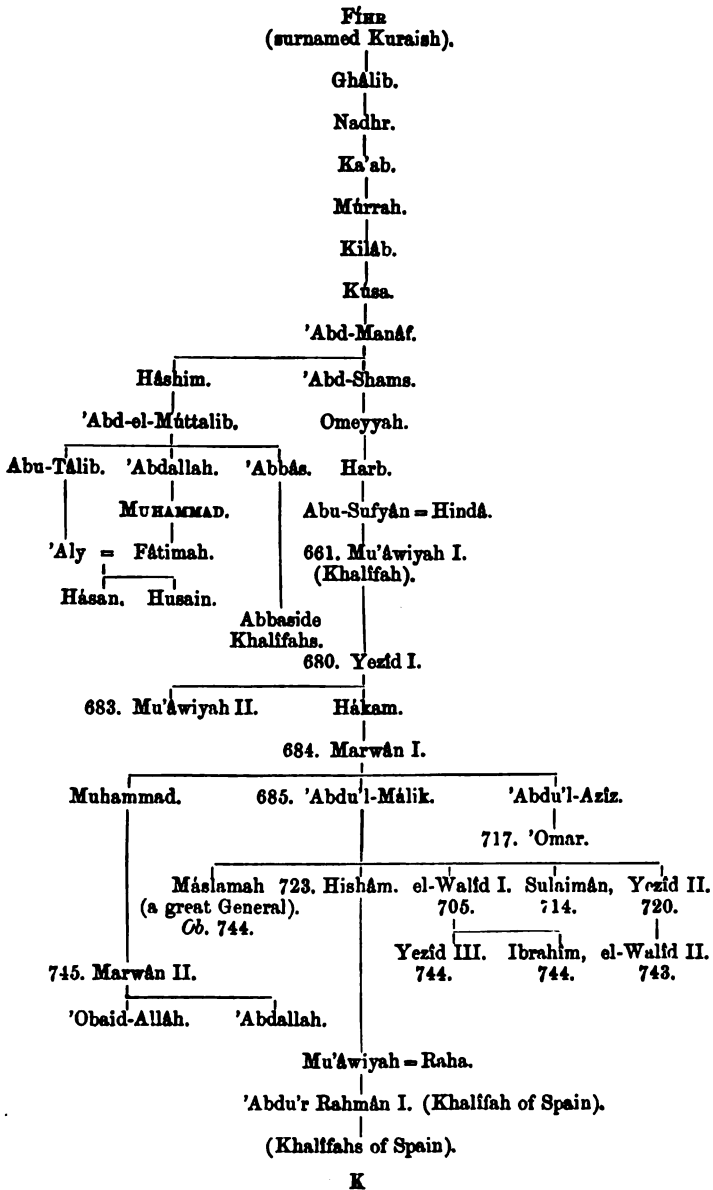
In 940, the Khalifah er-Rádhy b' Illáh <sup>1</sup> ascended the throne. 'He was the last,' says Mr. Hallam, 'that offi-

<sup>1</sup> Er-Rádhy was also the last Khalifah that wrote verses, or at least such verses as were thought worthy of having a place assigned them in the Mualim annals. He is said to have been liberal, mild, well versed in Arab literature, and fond of the conversation of learned men.

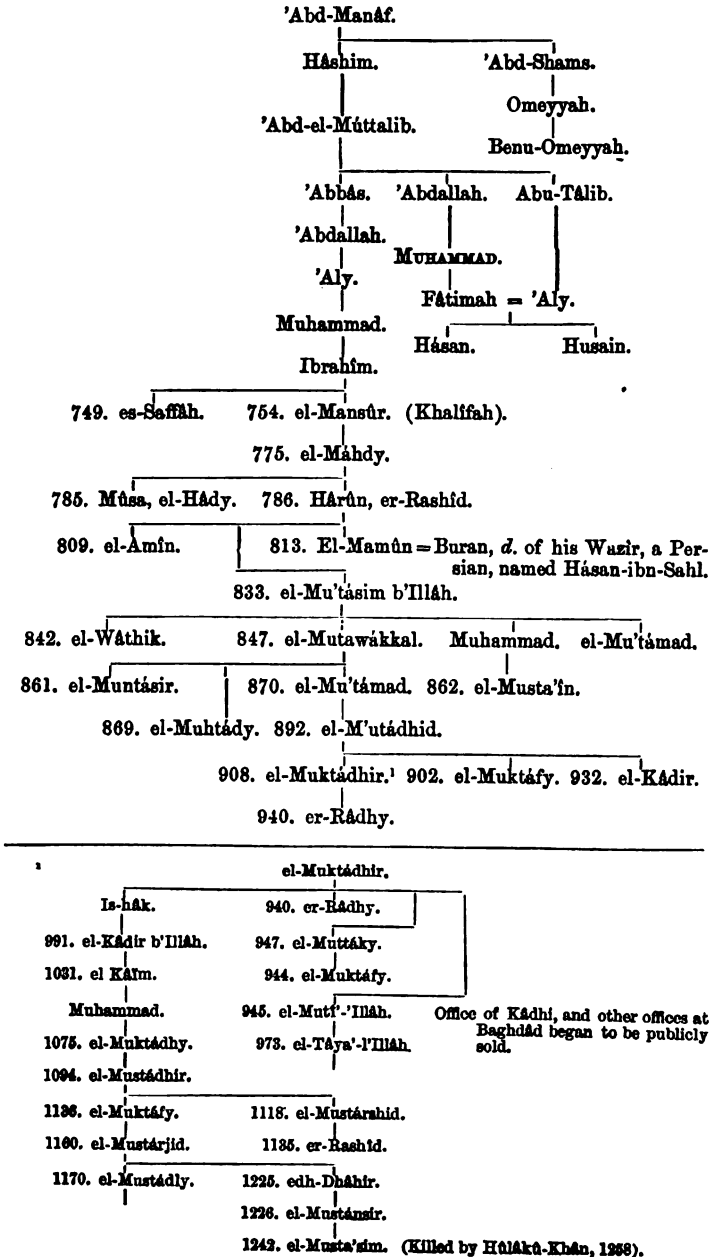
ciated in the mosque, or commanded his troops in person, or enjoyed the pomp and splendour of royalty : the first who appointed an Amîru-'l-Umarâ, or *Maire du Palais*, to whom he delegated his power. The dominion of the Khalifahs soon ceased to extend beyond the walls of Baghdâd ; and the Khalîfate, sinking into insignificance, was at last put out by Hulâkû Khân, in 1258.'

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BENU-OMEYYAH KHALÍFAHS.



## ABBASIDE KHALÍFAHS.





## CHAPTER VI.

## DOMINATION OF TÛRÂN.

Saffâris—Samanians—Dailamis, or Bâyahs—Ghâznavis—  
Saljûks—Atâ-bêgs.

THE Arabs had soon overrun all Persia ; a great portion of the people adopted the new faith, others fled into the fastnesses of Yezd and Kirmân, there to worship in peace, according to the religion of their fathers ; but for nearly two centuries the Khalîfahs of Damascus and Baghdâd held undisputed possession of Irân, and its provinces were governed by their lieutenants.

As the vigour of the Khalîfate began to pass away, and effeminate luxury crept imperceptibly into the palaces of Baghdâd, the distant lieutenants gradually aspired to independence. At length, in 868 A.D., one Ya'kûb-bin-Lais, the son of a brasier in Sistan, rose in rebellion, subdued Balkh, Kâbul, and Fars, but died on his march to Baghdâd. In former days he would have been treated as an audacious rebel against the authority of the Vicar of God ; now the degenerate Khalîfah appointed his brother 'Amr his lieutenant on the death of Ya'kûb,<sup>1</sup> and allowed him to govern Fars, as the founder of the *Saffâry*, or Brasier, dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 877.

Ever fearful of the power of 'Amr, the Khalifah at length instigated a Tatar lord, named Isma'il Samâny, to raise an army against the Saffâris, in Khurâsân. 'Amr marched against him, and crossed the Oxus, but he was entirely defeated; and laughed heartily at a dog, who ran away with the little pot that was preparing the humble meal of the fallen king. That morning it had taken thirty camels to carry his kitchen retinue.

'Amr was sent to Baghdâd, and put to death in 901 A.D.

Isma'il, who traced his descent from a Persian noble who had rebelled against Khusru Parvîz, now founded the Samâny dynasty, which ruled over Khurâsân and the north of Persia, with their capital at Bukhâra.

The Dailamy dynasty ruled in Fars and the south of Persia during the same period.

To the Samanians Persia owes the restoration of its nationality, which had been oppressed and trodden under foot by the Arabian conquerors.

Persia had, from the most ancient times, possessed a national ballad literature, and, as has been before stated, the *Fables* of Pilpay (or Bidpây) were translated from the Sanskrit as early as the days of Anushirwân; but the forcible change of religion, and the persecution by the Muslims of everything savouring of fire worship, had, during two weary centuries, almost destroyed the national literature and national feeling of Irân. Under the fostering patronage of the Samanian kings both were once more warmed into life.

Isma'il Samâny was succeeded in 907 by his brave

and generous son, Ahmed, whose grandson Nasr conquered Rây (Rhé), Isfahân, and Kom. He was the munificent patron of the Persian poet, Rudiky; who, though born blind, wrote the most beautiful poetry. The king gave him a splendid establishment of 200 slaves and 400 camels, and treated him with great distinction.

Rudiky's most famous poem is called the *Divân*; some verses of which have been translated into English, and are printed in Malcolm's *History of Persia*.

He who my brimming cup shall view  
 In trembling radiance shine,  
 Shall own the liquid ruby's hue  
 Is matched by rosy wine.

Each is a gem from Nature's hand,  
 In living lustre bright,  
 But one congeals its radiance bland,  
 One swims in liquid light.

Ere you can touch, its sparkling dye  
 Has left a splendid stain;  
 Ere you can drink, the essence high  
 Floats giddy through the brain.

Nasr died at Bukhâra in 943, leaving all his territories in peace.

His son, Amir-Nûh, passed his life in a series of petty wars, and his grandson, 'Abdu-'l-Mâlik, was killed by a fall from his horse, when playing at ball. He was succeeded in 961 by his brother Mansûr.

This king was a distinguished patron of the national literature of Irân. He caused a collection of all the old traditions to be made in prose, which was called the *Bustân-Nâmeh*, or 'Garden Book.' Afterwards the poet Rukiky was ordered to turn it into verse, but he

was murdered before he had completed a thousand lines. The great work was left to the more fortunate genius of Firdausy.

In 975, Mansûr was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-'l-Kâsim-Nûh, who was obliged to seek aid against his rebellious subjects from Sabuktagîn, a chief in Ghâz-ni. The rebels were defeated, and the allies received honors and rewards; but in 998, Mahmûd, the son of Sabuktagîn, dethroned the last king of the Samanian dynasty.

During the reign of 'Abdu-'l-Kâsim-Nûh, Ibn-Sîna, commonly called Avicenna, the great Persian physician and philosopher, was born at a village near Bukhâra, in 980. He studied Euclid and logic; and when he was about eighteen turned his attention to medicine, in which study he gained such proficiency that he cured the Samanian king Nûh of a dangerous illness, about two years afterwards.

When the Samanian dynasty fell, Avicenna retired to Isfahân, where he wrote numerous works on medicine and mathematics. One called the *Kânûn* was long, even in Europe, a standard work on medicine. The great physician died at Hamadân, in the year 1036.<sup>1</sup>

While the Samanians reigned in Khurâsân and Bukhâra, the Dailamy or el-Bûyah dynasty established their rule over Fars and 'Irâk.

<sup>1</sup> Avicenna says that his father sent him to an herb-merchant to learn the Arabian arithmetical figures, and this is the earliest mention of them.—Abulfaragius, *Hist. Din.* p. 349.

There was a chimney-piece at Helmdon, in Northamptonshire, on which was the date 1133, in Arabian figures!

There was a poor fisherman in the village of Dailam, on the Caspian, named Abu-'l-BÛyah. His son collected an army, seized Isfahân in 933, was made Governor of Fars and Trâk, and received from the Khalifah the title of Amîru-'l-Umarâ, 'Chief of the Nobles.'

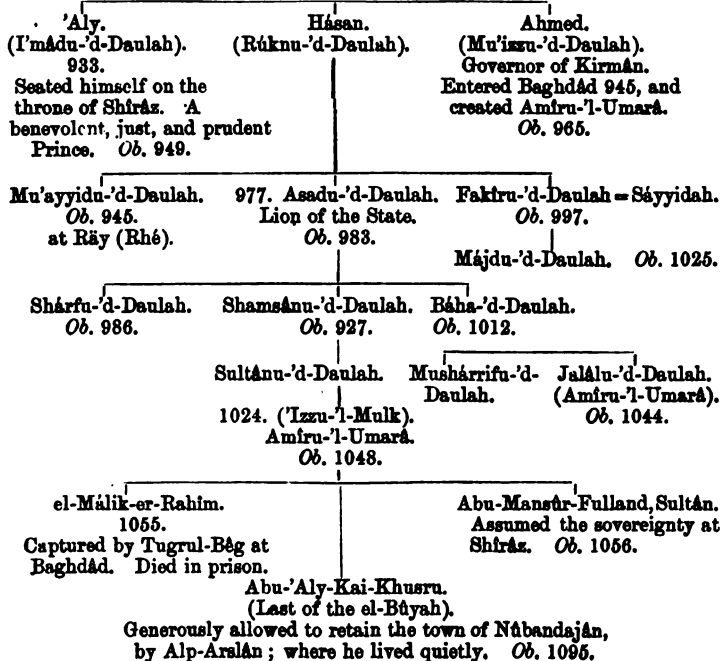
Thus are dynasties formed in the East. The father, a poor fisherman, the son ruler of the principal part of Persia. The title of Amîru-'l-Umarâ was equivalent to that of *Maire du Palais* in Merovingian France.

The family of the Dailamîs,<sup>1</sup> on the whole, appears

#### THE DAILAMÎS, OR BÛYIDES.

(From Price, Vol. II. names corrected.)

Abu-Shujâ'-BÛyah; a native of Dailam, an almost inaccessible place in Tabris-tân. He boasted his descent from Varahrân-Gór, though himself only a fisherman.



to have used the favours of fortune with justice and moderation. In 977 Asadu-'d-Daulah, grandson of the fisherman, began to reign. He restored the sacred buildings at Kerbelâ, built hospitals for the poor at Baghdâd, and made a famous dyke over the river Kûr, near Persepolis, which (under the name of *Band-Amîr*) still fertilizes the country. This great and good ruler died in 982, when his son and nephews contended for dominion. At length Májdu-'d-Daulah was taken prisoner by the famous Mahmûd of Gháznah; but the family retained the government of Shîrâz some time longer, and the last died in the service of Alp-Arslân.

The rise of the el-Gháznah dynasty was almost as rapid and extraordinary as that of the Dailamis.

Abastagîn, a nobleman of Bukhâra, fled from the resentment of the Samanian king Mansûr, and established himself at Gháznah. After his death, in 976, his son Is hâk was put aside, and a Turkish slave named Sabuktagîn, assumed the government of the petty principality. Under his rule Gháznah attained great prosperity; and at his death his son, the famous Conqueror Mahmûd succeeded him, A.D. 997.

Mahmûd devoted his whole life to the slaughter of his fellow-men, under the pretext of spreading the faith of Islâm. In 1001 he conquered the Panjâb; and, during subsequent years, he advanced into India, destroying the temples and idols, and slaughtering the people.<sup>1</sup> In 1014 he conquered Kashmîr and Mîrut,

<sup>1</sup> In 1004 he conquered Multân. In 1008 the Râjahs of Ujain, Gwalior, Kanûj, Dehli, and Ajmîr, with their united forces, advanced

and in 1018 he captured Muttra, a sacred city of the Hindús. All the idols were demolished, 458,333*l.* worth of plunder and 53,000 captives were sent to Gháznah, and a cruel massacre was perpetrated on the Hindús. Sir John Malcolm contrasts these atrocities of the first Muslim conqueror of Muttra, with the conduct of the first Englishman who occupied the sacred city—Lord Lake, in 1803. The latter protected and respected the persons and property of the inhabitants, and ordered his army not to slaughter cattle, as their doing so would be deemed a sacrilege by the people.

‘The power of the monarch of Gháznah,’ he adds, ‘soon passed away; that of the English will remain as long as they have the firmness and virtue to preserve those principles of wisdom, toleration, and justice, upon which it is established.’

In 1023 Mahmûd was foiled in an attempt to reduce the strong Hindú fortress of Gwalior; but in the following year he again invaded India, took the city of Gujrât, after a siege in which the carnage was fearful, and destroyed the famous idol of Sûmnâth. The sandal-wood gates of the temple were conveyed to Gháznah.

In 1027 the conqueror overran 'Irâk as far as the city of er-Râÿ, but in 1028 he died in the ‘Palace of Felicity’ at Gháznah. His tomb is at the village of Rûzha, near his old capital; but the present building does not boast of a higher antiquity than the time of 'Abdu-'r-Rizzâk, one of the Timûride princes. The into the Panjâb. They were utterly defeated by Mahmûd, who returned to Gháznah with vast booty.

famous gates, too, which Lord Ellenborough caused to be carried off in triumph, are, in Sir Henry Rawlinson's opinion, certainly not those of Sûmnâth, though no Afghân doubts that they are genuine. Lord Ellenborough's order was carried into effect by General Nott's army, on September 8, 1842; but the shrine was not otherwise profaned. The gates were forwarded from the Sutlej to Gujrât; and 'the insult of 800 years was avenged.'

Mahmûd<sup>1</sup> of Ghâznah was a mere vulgar conqueror, and his only real title to fame is that a great and immortal poet lived at his court.

The poet Firdausy<sup>2</sup> was born at Tûs (the modern Másh-had), in Khurâsân, in about the year 940 A.D.

He was employed by Mahmûd of Ghâznah to write the history of Persia in verse, and the extensive materials collected by the Samanian king, and left unfinished by Rukîky, were placed in his hands.

For thirty years he continued to labour on this grateful task. He dearly loved the ancient glory of Irân, and he ever dwelt on the religion of Zoroaster with peculiar fondness. Through deserts, and over mountains, the old sage journeyed, diligently collecting

<sup>1</sup> The title of *Sultân* is said to have been first invented for Mahmûd by ambassadors from the Khalifâhs of Baghdâd. It is an Arabic or Chaldaic word, which signifies 'lord' and 'master.' But Mr. Thomas has shown that the title occurs on coins earlier than the time of Mahmûd.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Life of Firdausy,' by Daulat-Shâh, es-Samarkândy, written in 1487, is reviewed in the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 529.

His proper name was Hâsan, son of Is-hâk, a poor man. *Firdausy* means 'Paradisical.'



all the legends and traditions of his countrymen ; and at length, his great work, the *Shâh-Nâmeh*, or ' Book of Kings,' was completed, in 60,000 couplets. It contains a full and complete national history of Persia, from the first Paishdadian king to the death of Yezdegird.<sup>1</sup>

His descriptions of scenery are exquisite, and some

<sup>1</sup> Atkinson, in his translation of the *Shâh-Nâmeh* says:—

'The *Shâh-Nâmeh* is history in rhyme. It was gathered from the tales and legends of ages, traditionally known throughout the country. His language is comparatively simple, and possesses a portion of the energy and grace of our own poets. In epic grandeur he is above all ; his verse is exquisitely smooth and flowing ; and he is perhaps the sweetest, as well as the most sublime poet of Persia. He is besides one of the easiest to be understood. His verse is uniformly the same, consisting of eleven syllables. Speaking of the attributes of God, Firdausy says :

By Him above the soul is weighed ; by Him—  
But, oh ! the spirit staggers faint and dim.  
Can all that reason, life, and language sways  
Pourtray creation's Lord, and speak His praise ?

Restrain thy vain presumption ; rest content  
To know *He is* ; all speech were idly spent.  
Though others faint—though erring nature stray,  
Recall thy Maker's mandate, and obey !

On the creation of man he says :

Know then thy power, O man ! by Heaven designed,  
The chief—the centre—of created kind.  
View the fair world, with every power endued,  
And own, oh, blest one ! all things work thy good,  
Thy place, thy powers, the past, thy future's store ;  
Then, if thou canst, be sluggish to adore.  
But constant pangs, thou sayest, thy steps attend,  
Yet e'en these ills to thy perfection tend ;  
They wake thy mind to acts that life endear,  
They teach thee oft, to shun the cause of fear.  
Wouldst thou maintain the freedom of the soul ?  
Disdain the frailer body's base control,  
Firm in thy Maker's love, that soul shall shield  
Thy heart 'gainst all that either world can yield.

of the historical episodes, especially that of Rústam and Zohráb, possess the highest poetic excellence.

When the poet's long labours were at length crowned with success, Mahmûd refused to give him the stipulated reward.<sup>1</sup> Firdausy wrote a bitter satire on the penurious tyrant,<sup>2</sup> for which he was sentenced to be trampled to death by an elephant; but he escaped, and wandered about for many years, ever flying from the persecution of Mahmûd. He died in his native town of Tûs, in the year 1021, at a good old age. Firdausy wrote in the *Pehlvi* language, and carefully excluded all Arabic words and idioms.<sup>3</sup>

When it was too late, the tyrant Mahmûd repented of his injustice to the glorious old poet, and sent him an immense sum of money. But the aged Firdausy was already beyond the reach either of the favour or the persecution of the capricious conqueror, who had formerly sought to put him to a cruel death. The rich present reached the gates of Tûs as the body of the poet was on its road to the grave; 'and it was rejected by his virtuous daughter, who scorned to

<sup>1</sup> Several passages from the *Shâh-Nâmeh* will be found in previous chapters. Mr. Robertson has published a translation of the episode 'Zohráb and Rústam.'

<sup>2</sup> The two bitterest lines are :

If this king had been the son of a king, he would have placed a crown of gold  
upon my head;  
But as there is no nobility in his blood, he is incapable of heroic sentiments.

<sup>3</sup> 'It is likely that the language of Firdausy was the same in which the Persians spoke in the time of Alexander,' p. 106.

On an average Firdausy uses five Arabic words in every 100 verses. p. 96 (note).—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay), 1853-57.

accept that wealth which had once been denied to the unrivalled merit of her illustrious father.'<sup>1</sup>

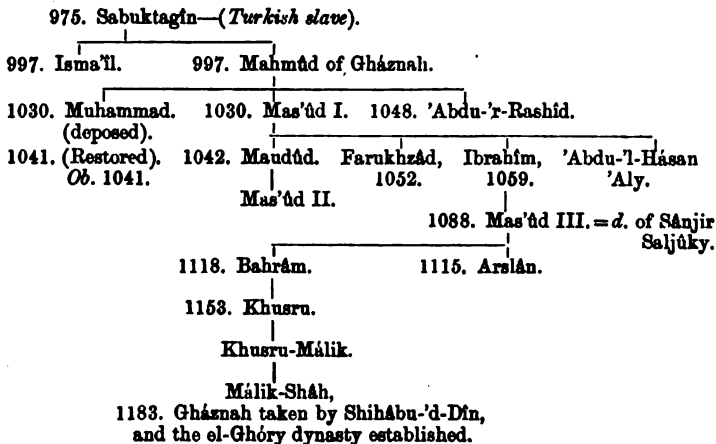
After the death of Mahmûd, the el-Ghâznah dynasty soon declined in power;<sup>2</sup> and a vast torrent of invasion from the wilds of Tûrân, whose equal had not been seen since the days of Afrâsiab, poured over Persia, and completely subjugated the land.

The Turkish tribes which wandered from pasture to pasture, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, were composed of hardy and warlike men, capable of enduring great fatigue, and devoted to their leaders. Every male in the tribe was a brave and robust soldier,

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's *Persia*. Elphinstone (*India*, p. 566) says that Fir-dausy's daughter was at length persuaded to accept Mahmûd's gift, and laid it out on an embankment to afford a supply of water to her father's beloved native city of Tûs.

## EL-GHÁZNAH DYNASTY.

(From Ferishtah).



and each tribe obeyed a chief—*Rîsh Safîd*, ‘Grey Beard.’ They were in a condition of constant war; so that when these formidable elements were united into a vast army, by the genius of some great chief, their invasion was irresistible.

Such a man was Tugrul-Bêg. His grandfather, Saljûk, was a chief of considerable reputation, said to have been thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrâsidelâb; whose son, Mikhâil, was honoured by Mahmûd of Ghâznah; and Mas’ûd of Ghâznah granted a province on the Jaxartes to the family of Saljûk.

In 1038 an immense army of Turkish warriors, led by the grandsons of Saljûk — Tugrul and Dâûd—crossed the Oxus, and defeated an army sent against them from Ghâznah, at a place called Zandikân, about two days’ march from Mâru (Merv). From that time the el-Ghâznah dynasty lost their power, but did not wholly disappear until A.D. 1160.

Tugrul then advanced into Khurâsân, and assumed the title of sovereign at Nîshâpûr, when his whole army embraced the religion of the Kurân. Leaving his brother Dâûd in Khurâsân, he then advanced into ‘Irâk, overthrew the el-Bûyah dynasty, conquered all Persia; and, entering Baghdâd as a conqueror, treated the powerless and feeble Khalîfah with respect and consideration.

Having subdued Mosul, and the region round Baghdâd, he invaded Georgia and defeated the Greeks in several battles. In 1062 he married the Khalîfah’s

daughter, but died a few months afterwards at Rudbar, near Kazwīn.<sup>1</sup>

This most successful conqueror was succeeded in his vast dominions by his nephew Alp-Arslān, 'Conquering Lion,' the son of Dâūd. Another branch of his family established themselves as Sultāns of Rûm, in Asia Minor.

1063 A.D. The reign of Alp-Arslān is remarkable for the war in which he was engaged with the Greeks. In 1070 the Emperor Romanus Diogenes advanced against him, and after a hard-fought battle was defeated and taken prisoner at a place called Konongo, in Azerbaijan. The Saljŭkian king treated his captive enemy with noble generosity. Alp-Arslān having asked Romanus how he would have treated him under similar circumstances, the latter replied, 'I would have given thee many a stripe.' This insolent speech excited no anger in the generous breast of Alp-Arslān, who shortly afterwards liberated him.

This king, with the able assistance of his minister, the Nizāmu-'l-Mulk, ruled Persia with justice and equity. The poor were protected, new public buildings were erected, and the Persians, who had suffered

<sup>1</sup> The famous poet en-Nizāmy lived in the time of Tugrul. He wrote five celebrated poems, entitled *Khāmsah*, from the Arabic خمس 'five':

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1. Mákhzan-el-Asrār. On ethics and Sūfy doctrine.                 |               |
| 2. Shīrīn wa-Khusru.  | } Love tales. |
| 3. Lailah wa-'l-Majnūn.   |               |
| 4. Haft-Paīkar.   |               |
| 5. Sikāndar-Nāmeḥ. A history of Alexander. A poem of great merit. |               |

En-Nizāmy died A.D. 592.

under such lamentable tyranny and anarchy, confessed that the conquest of their country by the Turks was a blessing. Máru (Merv) (which was also named *Shâh-Jihân*, 'Seat of the King'), was the favourite residence of Alp-Arslân; and he surrounded its walls with stately palaces, groves, and gardens.<sup>1</sup> This good king was killed in an expedition beyond the Oxus; and with his last words he besought his son to profit by the wisdom of the great minister, Nizâmu-'l-Mulk. He was buried at Máru, and the following epitaph was placed on his tomb:—'All you who have seen the glory of Alp-Arslân exalted to the heavens, come to Máru, and you will behold it buried in the dust.'

1073 A.D. Málik-Shâh succeeded his father, and continued Nizâmu-'l-Mulk as his minister. In 1077 his generals conquered Syria and Egypt, Bukhâra and Samarkand; so that his empire was as vast as that of the Sassanian kings in the height of their glory.

He encouraged the cultivation of science and literature, and his reign is famous for the reformation of the Calendar.<sup>2</sup> An assembly of all the astronomers of Persia adopted a system of computing time which Gibbon says, 'surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian æra.' It was called the

<sup>1</sup> Here Yezdegird, the last of the Sassanian kings, was killed. Máru was founded by Alexander the Great, and embellished by Antiochus. It is situated on the river Murghâb, near the northern frontier of Khurâsân.

<sup>2</sup> Æra of Málik-Shâh, also called the Jalâlæan Æra. By the efforts of 'Omar, el-Khayyâm, and other learned men the year was again corrected, and made to commence when the sun enters Aries —*Ayin-Akbary*.

Jalālæan æra, from Jalálu-'d-Din, 'Glory of the Faith', one of the titles of Málík-Shâh, and commenced on March 15, 1079.

Towards the end of his reign, the Nizâm was disgraced. He was assassinated shortly afterwards, and interred with great pomp at Isfahân. Málík-Shâh died the same year, 1092 A.D.

The Nizâm was the first victim of the extraordinary and horrible sect of Assassins.

Their founder, Hâsan-Sâbah (Hâsan, es-Sabbâh), was sent by his father to Nishâpûr, to study under the Imâm el-Muwâffak. There he became acquainted with the Nizâm and 'Omar, el-Khayyâm.<sup>1</sup> The Nizâm afterwards

<sup>1</sup> D'Herbelot spells it Khiam.

*Khayyâm*, a 'tent-maker,' or 'Omar, el-Khayyâm, the astronomer poet of Persia. He was born at Nishâpûr in the latter half of the eleventh, and died in the first quarter of the twelfth century, 1123. Nizâmu-'l-Mûlk left a *Wasiyyah*, or 'Testament,' which he wrote as a memorial for future statesmen.—*Calcutta Review*, No. 59, given in Mîrkhund's *History of the Assassins*.

The Nizâm says: 'One of the greatest of the wise men of Khurâsân was the Imâm el-Muwâffak, of Nishâpûr; and my father sent me from et-Tûs to Nishâpûr that I might study under the guidance of that illustrious teacher. I found two other pupils of my own age, Hâkim 'Omar, el-Khayyâm, and the ill-fated Bin-Sabbâh, and we three formed a close friendship together. We made a vow that to whomsoever of us a fortune should fall, he should share it equally with the other two. Years rolled on: I went to Transoxiana, wandered to Ghâznah and Kâbul; and, when I returned, eventually rose to be administrator of affairs during the sultanâte of Alp-Arslân.' Both his schoolfellows found him out, and claimed the performance of the school vow. The wazîr kept his word. Hâsan received a place in the government, but intrigued against his benefactor, and was disgraced. 'Omar, el-Khayyâm, asked for retirement, and for opportunities to spread wide the advantages of science. He received a pension, and resided at Nishâpûr.

'Omar, el-Khayyâm, was one of the eight learned men employed to reform the Calendar for Málík-Shâh. He is the author of some

became wazîr to the Saljûkian kings ; 'Omar, el-Khay-yâm, was a famous astronomer and poet, passing his days at Nîshâpûr in peace ; and Hâsan, on hearing of the prosperity of his schoolfellow, repaired to court.

astronomical tables, entitled *Zîji Mâlik-Shâhi*, and of a work on Algebra. He was also a poet. He fails to find any providence but Destiny, any world but this, and sets about making the best of it. He was the only Persian poet who was a mathematician. His MSS. are very scarce, and much mutilated. There are none at the India Office Library, none at the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, and only one in England, No. 140 of the Ouseley MSS. at the Bodleian, written at Shirâz, in 1460. His *Rubaiyât*, translated into English, was published by Quaritch (1859).

RUBAIYÂT OF 'OMAR, EL-KHAYYÂM.

Awake ! for morning in the bowl of night  
Has flung the stone that puts the stars to flight ;  
And lo ! the Hunter of the East has caught  
The Sultân's turret in the noose of light.

Dreaming when Dawn's left hand was in the sky,  
I heard a voice within the tavern cry,  
'Awake my little ones, and fill the cup,  
Before life's liquor in its cup be dry.'

And as the cock crew those who stood before  
The tavern shouted, 'Open then the door !  
You know how little while we have to stay,  
And, once departed, may return no more.'

. . . . .

With me along some strip of herbage strown,  
That just divides the desert from the sown ;  
Where name of slave and Sultân scarce is known,  
And pity Sultân Mahmûd on his throne.

. . . . .

They say the lion and the lizard keep  
The court where Jamshîd gloried and drank deep,  
And Bahrâm—that great hunter—the wild ass  
Stamps o'er his head, and he lies fast asleep.

And this delightful herb, whose tender green  
Fledges the river's lip on which we lean—  
Ah ! lean upon it lightly ! for who knows  
From what once lovely lip it springs unseen !

. . . . .



He was kindly received by the Nizâm ; but having afterwards ungratefully tried to undermine his influence and failed, he was banished. Hâsan fled to Isfahân, where he brooded vengeance, exclaiming, 'Oh, that I had two faithful friends! Then would I overthrow the Turk and the Peasant,' (meaning Mâlik-Shâh and the Nizâm).

From Isfahân he went to Cairo, the capital of the Fâtimite Khalifahs, thence by sea from Damietta to Tripoli, and by Baghdâd to Persia again.

He now conceived the idea of forming a new sect, whose power should be established by secret murders. His doctrine combined the fanaticism of the Kurân with Hindú transmigration and his own wild visions. Numerous converts flocked to him as he wandered through Yezd and Kirmân ; and in 1090 he made himself master of the fortress of Alamût, which is on

Oh, come with old Khayyâm, and leave the wise  
To talk ; one thing is certain, that life flies ;  
One thing is certain, and the rest is lies :  
The flower that once has blown *for ever* dies.

Myself when young did eagerly frequent  
Doctor and saint, and heard great argument,  
About it and about : but evermore  
Came out by the same door as in I went.

Up from earth's centre, through the seventh gate  
I rose, and on the throne of Saturn sate,  
And many knots unravell'd by the road ;  
But not the knot of human death and fate.

Oh Thou, who man of baser earth didst make,  
And who with Eden didst devise the snake ;  
For all the sin wherewith the face of man  
Is blackened, man's forgiveness give—*and take!*

(75 verses).

the summit of a high hill, on the south of the Caspian, not far from Kazwin, and the neighbouring territory acknowledged his sway. He was called *Shaikh-el-Jébel* 'Mountain Chief,' which the Crusaders corrupted into 'the Old Man of the Mountain : ' and a colony of his sect was established in Lebanon.

The daggers of his emissaries were felt both in the East and West. The Nizâm, his former enemy, was his first victim ; and Málík-Shâh died, with suspicion of poison, the same year.

On his death there were a succession of civil wars ; but in 1126 his son Sâjar subjugated all Persia. This king was leading an army against the Assassins, when one morning he found a dagger stuck into his pillow, close to his head. The warning was sufficient, and he hastily retreated.

The early part of Sâjar's reign was very prosperous. He always resided in Khurâsân ; but he conquered all the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, making one of his nobles governor of Samarkand, and his cup-bearer ruler of Khuwârizm.

But late in life Sâjar was defeated by the Turkmâns, and when he returned mournfully to Khurâsân, a poet reminded him that 'the condition of God alone is not liable to change.' He was afterwards taken prisoner by the Turkmâns of the tribe of the el-Ghuzzah, in 1153,<sup>1</sup> and suffered a long captivity. His wife, the Sultânah Khâtûn-Turkân, acted as regent in Khurâsân ; but the country was overrun by tribes of

<sup>1</sup> A barbarous tribe, who paid an annual tribute of 24,000 goats to the Persian monarch.

savage Turkmâns, who committed endless atrocities on the wretched people.

It was then that the poet Anwâry, a native of et-Tâs and the countryman of Firdausy (Ferdosi), addressed a long and piteous poem to the Governor of Samarkand, imploring his aid, and describing the miseries of the country. It is called the '*Tears of Khurâsân.*'<sup>1</sup> The following two verses depict the horrors which surrounded him, as he wrote :

Is there (where ruin reigns in dreadful state)  
Whom fortune smiles on, or whom joys await ?  
'Tis yonder corpse descending to the tomb.  
Is there a spotless female to be found  
Where deeds of diabolic lust abound ?  
'Tis yonder infant issuing from the womb.

The mosque no more admits the pious race,  
Constrained, they yield to beasts the holy place.  
A stable now, where dome nor porch is found.  
Nor can the savage foe proclaim his reign,  
For Khorasania's criers all are slain,  
And all her pulpits levelled with the ground.

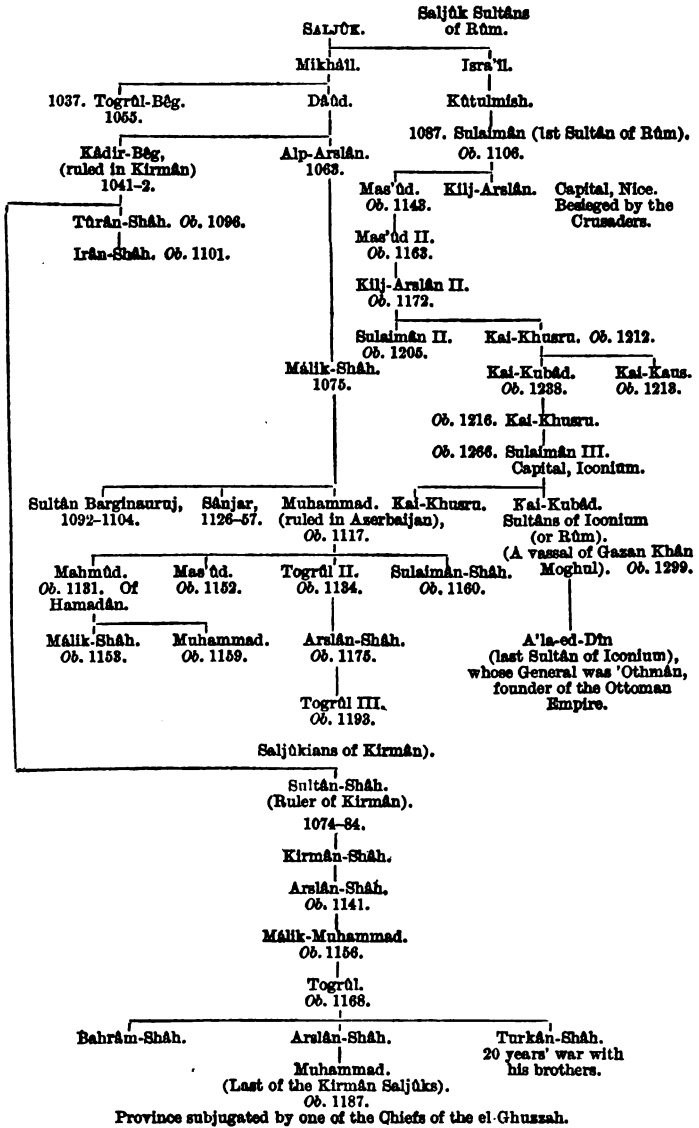
Sânjar at length effected his escape, but he died in 1157, aged 73.

The last Saljûkian king was Sânjar's great-nephew, Togrûl III., in whose reign, Tokûsh, the ruler of Khuwârizm, invaded Persia with a great army. Togrûl, who was addicted to all kinds of excesses, went into battle very drunk, and advanced against the enemy,

<sup>1</sup> The whole is translated by Captain William Kirkpatrick, in the *Asiatic Miscellany*, p. 287. He says : 'This poem is one of the most beautiful in the Persian language. The sentiments are throughout natural, and not unfrequently sublime ; the images are for the most part striking and just ; and the diction is at once nervous and elegant.'

reciting the following lines from Firdausy :—‘ When the dust arose which attended the march of mine armies,

SALJŪKIANS.



when the cheeks of my bravest warriors turned pale with affright, I raised on high my ponderous mace.'<sup>1</sup>

Suiting the action to the word, he flourished his club over his head, intending to strike down an enemy; instead of which it fell on the knee of his own horse; the animal sank badly wounded on the ground, and Togrûl III. was trampled to death. This took place in the year 1193.<sup>2</sup>

On the fall of the Saljûkians, Persia was divided amongst several petty princes. The king of Khuwârizm held Khurâsân.<sup>3</sup> The Assassins<sup>4</sup> continued their power on the south-east borders of the Caspian for 160 years. The rest of Persia was divided amongst the petty sovereigns called *Atâ-bêgs*.

The son of a Turkish slave was wazîr to Togrûl III. the last Saljûkian king, and died in 1185. He founded a dynasty of Atâ-bêgs in Azerbaijan, which lasted until 1225.

<sup>1</sup> This is D'Herbelot's version. Sir William Jones translates it thus: 'When dust arose from the numerous army, the cheeks of our name possessing (heroes) turned pale; I raised this mace a single stroke; I left the foot soldiery in that place. My steed raged like an elephant, and the ground became agitated like the river Nile.'—*Persian Grammar*.

Sir W. Jones adds that Togrûl III. was a poet as well as a warrior, and he gives some specimens of his verses.

<sup>2</sup> See pedigree on preceding page.

<sup>3</sup> See pedigree on next page.

<sup>4</sup> *Assassins*. Some believed the word to be derived from their founder Hâsan; but the more probable derivation is from *Hashîsh*, a species of intoxicating hemp, taken previous to their engaging in their diabolical enterprises. Hence *Hash-shâshîn*, corrupted by the Crusaders into *Assassin*. The chief seat of their power, *Alamût*, means a 'vulture's nest.'

Muzháffaru-'d-Dîn, 'Victorious of the Faith,' a Turkish general, threw off the yoke of the Saljûkians in 1148, and founded a dynasty of Atâ-bêgs of Fars, with his capital at Shîrâz.

The nephew of Muzháffaru-'d-Dîn, named Sa'ad, ruled in Shîrâz in 1194. He surrounded the town with a wall, and built the Mâsjadi-Jâma'a, or Chief Mosque, which still remains. His son, Abu-Bekr, succeeded him in 1226.

Abu-Bekr-ibn-Sa'ad extended his dominion over the pearl fisheries at el-Bahrein, and over all the islands in the Persian Gulf. By conciliating the great Mongol conqueror, Jingîz-Khân, he saved Fars from destruction. He died at Shîrâz, in 1259.

During his reign, the famous Persian poet, Sa'ady,

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#### KINGS OF KHUWÂRIZM.

(From Price).

Nushtegîn,  
Cup-bearer to Mâlik-Shâh,  
and Governor of Khuwârizm.

1098. Kâtbu-'d-Dîn-Muhammad,  
King of Khuwârizm.  
Ob. 1127.

Atsif  
(Wars with Sânjâr).  
Ob. 1143.

Âyil-Arslân.

Sultân-Shâh. Tûkkash-Khân.  
Defeated Togrâl III., 1194,  
and conquered 'Irâk.  
Ob. 1200.

Sultân-Muhammad.

Ruknu-'d-Dîn. Jalâlu-'d-Dîn.

flourished, who was born at Shîrâz, and educated at the Nizâmiyyah College of Baghdâd.<sup>1</sup>

Sa'ady was a great traveller; he made fourteen pilgrimages to Mekkah; visited Europe, Egypt, Barbary, Armenia, Arabia, and India; and on one occasion he was taken prisoner by the Crusaders, and forced to work in the ditch of Tripoli. A merchant of Aleppo recognized him, and paid his ransom.

The great poet passed the last thirty years of his life in his native and beloved Shîrâz.<sup>2</sup> Between the town of Shîrâz and the northern hills there are delicious gardens, with the rivulet of Ruknabâd rippling through them, and the lofty domes of the mosques are seen afar through the groves of trees. The climate is delicious.

<sup>1</sup> Persian poetry:

*A Kîta'* . never has less than two couplets, the two last lines of each distich rhyming.

*A Mâsnawy.* Both lines of the distich rhyme together. Never less than twelve couplets. It is the heroic verse of Firdausy and Nizâm; also of Jâmi, and Maulâna Rûmy.

*A Ghâzal.* . A short ode on the delights of wine, love, or beauty. Five to eighteen disticha, or three to twenty-five. The two first lines must rhyme with the second line of each succeeding couplet. They are set to music.

*Sâki-Nâmi,* rhymes like the Mâsnawy; eight to forty verses, in praise of wine, &c., often, like the Ghâzal, concealing a mystic meaning.

*Kastâh.* . Longer than the Ghâzal, but generally rhyming in the same way. From fifteen to 170 or more couplets.

*Mustâzad.* . A stanza, each line of which has a shorter one appended. Generally consists of four long and four short verses.

*Diwân.* . A collection of Ghâzals, corresponding in order and number with the letters of the alphabet.

<sup>2</sup> Shîrâz was founded about A.D. 696. The city was much improved by the el-Bûyah Princes and the Atâ-bêgs; and in more modern times by Kerfm-Khân-Zend.

Here Sa'ady composed his two famous poems—the *Gulistân*, or 'Bed of Roses,' and the *Bustân*, or 'Garden'; the one consisting of stories in prose, interspersed with couplets, verses, and moral apologues in verse; the other entirely in verse. The *Gulistân* is still one of the most popular poems in Persia. It is a noble work, in which the greatness and goodness of God are praised, and the vanity of all worldly pursuits constantly set forth. He says :

The world, my brother, will abide by none,  
By the world's Maker let thy heart be won.  
Rely not, nor repose on this world's gain,  
For many a son, like thee, she has reared and slain.  
What matters when the spirit seeks to fly,  
If on a throne, or on bare earth we die?

Again :

Sa'ady, move thou to resignation's shrine,  
O man of God ! the path of God be thine.  
Hapless is he who from this haven turns,  
All doors shall spurn him who this portal spurns.

His independence of mind, and hatred of tyranny, are here expressed :

Flames cannot with such speed wild rue consume,  
As tyrants perish by the wronged heart's fume.  
To sharp-toothed tigers kind to be,  
To harmless flocks is tyranny.

They that with raging elephants make war,  
Are not, so deem the wise, the truly brave,  
But, in real verity, the valiant are  
Those who when angered are not passion's slave.

Better renounce the favour of the great,  
Than meet their porters' gibes at thy expense.  
Better through want of food succumb to fate,  
Than bear the butcher's dunning insolence.

Nevertheless Sa'ady is unbounded in his praise of Abu-Bekr-bin-Sa'ad-bin-Zangy, the ruling sovereign



of Shîrâz. We must therefore hope that he really deserved it.

The poet's generosity is expressed in this couplet :

The man of God, with half a loaf content,  
To dervishes the remnant will present :

and was more practically proved when, having been presented with 50,000 dînârs by Hûlâkû-Khân, he expended it in erecting a house for travellers, near Shîrâz.

He had little faith in the benefits of education and competitive examinations in themselves, relying rather on the natural excellencies and talents of individual character. He says:

Who can from faulty iron good swords frame ?  
Teaching, O Sage ! lends not the worthless worth.  
The rain, whose bounteous nature 's still the same,  
Gives flowers in gardens, thorns in salt lands birth.

And :

Although a gem be cast away  
And lie obscure in heaps of clay,  
It's precious worth is still the same.  
Although vile dust be whirled to heaven,  
To such no dignity is given—  
Still base as when from earth it came.

The *Gulistân* is full of wise proverbial sayings, and of the praise of virtue and contentment :

Contentment do thou me enrich, for those  
Who have thee, are blessed with wealth in vain,  
Wise Lukmân <sup>1</sup> for his treasure patience chose ;  
Who have not patience wisdom ne'er attain :

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<sup>1</sup> Lukmân was a famous Arabian fabulist, supposed to have lived in the time of King David. His *Fables* were translated into Latin, by Erpenius, at Amsterdam.

and the following verses exemplify his wisdom and prudence :

Better be silent, than thy purpose tell  
 To others, and enjoin to secrecy.  
 O dolt ! keep back the waters at the well,  
 For the swoll'n stream to stop, thou'lt vainly try.  
 In private utter not a single word  
 Which thou in public would'st regret were heard.  
 Know'st thou what Zal to valiant Rustam said ?  
 Deem not thy foeman weak without resource.  
 Full many a rill, from tiny springlet fed,  
 Sweeps off the camel in its onward course.  
 Upon the sea, 'tis true, is boundless gain ;  
 Would'st thou be safe, upon the shore remain.

Sa'ady was not happy in either of his marriages, especially in the first, when he was obliged to wed the ill-tempered daughter of the Aleppo merchant, who released him from the ditch at Tripoli.

Yet the following couplet is very beautiful :

Better to live in chains with those we love,  
 Than with the strange, 'mid flow'rets gay to move.

And he wrote an exquisite love song, in which the most tender affection is blended with refined and delicate feeling :

Tell me, gentle traveller, thou  
 Who hast wandered far and wide,  
 Seen the sweetest roses blow  
 And the brightest rivers glide,  
 Say, of all thy eyes have seen,  
 Which the fairest land has been ?

Lady ! shall I tell thee where  
 Nature seems most blest and fair,  
 Far above all climes beside ?  
 'Tis where those we love abide.  
 And that little spot is best  
 Which the lov'd one's foot has pressed.

Though it be a fairy space,  
 Wide and spreading is the place;  
 Though 'twere but a barren mound,  
 'Twould become enchanted ground.  
 With thee yon sandy waste would seem  
 The margin of Al-Kawthar's stream,  
 And thou can'st make a dungeon's gloom  
 A bower, where new-born roses bloom.

But, considering his religion and the time in which he lived, Sa'ady's tolerance and good-will to all mankind, without distinction of creed, is the most admirable part of his character. Mercy and charity are not restricted by him to true believers :

*All Adam's race are members of one frame ;  
 Since all, at first, from the same essence came :  
 When by hard fortune one limb is oppressed,  
 The other members lose their wonted rest.  
 If thou feel's not for other's misery,  
 A son of Adam is no name for thee.*

Sa'ady died at a good old age in the year 1275 A.D., and was buried near Shirâz. In modern times the Wakil, Kerîm-Khân-Zend, erected a tomb over his remains, and endowed it with gardens and lands for the support of dervishes to watch over it.<sup>1</sup>

Jalálu-'d-Dîn Rûmy, the contemporary of Sa'ady, was born at Balkh in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and passed the whole of his life as a Sûfy philosopher. His *Mâsnawî* is a long poem, written in the form of apologues, with digressions on Sûfy doctrine; and he

<sup>1</sup> The extracts from Sa'ady's poems are taken chiefly from Mr. Eastwick's translation of the *Gulistân*. Two of them from Miss Costello's *Rose Garden*.

also wrote a collection of mystical odes. The following is an example :<sup>2</sup>

Seeks thy spirit to be gifted  
With a deathless life ?  
Let it seek to be uplifted  
O'er earth's storm and strife.

Spurn its joys—its ties dis sever,  
Hopes and fears divest ;  
Thus aspire to live for ever—  
Be for ever blest !

Faith and doubt leave far behind thee,  
Cease to love or hate ;  
Let not time's illusions blind thee,  
Thou shalt Time out-date.

ANOTHER SŪFY ODE BY JALĀLU'-D-DĪN RŪMY.

All earthly forms, where beauty dwells enshrined,  
Borrow that beauty from the ethereal mind.  
Why grieve we when the faint reflections fade ?  
Their source and prototype are undecayed.

Each shape, whose beauty woos the raptured eye,  
Each strain that steepes the soul in ecstasy,  
When *that* hath vanished, and *this* ceased to flow,  
Why weep and call it death, which seems but so ?

Long as the gushing fount its circlet fills,  
Can it forget to feed its thousand rills ?  
Thy *soul* the fountain—thoughts, shapes, sounds of earth  
Flow thence, as rivers from their source have birth.

See to what precious mould hath been refined  
Ignoble dust, now linked with god-like mind ;  
Nor doubt when thou hast filled thy part as man,  
*Angel* awaits thee in the mighty plan,  
With starry Heaven thy home—a bright abode,  
Far from the spot thy mortal footsteps trode.

Nor yet at Angel shall thy being's motion  
Be stayed, but onward press to Being's ocean.  
There shall thy atom-drop become a sea,  
Vast as a hundred deeps, wide, weltering, boundless, free,  
Then boldly, son, proclaim in faith and truth,  
This creed : '*Though forms decay, souls own a deathless youth.*'  
Translated by Falconer.

Merge thine individual being  
 In the Eternal's love ;  
 All this sensuous nature fleeing  
 For pure bliss above.

Earth receives the seed, and guards it ;  
 Trustfully it dies ;  
 Then what teeming life rewards it  
 For self sacrifice !

With green leaf and clustering blossom  
 Clad, and golden fruit,  
 See it from earth's cheerless blossom  
 Ever sunward shoot !

Thus, when self-abased, man's spirit  
 From each earthly tie,  
 Rises disenthralled to inherit  
 Immortality ! <sup>1</sup>

Jalâlû-'d-Dîn Rûmy died in the year 1273.<sup>2</sup> Many other minor poets flourished in Persia during the same period.

Abu-Bekr, the Atâ-bêg of Fars and Sa'ady's patron, died at Shîrâz in 1259, leaving the government to his son Sa'ad II., who was then serving in the Mongol army under Hâlâkû-Khân. He died on the road to Shîrâz ; and his infant son was placed on the throne, with his mother, named Khâtûn-Turkân, a beautiful lady of Yezd, as regent. The child died, and two princes of the same family followed each other in the government, but the Atâ-bêgs of Fars ceased to reign in the year 1263 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Professor Falconer, in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1842.

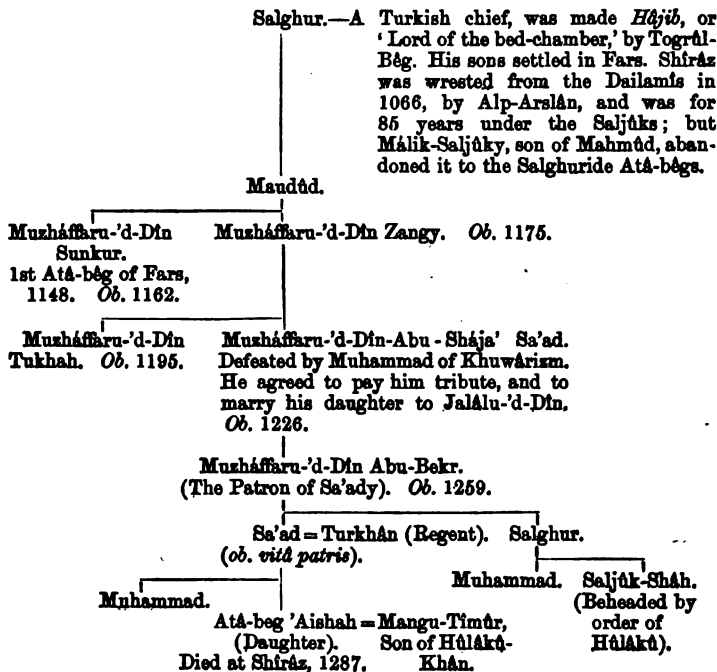
<sup>2</sup> Born 1207.

<sup>3</sup> See pedigree on next page.

The conquests of the Mongols, who poured in irresistible torrents from Central Asia, soon afterwards absorbed all the minor governments in Persia.

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THE ATÂ-BÊGS OF FARS.



## CHAPTER VII.

DOMINATION OF TÜRAN—*continued.**Mongols and Muzháfars.*

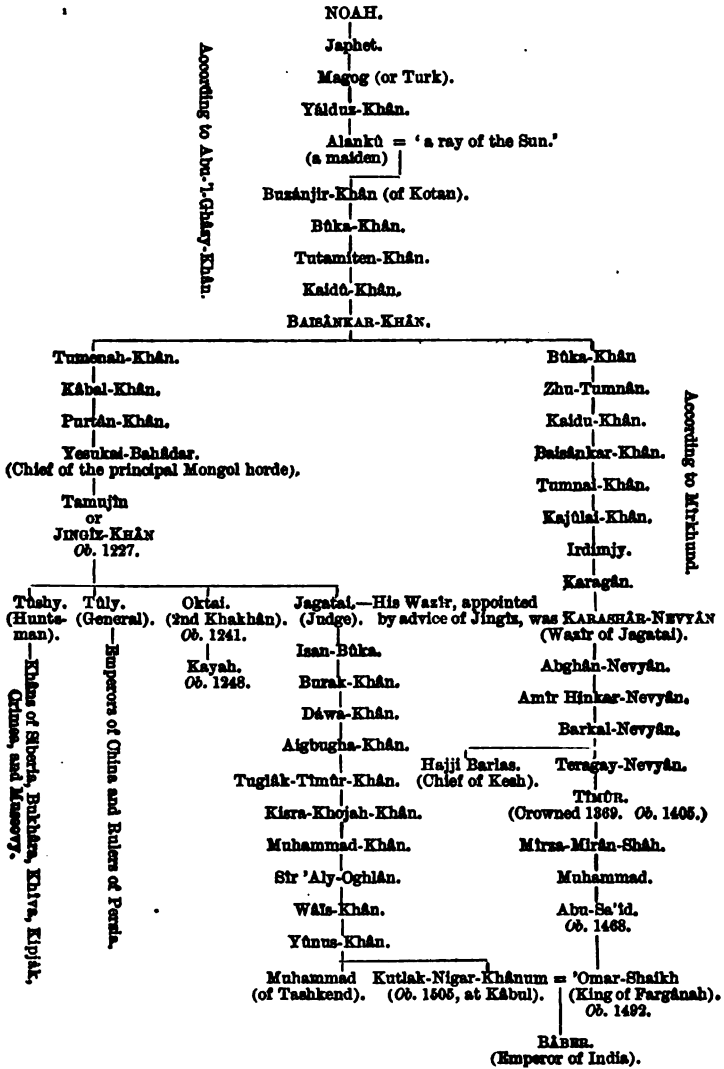
THE most terrible phenomena in the history of mankind have been those devastating floods of conquest which have burst forth from the wilds of Central Asia to spread terror and devastation over almost every country of the Old World.

Attila, in the fifth century, at the same time overawed the Empire of China, and entered Imperial Rome in triumph. In the ninth, the Hungarians spread desolation to the banks of the Rhine, and at the same time burnt Ravenna on the Adriatic, and Bremen on the Baltic; and in the thirteenth, Jingiz-Khân boasted that he had slain thirteen millions of his fellow-creatures. And these terrible scourges of mankind appear not to have rushed forth in one direction, like a mountain torrent destroying everything that impedes its progress, but to have spread out on all sides, as the bursting of some mighty engine.

Not only did the grandsons of Jingiz-Khân proceed in their career of conquest, from Kara-Korum to the plains of Silesia, but they also penetrated into the frozen wastes of Siberia, and founded a dynasty in

China, on the ruins of the house of Sûng, and in Persia on the fall of the Atâ-bégs.

Jingîz-Khân,<sup>1</sup> whose original name was Tamujîn,





the son of a Tatar chief, was born in the year 1153 A.D. In 1202, at the age of 49, he had defeated or propitiated all his enemies, and in 1205 was proclaimed, by a great assembly, Khakân or Emperor of Tartary.

His capital, a vast assemblage of tents, was at Karakorum, in a distant part of Chinese Tartary ; and from thence he sent forth mighty armies to conquer the world.

This extraordinary man, who could neither read nor write, established laws for the regulation of social life and for the chase ; and adopted a religion of pure Theism. His army was divided into

Tumâns of	10,000	men
Házarehs „	1,000	„
Sedehs „	100	„
Dehehs „	10	„

each under a Tatar officer, and they were armed with bows and arrows, swords, and iron maces.

Having brought the whole of Tartary under his sway, he conquered China, while his sons, Oktai and Jagatai, were sent with a vast army against Khuwârizm.

The country was conquered, though bravely defended by the king's son, Jalâlu-'d-Dîn ; 100,000 people were put to the sword, the rest sold as slaves, and the ill-fated king died of a broken heart, on the island of Abeshkûn, in the Caspian, near Astrabâd.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The elder De la Croix gives a full account of the last days of Muhammad of Khuwârizm.

The sons of Jingtíz-Khân then returned in triumph to their father ; but the brave young prince, Jalálu-'d-Dîn, still held out against the conquerors of his country. This opposition roused Jingtíz-Khân to fury ; Balkh was attacked for having harboured the fugitive prince in 1221, and, having surrendered, the people were all put to death. Nishápûr shared the same fate, and a horrible massacre of all the inhabitants took place.

Meanwhile, Jalálu-'d-Dîn, with a small army, had retreated through Sistan to Gháznah, where he defeated the Mongol army that was sent against him.

Jingtíz-Khân then advanced against the intrepid prince with an overpowering force, and encountered him on the banks of the Indus. A desperate battle followed, but the soldiers of Jalálu-'d-Dîn fought with the river behind them, and were utterly routed. The defeated prince plunged his horse into the Indus and swam across, firing his arrows at the Mongol conqueror as he went. While Jingtíz-Khân professed to admire his bravery, he ordered his sons to be killed and his wives and daughters to be sold into slavery.

The Mongol hordes then overran Kandahâr and Multân, Azerbaijan and 'Irâk ; Fars was only saved by the submission of its Atâ-bêg, and two Mongol generals marched round the Caspian Sea. Jingtíz-Khân returned to Tartary in A.D. 1222, but in these terrible campaigns he lost no less than 200,000 men.

As soon as the great conqueror had retired out of Persia, the indefatigable Jalálu-'d-Dîn recrossed the

Indus with 4,000 followers, and passing through Shîrâz and Isfahân drove the Mongols out of Tabrîz.

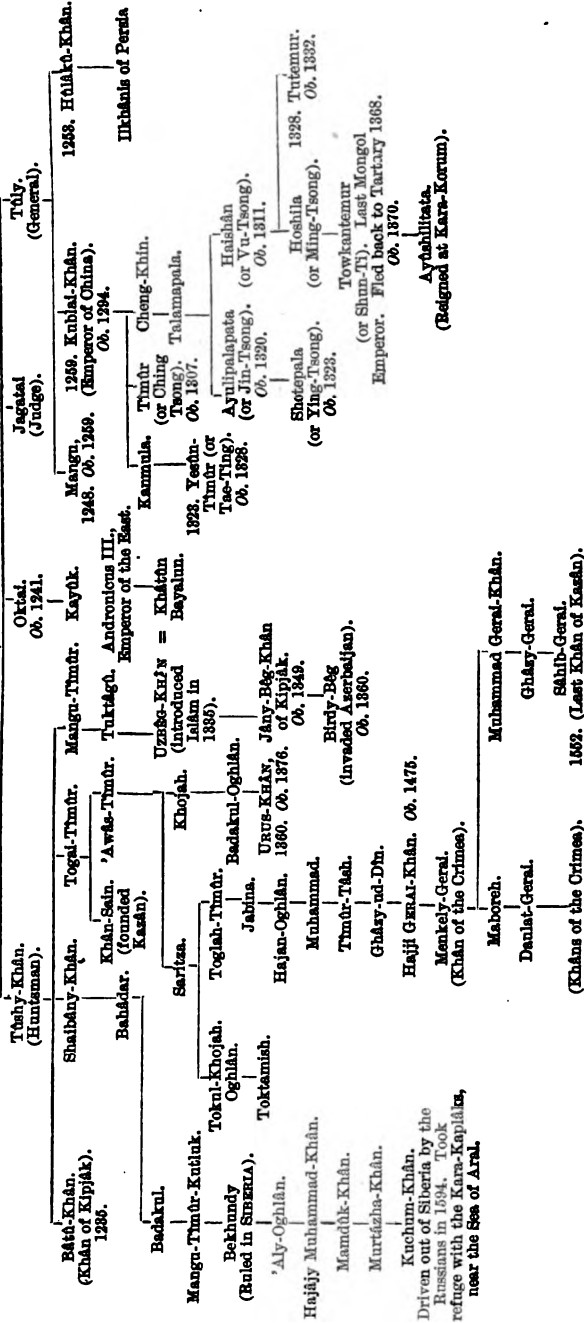
But he was defeated by them in 1226 ; and though he kept up the war in Azerbaijan for a short time longer, he was at length utterly routed, and flying into Kurdistân was killed in the house of a friend there, four years afterwards.

The history of this unfortunate prince, his hair-breadth escapes, his heroic perseverance, and brave resistance, forms one of the most romantic episodes in the whole range of Asiatic history. In the ranks of his army there were Turks as well as Khîvans, and after his overthrow, some of the latter took service under the Saljûkian Sultân of Rûm, at Iconium. A Turk, named Orthogrul, was one of these ; and his son, 'Othmân, seized the territory of Iconium on the death of A'la-ed-Dîn, the last Saljûkian Sultân, and founded the Ottoman Empire. 'Othman first invaded the Grecian territory in A.D. 1299.

Jingíz-Khân died in the year 1227. His son Oktai succeeded him in Tartary ; and Persia was governed by lieutenants of the Khâns of Kara-Korum, until the year 1253, when Mangu—the fourth Khân (being son of Tûly, the son of Jingíz) sent his famous brother, Hûlâkû-Khân, with a large army to govern Persia, and extend his conquests to the westward.

Kublai-Khân, another brother, was Emperor of China, and founded the Yuen dynasty ; while a cousin of this conquering family, Bâtû, overran Muscovy and Hungary, and subjected the Russians to a galling yoke, which his descendants maintained for centuries ; and

JING'IZ-KHĀN.  
Ob. 1337.



his brother Shaibâny conquered Siberia, where his descendants continued to reign until the year 1594. The famous historian, Abu'l-Ghâzy-Khân, king of Khîva in 1643, was descended from Shaibâny-Khân.

In 1253 Hûlâkû-Khân crossed the Oxus with his beloved wife, Dukuz-Khâtûn, who was a Christian lady, and his eldest son Abâka.

His first act was to besiege and take the stronghold of the Assassins, put their chief to death, and utterly extirpate and root out this accursed sect. Their name is alone preserved as a term of reproach and infamy.

He next besieged the city of Baghdâd, and, having captured it, he put the last Abbaside Khalifah to death, and that time-honoured, but now useless and powerless office ceased to exist. The Abbasides had reigned as Khalifahs at Baghdâd for 530 years, but for the greater part of that time their power had been merely nominal.

Mosul and the greater part of Mesopotamia were also subjugated by the Mongols.

On returning from his conquest, Hûlâkû fixed his residence at Marâghah in Azerbaijan; which he made the capital of his dominions, and here this able Mongol prince cultivated science and the arts of peace, for the remainder of his reign.

Marâghah is nine or ten miles S.E. of the great lake of Urumiyah, situated in a valley at the extremity of a well-cultivated plain, opening on the lake. The town is well built, and encompassed by a high wall. It is surrounded by gardens and plantations, watered by canals drawn from a small river, over which there are

two bridges erected 800 years ago. The lake of Urumiyyah is about 300 miles in circumference, and so salt that no fish can live in it, emitting a sulphureous smell. A fortress was built on an island in it to contain the treasure of the Mongol prince.

Philosophers, poets, and astronomers assembled at the court of Hûlâkû-Khân at Marâghah, and his friend and adviser, Nâsiru-'d-Dîn, was the most famous astronomer of the age. An observatory was built for him on the summit of a hill close to the city, which was levelled for the purpose; and its foundations may still be distinctly traced.

Here Nâsiru-'d-Dîn constructed the astronomical tables known as the *Tables of the Ilkhâny*. 'In the observatory there was an apparatus to represent the celestial sphere, with the signs of the zodiac, the conjunctions, transits and revolutions of the heavenly bodies. Through a perforation in the dome, the rays of the sun were admitted, so as to strike upon certain lines on the pavement in a way to indicate, in degrees and minutes, the altitude and declination of that luminary during every season, and to mark the time and hour of the day throughout the year. It was further supplied with a map of the terrestrial globe, in all its climates or zones, exhibiting the several regions of the habitable world, as well as a general outline of the ocean, with its innumerable islands.' The Tables of Nâsiru-'d-Dîn corrected some important errors in the former mode of adjusting the commencement of the new year.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's *Sketches of Persia*, pp. 273-4.

Hôlâkû-Khân died at Marâghah in the year 1264, and was interred in the same tomb with his beloved wife, Dukuz-Khâtûn, just outside the town. During the first years of his reign he was the lieutenant of the Tatar Khân, but on the death of his brother Mangu, he assumed independent sovereignty.

Hôlâkû retained the pure theism of his grandsire, and, though practising an enlightened tolerance both towards Christians and Muslims, he never embraced either of their religions. He was succeeded by his son Abâka-Khân.

Abâka was a wise, able, and prudent prince, and strove to remedy the evils caused by the conquests of his father. Baghdâd, especially, partially recovered its prosperity under his rule. He encouraged learning, and the great poet Sa'ady was presented to him. The poet Jalâlu-'d-Dîn Rûmy also frequented his court. His warlike achievements were confined to the expulsion of a Tatar army from Khurâsân, and their defeat near Herât.

He married a daughter of the Greek Emperor, Michael Palæologus, and is strongly suspected of having been himself a Christian. It is certain that just before his death in 1282, he celebrated Easter Day with the Christians at Hamadân.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *D'Herbelot*, vol. i. p. 5 (art. 'Abaka').

Not many years after Abâka's death, the Gospels were translated into Persian. A Persian manuscript version of the Four Gospels was in the possession of Dr. Pococke, and was dated A.D. 1314. It was first printed in the London Polyglot, by Bishop Walton. Another Persian version of the Gospels was edited by Pierson, at London, in A.D. 1652-7, after a collation of three manuscripts. It

Abâka was succeeded by his brother, who had been baptized under the name of Nicholas, whose Mongol name was Nikûdar, but who became a Muslim eventually, under the name of Ahmed. In his zeal for his new faith he persecuted both Christians and Mongols, until he was threatened with vengeance by his uncle Kublai-Khân, the distant Emperor of China, and finally put to death by Argûn-Khân, the son of Abâka, who succeeded him in 1284.

Argûn, like his father, was hostile to the Muslims, and sent embassies to the Pope and the Kings of France and England, proposing an alliance against them. A Genoese named Buscarelli was his chief agent in Europe, and in 1290 King Edward I. sent an envoy named Geoffrey de Langley to accompany Buscarelli to the court of the Mongol prince.<sup>1</sup> Although Edward, then engaged in the Scottish war, could not undertake another crusade, he sent Argûn-Khân some ger-falcons, and 'other jewels of our land.'

The famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, was employed to convey a Tatar bride named Kogatin, by sea, from China to Argûn-Khân; but that prince died before her arrival, A.D. 1291. This extraordinary man, who was one of the first Persian sovereigns to open a diplomatic intercourse with Europe, made a Jew physician his wazîr, favoured the Christians in

is supposed to have been made from the Greek.—See Horne's *Introduction to the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 210–11. London, 5th ed. 1825.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, for 1851. Paper by Mr. T. Hudson Turner.



every way, while at the same time he deprived the Muslims of all offices, and forbade them to appear at court.

His brother, Kai-Katû, succeeded him. He was an extravagant, dissolute prince, and his reign is chiefly famous for the first introduction of paper money.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1294.

Ghazân, the son of Argûn, then ascended the Mongol throne. He was a wise and just prince, who framed a code of edicts, reformed and regulated the administration of justice, and made roads with caravan-serais at regular intervals.

He carried on a war with the Sultân of Egypt, and had intercourse with several European princes. He sent an envoy to Pope Boniface VIII., and there is a letter extant from our King Edward I. to this prince,<sup>2</sup> but towards the end of his life he embraced the faith of

<sup>1</sup> The first attempt to introduce paper money into circulation was made by Thai-tsu of the Sûng dynasty, who ascended the throne of China A.D. 960. Marco Polo and Ibn-Batûta describe this paper money, which was called *pao-tchhao* (or 'precious chaus'). The Mongols of the Yuen dynasty, and their successors the Mings, issued 'precious chaus,' but the Manchûs have never attempted it.

When Kai-Katû came to the throne of Persia the finances were in great disorder. One of the revenue officers, named 'Izzu-'d-Dîn Muzafdâr, gave the king an account of the 'precious chaus' in China, and strongly recommended that a similar experiment should be tried in Persia. The 'chaus' were accordingly issued at Tabriz (oblong bits of paper with the form of Muslim belief, value, &c., stamped on them), and everyone was to lose his head who refused to accept the new currency. A rebellion broke out, 'Izzu-'d-Dîn was killed, and the Sultân ordered the 'chaus' to be cancelled.

<sup>2</sup> Dated A.D. 1303. Acknowledging the receipt of one from Ghazân, and regretting that he cannot undertake another crusade.—*Archæological Journal*, p. 50.

Islâm, and erected the mosque at Tabrîz. This building, both externally and internally, is covered with a mosaic of glazed bricks of very brilliant colours, and wrought into the most intricate patterns. It was destroyed by an earthquake in the beginning of the present century.

Ghazân-Khân cultivated literature, and caused a Persian named Fadhî-Allâh to write a *History of the Mongols*; which is much used as an authority by the Tatar Prince, Abu-'l-Ghâzy.

In 1303 Ghazân died,<sup>1</sup> and was succeeded by his brother, Muhammad-Khudâh-Bundah, who proclaimed himself of the sect of 'Aly, and removed the seat of government from Marâghah to es-Sultâniyyah.

The latter city, founded by this prince, was situated in a pleasant and fertile plain about seventy miles from Kazwîn, where the present Shâhs of Persia often encamp in the summer. The city is now a mere mass of ruins; but the tomb of the founder, a large and handsome brick structure, with a dome, internally eighty-one feet high, is still standing. Fergusson pronounces 'the form of this dome to be singularly graceful and elegant. It is covered with glazed tiles, and with its general beauty of outline, the building affords one of the best specimens of this style to be found in Persia or any other country.'<sup>2</sup>

Khudâh-Bundah died in 1316, and was succeeded by

<sup>1</sup> The Ilkhâny æra dates from the reign of Ghazân. 'Ghazân immortalised his reign for justice, by abolishing the lunar year of el-Hîjrah, and introducing a solar year.'—*Ayn-Akbary*, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 439.

his son Abu-Sa'id, who was then very young. During the minority of Abu-Sa'id, two great chiefs, named Amír-Júbân, chief of the tribe of Selduz, and 'Amír-Husain-Kurkhân, contended for power, and Júbân having prevailed, was married to his young sovereign's sister. On coming of age, Abu-Sa'id threw off the yoke of Júbân, who was defeated and killed in 1327.

Abu-Sa'id died of a fever in 1335, and was buried by the side of his father at es-Sultâniyyah. He was the last of his race who enjoyed any power in Persia, his successors, until 1344, being mere pageants in the hands of ambitious chiefs who engaged in petty wars amongst themselves, and anarchy prevailed over Persia, paving the way for Tîmûr's conquest.

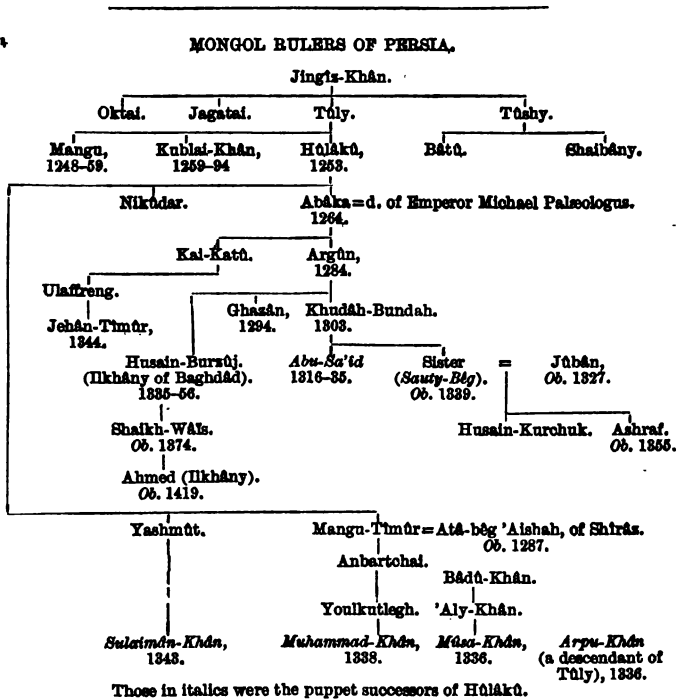
Two of Júbân's sons rose to power at this time, Husain-Kurchuck and Áshraf; but the former was slain by his own wife to avenge the imprisonment of her lover, and the latter was killed in a battle with Jâny-Bég, the Khân of Kipjâk, in 1355.

A descendant of the Ilkhâny Hûlâkû-Khân, driven from Persia after the death of Abu-Sa'id in 1335, founded the dynasty of Ilkhânîs in 'Irâk-Araby, with his capital at Baghdâd. This was Husain Buzûry, a grandson of Argûn, who died in 1356. His grandson Ahmed passed his life in a vain attempt to check the progress of Tîmûr, and was at last obliged to take refuge in Egypt. He was eventually killed by Yûsuf, Chief of the Kara-Kuyunlû tribe, in 1419.

The Mongol sovereigns of Persia, whose power had thus passed away, were a most remarkable race of

princes.<sup>1</sup> Though they had only just relinquished a wandering savage life, they were renowned for their excellent government, their encouragement of literature and science, and, above all, for their enlightened toleration in matters of religion. If it be true, as is very probable, that those free-thinking and liberal-minded sovereigns, Abâka and Argûn, embraced the faith of Christ, they were the only Christian princes, with the possible exception of one Sassanian king,<sup>2</sup> who ever reigned over Persia.

Their encouragement of literature, especially of history and poetry, gave new life to the active and



<sup>2</sup> See page 73.

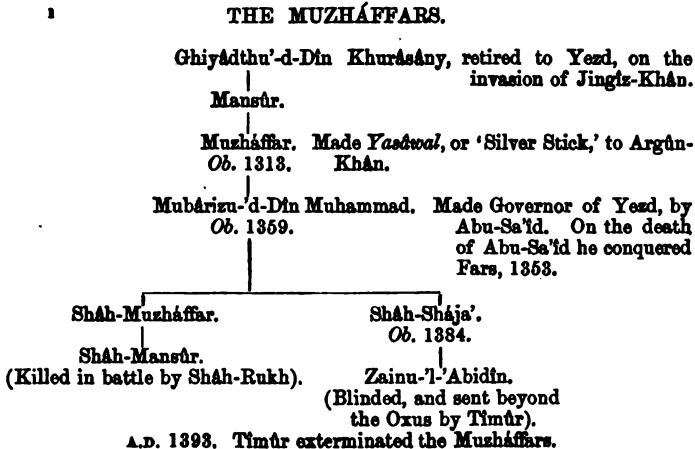
imaginative minds of educated Persians, and tended to develop and bring to maturity the doctrines of the Sûfis, whose most famed representative was the poet Háfizh.

During the period between the death of Abu-Sa'id, in 1335, and the rise of Tímûr, Fars was governed by petty rulers of the family of a chief named Mubárizu-'d-Dîn Muhammad. They were called Muzháffars,<sup>1</sup> and reigned at Shîrâz for about 50 years, when Shâh-Mansûr, with all his family, was put to death by the conqueror Tímûr, 1387 A.D.

The dynasty of the Muzháffars is rendered famous from the great poet Háfizh having flourished in its time.

Háfizh was born at Shîrâz in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and resided in that city during the greater part of his life.

In his youth he was devoted to pleasure, and was



passionately in love with a beautiful maiden named Shákhī-Nabát, 'Branch of a Sugar-cane.' A prince of the house of the Muzháffars was his rival. There was a place near Shíráz called Píri-sebz, where, it was said, a youth would infallibly become a great poet if he passed forty nights there without sleeping. Háfizh passed the necessary time of probation there; and, returning by the house of his love, a lattice was thrown open, and the fair one appeared at it, declaring that she preferred a poet to a prince.

The following is a specimen of one of his love songs, which was most probably written in these his days of youthful happiness :

Sweet maid, if thou would'st charm my sight,<sup>1</sup>  
 And bid these arms my neck infold ;  
     That rosy cheek, that lily hand,  
 Would give thy poet more delight  
 Than all Bukhára's vaunted gold,  
     Than all the gems of Samarkand.

Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,  
 And bid thy pensive heart be glad,  
     What'er the frowning zealots say :  
 Tell them their Eden cannot show  
 A stream so clear as Ruknabád,  
     A bower so sweet as Mosaláy.

---

<sup>1</sup> The literal translation, it must be confessed, is less beautiful than Sir William Jones's exquisite version :

If that Turkish (maid) of Shíráz would bear my heart in her hand,  
 For her black mole I would give Samarkand and Bukhára :  
 Give, O cupbearer ! the remaining wine, for in Paradise you will not find  
 The water-banks of Ruknabád, nor the rose-beds of Mosaláy.

Go boldly forth my simple lay,  
 Whose accents flow with artless ease,  
   Like orient pearls at random strung :  
 Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say,  
 But oh, far sweeter, if they please  
   The nymph for whom these notes are sung.<sup>1</sup>

In old age Hâfizh became very religious, and was devoted to Sûfy philosophy : a mode of thought which had sprung up amongst the contemplative Persians, after the fall of the beautiful religion of Zoroaster.

The Sûfis established their own system upon those doctrines of Muhammad which the Persians were forced to adopt ; while, at the same time, they seem to have imitated the Vedanta philosophers of India in their figurative mode of expression. The Persian Sûfy supposes an express contract between the assemblage of created Spirits and the Supreme, from whom they were detached. At the time of separation a celestial voice pronounced these words, ‘Art thou not with God?’ (that is ‘Art thou not bound by a solemn contract with Him?’) and all the Spirits answered with one voice, ‘Yes!’ Hence *Nisti*, ‘Art thou not?’ and *Beli*, ‘Yes,’ incessantly occur in the mystical verses of Persian poets.

The Sûfy ‘undertakes, by a long course of education and moral discipline, to lead the soul on from stage to stage, till it arrives at the goal of perfect knowledge and peace.’<sup>2</sup> Hâfizh, one of the greatest of Sûfy poets, expressed his longing for a purer state

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Sir W. Jones, at the end of his *Persian Grammar*, pp. 229–31.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford Essays, 1855. *Persian Literature*. E. B. Cowell.

of existence, and his feelings of devotion by figurative allusions to earthly joys and sorrows.

His poetry is very beautiful; and the Persian language in which it is written is the softest and one of the richest in the world.

The following are a few of his figurative verses :

‘The sum of our transactions in the universe is nothing. Bring us the wine of devotion; for the possessions of this world vanish.’

‘Dancing with love of His beauty, like a mote in a

#### ODE TO SHĪRĀZ.

BY HĀFĪZ.

May every blessing be the lot,  
Of fair Shīrās, earth's loveliest spot!  
Oh Heaven! bid Time its beauties spare,  
Nor print his wasteful traces there.

Still be thou blest of Him that gave  
Thy stream, sweet Ruknabād, whose wave  
Can every human ill assuage,  
And life prolong to Chizer's age!

And oh! the gale that wings its way  
’Twixt Jaffr’abad and Mocaláy,  
How sweet a perfume does it bear!  
How grateful is its amber air!

Ye who mysterious joys would taste,  
Come to this sacred city—haste:  
Its saints, its sages, seek to know,  
Whose breasts with heavenly rapture glow.

And say, sweet gale—for thou canst tell—  
With lovely Lula, was it well,  
When last you passed the maiden by,  
Of wayward will and witching eye?

Why, Háfiz! when you feared the day  
That tore you from her arms away,  
Oh! why so thankless for the hours  
You passed in Lula's rosy bowers?



sunbeam, till I reach the spring and fountain of light,  
whence yon sun derives all his lustre.'

'O! the bliss of that day, when I shall depart from  
this desolate mansion! shall seek rest for my soul, and  
shall follow the traces of my beloved.'<sup>1</sup>

Hāfizh was invited by Mahmūd Shāh Bahmany, the  
Mussulman king of the Dekkan, to pay him a visit.  
Hāfizh left Shīrāz, and travelled, by way of Lar, to  
Ormuz, where he took ship on board one of the  
royal vessels of the Dekkan king. But he was so

## ODE BY HĀFIZH.

Bring me wine—the rose to-day  
Full in season glows ;  
Wash repentant vows away,  
Stretched on beds of rose.

Chaunting free in jovial vein,  
Seek the bower's repose ;  
So the bulbul pours his strain  
Nestling in the rose.

Sweet this hour, the covert bower,  
Where the wine-cup flows ;  
Life is rife with rapture's power  
Kindling from the rose.

'Tis her season's vernal sway,  
Would'st thou wait its close ?  
Fill with friends and wine to-day  
Palaces of rose.

Hāfizh, fain her bloom to meet,  
Fond as bulbul, glows,  
And bows his soul in dust to greet  
He who *tends the rose*.

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. i. The admirers of Hāfizh explain that by *wine* he always means *devotion*, and by *kisses* the *raptures of piety*. We must hope he did, for his verses are full of the praises both of wine and kisses.

dreadfully sea-sick, that he insisted upon being put on shore again, and returned to Shiráz. On this occasion he wrote the following ode :

Can all the gold the world bestows,  
 Though pour'd by fortune's bounteous hand,  
 Repay me for the joys I lose,  
 The breezes of my native land.

My friends exclaimed, 'Oh! stay at home,  
 Nor quit this once beloved spot;  
 What folly tempts thee thus to roam—  
 To quit Shiráz—desert thy cot?

Yon royal court will ill repay,  
 Though all its gorgeous wealth be given,  
 The blessing which you cast away,  
 Health and content, the gifts of Heaven.'

The glare of gems confused my sight,  
 The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard;  
 But now that I can feel aright,  
 I freely own how I have erred.

#### ODE BY HÂFIZH.

What curse has fallen upon the earth,  
 That each revolving moon gives birth  
 To crime—to violence? I see  
 No mortal from this pest is free.

The proud majestic Arab steed,  
 His sides with galling panniers bleed,  
 The stupid stubborn ass has got  
 A golden bridle, and what not?

For brainless fools and idiots' food  
 Ambrosia, nectar, nought 's too good.  
 The sage, the wit, must thankful live  
 On what his bleeding heart can give.

Yet though desponding doubts may brood,  
 Thus Hâfizh counsels: '*Go—do good!*'  
 This Heaven-taught lesson far outvies  
 The fleeting wealth the world supplies.

*Asiatic Journal*, 1833, p. 46.

Though splendid promises were made  
 How could I such a dotard prove,  
 How could I leave my natal glade,  
 Its wines, and all the friends I love?

Hâfizh abjures the royal court;  
 Let him have but content and health,  
 For what to him can gold import  
 Who scorns the paths of worldly wealth?  
 Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. ii. pp. 848-9.

Hâfizh had a complimentary interview with the conqueror, Tīmūr, in 1387 (when he subjugated Fars), and died in 1389 A.D.<sup>1</sup> He was buried in a small garden about half a mile from Shīrāz, and Kerīm Khān Zend (the Wakīl), erected a tomb over his remains, consisting of a block of white marble, with two of his poems, and the date of his death inscribed on it.

The poet Jāmi, who was rather younger than Hâfizh, wrote seven poems, called 'The Seven Thrones,' and a poem celebrating the loves of Yūsuf and Zuleikhā (Joseph and Potiphar's wife). Jāmi was born at Tūrbut-i-Jāmi, on the road between Māsh-had and Herat; and flourished at the court of Husain Mīrza, the Tīmūride king of Khurāsān.

His nephew, Hatifi, was also a very celebrated poet, at the court of Herat; and innumerable minor poets and versifiers flourished at this time, notwithstanding the terrible inroads of the Mongol conquerors.

<sup>1</sup> Or 1391 (?).

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE TIMŪRIDES.

At the time of Timŭr's birth the enormous empire of his predecessor in universal conquest was rapidly falling to pieces ; and the numerous kingdoms formed by the energetic sons and grandsons of Jengiz-Khân<sup>1</sup> were for the most part in a state of helpless anarchy, under the nominal sway of their degenerate descendants. The last great wave of those devastating floods of conquest which, for centuries, had periodically burst forth from the wilds of central Asia, to spread terror and desolation over the Eastern world, was rapidly subsiding. The most contemptible puppet descendants of the mighty Jengiz-Khân sat on the thrones of Persia, Samarkand, and China ; while their former vassals were beginning to assert their independence in every direction.

The country between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes,

<sup>1</sup> Jengiz-Khân. His name is written Zengis by Abul-Ghâzy, who says that *Zen* means 'great,' and *gis*, the 'superlative.' Fadhl-Allâh asserts that *Cheng* means 'strong,' and that *Chengez* is the plural. D'Herbelot, who is followed by Gibbon, spells the name Genghiz Khan. The correct form appears to be Jengiz, or Chengiz. There is a coin of Jengiz-Khân in the India Office, which has been figured by Mr. Thomas, but the letters are without distinguishing marks,

چنگیز.

known to the Arabs as Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr,<sup>1</sup> had fallen to the share of Jagatai, on the death of his father Jengiz-Khân in 1227, and the land had been ruled by his descendants for more than a century, when Timûr was born in 1337; but each succeeding Sultân of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr had become more degenerate and more contemptible than his predecessor, while the insolent independence of powerful vassals, at the head of large bodies of cavalry, kept the country in a state bordering on anarchy.

The most famous of Timûr's ancestors was Karachar Nevyân, the minister of Jagatai, and the first convert to Islâm amongst the wild conquerors. He ruled with justice and moderation for many years, and established his own tribe of Barlas round the town of Kesh, near Samarkand.<sup>2</sup> He became *Sepah Salar*, or General of Jagatai's forces, and the title was made hereditary in his family; but his great grandson, Teragay, who was Timûr's father, appears to have resigned the office, preferring the retirement of Kesh, and the society of learned men, to the turbulent strife of the court of Samarkand.

Teragay, the chief of the tribe of Barlas, is said to

<sup>1</sup> Grand Tartary extended from the Volga to the ocean, and from the Gihon to Siberia. Ptolemy divided this vast region into Scythia beyond, and this side the Imaus. North of the sources of the Ganges, a range of mountains extends towards Kashgar, where it turns to the north-east, towards the river Ili; this chain was called by Ptolemy, the Imaus. That part of Scythia on this side the Imaus, which lies between the Oxus and Jaxartes, was known to Roman geographers as Transoxiana, and to the Arabs as Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr.

<sup>2</sup> Karachar Nevyân outlived Jagatai, and died in 1270.

have been a man of distinguished piety and liberality, and he inherited an incalculable number of sheep and goats,<sup>1</sup> cattle and servants. His wife, Takinah Khâtûn, was virtuous and beautiful; and on April 8, 1336, she gave birth to a son, at their encampment, near the verdant walls<sup>2</sup> of the delicious town of Kesh. This child was the future aspirant for universal empire.

Timûr was of the race of Turkish wanderers, and he was of noble lineage, amongst a people who thought much of their descent. His countrymen lived in tents, loved the wandering lives of warlike shepherds better than the luxury and ease of cities; and, even in the countries which they had conquered, preferred an encampment in the open plains to a residence in the most splendid palaces. Brought up amidst such feelings, a youth of undoubted genius would naturally turn the whole force of his vigorous intellect to the achievement of military glory; but if Timûr had not been a great conqueror, he would inevitably have become famous in some other way; and under any circumstances, he would have left the impress of his genius on the history of the Asiatic races. Timûr was no vulgar conqueror, no ordinary man: his history, as displayed both in his own writings, and in those of his biographers, proves that, if not in his acts, certainly in his thoughts and opinions, he was in advance of his age and country.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Browne ridicules the idea that Timûr was a common shepherd, because his father possessed flocks and herds.—*Vulgar and Common Errors*, book vii. chap. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> 'In spring the walls and terraces of Kesh are all green and cheerful.'—Bâber's *Memoirs*.

When the man child was born to the chief of the tribe of Barlas, he took it, with its mother, to pay their respects to the holy Shaikh Shámsu-'d-Dĭn; <sup>1</sup> who was reading the 67th chapter of the Kurân, and repeating this verse,—‘Are you sure that he who dwelleth in Heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up? and behold *it shall shake*’ (*Tamurá*).’ The Shaikh then stopped, and said, ‘We have named your son Tĭmŭr.’ <sup>2</sup>

In his seventh year Tĭmŭr’s father took him by the hand, and led him to school, where he was placed in charge of the Mŭllah ‘Aly Bĕg. The mŭllah having written the Arabic alphabet on a plank, placed it before the child, who was much delighted, and considered the study as an amusement. In his ninth year he was taught the daily service of the mosque, and always read the 91st chapter of the Kurân, called the *Sun*.

The child very early began to entertain an innate feeling of superiority, and a sort of presentiment of his future greatness. He himself afterwards described his recollection of this feeling, in quaint terms: ‘At twelve years of age,’ he says, ‘I fancied I perceived in myself all the signs of greatness and wisdom, and who-

<sup>1</sup> Teragay was devoted to the society of this worthy, who was a famous *pĭr*, or religious man.

<sup>2</sup> Tĭmŭr’s titles, in the height of his power, were Sultĭn Kamran Amĭr Kutbu-'d-Dĭn Tĭmŭr Kurkhĭn Sĕhib Karĭn. *Sultĭn* means ‘lord;’ *Kamran*, ‘successful;’ *Amĭr*, ‘commander;’ *Kutbu-'d-Dĭn*, ‘pole star of the faith;’ *Tĭmŭr*, ‘it shall shake;’ *Kurkhĭn*, ‘of the lineage of sovereign princes;’ and *Sĕhib Karĭn*, ‘master of the grand conjunctions.’—*D’Herbelot*.

ever came to visit me, I received with great hauteur and dignity. At eighteen I became vain of my abilities, and was very fond of riding and hunting. I passed much of my time in reading the Kurân, and playing at chess, and was also very fond of horsemanship.<sup>1</sup>

At about this time a change came over his habits of thought; he repented of his past life, left off playing at chess, and made a vow never to injure any living creature. The future destroyer of thousands of his fellow men was seized with a feeling of tender regard for the most insignificant of God's creatures, and when the kind-hearted youth once unintentionally trod upon an ant he was so deeply grieved, that he felt as if his foot had lost all its power.

Such was this young man's character when, in 1355, at the age of twenty, his father, Teragay, made over to him a number of tents, sheep, camels, and servants, and, in short, gave him a separate establishment. Then it was that his energetic mind found other work than meditations on Buddhistic vows; he began to long for some wider field of action, and to form plans of rebellion against what he considered the tyranny of the Jagatai Sultân. He could not then find any one to join him; but another turbulent spirit, named Amîr

<sup>1</sup> *Tîmûr's Memoirs*. I believe there is no doubt as to their authenticity. The manuscript, brought from India by Major Davy, is an octavo volume of four hundred and fifty-seven pages, in the Persian hand. It begins with Tîmûr's birth, and ends in his forty-first year, omitting the last thirty years of his life. The manuscript was found in the library of Ja'afar, Hâkim of Yémen, by Abu Tâlib ul Husaini, in the Turki language, and was translated into Persian; and into English, by Major C. Stewart, in 1880.



Kurgân, one of the greatest chiefs of the tribe of Jagatai, defeated and killed the tyrant, and ruled the kingdom for ten years, in the name of another puppet, named Danishmundche Khân.<sup>1</sup>

Tĭmŭr was deputed by his father to wait upon Amĭr Kurgân, on business connected with the tribe of Barlas; and the new ruler took a liking for the young chief, and gave him his grand-daughter in marriage. This lady proved a faithful and loving companion, following her lord in all his wild adventures, and sharing his dangers and misfortunes.<sup>2</sup> Tĭmŭr now began to experience all the realities of a Turkish chieftain's life, in the chase and in the battle-field, and his restless spirit ever thirsted for the excitement of action. He has himself recorded some of his adventures. On one occasion he lost his way, out hunting, in a heavy snow storm. After wandering about for many hours, he reached the hut of some wandering shepherds, half dead with cold, fatigue, and hunger; and was revived by the kindly Turks with a large supply of hot soup, of which he ate plentifully. On another day he was sent against a band of invaders from 'Irâk, charged them at a gallop, and, after a few cuts, put them to flight, and took possession of their plunder.

It was not, however, until 1358, when he was

<sup>1</sup> He was not of the house of Jagatai, but was descended from Octai, another son of Jengiz-Khân. In this year (1356) Tĭmŭr's mother died. He says, 'I was for some time very melancholy, and gave up my ambitious intentions.

<sup>2</sup> Her name was Aljaz Turkhan Agha, daughter of Amĭr Mâshlah, granddaughter of Amĭr Kurgân, and sister of Amĭr Husain.

twenty-three years of age, that Tîmûr's ambitious views began to take a wider range than the government of his native tribe of Barlas. In that year Amîr Kurgân determined to invade Khurâsân, and gave the command of a thousand horse to young Tîmûr, who was delighted with his new command. The men became exceedingly attached to him; he wrote a list of their names, and kept it folded in his pocket; and he was so elated by finding himself at the head of so many faithful followers, that he resolved, when the ruler of Khurâsân was dispossessed, to grasp the sovereignty for himself.

The ruler of Khurâsân was expelled; and Tîmûr was left in possession of Herat, while Amîr Kurgân returned to the Oxus, where he was treacherously murdered by two Turkish chiefs. Tîmûr was justly indignant at this base act; and, with his accustomed energy, collected his native tribe, induced several other leading men to join him, and marched to Samarkand, where the victorious chiefs divided the whole empire amongst them.

Tîmûr's ambition was now roused. Eager to assume the sovereign power, and to distance all competitors, his wisdom yet taught him the necessity of keeping on terms with the chiefs who were as powerful as himself, whilst he endeavoured to throw the ball of contention amongst them, and to rise to the head of affairs amidst the general confusion. At this time Amîr Husain, the late Kurgân's grandson, and brother to Tîmûr's wife, advanced from Kâbul, and was encouraged by his relation to invade Badakshân, which he did in 1359.

‘This,’ says Tīmūr, ‘was the greatest error I committed during my whole reign ; for the man was of a vile disposition, proud and miserly, but I did not then know his character.’

While the petty chiefs were thus contending for superiority, the commander of a vast army, named Tugluk Tīmūr Khân, of the lineage of Jengtz, encamped on the banks of the Jaxartes, and summoned them all to his presence. His power was felt to be irresistible ; and the chiefs selected young Tīmūr to wait on him, and to endeavour, by his ingenuity, to prevent the country from being overrun.<sup>1</sup> The envoy repaired to the encampment of the invader, who gave him the command of the whole country ; and the astute Tīmūr, by his address, became sovereign of his native land, while the formidable Tugluk retired into the deserts of the East.

Thus far the ambitious projects of the young chieftain had been crowned with success. He was now not only the hereditary head of the tribe of Barlas, but he had, with extraordinary ease and rapidity, obtained a prize beyond which his youthful dreams could scarcely have dared to soar. But the difficulties which surrounded his position, and the precarious tenure by which he held his power, were not disguised from himself, and he prudently deferred having *el-Kútbah* read, and coin struck in his name,<sup>2</sup> until he

<sup>1</sup> At this time Tīmūr's father died, and was buried at Kesh.

<sup>2</sup> These are the customary marks of sovereignty in the East. *el-Kútbah* is a prayer, offered up in the mosques for the reigning sovereign. It means, literally, ‘written,’ from *katabá*, ‘he wrote.’

had subdued all the nomade tribes. He appears to have been, at this time, very decisive in his operations, and quick to remove persons whom he could not trust, out of his way. He says, 'I went to assist Amîr Husain, in Badakshân, and at this time Kai Kobâd, son of Kai Khusru Khutelany, who had killed the king of Badakshân, waited on me, and began to flatter me; but as I had no confidence in him, I put him to death.'

Timûr was as yet too weak to establish order amongst his unruly countrymen. Hajji Barlas, his own uncle, was in rebellion, and was only defeated after two days' hard fighting; other chiefs tried to inveigle Timûr into their power, in order to assassinate him; and the heads of the villages came to him, declaring that the land of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr was desolate, and that in every district there was some tyrant, who unjustly plundered the people. Finding it quite impossible to restore order single-handed, Timûr wrote to Tugluk Timûr Khân, representing that the country was ruined, but offering, with his assistance, to make it productive.

The formidable chief advanced from the deserts of the East, with a great army, to the banks of the Jaxartes. The petty chiefs either fled or submitted. Hajji Barlas escaped into Khurâsân, where he was murdered by some villagers,<sup>1</sup> and another chief had his head cut off, for delaying to give up the gates of

<sup>1</sup> When Timûr conquered Khurâsân, he punished these people, and gave their village, in perpetual *jaghîr*, to the grandson of his uncle, Hajji Barlas.

Samarkand. Tīmūr, at first, received the command of all the hordes of Ma-warā'-n-Náhr, and he then naturally began to think of a pretext for inducing his formidable ally to leave the country ; but some of his proceedings created suspicion, and he was ordered to be killed. He, therefore, fled with a few followers towards Khuwārizm, and met his brother-in-law, Amīr Husain, on the road, who was also a fugitive.

Tīmūr was now to learn the bitter lessons of adversity. His misfortunes seem to have brought out some of the finest points in his character ; and this time of disaster is the most interesting period in the life of the great conqueror.

Although Tīmūr and Amīr Husain had only sixty followers between them, they resolved to attack the fort of Urjunj,<sup>1</sup> and they fought with such desperation that only twelve of them were left, at the end of the day. Amīr Husain's horse was wounded, but his wife immediately gave up hers, and was remounted on the same horse with Tīmūr's wife. They then retreated to the top of a hill in the desert, and continued to fight with the enemy, until only seven men were left. With this devoted little band, Tīmūr at length retired, and fled across the boundless deserts. This took place in the year 1362.

The region of Khuwārizm or Khiva, in which Tīmūr had taken refuge, is 750 miles long by 600 broad ; and, with the exception of the narrow tract bordering the Oxus, and the well-watered sands of Merv, it

<sup>1</sup> Near the modern Khiva.

consists of a wide desert plain, without rivers or springs, woods or mountains. Between Merv and Khiva it is a broken surface of deep sand, with a small growth of underwood;<sup>1</sup> and it was over this cheerless waste that Timûr's little party wandered, until they came, hungry and thirsty, to a well in the desert. The weary fugitives at length found rest and refreshment, the water was delicious; a shepherd gave them part of a goat, which they roasted between stones, and, as Timûr says, 'we enjoyed ourselves exceedingly.'

But their future prospects were most disheartening. Aljaz Turkhan Agha, the faithful and devoted wife of Timûr, cheered him up in this darkest hour of his life, and said,—'Surely our fortunes are now arrived at the lowest point.'

They wandered on for days and nights, without water or bread, and remained, for a month, in a ruined deserted village. At length they fell in with a troop of wild Turkmans, under one 'Aly Bêg Ghurbany, who took the fugitives prisoners, and confined Timûr and his wife in a wretched cow-house, full of fleas and vermin, for more than two months.

This was the lowest ebb to which his fortunes sank, and from that time the tide began to flow which bore him on to the empire of Asia. He escaped from his durance, collected twelve horsemen, whose numbers soon increased to a hundred, and raised the standard of royalty.

For the next seven years, from 1362 to 1369, when

<sup>1</sup> Abbott's *Khiva*.

he was finally seated on the throne of Samarkand, Tīmūr was engaged, first in expelling the invaders from his native land, and afterwards in a death struggle with his brother-in-law, Amīr Husain.

Tugluk Tīmūr Khān, who had driven Tīmūr into the desert, was ruler of Kashgar, and of the boundless pastures further east; and he was at the head of a great army, composed of a race called Jetes, or Kalmuks, who were unconverted to the faith of Islām. Tugluk, who was of the race of Jagatai, left the country of Ma-warā-'n-Nāhr under the rule of his son, Alyūs Khawājah, returning to the pastures east of Kashgar.

The first result of Tīmūr's assumption of royalty, was a quarrel with Amīr Husain, who took offence, and left him. Many old followers, however, continued to flock to his standard; and, after passing some months in hunting along the banks of the Oxus, he entered Sistan<sup>1</sup> at the head of a thousand horsemen, in 1362. He took several forts from the Baluchis of Sistan, but was eventually defeated, and wounded in the hand and foot; which obliged him to retire into the Garmsīr, or hot regions of the coast of the

<sup>1</sup> Sistan is a territory, between Persia and Afghanistan, surrounded, except on the north, by wide deserts. It is a flat country, with low hills here and there. One third of its surface is moving sand, and the other two thirds are composed of compact sand and clay, covered with thickets of tamarisk, and abundant pasture. The Helmund, which is by far the finest river between the Tigris and the Indus, flows through Sistan, and falls into the Lake of Zirrah. Sistan is well known to the admirers of Firdausy, as the country of Zal and Rustam.—*Ferrier : M. Elphinstone.*

Arabian Sea, where he remained to recover from the effects of his wounds.<sup>1</sup>

Having recruited his strength, and collected forty horsemen, he marched towards Balkh, and was joined by a hundred men, under his kinsman, Sadyh Barlas. They encamped under the shelter of a hill, on the banks of a rivulet, and lived by the chase; while their numbers gradually increased to fifteen hundred cavalry, and Tīmūr found himself in a position to face the Jete armies under Alyūs Khawâjah, the son of Tīmūr Tugluk, which were now in possession of his native land. The spirits of the young chief rose in proportion, the companions of his early days flocked around him, his ambitious hopes seemed once more to be near their accomplishment, and his heart was filled with gladness. Before encountering the enemy, he passed ten days in feasting and rejoicing, with his old companions in arms.

In 1363 he determined to fight a decisive battle with Alyūs Khawâjah; but the odds were fearfully against him, as his force only numbered six thousand men, while that of the Jetes consisted of thirty

<sup>1</sup> This gave rise to the story that Tīmūr was wounded in the leg by a shepherd, when stealing sheep, and to his name of *Tīmūr-lenk* ('lame'), corrupted into *Tamerlane*. This name was first given him by the Syrian Ahmed ibn 'Arabshah, who wrote a life of the conqueror in 1440, called '*Ajâib-al-Mukhlûkat*, 'Wonders of the Creation,' which was translated from Arabic into Latin by Golius in 1636, and by Mangin in 1767 and 1772. 'Arabshah hated the memory of Tīmūr for the devastation caused by his armies in his native land of Syria: he takes every opportunity of blackening his character; and his History is a coarse satire, little worthy of credit.



thousand victorious horsemen. Timūr took up an intrenched position near the Oxus, between Khulm and Kunduz, where he was attacked by the Jetes. His troops showered arrows upon them, which forced them to retire, and on the following morning he took them by surprise in their own camp, and put them to flight. Alyūs Khawājah, overwhelmed with shame at having been defeated by such an inferior force, retreated to within twelve miles of Timūr's native city of Kesh.

At this time news came that Timūr Tugluk was dead, and Alyūs Khawājah, therefore, marched away with all his forces; closely followed by Timūr, whose army rapidly increased in numbers. Once the retreating Jetes turned to face their foe, but Timūr charged at the head of his troops, and finally drove them across the frontier. His native country was thus delivered from the invaders; once more the young chieftain was sovereign of the land. The citizens of Samarkand came out to meet him; and, amidst the general rejoicings, his faithful wife, who, since the disaster in Sistan, had taken refuge in the Gurmsir, came to share the prosperity of her lord.

The pretensions of Timūr were disputed by his brother-in-law, Amīr Husain, and the feud continued for five years, although the rivals were obliged to unite their forces, more than once, to resist an invasion of their common enemies, the Jetes. In 1364, Timūr crossed the Jaxartes, and fought with the Jete army during the whole day. Night closed in with a heavy fall of rain, and the chief passed the hours of darkness

in the open plain, with a saddle for his pillow. The rain had converted the land into a swamp, but the Jagatais charged through it, and engaged the Jetes, who had received large reinforcements, during the whole of the following day. Tîmûr lost two thousand men, and was obliged to retreat to Kesh; where he refreshed his troops, and eventually succeeded in clearing the land of the enemy.

Amîr Husain, stirred up by jealousy, had now become Tîmûr's implacable enemy; and Tîmûr himself declared that, 'As there was only one God in the universe, so there should only be one monarch in a kingdom.' He defeated his rival in 1366,<sup>1</sup> and forced him to retire across the Oxus.

In 1367 Amîr Husain again attacked his brother-in-law, and Tîmûr retreated to Tashkend, where he passed a month in pleasant idleness, hunting and hawking over the plains, and receiving forty eggs and a tureen of soup every morning, from the Kat Khodâh, or ruler of the district. His peace was, however, again disturbed by Amîr Husain, but his followers deserted him, and he gave himself up to Tîmûr, requesting permission to be allowed to retire to Mekkah. His successful rival at first consented; but many of the rude chiefs had cause to hate the wretched captive, who had been cruel and insolent, as well as avaricious, in the days of his prosperity. Tîmûr appears to have been desirous to save his life, but

<sup>1</sup> In this year Tîmûr's faithful wife, the illustrious Aljay Turkan Agha, departed this life. 'Verily we belong to God, and to Him shall we return,' was Tîmûr's pious reflection.—*Memoirs*.

he gradually yielded to the clamours of his officers, and Amīr Husain was killed by three chiefs, who dragged him out of a minaret, where he had taken refuge.

Tīmūr had now cleared his native land of seditious aspirants to the throne, as well as of foreign invaders. From the year 1369 until the day of his death, he held the sovereignty of Samarkand, while he extended his dominion over half the continent of Asia. He was formally enthroned in the city of Balkh, by four of the most revered Seyyids, or descendants of the Prophet, and all the people held up their hands in prayer for his prosperity. When this ceremony was over, he crossed the Oxus, and marched to Samarkand, which he made the capital of his empire. 'From my twelfth year,' he says in his *Institutes*, 'I travelled over countries, combated difficulties, and hazarded my person in the hour of danger, until I vanquished empires, and established the glory of my name.'

Tīmūr's first important act was to assemble a *Kurultai*, or general meeting of all the principal chiefs, and of the amīrs or commanders of tumāns (ten thousand men), and házarehs (one thousand men); and he then proceeded to regulate the affairs of his empire.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a description of Samarkand, see *Clavijo*, p. 164 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Tīmūr frequently convoked a *Kurultai*, or diet of his nobles; as was also the custom of his predecessors. 'He always addressed them in a speech calculated to attain their cordial assent; and, through them, to animate the zeal and courage of their followers.'—Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 476.

Although Tîmûr was the real sovereign, he only took the title of Amîr; and, until the day of his death, all the affairs of state were conducted in the name of a puppet descendant of Jengîz-Khân, who was sometimes permitted to reside at Samarkand, but who was more frequently to be found serving in Tîmûr's army. Yet Tîmûr established all the outward forms of etiquette in his court, and each rank had its established place when they appeared before him. A council of state was formed, a code of regulations was drawn up for his government, favours were conferred on his friends, permanent grants of land were made for charitable purposes, and the army was carefully organized.

Tîmûr's army, as the chief instrument of his power and his conquests, received the greatest share of his attention, and a large portion of his *Institutes* is devoted to the details of its organization.<sup>1</sup> It was divided into detachments of ten, a hundred, and a thousand men, each under separate officers, called respectively *Oun-bashîs*, *Uz-bashîs*, *Ming-bashîs*, over whom there were many amîrs, four Beglar Bêgs, and an Amîru-'l-Umarâ, who had authority over the whole army, and acted as the deputy of his sovereign. The Amîru-'l-Umarâ was distinguished by a standard;

<sup>1</sup> Tîmûr thus announces his intention, in drawing up his *Institutes*:—'Be it known to my sons and descendants, that I have collected together these laws and regulations, for the well governing of my dominions, as a model for others. Let them make these regulations the rule of their conduct in the affairs of their empire.'

the subordinate amīrs by spears with figures on their points, denoting the rank of those to whom they belonged; the Ming-bashīs by a trumpet; and the inferior officers by drums.

Great attention was also given to the supply of arms and provisions for the soldiers. Each man had two horses, a bow, quiver of arrows, sword, saw, axe, awl, thread, ten needles, and a leathern knapsack; and every eighteen men were provided with a tent between them. Each Oun-bashī was supplied with a tent, a coat of mail, sword, bow, quiver, and five horses; the Uz-bashīs had ten horses apiece; the Ming-bashīs, twenty; and the Amīru-'l-Umarā, three hundred. Rules were laid down for guiding the tactics of the commanders when in the field; and, in choosing a position, they were particularly enjoined to take care to be near water, on a situation more elevated than that of the enemy, that their flanks and rear were covered, and that the ground in their front was extensive and open. But the noblest, and, considering his age and country, the most remarkable part of Tīmūr's army regulations, was the treatment of the conquered. It is but too true that in the heat of battle the orders, recorded in his *Institutes*, were frequently disregarded; but the fact of their existence proves that Tīmūr's ideal standard of right was far in advance of other conquerors of his race and creed. He ordered that every soldier who had performed his duty, and fought with valour on the side of the enemy, if he sought shelter under his authority, should be treated with honour and regard,

since he had performed his duty, and acted with fidelity to his former master.

The civil departments of Timûr's government also received their share of attention at his hands, and he gave minute instructions respecting all the details of his administration. He superintended everything himself with a watchful eye ; and, in the frequent audiences which he gave to his officers, every rank had a regular place assigned to it. The sons and other relations of the sovereign sat round the throne ; the Seyyids and learned men stood on the right hand, the Amîru-'l-Umarâ, Beglar Bêgs, and amîrs on the left hand, the Dîwân Bêgi, wazîrs, and other civil officers opposite the throne, the magistrates behind the wazîrs, and the soldiers, with the title of Bahâdur, in the left rear of the throne.

The council of ministers, for the administration of civil affairs, was presided over by the Dîwân Bêgi, under whom there was an Erz-Bêgi, or Presenter of Petitions, who communicated the complaints of the people, and four wazîrs. The first superintended the state of the husbandmen, the produce, the levy of duties, the merchandise, and the police ; the second had charge of the pay of the troops, the supply of provisions, and the state and strength of the army ; the third took possession of the effects of absentees and of the dead, received taxes, and restored the effects of the dead to their lawful heirs ; and the fourth superintended the receipts and general expenditure of the household of the sovereign.

Although an enormous revenue was derived from

the spoils of conquest, and from the dues levied on the transit of merchandise, yet the largest item was probably the land tax, as is the case in all Eastern countries. In Tīmūr's *Institutes* the tax was fixed at a third of the produce on all irrigated land, besides a certain due for using water from the public reservoirs; but any cultivator who built a tank, planted a grove, or brought new land under cultivation, paid no revenue for the first and second years.<sup>1</sup> Ruined bridges were

<sup>1</sup> The land tax has, from the most remote ages, been the chief source of revenue in all Asiatic countries.

The Sassanian kings of Persia established the tax at a third of the value of the produce; but when calamity overtook the crops, the cultivators received advances from the treasury.

By Muhammadan law the produce of the land is liable to two imposts: namely, the *Ushr*, or tithe, a poor rate due only on the actual produce of the soil; and the *Khiraġ*, or tribute, generally imposed on land within reach of irrigation or running water. No land can be subject to both *Ushr* and *Khiraġ* at the same time. The *Khiraġ* was imposed on Syria by 'Omar, on Egypt by Amrŭ; but Arabia is *Ushri*, a very small part of it being under the influence of running water.

The *Khiraġ* is of two kinds, *Mukasimah* and *Wuzifa*. The former is due on the actual produce only, and resembles the *Ushr*; the latter is due, whether there is any produce or not.

The Khalifah 'Omar levied the *Khiraġ* in Syria and Persia, the rate varying according to the value of the produce.

The Hindŭ kings exacted one sixth of the produce, besides a poll tax, which was *Mukasimah*; but the Muhammadans converted it into *Wuzifa*, in the time of Shir Shāh; and the emperor Akbar, while adopting the same system, carried it into effect with greater precision and exactness.

In Persia, in the days of Tīmūr, the land tax amounted to one tenth of the produce of the soil; but the husbandman was loaded with a number of other taxes, which altogether exceeded half the produce.

In India Tīmūr's descendant, the emperor Akbar, abolished all arbitrary taxes, and fixed the revenue according to the value of the different lands; which were divided into four classes:—

repaired, and serais for travellers were erected on the roads, at the expense of the sovereign. The collection of taxes, when necessary, was enforced by menaces and threats; but Timûr ordered that the whip and scourge should never be used, saying that 'The governor whose power is inferior to the power of the scourge is unworthy to govern.'

Having firmly established his government, and thoroughly organized his immense army, the sovereign of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr began to aspire to universal conquest, and the empire of the world. His mind was filled with an inordinate lust of power; he felt his superiority to all other men, and that his genius was equal to his ambition; but, at the same time, he differed, in this respect, from a mere vulgar conqueror, that he was anxious that his name should go down to posterity as a benefactor, rather than as a scourge to the human race; and part of the *Institutes* are taken up with a defence of his system of conquests.

1. *Pulej*, which never lies fallow.

2. *Peroty*, kept out of cultivation a short time, for the soil to recover its strength.

The *Pulej* and *Peroty* were each of three kinds; best, middling, and bad. The produce of a bigah of each sort was added together, and a third of the sum was considered as the average produce of *Pulej* or *Peroty* land; one third of that being the revenue. Shir Shâh exacted rather more.

3. *Checher* was land which had suffered from inundations, or excessive rains; and received grants of remissions for five years.

4. *Bunjer* land, which had suffered from great inundations, and enjoyed still larger remissions.

Rewards were granted, by Akbar, for high cultivation, and the land settlement was made for periods of ten years.—*Ayn-Akbarî*; Neil Baillie on the *Land Tax*.



Tīmūr voluntarily defended himself at the bar of public opinion, and displayed some anxiety that the judgment of posterity might be in his favour. He said,—‘If in any kingdom, tyranny, and oppression, and iniquity shall be predominant, it is the duty of a prince, from a regard to justice and the law, to expel and extirpate the authors of that iniquity, and to assault that kingdom. It is the duty of a victorious king to bring under his authority every kingdom where the people are oppressed by their rulers; and thus I delivered Khurāsān, and purified the kingdoms of Fars and ‘Irāk, and Shaum.’<sup>1</sup> The fact that this great conqueror should have felt the necessity of framing some excuse to soothe his own conscience and to justify his conduct before posterity, is a proof that his was not the mind of a mere barbarian; and his wars were at least as excusable as many which have been undertaken in more modern times, and amongst more civilized people.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Institutes*, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Tīmūr’s conquests is chiefly derived from the writings of two Eastern authors, namely, ‘Aly of Yezd and Mīrkhund.

Mūllah Sherifu-’d-Dīn ‘Aly of Yezd wrote the Life of Tīmūr at Shīrāz, by order of his grandson, Ibrahim Mīrza, in 1424, nineteen years after the conqueror’s death. His work was entitled *Zaffah-Nāmāh*. It was translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix, a famous Oriental traveller and scholar, in 1772; and into English, from the French, by J. Darby in 1723.

Mīrkhund, who was born in 1432, flourished at the court of Husain Mīrza at Herat, and wrote a general history of Persia from the Creation to the year 1471, entitled *Rauzatū-’s-Safāh*. After many years of disappointment from want of patronage, he

For several years the operations of Tímûr's army were confined to incursions into Khuwârizm, and frequent invasions of the country of his ancient enemies, the Jetes; but in 1376 he undertook a more important enterprise. Jojy,<sup>1</sup> the eldest son of Jengîz-Khân, received the sovereignty of a vast territory from his terrible father, called Desht Kipchâk,<sup>2</sup> which extended from the Caspian Sea, over the greater part of southern Russia, to the shores of the Dnieper. He died in 1226, six months before Jengîz; and his son Batu carried the Mongol arms into Russia and Hungary, and spread terror through all the Christian countries of Europe. Batu died in 1256, and his descendants of the golden horde continued to tyrannize over Muscovy, until they were finally subdued, and confined to the Crimea, by

was at length befriended by the munificent minister 'Aly Shir Bêg, who obtained him a suitable dwelling near Herat, and assisted him in collecting materials. Mîrkhund died in 1498, and his son, Khondemir, wrote an abridgment of his father's work, called *Khûlâsatu-'l-Akhbar*.

Teixeira, a Portuguese traveller, published a translated abstract of Mîrkhund, and there is an English translation of Teixeira, by Stephens; but the best translation of that portion of Mîrkhund's work which relates to the history of Tímûr's conquests was published in Major David Price's *Muhammadan History*, in 1821. There is also a translation of Mîrkhund's history of the early kings of Irân, published by David Shea in 1832.

<sup>1</sup> *Jojy* means 'stranger' in Mongol, and he was so called because his mother was in captivity when he was born. Few names have had a greater number of spellings. D'Herbelot calls him *Giougi*; his name is spelt *Dgoudgy* by Petis de la Croix; *Zuzi* by the translator of Abu-'l-Ghâzy Khân; *Jugi*, *Tushi*, and *Chuchi* by the authors of the *Universal History*.

<sup>2</sup> Desht Kipchâk. *Kipchâk* is a Turkish word, and *Desht* means 'a wide uncultivated plain.'

the Czar Ivan in 1552. In 1318 Uzbêg Khân<sup>1</sup> was lord of Desht Kipchâk, and he introduced the religion of Muhammad into his dominions. On the death of Uzbêg Khân in 1342, his son, and afterwards his grandson, followed him, but in 1360 Urus Khân, descended from a younger son of Jojy, became sovereign of Kipchâk. He reigned peaceably for several years; but at length Tokatmish, a member of his family, rose in rebellion, was defeated, and took refuge at the court of Tîmûr, the new sovereign of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr.

Tîmûr saw in this feud a means of extending his power, and he received the fugitive with great honour. Urus Khân led an army against Tîmûr, and the hostile forces met on the plains beyond the Jaxartes, but a terrible storm of snow and hail, accompanied by a hard frost, obliged Urus to retreat, and he died a few months afterwards. Tîmûr then established Tokatmish as sovereign of Kipchâk, and thus extended his influence, and the fame of his arms, through all the nomade tribes which wander over the interminable steppes of Central Asia. Yûsuf Sûfy, the ruler of Khuwârizm, alone defied the authority of Tîmûr, and in 1378, the now powerful sovereign crossed the Oxus, and laid siege to his enemy's capital. Yûsuf challenged him to single combat, and Tîmûr, in spite of the warnings and entreaties of his amîrs, rode up to the

<sup>1</sup> The seventh in succession from Jojy. He was much revered by his subjects, and from that time, according to Abu-'l-Ghâzy Khân, who is partly supported by Khondemir, they called themselves Uzbêgs. Eventually the Uzbêgs expelled the descendants of Tîmûr from Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr, and they still retain possession of Khiva, Bûkhâra, and Kokan.

edge of the ditch, but no one came out to fight him, and he returned amidst the applause of his own army. During the siege Yûsuf died, and the place having been taken by assault, was utterly destroyed, the inhabitants being removed to Kesh, Tîmûr's native town, which he had enlarged and beautified, and made his summer residence, when not engaged in war.

No chief in the boundless regions of Tûrân could now dispute the supremacy of the sovereign of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr; and Tîmûr's ambition, increasing with his power, led him to contemplate the conquest of Irân.

If Tîmûr's theory of conquest could be admitted, that 'It is the duty of every prince to invade any country where tyranny, oppression, and iniquity are predominant,' Persia certainly offered all these pretexts for aggression to the lord of Tûrân.

In 1380 he sent his eldest son Miran, then aged fourteen, with some experienced amîrs, to assume the government of Khurâsân. An excellent bridge of boats was thrown across the Oxus, the army advanced to Herat, and in 1381 the Persian provinces of Khurâsân and Mazanderân submitted to the conqueror. In the following years he added Sistan, Kandahar, Azerbaijan, and Georgia to his rapid conquests; and in 1387 he encamped before the Persian city of Isfahân.

The inhabitants submitted, and Tîmûr's forces entered the city, exacting a contribution from the people, but securing their lives and property. During the night of November 16 a youth named 'Aly Kuchapa raised an unruly rabble, and massacred many

of the Jagatai soldiers. Tīmūr was furious at this breach of faith, and ordered a general massacre of the people. After having taken this terrible revenge, he marched to Shīrāz,<sup>1</sup> confirmed the Muzháfars in their government, and returned to Samarkand in triumph.

Irân had now become a province of the empire of Tīmūr; and in 1389 he summoned a *Kurultai* at Akiar, near Kesh, to announce and celebrate his victories. The amīrs and chiefs of tumāns and házarehs, were assembled at a solemn banquet, and two of the sons of the sovereign, Miran and 'Omar Shaikh, received the government of the provinces of Khurāsân and Andekân.

Tīmūr now prepared for the greatest and most extraordinary military exploit of his life, the invasion of the illimitable wilds of Kipchâk. During his absence in Persia, Tokatmish, regardless of the debt of gratitude he owed to his benefactor, made several incursions across the Jaxartes, and was held in check, with difficulty, by Tīmūr's young son, 'Omar Shaikh.

In 1390 preparations were made, on a great scale, for the invasion of Kipchâk, and the punishment of its ungrateful khân. The officers were ordered to collect a year's provisions, for the troops under their command; and each soldier was supplied with a horse, a bow and quiver of arrows, and a leathern water

<sup>1</sup> During Tīmūr's stay in the beautiful city of Shīrāz, he had a complimentary interview with Persia's greatest poet, the divine Háfizh, who died two years afterwards.

bottle. Every ten soldiers had a tent, two mattocks, a spade, a hand saw, a hatchet, a hundred needles, an awl, about fourteen pounds of rope, a leathern knapsack, a copper pot, and a baggage horse.

Having completed all the necessary preparations for his hazardous and daring campaign, Tímûr left Samarkand in 1390, crossed the Jaxartes by a temporary bridge at Khojend, and wintered at Tashkend, where he was attacked with a severe illness.

In January 1391, the army marched out of Tashkend, and for three weeks the intrepid Tímûr led his troops over the arid and uninhabited wastes, to the north of the Caspian Sea. At length he reached an isolated hill called Ulugh Tauk, whence he viewed the vast plains of Kipchâk, stretching away as far as the eye could reach in every direction. He caused a lofty cairn to be erected at this spot, as a memorial to other times of his memorable expedition.

Hunting as he marched, Tímûr then crossed the river Yelanjok, in  $54^{\circ}$  north latitude, and his provisions at length began to fail him. His soldiers' rations were reduced to one bowl of broth a day; and great hunting parties were organised, encircling a vast space, and driving the game into the centre. Shaikh Dâûd, a chief who had been brought up from a child amidst these cheerless solitudes, was sent on in advance, with a small troop of horse, to reconnoitre the enemy, who had hitherto remained invisible. He succeeded in discovering their camp; and in May 1391 Tímûr's army crossed the river Jaik, in  $53^{\circ}$  north latitude, and found itself face to face with the vast hordes of the

Khân of Kipchák, which were greatly superior in numbers to the invaders. A brilliant series of cavalry engagements followed, which ended in the defeat and flight of Tokatmish, and the host of Kipchák was scattered far and wide over the plain. A small remnant escaped across the Volga.

The conqueror was enchanted with the verdure of the plains between the rivers Volga and Jaik; and was not a little astonished at finding that immediately the sun set, the dawn of day was clearly perceptible in the East. He passed the month of June in hunting along the banks of the Volga, and commenced his return march in July.

The plains were covered with his army. Great troops of cattle, sheep, and camels, were intermingled with the Jagatai cavalry and their prisoners, while the unwieldy portable pavilions of TĪmŭr and his amĭrs were dragged along by twenty-two oxen, eleven abreast. The ruts of these enormous waggons were twenty feet apart, and the axletrees were as large as a vessel's mast. The conqueror returned to Samarkand in the end of 1391;<sup>1</sup> and, in the following May, he again departed with a large army, to subdue the western parts of Persia, where the Muzháfars had revolted. This was known as the expedition of five years.

The first year was passed in reducing the forest-covered province of Mazanderán, along the southern shores of the Caspian; where an obscure town on the sea coast, near Amul, held out against his whole

<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile TĪmŭr's generals had crossed the river Irtish, and penetrated into the wilds of Siberia.

army. For the first and only time in his life, Tīmūr, the great commander of cavalry, was forced to have recourse to naval warfare. A brigade of boatmen with their boats, and a band of slingers of wild fire, were sent from the Oxus to the Caspian, where they embarked, and invested the little town by land. The garrison then surrendered, and, being followers of the accursed sect of Hásan Sabah,<sup>1</sup> a general massacre followed. The conquest of Mazanderân having been completed, Tīmūr wintered in the valley of the Gurgan.

The second year was occupied in the subjugation of western Persia. Passing through Fars and Hamadân, the invading army overran the province of Luristân, crossed the river Karûn at Ahwaz, and entered Dizful.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Mansûr Muzháfár, the ruler of Shírâz, prepared to resist the invader, and a decisive campaign ensued.

In his march from Dizful, Tīmūr followed in the footsteps of Alexander: making forced marches by Ram Hormazd and Zohra, to the foot of the almost impregnable heights of Kalah-safid, which he as-

<sup>1</sup> Assassins.

<sup>2</sup> While Tīmūr was in the province of Khuzistân, of which Dizful was then the capital, he repaired the famous dyke across the Karûn at Shuster, which had been constructed, many centuries before, by the Sassanian king Nurshírwân. It is made of hewn stone, cemented by lime, and fastened together by clamps of iron, and is twenty feet broad and one thousand two hundred long. In the centre there are two small arches, which allow part of the water to flow in the natural bed of the river, while the remainder is led off to irrigate the fields. The dyke was again repaired by Colonel Monteith, under the orders of Muhammad 'Aly Mírza, eldest son of the Sháh of Persia, in 1810.



saulted and captured, after a desperate resistance. Mansūr, the ruler of Fars, then engaged the mighty conqueror; but his Persians were defeated, and he himself was killed in single combat, by Shâh Rokh, the son of TĪmŭr.

The conqueror then entered the beautiful city of Shĭrâz, exterminated the race of Muzhâffars, and completely subjugated the southern provinces of Persia. TĪmŭr did not remain long at Shĭrâz; the divine poet Hâfizh, whose society he had enjoyed during a former visit, was dead; and the wrath of the sovereign was only appeased by the slaughter of the rebellious people. There was nothing, therefore, to induce him to prolong his stay; and in September 1393, his triumphant army was led against Ahmed, the Sultân of Baghdâd; who fled at his approach.<sup>1</sup> The Jagatai cavalry overtook the Sultân on the plain of Kerbela, near the Euphrates, and a skirmish with bows and arrows followed. The Sultân's followers again fled, rallied, and were again beaten off by the cavalry of TĪmŭr. A third time they rallied, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued, but Ahmed being by this time out of danger, his troops drew off. TĪmŭr's cavalry suffered the agonies of a raging thirst in their return across the Mesopotamian deserts, to Baghdâd.

Having rebuilt the mausoleum of the Imâm Hânbâl, which had been ruined by the inundations of the Tigris, TĪmŭr marched into Georgia, in 1394, and

<sup>1</sup> The cruelty and misgovernment of Ahmed led the people of Baghdâd to beseech TĪmŭr to succour them.—*De Guignes*, vol. ii. p. 288.

drove all who opposed him into the fastnesses of the mountains. He sent the different corps of his army in various directions, to reduce the people to submission, while he relaxed the toils of conquest by hunting and festivity. At this time the births of his two grandsons, Ulugh Bêg and Ibrahîm Sultân, were celebrated with great splendour on the plains of Kars. The throne of Tîmûr was raised in the midst of magnificent tents, with lovely damsels ranged around it. Musicians and singers were grouped behind, and the mîrzas, amîrs, nevyâns, and foreign lords from Irân and Tûrân, joined their voices in prayers for the prosperity of the mighty sovereign. The festivities lasted for eight days.

This short relaxation was interrupted by an irruption of the army of Tokatmish through the gates of Derbent, in the Caucasus. The Khân of Kipchâk had recovered from the chastisement inflicted on him during Tîmûr's memorable campaign, and had once more renewed hostilities.

The conqueror, therefore, again prepared for war, and reviewed his vast army, on a plain about twenty-seven miles south of Derbent, in a line extending from the Caucasus to the shores of the Caspian. He then led his forces over the pass near Mount Elburz, and again encountered the army of Tokatmish. The cavalry on both sides fought fiercely, and charged each other with desperate speed ; but victory again declared on the side of her favourite, Tokatmish fled into the wilds of Siberia, and Tîmûr, halting on the plains of Astrakhan, installed a son of Urus Khân, as the new Khân of Kipchâk.

Before returning to his own dominions, the mighty lord of Tūrân entered Muscovy, penetrated to the shores of the Dnieper, and, repassing the Caucasus, caused a great festival to be held on a plain in Georgia, to celebrate his victorious campaign. The sovereign was seated on a throne, in a splendid pavilion, the air was perfumed with rose water, and bottles of Georgian wine were uncorked, amidst songs and music.

The man, who had not many years before been a destitute wanderer in the deserts of Khuwârizm, had now arrived at the highest pitch of earthly glory. The chiefs on the western and northern shores of the Caspian submitted to his sway; his eldest surviving son Miran was governor of Azerbaijan; the wealthy city of Ormuz,<sup>1</sup> in the Persian Gulf, paid him tribute, and all the people of Central Asia acknowledged him as their sovereign. He returned to Samarkand in 1396, and occupied himself for some time in the arrangement of the internal affairs of his vast empire, and in erecting splendid edifices in the land of his birth. Superb mosques and palaces were built at Samarkand and Kesh, gardens were laid out full of fragrant flowers, marble was transported from Azer-

<sup>1</sup> Ormuz, which was for ages the great emporium of trade in the Persian Gulf, was originally founded by a colony of Arabs, and the city appears to have enjoyed centuries of peace and commercial prosperity. In 1290 the Mongols invaded Ormuz, and the inhabitants fled to a barren volcanic island, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, which was named Ormuz, in memory of the ancient city. The king of this new Ormuz considered it prudent to send tribute to Tīmūr.

baijan, and porcelain, to adorn the chambers, from the distant empire of China.

For a time the enjoyment of great power, and the opportunities to work much good, in establishing peace throughout his now enormous empire, had charms for Tímûr; but, after an interval of rest, the conqueror still found the lust of conquest strong upon him, and, from the heights of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr, he looked down, with longing eyes, on the fertile plains of India.

Having conceived the idea of conquering the rich empire of Hindustan, he asked counsel of his sons and nobles, but they all opposed it, except Shâh Rokh.<sup>1</sup> His resolution, however, had been already taken, and his grandson Pîr Muhammad crossed the Indus, and laid siege to Multan. Meanwhile Tímûr led his army across the Oxus, and commenced a new campaign, in 1398, by attacking the infidel mountaineers who inhabit the ravines of the Hindú Kúsh, that tremendous range of mountains, which was called by the Arabs, 'the stony girdle of the earth.'

It was in the month of March that Tímûr, with sixty-two thousand men, entered the defiles of that mighty range which rises in a bold and precipitous line, with sides bare, black, and polished, from the plains of Balkh and Kunduz. At that time of year, and until the end of June, the passes are clear of snow, but they are destitute of vegetation, and mural preci-

<sup>1</sup> 'My design for reducing Hindustan. First I asked counsel of my sons and my amîrs, and Shâh Rokh advised it, but the amîrs opposed, and I forgave them.'—*Institutes*.

pices rise up perpendicularly on each side of the road, to a height of two thousand or three thousand feet. The summits of the peaks are covered with eternal snow.

On the approach of the invaders the mountaineers retired into the deep ravines, where they were protected by snow drifts. No difficulties, however, could daunt the intrepid conqueror, or turn him from his purpose. True, the precipices which he must pass to reach the retreat of the infidels, were perpendicular, but the resources of Tīmūr's mind were inexhaustible, and he resolved upon a plan as audacious as it was novel. He ordered his army to be lowered down the rocky walls by ropes, from ledge to ledge. The sovereign himself was lowered down on a stage of planks, secured together by iron rings, and the operation was five times repeated. The whole party was now on foot, except Tīmūr himself, whose horse had also been lowered down ; and this put them on equal terms with the mountaineers, who were, however, so amazed at the unexpected appearance of the invaders, that they abandoned their stronghold, sued for mercy, and humbly submitted to the authority of the mighty 'lord of the grand conjunctions.'<sup>1</sup> Tīmūr then continued

<sup>1</sup> *Sāhib Kirān*, which was one of Tīmūr's titles, means, 'lord of the grand conjunctions.' The Easterns believe that in all the grand conjunctions of the planets there is a great revolution in the world. Thus Abraham, Moses, Zoroaster, Christ, and Muhammad, came into the world in a grand conjunction. Kayomurs, Solomon, Alexander, Jengiz, and Tīmūr, were each in their turn, *Sāhib Kirān*, or 'masters of the grand conjunctions,' and of all the great events during their respective reigns.—*D'Herbelot*.

his march to Kâbul, and prepared for the invasion of India.

Hindustan had been ruled by Muslim conquerors since the days of Mahmûd of Ghâzneh, and at this time Mahmûd, of the house of Toghluk, reigned at Delhi over a disorganised empire, consisting of a Muslim army, a Hindû population, and various Rajpût states, which were virtually independent.

Tîmûr crossed the Indus in 1398, and united his army with that of Pîr Muhammad, on the banks of the Sutlej. He then marched to Delhi, slaughtered a vast number of prisoners who hindered his progress, and encamped on the banks of the Jamna, in January 1399; where he found the Indian army, under king Mahmûd, drawn up in order of battle, with ten thousand horse, forty thousand foot, and a brigade of elephants.

Tîmûr, to use his own words, 'resolved to appear weak in the sight of the Sultân of Delhi,' and he surrounded his army with a ditch. This stratagem filled the Indians with presumptuous confidence, they marched into the plain, were charged furiously by the Jagatai cavalry, and utterly defeated. Delhi fell into the hands of the conquerors, and an accidental collision with the citizens led to a general massacre. The holy city of Muttra met with the same fate; and Tîmûr, satisfied with having become a *Ghazî*, or 'slayer of infidels,' determined to return to Samarkand. He marched by the sources of the Ganges, Kashmîr, and the Panjâb, and crossing the Indus by a bridge of boats, he made a triumphal progress through the defiles

of the Hindú Kúsh, to his capital, which he reached in April 1399.

'Spoils above measure' were brought from India by the conqueror, who commenced the erection of a grand mosque at Samarkand. Ninety captured elephants<sup>1</sup> conveyed the stones from the quarries. This splendid edifice, the monument of TĪmŭr's conquests, consisted of a vaulted roof, supported on four hundred and eighty pillars of hewn stone, with doors of brass, walls decorated with inscriptions in relief, and lofty minarets at the four corners. It is now a mere heap of ruins.

After a brief season of repose, the conqueror was again obliged to take the field, owing to the deplorable misgovernment of his eldest son, Miran Mirza, in Azerbaijan;<sup>2</sup> and having tranquillised that province, he prepared to invade the territory of the Ottoman Sultán Bayazid. The towns of Baghdád, Aleppo,<sup>3</sup> and Damascus were taken, and the Turk was utterly routed at Angora, on July 20, 1402.<sup>4</sup> These transactions are faithfully

<sup>1</sup> See *Clavijo*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> D'Herbelot has recorded an interview between TĪmŭr and some doctors of law, after the capture of Aleppo, during which the conqueror declared that he had never undertaken any war without deliberation. *Bið. Or.*, vol. ii. p. 517. Gibbon repeats a portion of this curious conversation, chap. lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> The story of the iron cage, in which Bayazid is said to have been confined, is not mentioned by any early historian of the life of TĪmŭr, except Ahmed ibn 'Arabshah. The fable afterwards appeared in a modern Ottoman chronicle, translated by Leunclavius.

D'Herbelot stated that it was not even mentioned by 'Arabshah, but Sir W. Jones has detected the error of the French orientalist,

recorded by the Spanish ambassador ;<sup>1</sup> who followed the conqueror on his return march to Samarkand. The events which followed the magnificent festivities and grand rejoicings, at which Clavijo was present, and which are also fully described by the Eastern historian, 'Aly of Yezd, concluded the career of this extraordinary man.

Clavijo gives an account of the insolent message of the Chinese envoys, which excited the wrath of the aged warrior, who resolved upon invading the Celestial Empire in the depth of winter. He marched out of Samarkand, on January 8, 1405,<sup>2</sup> in a heavy fall of snow ; and, crossing the Jaxartes upon the ice, he encamped at a place called Otrar. In February he was attacked by fever and ague, and he died on the 17th of that month, in the year 1405, aged sixty-nine, leaving thirty-six male descendants. Tîmûr's body was embalmed with musk and rose-water, wrapped in linen, laid in an ebony coffin, and sent to Samarkand, where it was buried.

According to 'Aly 'of Yezd, Tîmûr was tall and stout, but well shaped. His complexion was ruddy and fair ; he had a large flowing beard, broad shoulders, and was very strong. He could not bear a lie, but loved the naked truth. He was bold, courageous, feared, and respected.

and quotes the passage in his works.—Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. v. p. 547.

<sup>1</sup> See *Clavijo*, p. 73, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> He took with him several thousand loads of corn, intending to sow it along the line of march, as a supply for his troops on their return.—'Aly of Yezd.



This picture was drawn by a friendly hand ; he is described in very different colours by his enemy, Ahmed ibn 'Arabshah, who makes the Spirit of Winter address the dying conqueror thus :—

‘Stop thy rapid career, thou unjust tyrant! . How long dost thou mean to carry flames over an unhappy world? If thou art a spirit of hell, so am I. We are both old, and our occupation is the same, that of subjugating slaves. But proceed to extirpate mankind, and make the earth cold! yet thou wilt find at last that my blasts are colder. If thou canst boast of countless bands, who, faithful to thy orders, harass and destroy, know that my wintry days are, with God’s aid, destroyers also ;—and by the Almighty that liveth, I will abate thee nothing. Thou shalt be overwhelmed with my vengeance, and all thy fire shall not save thee from the cold death of the icy tempest.”<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly Tīmūr’s conquests were the cause of much suffering to the human race ; but, on the other hand, he certainly was not the remorseless tyrant he is represented by 'Arabshah, and his other enemies. His boundless ambition led him to contemplate the subjugation of the whole world, and he lost no opportunity of extending his power ; yet there is evidence that he had loftier aims than the mere gratification of his lust for conquest. He at least persuaded himself that in conquering Muhammadan countries, he de-

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm’s *History of Persia*. Goethe gives a poetical version of this speech (*Gedichte*, p. 394) ; and Sir W. Jones has translated it into Latin.

livered them from oppressive misrule, while religion prompted him to destroy the cities of infidel Hindús. He was idolized by his soldiers, and by his own family, and he was free from the more despicable vices of Eastern sovereigns ; but the most marked feature in his character was his untiring energy and activity. 'When I clothed myself in the robes of empire,' he says, in his *Institutes*, 'I shut my eyes to safety, and to the repose which is found on the bed of ease.'

The name of Tímûr is frequently coupled with that of Jengiz-Khân ; yet the latter was a rude uncultivated barbarian, while there is evidence that the former was versed in all the knowledge of his age and country. We know, from his *Memoirs*, that Tímûr was taught to read the Kurân ; he appears to have cultivated his own language, and he understood and admired the Persian odes of Hâfizh. His native language was the *Jagatai Turki*, which, at that time, prevailed from the Ulugh Tagh mountains to the Hindú Kúsh, and from the Caspian to the Kobi Desert. The period between the reign of Tímûr and that of Bâber, was the golden age of Turki literature, and the princes of the great conqueror's family wrote poetry in their own tongue, and gave liberal encouragement to its cultivation amongst their courtiers. 'Aly Shir Bêg, the Grand Wazîr to Husain Mîrza, composed a poem in the Turki language, and also wrote a complete prosody ; and the other amîrs, at the courts of the Timûride princes, while they studied the literature of Persia, did not neglect

the poetry of their native Turki. Tîmûr seems to have given the first impulse to these intellectual pursuits amongst his countrymen; and, though he owes his fame chiefly to his conquests, it would be unfair to forget his liberal encouragement of learned men, his love of the game of chess, and his claims to literary merit, in the composition of his *Memoirs* and *Institutes*. He has no right to the title of a reformer or of a benefactor to the human race; but neither was he a coarse and ruthless destroyer of his fellow-creatures, like Jengîz, and so many other Asiatic conquerors. He lived in an age and amongst a people to whom mercy and toleration were unknown. The realization of his own ideal of a perfect sovereign would have been impossible; yet he has some claim to the admiration of posterity, and, with Gibbon, we may excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader of the *Institutes* for their great author.<sup>1</sup>

Tîmûr was succeeded by his grandson Khalîl Sultân, who soon squandered away all his vast treasures at Samarkand in gratifying the wishes of a lovely girl, named Shâhdu-'l-Mulk, 'the Delight of the Country.'

The old Mongol generals were scandalised, and sending their new emperor a prisoner to Kashgar, they led his beloved in chains through Samarkand. Khalîl Sultân passed his captivity in writing love songs.

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, thus sums up the character of Tîmûr:—'Though one of the greatest of warriors, he was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave, and generous; but ambitious, cruel, and oppressive.'

Sháh Rokh, the youngest son of Tímûr, was then called to the head of affairs, A.D. 1408. He generously liberated Khalîl Sultân, restored his love to his arms, and gave him the government of Khurâsân. The lovers were buried in one grave in 1409, Shahdu-'l-Mulk having stabbed herself on her husband's death.

Sháh Rokh received his name from his father having heard the news of his birth while playing at chess, and when he had just checked his adversary's king with his castle; a move which, in Persia, is called *Sháh Rokh*.

This prince was brave, generous, and learned. He repressed the incursions of the Turkish tribe of Khân Koyunlû, 'Black Sheep,' in Azerbaijan; and restored many of the cities which his father had ruined, especially Herat, which he fixed upon as his capital.

Herat, the ancient Aria of the Greeks, about 279 miles east of Másh-had, the present capital of Khurâsân, is situated in a spacious plain, 30 miles long and 15 broad, and on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains. The plain is watered by the river Herirud, and is covered with villages and highly cultivated fields and gardens. The city covers an area of one square mile, surrounded by a lofty wall and wet ditch. On each side there is a gate whence spacious bazars lead towards the centre of the city. The principal one, from the south, is covered with a vaulted roof. Herat is well supplied with water; and besides the public fountains on either side of the bazars, nearly every private house has also a jet of water in its court yard.

The citadel, a castle of burnt brick with towers at

the angles, was rebuilt by Shâh Rokh in the northern face of the city wall.

Shâh Rokh spent great sums in restoring and beautifying Herat. His court was magnificent, and men of science and learning were encouraged to frequent it. In 1419 he sent an embassy to the Emperor of China, with letters written by himself, which are still extant. The envoys returned to Herat in 1422.<sup>1</sup> Shâh Rokh also sent one of his followers, named 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak, on an embassy to India: and the adventurous envoy wrote a most entertaining account of his voyage.<sup>2</sup>

'Abdu-'r-Rizzak set out from Herat in 1442, and travelled across the desert of Kîrmân to the famous port of Ormuz; which he describes as a place which has not its equal on the surface of the globe:—

'The merchants of Syria, Egypt, Rûm, Fars, Khurâsân,

<sup>1</sup> See *Asiatic Miscellanies*, vol. i., Calcutta, 1785, for a translation of Shâh Rokh's letters to the Emperor of China, and an account of the embassy.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak was born at Herat in 1413, where his father was Kâdhi. His terror at the sea, and his sea sickness, are described most graphically in his Journal:—

'As soon as I caught the swell of the vessel, and all the terrors of the sea presented themselves to me, I fell into so deep a swoon that for three days respiration alone indicated that life remained within me.' On his return voyage, 'it blew so hard that the captain, although familiarized with the navigation of all the seas, shed bitter tears, and forgot all his science. The sails were torn, and the mast was entirely bent by the shock of the wind. With tears in my eyes, I gave myself up for lost. At the sight of the agitated sea, overset by the tempestuous winds, I drew from my breast an icy sigh, which tore my very soul.' The narrative of 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak was translated by M. Quatremère, and an English version, ably edited by Mr. Major, is included in one of the volumes of the Hakluyt Society.—*India in the Fifteenth Century*.

'Irāk, and Ma-warâ-n'-Nâhr, as well as the inhabitants of Java, Bengal, Socotra, Tenasserim, Malabar, Gujrât, and Arabia, all make their way to this port. They bring hither those rare and precious articles which the sun and the moon and the rains have combined to bring to perfection.'

From Ormuz he sailed to Calicut, on the Malabar coast; and thence he proceeded to the court of the great Brahmânical Râjâh of Bijânagar, in the Dekkan. In April 1444, he returned to Ormuz, and died at Herat in 1482.

On the death of Shâh Rokh in 1446, he was succeeded by his son Ulugh Bêg, an amiable prince who was devoted to learned and peaceful studies. Under his auspices the well-known astronomical tables, which are still called by his name, were composed, by the two most learned astronomers of the age. The work which contains them was written at Samarkand, and published under the title of *Zij Ulugh Bêg*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Tables of Ulugh Bêg were first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by the great orientalist and mathematician, John Greaves, Savilian Professor at Oxford, 1642-48. See 'Life of Greaves, and Miscellaneous Works,' 2 vols. 8vo., 1737 (London). Dr. Thomas Hyde also translated and published the whole catalogue in 1665, with an account of the life of Ulugh Bêg:—'Tabulæ long. ac lat. Stellarum fixarum ex observatione Ulugh Beighi, Tamerlanis magni nepotis,' &c., 1 vol. 4to., Oxon., 1665. The work was reprinted, with corrections, by Sharpe, in 1767. M. Sedillot translated the Tables of Ulugh Bêg, with the preliminary discourse. In 1843 was printed in vol. xiii. of the 'Memoirs of the Astronomical Society: 'The Catalogues of Ptolemy, Ulugh Beigh, Tycho Brahe, Halley and Helvetius,' with a preface to each catalogue by Francis Baily. The Ulugh Bêg Tables here given are reprinted from Sharpe's edition of Hyde; which is from a collation of three Persian MSS. at

Ulugh Bêg was wickedly put to death by his own rebellious son, 'Abdu-'l-Latif, who was deservedly killed six months afterwards by his own soldiery.

A crowd of the descendants of the great Tímûr then disputed and fought for the provinces of his vast empire. Bâber, a nephew of Ulugh Bêg (not the great Bâber), seized on Khurâsân, but soon drank himself to death, though he had taken the pledge at the shrine of Imâm Rázha at Másh-had. After a period of strife, Abu-Sa'id, grandson of Miran Shâh, the son of Tímûr, assisted by the Uzbêg tribes of Tatory, then seized upon Bukhâra, A.D. 1450.

In 1456 he entered Khurâsân, and made war upon the powerful Turkish tribe of Kara Koyunlû, 'Black Sheep,' which had overrun Persia; but in 1468 he was taken prisoner and killed by Uzun Hâsan, a chief of the Ak Koyunlû, 'White Sheep,' another powerful Turkish tribe.

Out of Abu-Sa'id's eleven sons, Sultân Ahmed became king of Bukhâra, and was succeeded by his brother Nasûd, who died in 1499; and 'Omar Shaikh became ruler of the small principality of Fargânah, some distance east of Bukhâra, in A.D. 1492. He broke his neck by a fall from the top of a pigeon-house, and was succeeded by his son, Bâber the Great.

But the powerful tribes of Uzbêgs were now encroaching fast upon the dominions of the house of

Oxford. See also *Asiatic Miscellanies*, vol. i., p. 51. Kinneir often quotes the Tables of Ulugh Bêg, in determining the latitude of places in Persia.

Tīmûr; and, after a brave resistance, Bâber was driven out of Bukhâra and Andekân, and forced to take refuge in Kâbul.

Here he collected an army of faithful followers; and, crossing the Indus, founded the famous dynasty of the Great Moguls in India.

One more prince of the house of Tīmûr, Sultân Husain Mîrza, continued to reign at Herat.<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1487–1506.) He was a strong man, with a grey beard and straight narrow eyes. He usually wore gay coloured red and green woollen clothes, a cap of black lamb-skin, and a broad showy turban tied round it. He was lively and pleasant, but his temper was rather hasty; and during nearly twenty years that he was king of Khurâsân, not a day passed in which he did not drink wine after mid-day prayer. He was a brave and valiant man, often engaging sword in hand, and no person of the race of Tīmûr equalled him in the use of the scimitar.

Although a prince of great dignity, Husain Mîrza was as fond as a child of keeping butting rams, and of amusing himself with cock fighting and flying pigeons. The Muslim princes of Central Asia were often fond of training pigeons, which were taught to take circular flights, to tumble in the air, and to attack each other when on the wing.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following account of Sultân Husain Mîrza and his court, is taken from the *Memoirs* of his cousin Bâber, who visited Herat soon after his death.—Translated by Leyden and Erskine, 1826.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Akbar, in India (1556–1605), was very fond of training pigeons. 'The pigeon-houses of 'Omar Shaikh Mîrza and Sultân Husain Mîrza, are now forgotten, such improvements have



Husain Mírza had fourteen sons and eleven daughters. His first wife, Begah Sultán Begum of Merv, was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted him beyond endurance, till at length he divorced her. 'What could he do?' exclaims Báber—

A bad wife in a good man's house,  
Even in this world, makes hell on earth.

'May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Muslim; and God grant that such a thing as an ill-tempered, cross-grained wife, be not left in the world!'

Sultán Husain Mírza was a patron of learned men, and the amírs of his court were as famous for their literary attainments as for deeds of arms. 'Aly Shir Bég,<sup>1</sup> the Mírza's friend and school-fellow, cultivated poetry in the Turki language, and also wrote a complete letter writer, and a prosody. The Seyyid Bedr was an excellent dancer, and his sovereign's boon companion in his drinking bouts. Bedru-'d-Dîn was a great jumper, and could leap over seven horses abreast. Hásan 'Aly Jalair was incessantly playing at draughts. Khawájah 'Abdallah was an exquisite musician. The Seyyid Ugh-

been made in the art of training pigeons. They are taught to take flights and tumble in the air; and before they receive their grain, each pigeon performs 15 circular flights and 70 tumbles. On a journey they fly the whole way, and there are never less than 20,000 pigeons with the court.'—*Ayn-Akbary*, vol. i. p. 313.

<sup>1</sup> 'Aly Shir Bég was of an illustrious family of the Jagatai Turki tribe. He was educated in the same school as Sultán Husain Mírza, which event led to a life-long attachment between them. 'Aly Shir became Grand Wazír at Herat, afterwards was Governor of Astrabad, and then retired into private life, devoting his leisure to science and literature. He died in 1500.

lâkchy understood astronomy and the use of the astro-labe; and of Muhammad Seyyid Urûs it was said, that his bow was strong, his arrow long, its range far, and its aim sure.

The immortal poets, Jâmi and Hatifi, also frequented the splendid court of Husain Mîrza, at Herat; and Abdu-'l-Ghâfar of Lar, the friend of Jâmi, wrote the poet's life.<sup>1</sup> Another versifier was Mîrza Murtag, who was so madly fond of the game of chess, that when he met two persons who understood the game, while he played with one, he used to hold the skirts of the other's clothes, to prevent his going away. There were also great numbers of painters and musicians.

But the greatest ornaments of the court of Herat were the two historians, father and son, Mîrkhund and Khundemîr. Mîrkhund,<sup>2</sup> after a youth of pleasure,

<sup>1</sup> Jâmi was born at Jam, near Herat, A.H. 817, and died A.H. 898. His chief works were the *Silsilah Uzzahib*, a poem, in three books; *Sikândar Nâmah*, an epic on the deeds of Alexander the Great; the *Dîwân i-Jâmi*, a collection of poems; and *Yûsuf wa Zuleikha*.

Hatifi was to have written a poem in praise of the victory of Ismâil Shâh over the Uzbêgs, but he died prematurely in A.H. 900. He was a nephew of Jâmi.

<sup>2</sup> Mîrkhund says in his Preface:—

'In the spring of life, as well as the period of matured age, which comprehend the most delightful season of existence, and the most delicious hours of life, my aspiring mind, and soul, ambitious of attaining enlarged views, became passionately attached to the perusal of historical records, which alone supply the means of fully understanding the various customs which prevail among the various races of mankind.'

After many years of disappointment, from want of patronage, he was at length befriended by 'Aly Shir Bêg, to whom he devoted two pages of compliment, in return. 'Aly Shir gave him apartments in the Khânkâh Akhlâsta, a building which he had erected to serve as a retreat and asylum for meritorious persons, and assisted him in collecting materials.

devoted himself to history. He wrote a general History of Persia from the Creation to 1471 A.D., and died in 1498. His son Khundemīr wrote an abridgment of his father's History, and also a History of the Mongols and Tatars in 1508 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Khundemīr came to Bāber's court in 1528, soon after the invasion of India, and remained with that illustrious prince until his death. The great historian died in the camp of Bāber's son, Humāyūn, during the expedition to Gujrāt, in 1534.

Sultān Husain Mīrza died in April 1506; and the same year Shaibāny Khān, with his conquering Uzbēgs, took Khuwārizm. It had been stoutly defended by an amīr named Husain Sūfy, who fell in the assault. 'The blessing of God,' says Bāber, 'rest on Husain Sūfy, who never hesitated for a moment, in the midst of danger and distress, gallantly to expose his life at the call of duty.'

Sultān Husain Mīrza was buried in a magnificent mosque at Musella, in the environs of Herat, which he had erected himself; and which is still the most imposing and elegant structure in that part of Asia. The memory of those two excellent princes, Shāh Rokh

Mīrkhund was born in 1432, and died in 1498. He suffered from an exhausting illness, and wrote his History lying on his right side, and in great pain. The title of his work is the *Rauzat-us-Safā*. The abridgment by his son Khundemīr is called *Khulāsatu-'l-Akhbar*.

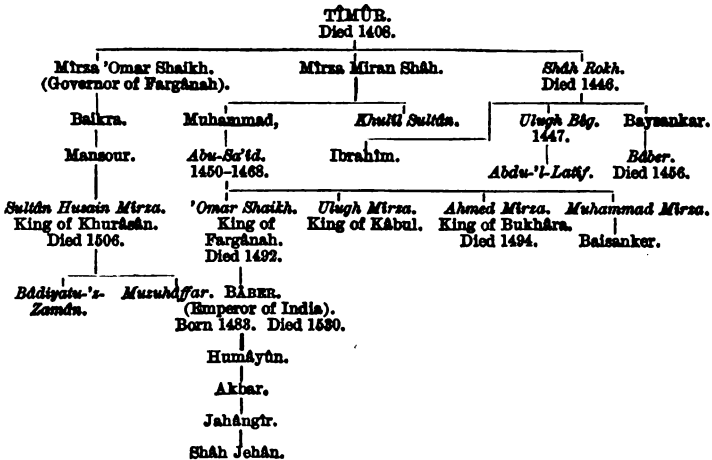
<sup>1</sup> Texeira, a Portuguese traveller, published a translated abstract of Mīrkhund's work; and there is an English translation of *Texeira* by Stephens. D'Herbelot seems to confound Mīrkhund and Khundemīr.

and Husain Mírza is still revered, and their names are never mentioned but with respect and veneration.

Husain Mírza was succeeded by his two sons, Bâdiyatu-'z-Zamân and Muzhâffar Husain, who were to reign jointly. The two young kings, though highly accomplished at the social board, possessed no knowledge whatever of warlike operations. They stood no chance against Shaibâny Khân and his terrible Uzbêgs, who invaded Khurâsân in 1507, and occupied Herat. Muzhâffar was slain, and Bâdiyatu-'z-Zamân took refuge with the Shâh of Persia, who allowed him to live at Tabriz. When Sultân Salim captured that city, he was sent to Constantinople, where he died. From that time the family of Timûr ceased to reign in Central Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Before taking leave of the great Mongolian families, which reigned in Persia, it is proper that some account

<sup>1</sup> Family of Timûr. The reigning princes are in italics.



should be given of the famous historian and genealogist of the race of Jengîz-Khân.

Abu-'l-Ghâzy Khân, the lineal descendant of Shai-bâny, grandson of Jengîz-Khân, was the son of Arap Muhammad, the ruler of Khiva. Owing to civil wars between his brothers, he fled into Persia in 1633, and was detained in a sort of honourable captivity by the Shâh, for ten years. At length he effected his escape from Isfahân, and journeying in disguise through Khurâsân, he reached Khiva, and was proclaimed Khân in 1643. In 1655 he invaded Bukhâra; but always proved a true and faithful ally to Persia, and was of great service in keeping the lawless Turkmans and the turbulent amîr of Bukhâra, 'Abdu-'l-Azîz Khân, in constant check. Abu-'l-Ghâzy passed all his leisure time in the diligent study of the genealogy of all the Mongol and Tatar tribes, and in collecting materials for their history. He died in 1663, and was succeeded by his son, Anusha Khân.

The labours of Abu-'l-Ghâzy resulted in the production of a work in the Mongol language, called the *Shajari Turki*, in ten parts. The first nine give an account of the ancestry and deeds of Jengîz-Khân, and the last treats of his own reigning dynasty in Khiva. The work came to the knowledge of Europeans in a very remarkable way. A Swedish officer, named Strahlenburg, had been taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent to Tobolsk, where he remained for thirteen years. A merchant chanced to arrive there with a manuscript of Abu-'l-Ghâzy's work, which was bought by Strahlenburg; and, on his release, he brought it with

him to Europe. It has since been translated into German, French, and English.<sup>1</sup>

On the expulsion of Tímûr's family from Persia, the Kurdish dynasties of Kara Koyunlû, 'Black Sheep,' and Ak Koyunlû, 'White Sheep,' reigned there for a short period.

The former had been established in Azerbaijan, by Kara Yûsuf, as early as 1410. His son, Amîr Iskândar, waged war with Shâh Rokh; and, on his death, his brother Jehân Shâh, in 1437, not only overran 'Irâk, Fars and Kirmân, but in 1457 besieged and pillaged the city of Herat.

In 1468, however, the dynasty of the Black Sheep was put an end to by Uzun Hâsan, the chief of the tribe of White Sheep, then only ruler of Diabekr. He defeated and killed Jehân Shâh, and also overthrew Abu-Sa'id, the prince of the house of Tímûr, as has been before mentioned, A.D. 1468.

Uzun Hâsan thus became sovereign of Persia. He engaged in one war with Muhammad II., the Ottoman Sultân, but received such a lesson that he never could be induced to provoke hostility from that quarter a second time. He, however, reigned until his death in 1477.<sup>2</sup> His grandson, Alâmut, son of Yâkûb, the last of the White Sheep, was dethroned by Shâh Ism'ail

<sup>1</sup> See Strahlenburg's *Siberia*, pp. 127-41. Abu-'l-Ghâzy's work was published in French, at Leyden, in 1726; and in English, in 1780, in 2 vols. octavo. Gibbon constantly quotes it.

<sup>2</sup> Caterino Zeno was sent as an ambassador from Venice, to Uzun Hâsan, ruler of Persia, in 1471. His travels were published immediately on his return home; but the edition is so rare that even Ramusio, who gives an account of them in his collections, could

Súfy, the famous founder of the Sufâwi dynasty, and restorer of the long lost nationality of Persia.

Uzun Hásan married a daughter of Calo Johannes, emperor of Trebizond, of the Imperial house of the Comneni, and his daughter Martha became the mother of Shâh Ismâil Súfy.

For a period of 850 years, Persia had been under the domination of Tûrân, had groaned under the yoke of Arab, Turkish, and Mongol conquerors; yet during that long succession of centuries of misrule and anarchy, the Persian mind had not only lost none of its ancient vigour, but had displayed its energy in unprecedented strength. The poetic philosophy of the Súfis had flourished and developed itself.

'The *Mesnavi* of Jelâlu-'d-Dîn,' says Malcolm, 'which teaches in the sweetest strains that all nature abounds with Divine love; the works of the celebrated Jâmi, which breathe in every line the most ecstatic rapture; the book of moral lessons of the eloquent Sa'ady; and the lyric and mystic odes of Hâfizh may be termed the scriptures of the Súfis of Persia.'

In astronomy, physic, and medicine, the names of never get sight of a copy. There is a copy in the Grenville Library (British Museum), of the date 1558, printed at Venice, with a map. Another edition was printed at Venice in 1783, and another in 1808. Murray mentions Zeno in vol. iii. (*Asia*), pp. 6-9. Barbaro and Contarini also went on embassies to Persia. Barbaro, Contarini, and Caterino Zeno, are included in the collection of Ramusio. The travels of Barbaro and Contarini, edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley, and those of Caterino Zeno, and others, edited by Mr. Charles Grey of the India Office, compose the last volume issued by the Hakluyt Society. They give very full and valuable information respecting Persia in the days of Uzun Hásan and Shâh Ismâil Súfy.

Avicenna and many other learned Persians are well known; and Firdausy (Ferdosi), Fadhl-Allâh, Sherifu-'d-Dîn 'Aly, Mirkhund, and Khundemîr, have given Persian literature a claim to rank high both in poetry and history.

Thus when, under the Sufâwi dynasty, the Persians became once more an independent and powerful nation, they found a very rich and beautiful literature to inspire them with noble feelings and to increase their civilization.

But the long domination of Tûrân had also created a very important change for the worse, in altering the nature of the population of Persia, by constant inundations of strange tribes; and the people over whom the Sufâwi dynasty ruled were very different from the ancient Persians of Sassanian and earlier times. This change will be more particularly described in the chapter on the Sufâwi dynasty.



## CHAPTER IX.

## THE LIFE OF BÂBER.

BÂBER, the founder of the empire of the great Moguls in India, though he never ruled over any part of Persia, was intimately connected with that country in many ways; and no historical account of the land which was conquered by Tîmûr, and lost by Abu-Sa'id, would be complete without a biographical sketch of their illustrious descendant.

Bâber visited Herat; he was the close ally of Ismâil, the Shâh of Persia; the intimate friend of the Persian historian, Khundemîr; the enthusiastic admirer of the poet Jâmi; and, above all, the *Memoirs* of Bâber give a clearer insight into the every-day life of the Asiatic princes of that period, than any other writings now extant.

'Omar Shaikh, Bâber's father, had received the government of the kingdom of Fargânah from his father, Abu-Sa'id, the great-grandson of Tîmûr, and ruler of all Persia, Transoxiana, and Kâbul. Abu-Sa'id was killed in 1468 (in what Bâber always calls 'the disaster of 'Irâk'), and, of his other sons, Ahmed became king of Bukhâra, Mahmûd of Kunduz, and Ulugh of Kâbul. Their cousin, the renowned Sultân

Husain Mîrza, was king of Khurâsân, with his capital at Herat.

'Omar Shaikh was the fourth son of Abu-Sa'îd, and was born in the year 1456. He is described as having been of low stature, very corpulent, with a short bushy beard. He wore his tunic very tight, insomuch that, as he was wont to contract his belly when he tied the strings, when he let himself out again, the strings often burst. He never neglected his prayers, and devoted much of his time to reading the Kurân and the *Shâh Nâme*. He was of an excellent temper, affable, eloquent, and generous; yet brave withal and manly, and he had such uncommon force in his fists that he never hit a man whom he did not knock down. Twice every week he indulged in a drinking party, on which occasions he was a pleasant companion, and in the course of conversation used often to cite appropriate verses from the poets. He played a great deal at backgammon, and also at games of chance with dice, and was much addicted to the use of *ma'ajâns*, or intoxicating sweetmeats.

'Omar Shaikh's favourite wife was named Kutlak Nigar Khanum. She was descended from the mighty Jengîz-Khan, and was the mother of the illustrious Bâber.

The king of Fargânah's chief amîrs or nobles were Khawâjah Husain Bêg, who was a good-humoured man, excelling at songs in drinking parties; and Hâsan Yâkûb Bêg, who was clever and active, an excellent archer, and very famous for his skill in playing at leap-frog.

Fargânah is a country of small extent, but abounding in grain and fruits. It is bounded on the east by Kashgar, on the west by Samarkand, on the south by the lofty range of mountains separating it from Badakshân, and on the north by the desert. The river Syr or Jaxartes flows through it, and receives several tributaries. There were seven districts on the south, and two on the north of the river.

Those on the south were Andekân, Ush, Marghinân, Khojend, and Asferah.

*Andekân*, the capital of Fargânah, was built on a small stream, tributary to the Jaxartes. The district yields a plentiful supply of excellent grapes and melons, it abounds in game, and the inhabitants are remarkable for their beauty.

*Ush*, about sixteen miles to the south-east of Andekân, is built on the same stream. The district has an abundant supply of water, and the air is very salubrious. On both banks of the stream there are gardens where roses and violets grow in great profusion; and near the banks, outside the town, there was a pleasant meadow of clover, where travellers loved to rest. It was a standing joke of the common people of Ush, in Bâber's time, to carry across the stream all such as fall asleep there. In all Fargânah, for healthiness and beauty of situation, there is no place that equals Ush.

*Marghinân* is twenty-eight miles west of Andekân. It is a fine district, noted for its apricots and pomegranates, and the game and venison are also excellent;

but the people are noisy and turbulent, and notorious for their blustering.

*Khojend*, about 100 miles west of Andekân, and about the same distance east of Samarkand, is a very ancient city. The citadel is situated on an eminence overlooking the Jaxartes. Khojend is a good sporting country; the deer, the mountain goat, and the fowl of the desert are plentiful, but the air is extremely bad.

*Asferah* is situated at the foot of a range of mountains, and possesses numerous streams and beautiful gardens abounding in almond trees. It is 36 miles south-west of Marghinân.

On the north of the Jaxartes are the districts of Akhsi and Kasan.

*Akhsi* is 36 miles west of Andekân. The river Jaxartes flows under the walls of the castle, which is situated on a high precipice. The melons, in the district, are excellent, and there is plenty of game.

*Kasan* is to the north of Akhsi. The air is salubrious, and the gardens in the district are very beautiful.

All around the country of Fargânah there are excellent *yailaks*, or summer stations in the mountains.

Such was the country over which Bâber was called to govern, when only in his twelfth year. On June 9, 1494, as his father, 'Omar Shaikh, was sitting on the top of his pigeon-house, in the fortress of Akhsi, the building gave way, and, being precipitated from the summit, with his pigeons, 'he took his flight to the other world.'

Zahîru-'d-Dîn<sup>1</sup> Muhammad, surnamed *Bâber*, or 'The Tiger,' was born on February 14, 1483. On the death of his father he succeeded to his small kingdom, in troublous times, and when surrounded by enemies; but from the first he displayed extraordinary talent and determination.

Taking advantage of his youth, his paternal uncle, Ahmed, invaded Fargânah from the side of Samarkand, while his maternal uncle, Mahmûd, a Mongol prince who ruled at Tashkend and Shâhrokhia, advanced, with the same purpose, from the north. The invaders, however, retreated, and Ahmed died soon afterwards, in July 1494. This prince was a tall man, with extremely pleasant manners, and excelled in archery; but latterly he became very fat, would drink without intermission for thirty or forty days at a stretch, and on the days he did not drink, he ate pungent substances.

His brother Mahmûd succeeded him in Bukhâra, but died the following year, when his son Baisanghar became king of Bukhâra; while one of his chief amîrs, Khusru, assumed independent sovereignty in Kunduz, after having murdered two of the sons of his benefactor. 'He was a vile traitor,' says Bâber, 'and had not the spirit to face a barn-door fowl.'

Baisanghar Mîrza, the new king of Bukhâra, was an elegant and accomplished young prince; but, like most of his kindred, he was addicted to excessive drinking. He occasionally wrote verses, and the

<sup>1</sup> 'Defender of the Faith.'

following lines, which were composed by him, testify to his jovial propensities :

Like an unsubstantial shadow, I fall here and there,  
And if not supported by a wall, drop flat on the ground.

For a few years after the retreat of his uncles, Bâber continued to enjoy peace in his paternal dominions; and to complete his education at Andekân, under the tutelage of his beloved old master, the learned Khawâjah Moulâna Khâzy. The family of Tîmûr were of the Turkish race, and spoke a language called the *Jagatai Turki*, which, at that time, prevailed from the Ulugh-Tagh mountains to the Hindû Kûsh, and from the Caspian to the Kobi Desert. The period between the death of Tîmûr and that of Bâber was the golden age of Turki literature. Bâber wrote verses in his native language, and was also well acquainted with the poets of Persia; he was an acute and sometimes a severe critic of the productions of others; was well skilled in all the rules of prosody; and emulated his kinsman Ulugh Bêg, in the study of astronomy and mathematics. Bâber was strict in his religious duties as a young man, and was versed in all the orthodox Sûnnah traditions of the sage Hanifah.

But, while he diligently pursued his studies, the future emperor of India did not neglect the more necessary qualifications of a warrior. Few men excelled him in the use of the spear, the scimitar, or the bow and arrow; and he loved the fine sport of hunting and hawking over the lovely plains of Fargânah.

Bâber's ambition was great, his genius and energy

were nearly equal to it, and he could not long remain content with his rich little kingdom. In 1497 he collected a small army, and advanced towards Samarkand. His cousin Baisanghar fled at his approach, and took refuge with Khusru, his father's former friend; who, betrayed by the ambition of usurping sovereign power in Kunduz, murdered this accomplished prince, and excited the fierce indignation of the generous Bâber.

The young king of Fargânah took possession of Samarkand, the capital of his mighty ancestor, Tîmûr, in November 1497. He examined with delight the Great Mosque with its 480 pillars, the pleasant gardens by the river Kohik, the observatory of Ulugh Bêg, the paper manufactories, the bazars, the country palaces with their minarets and walls overlaid with porcelain from China, and the avenues of plane trees.

But all at once treason and rebellion in his own dominions roused him from his pleasant occupation. A Mongol lord, named Ahmed Tumbul, rose in rebellion, many of Bâber's troops deserted, and the traitors besieged Andekân, which was bravely defended by Khawâjah Moulâna Khâzy, the beloved tutor of the young king. The rebels, on entering Andekân, hung the good old man over the gate of the town.

Bâber hastily abandoned Samarkand, and advanced as far as Khojend, but most of his troops deserted him, and he was left with only a few personal attendants. 'In this forlorn and destitute plight,' he says, 'I wept very much.' The poor boy was only in his fourteenth year, yet his heart did not fail him; and by the year

1499 he had collected another army, retaken Andekân and Ush, and forced Tumbul to retreat in great dismay.

In June 1550 Bâber took Samarkand ; but now his formidable and eventually successful foes, the armies of Uzbêgs, appeared on the field, led on by the renowned Shaibâny Khân. This chief had already occupied Bukhâra, and threatened Samarkand ; where Bâber remained with his mother and sisters.

The Uzbêgs inhabiting the deserts north of the Jaxartes had received their name from a chieftain of the house of Jengîz-Khân ; but they were the descendants of those Mongolian warriors who had followed the mighty conqueror to so many victories. Shaibâny Khân, who was also of the family of Jengîz, was a leader of considerable ability, and he now led the wild tribes of the desert to the conquest of the rich districts watered by the Jaxartes, the Kohik, and the Oxus.

In April 1501 Bâber advanced with his army to oppose the Uzbêgs. The two forces remained in sight of each other for several days ; but at length the young king became eager to fight on a certain day when the Pleiades would be exactly between the two armies. He afterwards said, that 'this observance was all nonsense, and my precipitation was without all solid excuse.' After a well fought battle, he was defeated, and escaped by swimming across the river Kohik with the remainder of his forces ; while the Mongols stripped and murdered all the wounded. These acts of barbarous cruelty excited a fierce feeling of enmity against his



enemies in the breast of the king of Fargânah, who was of Turkish race. He exclaimed :

Take care not to pluck one ear of corn from a Mongol's harvest—  
The Mongol seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is execrable.

Bâber retreated to Samarkand, where he was besieged by Shaibâny with a vast army of Uzbêgs, and the people were soon reduced to great distress. When all hope was gone, he escaped with his mother and a few followers, but one of his sisters fell into the hands of the conqueror. Nothing is more remarkable in the character of Bâber than the buoyant spirit with which he bore misfortune. In the midst of the greatest difficulties and dangers, and when his affairs seemed quite desperate, he never lost heart. His light-hearted cheerfulness never forsook him. No sooner was he out of sight of the fallen city, than he challenged one of his nobles, named Kambar 'Aly, to ride a race with him. The king's horse got the lead, and, turning to see how far his antagonist was behind, his saddle slipped round, and he came right on his head. He did not recover his senses the whole of that eventful day, and all that passed before him was like a dream and a phantasy.

The little party had been long without any food, and at length they were obliged to kill a horse, and dress slices of its flesh. A few more long marches, however, brought them to the friendly village of Dizak, half dead with hunger. Here they found nice fat flesh, bread well baked, sweet melons, excellent grapes ; and Bâber exclaimed that in his whole life he never enjoyed himself so much.

His affairs were now almost desperate, and he fled to his mother's relation at Tashkend, where he meditated a final retreat to China. Shaibany occupied Samarkand, Tumbul was in rebellion in Fargânah, and the exiled prince was deserted by many of those whom he had raised from the dust.

After a few unsuccessful attempts to regain Fargânah, and after many wonderful adventures and hair-breadth escapes, he proceeded with a few followers to cross the hills of Asferah, and seek his fortune either in Kunduz or in Kâbul. On June 14, 1504, his beard first required a razor.

On reaching Kunduz, he found Khusru still ruling there, but nearly all his followers deserted to Bâber, and that false traitor was obliged to throw himself on the young prince's mercy. Bâber generously allowed him to retire to Khurâsân, with three strings of mules, laden with his treasure.<sup>1</sup>

At this time Kâbul was in a state of anarchy and disorder. Bâber's uncle, Ulugh Mirza, had died in 1501, and though his son 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak nominally succeeded, the government was really in the hands of turbulent chieftains.

The dethroned king of Fargânah, as he had lost his own dominions, boldly resolved to assume the

<sup>1</sup> Dow, in his translation of *Ferishta*, says that 'Khusru received Bâber very hospitably; but he made a very bad return, forcing him to fly, leaving his treasure in the hands of Bâber,' vol. ii. p. 88. But 'Chosro' was a traitor and a foul murderer, and Bâber really acted with the greatest leniency. He allowed him to take away all his treasure.

This is an interpolation of Colonel Dow's. There is nothing of the kind in Briggs's *Ferishta*. See vol. ii. pp. 23-4.

sovereignty of Kâbul and Ghâznah. He crossed the snow-capped Hindú Kúsh by the pass of Gûr, where the dark frowning precipices rise up like walls on either side. Besides his two brothers Jehânghir and Nasir, and his own faithful followers, he was accompanied by most of Khusru's people, who, directly they descended into the plains, began plundering the villagers; but Bâber put a stop to their atrocities by a few very severe examples.

It was from the snowy pass of the Hindú Kúsh that the northern prince first gazed with rapture on the lovely star Canopus, which seemed to welcome him to the gorgeous south—and to his future empire.

In 1504 Kâbul capitulated, with all the adjacent country, and Bâber once more found himself in possession of a rich kingdom. His brother, Jehânghir, was made governor of Kâbul. The city of Kâbul had been enlarged and beautified by Bâber's uncle, and was at this time a large and populous place. It is about 6,500 feet above the level of the sea, and surrounded on three sides by hills, but the plain is open towards the east. The citadel of Bala Hissâr rises up on a hill on the north side of the town, which is chiefly on the south bank of the river of the same name. The plain of Kâbul is very beautiful, well irrigated by little streams, and covered with gardens,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The gardens of Kâbul are tastefully laid out, and well kept; the fruit-trees are planted at regular distances; most of them rise with the acclivity of the ground in plateaus, or shelves, over one another. There are peaches, plums, apricots, pears, apples, quinces, cherries, walnuts, mulberries, pomegranates, and vines, all growing in one garden. There are also nightingales, blackbirds, thrushes, and doves

which have for ages been renowned for the brilliancy and variety of their flowers. The most delicious fruits are abundant, and Bâber added to them by introducing the cherry and plantain.

Bâber divided the country into *tomâns* or provinces, which he gave to his followers. His brother Jehânghir had Ghâznah; his youngest brother, Nasir, received the 'Valley of Light,' and other districts; while those officers who had followed him in his most perilous enterprises and worst distresses obtained the government of the villages and small towns. He was accused by the followers of Khusru of partiality for his own Bâberians; and he answered them—

What is there enemies will not say?  
The gates of a city you may shut,  
But you cannot shut the mouth of an enemy.

---

to raise their notes, and chatting magpies on almost every tree. The people are passionately fond of sauntering in these gardens, and may be seen flocking to them every evening. The climate of Kâbul is most genial.

The vines are very plentiful; the grapes are used for wine, as juice in roasting meat, as a powder for pickle (the unripe grapes pounded after drying them), as raisins, and as a syrup. Rhubarb is much eaten. Apricots are the most delicious of the dried fruits of Kâbul.—*Burnes*, vol. ii. p. 130.

The valley of Koh Daman, north of Kâbul, is separated by a low creeping ridge from the town. At its upper extremity rises the snowy peaks of Hindú Kúsh. It is thirty-one miles long and seven broad. It is the favourite country residence of the people of Kâbul, and is almost as thickly studded with castles as with gardens. The roads lead by the side of brooks, edged by willow trees; and they are belted by vegetable and fruit gardens. In this valley is *Istalaf*, which Bâber describes as being surrounded by green, gay, and beautiful gardens, irrigated by ice-cold streams, and shaded by spreading plane trees. Here are grapes, apricots, mulberries, walnuts, almonds, cherries, and plüms.—*Wood's Oxus*, p. 178.

But though the cities and plains were in the hands of Bâber, the wild hill tribes of Ghîlzîs and Hazârehs continued to give him constant trouble, and necessitated frequent expeditions to plunder and chastise them.

In January 1505, Bâber went forth, for the first time, to invade Hindustan. He descended by the Khaiber Pass into the plain of Peshâwur, and crossed the Indus. 'I had never seen the hot region before,' he says. 'It was a new world to me. The grass, the trees, the birds, the wild animals, the manners and customs of the wandering tribes, all were strange and wonderful to me.' The Afghans of Kohat attempted to intercept his march in the passes, but he charged them furiously, put them to flight, and erected a minaret of the skulls of those who were slain.

Bâber returned to Kâbul the same year; and in the month of Muhârram his mother was taken ill, and, in spite of the water-melons given her by a physician of Khurâsân, she died, and was buried in a garden formed by the late king Ulugh Mîrza. She had followed her son in all his vicissitudes of fortune, had always proved a wise and valuable councillor, and Bâber mourned her loss long and bitterly.

While Bâber was establishing his power at Kâbul, Shaibâny Khân, with his Uzbêg army, had rapidly extended his conquests, and in 1505 Sultân Husain Mîrza, king of Khurâsân, formed a league with the new king of Kâbul to oppose him. Bâber marched with a small force towards Herat, but on the road he heard of the death of Husain Mîrza, and of the acces-

sion of his two sons, Muzháffar and Bâdiyatu-'z-Zamân, as joint kings. Bâber exclaimed against the impolicy of this arrangement, repeating the famous lines of the poet Sa'ady :

Ten dervishes may sit on one carpet,  
But the same climate will not hold two kings.

He, however, continued his march to Herat, and was cordially received by the new sovereigns, who entertained him with prodigal hospitality, and led him into a round of dissipated amusements. They were unskilled in war, and Bâber saw no chance of a successful campaign against the Uzbêgs, yet he determined to pass the winter of 1506 in his pleasant quarters at Herat.

'Aly Shir Bêg, the munificent patron of literature, Jâmi the poet, and other ornaments of Husain Mîrza's court were dead, but many still remained, and Bâber made several enduring friendships during his visits, especially with the historian Khondemîr. He also visited the places hallowed as the abodes or the last resting places of the departed great, and devoted much time to seeing the sights of Herat. During his twenty days' stay, he went to all the principal buildings with an excellent cicerone named 'Aly Gukultâsh, who had a collection ready for him in some suitable place, when the fatigues of sight-seeing <sup>1</sup> were over for the day.

<sup>1</sup> Bâber, while at Herat, visited the garden of 'Aly Shir Bêg, the paper mills, the bridge, the public pleasure grounds, the mausoleum of the poet Jâmi, the colleges and tomb of Husain Mîrza, the white palace built by Abu Sa'id, the mansion of enjoyment, the public market, the bazar, the great reservoir, the Grand Mosque, 'Aly Shir Bêg's tomb, the fish-ponds, the raven garden, the lily palace, &c. &c.

But he was led into all kinds of dissipation by the joint kings, and at Herat he was first induced to drink wine, which he liked so much that for many years afterwards scarcely a day passed without his drinking to excess.

Bâdiyatu-'z-Zamân gave him several elegant entertainments, and it was then that he first indulged in the use of wine.

In December 1506 he was suddenly called from the pleasant society of Herat, by the news of a rebellion that had broken out in Kâbul. He returned by the mountainous country, with a few followers, and a young lady (daughter of Ahmed Mirza), who had conceived a strong attachment for him. The party was caught in a terrific snow storm, and the lady, with Bâber's followers, took refuge in a cave; but there was not room for all, and the young prince dug a hole for himself in the snow, saying: 'For me to be in comfort while my men are in the midst of snow and drift, suffering trouble and distress, would be inconsistent with what I owe them, and a deviation from that society in suffering which is their due. A Persian proverb says, "Death in the company of friends is a feast."'

Next morning the tempest ceased, but the cold was extreme, and many lost their hands and feet from the frost. On arriving at Kâbul, Bâber found the country in great disorder; while, soon after his departure, Shaibâny Khân occupied Herat, drove out the joint kings, and advanced as far as Kandahar; whence he afterwards retreated.

In 1507 Bâber assumed the title of *Pâdishâh*; and in March of the following year, his eldest son, Humaiyûn, was born.

In 1508, the Uzbêg followers of Khusni rose in rebellion, and placed 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak on the throne of Kâbul; while Bâber fled, with only 500 companions. His cause seemed hopeless, for his enemies had an army of 12,000 men, but he extricated himself by extraordinary personal valour. When the opposing forces approached each other, he rode forward, and challenged 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak to single combat. That young prince declined, but five nobles came forth, and engaged Bâber, one after the other. Each fell before the arm of the offended king, and this admirable prowess induced the rebel army to return to its allegiance. 'Abdu-'r-Rizzak received a full pardon, and Bâber found himself, once more, in full possession of Kâbul.

Amongst the followers of Bâber there was a chief of Badakshân named Khân Mîrza, whose mother claimed descent from Alexander the Great. At this time he succeeded in driving the Uzbêgs out of his country, and sent news to Bâber that Shaibâny was dead (having been killed by Isma'il Shâh of Persia, in the battle of Merv, 1510), adding, 'Now is the time for recovering Fargânah.' Bâber, therefore, crossed the Hindú Kûsh, and joined Khân Mîrza at Kunduz, leaving his brother Nasir to govern Kâbul in his absence. The Shâh of Persia sent Bâber his sister, who had been captured by Shaibâny at Samarkand, and was released by the Shâh at Merv. She gave such an



account of Isma'il's generosity and goodness to her brother, that he sent ambassadors to Persia ; and received, in return, a large auxiliary force of Persian cavalry, to assist him in the reconquest of Samarkand and Fargânah.

In October 1511, Bâber entered Samarkand for the last time, but soon afterwards he was entirely defeated by the Uzbêgs, and forced to retreat in great haste. Greater perils yet awaited him. One night a band of conspirators attacked his tent, and he fled naked and alone to the fort of Arik, in Kunduz. Here a handful of faithful followers joined him, and he was glad to escape over the Hindú Kúsh, to Kâbul, which he reached in 1514.

All hopes were now gone of ever regaining his paternal inheritance, or of again seeing the old home of his childhood in Fargânah. From this time, therefore, he seems to have seriously turned his mind to the conquest of India. In 1518 he crossed the Indus, and conquered the Panjáb up to the banks of the Chenáb, building a strong fort at Peshâwur. But, for several years, he was employed in reducing the wild hill tribes of Afghanistan to order ; and preparing for his final invasion of India, which took place in 1525.

During these years Bâber frequently indulged in excesses. He was wont to go in a boat, on the river of Kâbul, with a few choice spirits, and drink wine and sing songs till they were all insensible. He also formed a red granite tank, near Kâbul, which he often caused to be filled with wine, and engaged pretty girls to sing and dance round it, while he drank. The fol-

lowing lines, in Persian, were engraved on the sides of the tank :—‘ Sweet the smiling spring. Sweet the juice of the mellow grape. Sweeter far the voice of love. Strive, oh Bâber, to secure the enjoyments of life, which, alas! once departed, will never more return.’

On the days that he was too ill to drink, he ate *ma'ajuns*, or intoxicating sweetmeats. The remainder of his time was passed in hunting, making expeditions against the Afghans of the hills, and preparing for the invasion of India. Kandahar fell into his hands in 1522.

In November 1525, Bâber left Kâbul, for his final invasion of Hindustan; and in January 1526, ‘ placing his foot in the stirrup of resolution, and his hands on the reins of confidence in God,’ he advanced against Sultân Ibrahîm, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindustan then were. This prince was of the Patan or Afghan race, which had reigned in India for several centuries. His army amounted to 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants.<sup>1</sup>

In this campaign Bâber’s young son, Humaiyûn, did

<sup>1</sup> Nanac, the founder of the Sikh religion, had an interview with Bâber in 1526; before whom he is said to have defended his doctrine with great firmness and eloquence. Bâber was pleased with him, and ordered an ample maintenance to be bestowed upon him; which the Sikh priest refused, observing that he trusted in Him who provided for all men, and from whom alone a man of virtue and religion would consent to receive favour and reward. p. 19.

Nanac preached the unity and omnipresence of God, and declared he had no object but to reconcile the two faiths of Muslim and Hindû in one religion.—*Sketch of the Sikhs*, by Malcolm, London, 1812.

good service, with a detached body of cavalry; and, like his father, he records the first time he put a razor to his chin, March 5, 1526.

Bâber, with a greatly inferior force, encountered the Indian host at the town of Panipût, near Delhi. He was completely victorious; Ibrahîm was killed, and Bâber's troops occupied the cities of Delhi and Agra. He passed his first night at Delhi in a boat on the Jumna, drinking wine with some boon companions.

At this time five Muhammadan rulers, and two Hindús, exercised sovereignty in India. The Muhammadans were the Patan sovereign of Delhi whom Bâber had killed; the Sultâns of Gujrât, the Dekkan, Malwa, and Bengal. The Hindús were the Râjâhs of Bijânagar,<sup>1</sup> in the Dekkan, and of Chanderi,<sup>2</sup> in Malwa, a short distance south of Gwalior; besides the independent Râjpût chiefs east of Delhi.

Bâber had scarcely been a year in possession of Delhi and Agra when a formidable confederacy of Patan Afghans and Hindús was formed against him, led on by the Râjpût chief Rana-Sanka; who held the fortress of Chanderi,<sup>2</sup> and had a large army in the field.<sup>3</sup>

The danger was so imminent that Bâber renounced the use of wine entirely; but he resolved to fight, and

<sup>1</sup> Bijânagar, now a ruined city, was once the capital of a Brahmanical kingdom. Its power was destroyed by the Muslim kings of the Dekkan in 1565. Lat. 15° 19' S., long. 76° 32' E.

<sup>2</sup> Chanderi, a town in a hilly jungly tract, 105 miles south of Gwalior. The castle is on a hill, formerly considered impregnable. The *mahmudie*, an exquisitely fine muslin, is manufactured at Chanderi. Lat. 24° 40' S., long. 78° 12' E.

<sup>3</sup> He was Rana of Odeypûr, one of the States of Râjpûtana.

scorned the idea of retreating to Kâbul, saying, 'As death is unavoidable, let us rather meet it with honour, face to face, than shrink back to gain a few years of ignominious existence.'

On April 6, 1527, Bâber's little army encountered the vast host of Indians, led on by Rana-Sanka, at a village called Kava, near Agra. His artillery was chained together to resist the charges of cavalry; and his right wing was commanded by his son, Humaiyûn. The combined Hindûs and Patans were entirely defeated, in spite of their vast superiority in numbers, and Bâber proceeded to besiege their stronghold at Chanderi. He took the place by escalade in 1528. The Râjputûs, having first killed all their women and children, rushed naked on the swords of the Muslims, until not one soul was left alive. In the following year Bâber took Bahar and Oudh, and thus found himself, after many vicissitudes, undisputed Emperor of India.

He made a careful survey of the country, established post-houses on the road between Kâbul and Agra, and sent Humaiyûn to act as his viceroy at Kâbul. His last year was passed in improving Agra, and laying out a garden there; but he sighed for his old home, his beloved Fargânah, and complained that the whole country of India was so ugly and detestable that it was difficult to find a place for a garden.<sup>1</sup> He was

<sup>1</sup> Writing to his old friend Khawâjah Kilân, who was then at Kâbul, he says how much he envies his friend, his residence at Kâbul, and adds: 'They very recently brought me a single musk melon of Fargânah; while cutting it up I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it.'

disgusted, also, with the fawning servility of the natives of India, and even of the Patans, who had been corrupted by long residence amongst them. In his latter years he became cruel and fanatical, and erected a high pyramid of the skulls of the Pagans, in the Doáb.

Baber was taken ill at Agra, and died in the Char-Bâgh, on December 26, 1530, in his forty-eighth year.<sup>1</sup> He left four sons, Humaiyûn, who succeeded him, Kamrân, Hindal, and Askeri.<sup>2</sup>

This illustrious prince was above the middle size, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. He was so strong that he often, in sport, went leaping along from one pinnacle to another of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, with a man under each arm, and double-soled boots on.<sup>3</sup> His mind was as

<sup>1</sup> Bâber was buried about a mile from Kâbul, in a lovely spot. The grave is marked by two erect slabs of white marble in a small garden. A running stream still waters the fragrant flowers of this cemetery, which is the great holiday resort of the people of Kâbul. In front of the grave there is a small but chaste mosque of marble; and an inscription upon it sets forth that it was built in the year 1640, by Shâh Jehân, 'that poor Muhammadans might offer up their prayers.' There is a noble prospect from the hill which overlooks Bâber's tomb, and a summer-house has been erected upon it by Shâh Zamân, from which it may be admired. It presents a plain, about twenty miles in circumference, laid out with gardens and fields in pleasing irregularity, intersected by three rivulets, which wind through it by a serpentine course, and wash innumerable little forts and villages.

<sup>2</sup>	<i>Humaiyûn</i>	means 'auspicious.'
	<i>Kamrân</i>	„ 'successful.'
	<i>Hindal</i>	„ 'Indian.'
	<i>Askeri</i>	„ 'born in camp.'

<sup>3</sup> On his last journey, after his health had begun to fail, he rode in two days from Kalpi to Agra (160 miles); and on the

well cultivated as his body, and no man in the East surpassed him in knowledge of poetry, history, or mathematics; while, in his long journeys, he was also an intelligent observer of the beauties of nature, and of the varieties in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, in the various countries he visited.

Bâber was undaunted under difficulties, of a gay disposition, and affectionately attached to his relations and early friends. He was a prince of great humanity, as all truly brave men are; and carried his generosity to such an excess that he almost always pardoned ingratitude and treason, and seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He was a strict Súnna in religion, of the sect of Abu-Hanifah, but until the last few years of his life he was tolerant to other sects.

He was a master in the arts of poetry, writing, and music; and his *Memoirs*, which he wrote during the latter part of his life, is one of the most interesting works in Eastern literature. Besides giving minute details of all the principal events of his life, and many particulars respecting his contemporaries, it abounds in original reflections, and most entertaining remarks on the weaknesses of those around him; and contains many descriptions of the countries he visited, especially of India. It presents internal evidence of the good and noble qualities of its author.

same journey he swam twice across the Ganges, as he said he had done with every other river he had met with.

<sup>1</sup> The *Vakeat Bâberi*, 'Bâber's Occurrences,' was written in the Jagtai Turki language. Translated by Dr. Leyden and W. Erskine, Esq. R. M. Caldecott, Esq. wrote an Abridgment of it, which was published in 1844.

Bâber's good disposition, his generosity, affectionate regard for kindred, and cheerful, buoyant spirit, are the very qualities which are most uncommon in the best Asiatic princes ; and, upon the whole, it may with confidence be said that Bâber was the most illustrious sovereign (excepting, perhaps, his grandson, Akbar), that ever reigned in Asia since the rise of Islâm.

The descendants of Bâber reigned in India for two centuries and a half. His son, Humaiyûn, was driven out by an insurrection of Patans in 1540, and was received with courteous hospitality by the Shâh of Persia.<sup>1</sup> In fifteen years he had recovered Kâbul from his brothers Askeri and Kamrân, and India from the Patans ; and he passed the last years of his life in the pious labour of transcribing the whole of his father's *Memoirs*.

His son Akbar, the most illustrious of the descendants of Bâber, who was famous alike for his enlightened toleration and legislative wisdom succeeded him in 1556.

Akbar died in 1605 ; and from that time we would feign draw a veil over the history of the house of Timûr. The three immediate successors of Akbar,

<sup>1</sup> Humaiyûn fell in love with a young lady, when beyond the Indus, whom he saw with his stepmother (his brother Hindal's mother). She was a daughter of a Seyyid, a native of Jâmi in Khurâsân, and her name was Hamida. Humaiyûn had, by Hamida, his renowned son, the Emperor Akbar, who was born during his father's flight through Sindh, in the fort of Amercot, on October 15, 1542. Akbar is said to have been born under a tree called Arkarî Rowî or Arka, an asclepiad (*Calotropis gigantea*). It is common everywhere in Sindh and the Bombay Presidency, and in flower all the year round. The leaflets of the corona are keeled.

Jehānghir (1605–27), Shāh-Jehān (1627–58), and Aurungzīb (1658–1707), retained great power; but it was bought at the price of endless crimes, and the two latter murdered nearly all their male relations.

From the death of Aurungzīb they became contemptible as well as cruel. Escaping, through their submissive cowardice, the whirlwinds of Nâdir, of Ahmed Shāh, and of the Mahrattas, they subsequently continued to receive an enormous pension, granted by the generosity of the British Government; until, adding treason to their other crimes, in 1857, they will at last disappear from history—unheeded and unpitied.

It is very melancholy that such should be the end of the posterity of the illustrious Bâber. Well would it have been if the members of the house of Tîmûr had fallen fighting bravely against the army of Nâdir, on the field of Kurnâl. A more satisfactory end would it have been if they had even dared to stand in the breach at Delhi in 1857, and thus terminated their career, on the avenging bayonets of outraged Britain. But it is a sad and pitiable end for the posterity of Bâber to be executed as felons, or to drag out a disgraced existence as criminal exiles.<sup>1</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup> FATE OF THE HOUSE OF TÎMÛR.

Twenty-six members of the Delhi royal family were executed after the Mutinies; fifteen died after arrest; thirteen were sent to jail at Agra, under sentence of imprisonment, there being a strong presumption that they shared the feelings which animated their family. They were afterwards ordered to be released, to join the king at Rangoon, on ten rs. a month each. This destination, however, was altered, and they were ordered to be divided between Mûlmein and Karâchî.



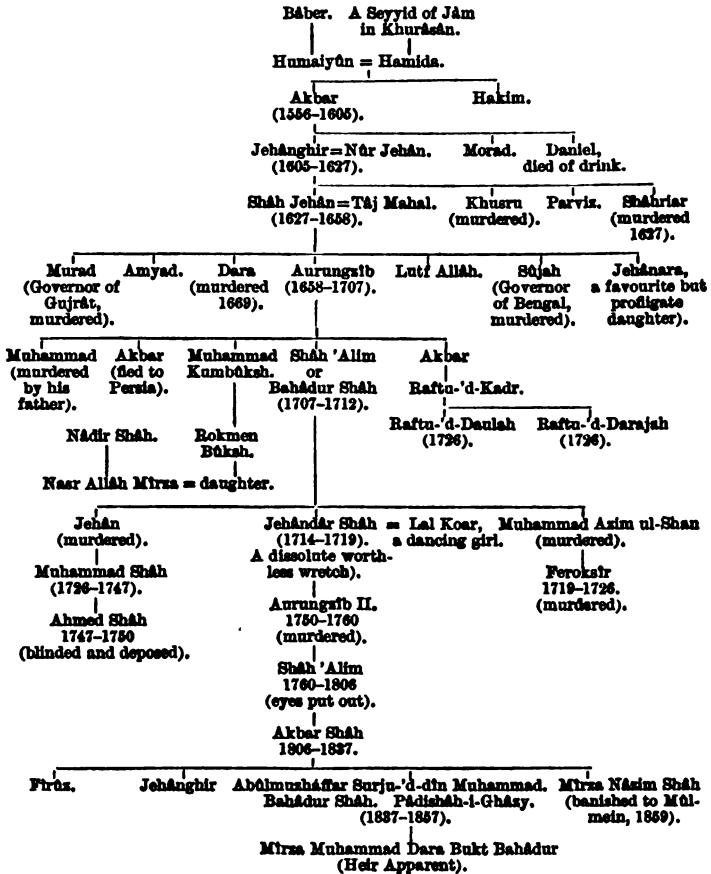
The king was sent to Rangoon. Mîrza Nâzim Shâh, the king's brother, was sent to Mûlmein. Those who were to have gone to Karâchî were sent by mistake to Calcutta, whence they were forwarded to Akyâb, to be kept under surveillance.

The number of the members of the family was, in 1859, exclusive of concubines, 623 : 171 males, 320 females related by blood, and 132 by marriage. About 650 other members were alive before the Mutiny, of whose fate nothing is known. They are not to be searched for, as the sooner they are mixed up with the general population the better. Of the 171 males, of 24 nothing is known, 34 are recommended for pensions, of whom 10 are clearly guiltless of complicity in the rebellion, to 11 subsistence is allowed, if they reside at Karâchî or Mûlmein, 5 have absconded. There are also 57 who receive subsistence allowance, and 51 who have declined it, because they did not wish to comply with the conditions on which alone they were to receive it. The subsistence allowance is 5 rs. a month, 155 of the females receive, and 159 have declined this allowance. A donation of 50 rs. is given to girls on their marriage ; and subsistence for boys only so long as they are destitute, and unable to provide for themselves.

The crystal throne, on which the Great Moguls had sat since Nâdir Shâh took away the peacock throne, when holding their court in the Dîwân Khas, was sent to London.

## HISTORY OF PERSIA.

## GREAT MOGULS.



## CHAPTER X.

## THE SUFĀWI DYNASTY.

*Shâh Imā'ûl to Abbâs the Great.*

THE most interesting and romantic part of the history of the rise of Islâmism is, without doubt, the life of 'Aly, and the tragic ends of his two sons, Husain and Hâsan;<sup>1</sup> and from the periods of their deaths there has always been a sect which mourned their misfortunes, venerated their descendants, and hated the usurpers of their power.

The many fine and noble qualities of 'Aly; the fact of his having been, when quite a boy, the first of Muhammad's converts; his near relationship to the Prophet; and his subsequent misfortunes, were all calculated to enlist the sympathies of every generous mind in his favour. This feeling was heightened by the persecutions and martyrdoms which were suffered by his descendants.

On the death of 'Aly in 661, his son Hâsan, though deprived of the Khalifate by Mu'âwiyah, the founder of the dynasty of the Omeyyahs, was allowed to retain the spiritual dignity of Imâm. But he was poisoned by a woman bribed by the Khalifah Yezîd, son of Mu'âwiyah; and his brother Husain having collected a small force to regain his rights, was surrounded by the overwhelming

<sup>1</sup> See page 109.

numbers of Yezid's army, on the arid plains of Kerbela, near the Euphrates. After seeing all his friends and relations killed around him; the unfortunate Husain was slain, his head was cut off and sent to the Khalifah at Damascus, and his body was buried on the spot where he fell.

A sacred shrine, annually resorted to by crowds of Persian pilgrims, now stands over his remains at Kerbela; and his head is buried in another mosque at Cairo.

The followers of what is called the Shí'a'h sect curse the memories of Abu-Bekr, 'Omar, and 'Othmán, whom they look upon as usurpers of 'Aly's rights; and they despise the Súnnah or body of traditions collected during their reigns, which are venerated by all orthodox Muhammadans. They almost worship the twelve holy Imâms or successors of 'Aly, who all suffered martyrdom, except 'el-Mâhdy, the last, and he is said to have disappeared mysteriously, and is believed still to be alive. The twelve Imâms are :

1. 'Aly, the son-in-law of Muhammad.
  2. Hâsan, } His sons.
  3. Husain, }
  4. Zainu-l-'Abidîn. Put to death by the Khalifah Wâlid I.
  5. Muhammad el-Bâkir. Put to death by the Khalifah Hashem.
  6. Ja'afar-es-Sa'adiyyah.
  7. Mûza Kâzhim.
  8. 'Aly Râza, whose tomb at Mâsh-had is the most sacred shrine in Persia.
  9. Muhammad-et-Tâky.
  10. 'Aly-en-Nâhy.
  11. Hâsan Askeri.
  12. Muhammad el-Mâhdy, mysteriously disappeared.
- } All put to death, generally by order of the Khalifahs.

The Shîa'ah sect believe that 'Aly, the beloved son-in-law of Muhammad, is almost equal to the Prophet himself; and that if Muhammad was the Apostle, 'Aly and his descendants were the Vicars of God. They hate and execrate the memories of Abu-Bekr, 'Omar, 'Othmân, and all the Khalîfahs who deprived the twelve Imâms of their indefeasible right to be the successors, as they were the descendants, of Muhammad.

In the days of Tîmûr, the great conqueror, there lived at Ardebil in Azerbaijan, a descendant of Mûza Kâzhim, the seventh Imâm, named Shâikh Sáfy-ud-Dîn Ishak, whose fame for sanctity was spread abroad throughout all Persia. Tîmûr is said to have paid a visit to this holy man, and asked him what favour he should grant him. 'Release those tribes you have brought into captivity,' said the descendant of 'Aly. The grateful tribes, who were of Turkish origin, and had been transported into Syria and Armenia, declared themselves his devoted disciples, and their children became the supporters of his family.<sup>1</sup>

'History,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'does not furnish us with a better motive for obedience, or a nobler origin of power.'

The two immediate descendants of Sáfy-ud-Dîn, named Sadru-'d-Dîn and Khawâjah 'Aly, retained the great reputation of the family for sanctity, and the latter visited Mekkah, and died at Jerusalem. His son, Junaid, married a sister of Uzun Hâsan, the chief of the Ak Kuyunlû ('White Sheep') tribe, then ruler of

<sup>1</sup> Among them were the Kájars, ancestors of the reigning dynasty of Persia.

Persia; and by her had a son named Sultân Haidar, who became a warrior, as well as a Saint and a Sâfy philosopher.

Junaid had been put to death by the king of Shirvân, and Sultân Haidar invaded that province to avenge him, but was killed in battle and interred under a mosque in his native city of Ardebil. His wife was named Martha, and was a daughter of Uzun Hâsan, by the Christian lady, Despina, daughter of Calo Johannes, Emperor of Trebizond.

The number of pilgrims who, excited by the fame of the sanctity of this family of saints, flocked to Ardebil, excited the jealousy of Yâkûb, a son of Uzun Hâsan, who then ruled in Persia. He, therefore, on the death of Sultân Haidar, seized upon his three sons, and confined them in a fort at Persepolis.

On Yâkûb's death they escaped; but the two eldest fell in skirmishes with their persecutors, and the youngest, then quite a child, was allowed to remain at Ardebil. His name was Isma'il, the founder of the powerful Sufâwi dynasty; and in 1492, at the age of fourteen, the future monarch had established an independent government at Ardebil, and collected an army sufficiently large to defy the power of the prince of the Ak Koyunlû tribe, who then ruled over Persia.

The town of Ardebil, in Azerbaijan, is situated in a large plain surrounded by mountains, and in its neighbourhood are the famous plains of Mogân, which extend to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The streets of Ardebil are crooked, dirty, and uneven, but rivulets

abounding in excellent trout are led through them, and the surrounding country is fertile.<sup>1</sup>

Having consolidated his power at Ardebil, young Isma'ïl defeated Alwung Bêg, a son of Yâkûb, and conquered the whole province of Azerbaijan. The following year he invaded 'Irâk, and having entirely defeated Murad Khân, another Ak Koyunlû prince, near Hamadân, that dynasty was overthrown. In less than four years the victorious Isma'ïl was acknowledged as sovereign of the whole of Persia, and was proclaimed Shâh in the year 1499 A.D. He was styled *Shâh-Shîa'an*, or 'King of the Shîa'ahs.'

Isma'ïl proclaimed the doctrine of the Shîa'ah sect to be the religion of Persia; the sacred memory of 'Aly and Husain soon became the chief tenet in the faith of the children of Irân; and was the cause of the consolidation of the discordant elements which then formed the population of Persia, under a native and powerful dynasty.

The Uzbêgs on the north, the Turks on the west, the Arabs on the south, and the Afghans on the east,

<sup>1</sup> Pietro della Valle. *Travels in Persia*, A.D. 1617.

Pietro della Valle was a Roman of good family. After travelling for some years in Mesopotamia, and Northern Persia, he came to Shîrâz, with the intention of visiting India. But he found the Persians and English besieging the Portuguese at Ormuz. He, therefore, took up his abode at Minav, where he remained for some months in 1621-2. Here he lost his beloved wife Maani (a Nestorian Christian), whom he had married at Baghdâd. The story of his wife and her horse Dirviseh, is interspersed with a variety of pathetic incidents, painted with the romantic gallantry of an Italian lover.

Gibbon says he is an author intolerably prolix and vain.—See also Vincent's *Nearchus*, p. 296.

were all Sūnnīs or orthodox Muhammadans ; so that, surrounded on all sides by the enemies of their faith, the Persians were united together in the defence of their religion—a source of union now more powerful with them than either patriotism or loyalty.

The population of Persia, which became subject to Shâh Isma'îl, had been much changed in character during the eight hundred years of the domination of Târan.

The seven grateful Turkish tribes, who had assisted Isma'îl in his rise to power, were honoured with a peculiar dress and a red cap, whence they received the name of *Kuzil-bâsh*, 'golden head,' and their chiefs became the most powerful nobles at court. These tribes or *Ilyâts* were named :

Ustajâlû	Bâhârlû
Shamlû	Zhu-'l-Khudair
Nikalû	Kâjar
Afshar.	

But, besides the Kuzil-bâsh tribes, a great proportion of the inhabitants of Persia now consists of Ilyâts, or tribes, who are nearly all of foreign origin. Mr. Morier says that, until the conquest of Persia by the Saracens, her people may be said to have been unmixed ; but afterwards, during the successive inroads of Mongols, Turks, and Arabs, many tribes remained in the conquered country.<sup>1</sup>

These tribes are classed as *Shâhr nishîn*, or 'dwellers in cities,' and *Sahrâ nishîn*, or 'dwellers in the field.' The latter are the most warlike and powerful, their

<sup>1</sup> Morier, in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*, vol. vii.



wealth consisting of flocks and herds. They lead a wild and roving life, living entirely in tents, and moving each year from their *kislâk*, or winter quarters, to the *yailâk* or summer pastures. These tribes are governed by a chief called *Reis-Safîd*, 'White Beard,' and from their ranks, the cavalry—the most powerful arm of a Persian army—is supplied. The infantry was chiefly raised from the dwellers in cities and cultivated districts.

Next to the Kuzil-bâshes, the most numerous and important of the tribes were the Bakhtiyâris and Feilis, who inhabit the Zagros Chain and the mountains of Luristân.

They are a wild, untutored, and almost independent people, but are possessed of many fine qualities, and their monuments testify to the affectionate feelings of their women. Whitewashed obelisks of brick work are to be seen in all directions on the skirts of the hills—sepulchral monuments of the tribes of Luristân. Most of them are decorated with a coronal of woman's tresses; it being the custom on the death of a chieftain for his female relations to cut off their hair, and weave it into a funeral wreath upon the tomb of their departed lord.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, when travelling through their country, inquired from a peasant the history of one of these monuments. 'A chief from Fish-kuh,' he answered, 'was betrothed to the daughter of one of our *Tushmals*,' ('chief of a village'). 'He came to celebrate his nuptials, but sickened on 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.'

The Bakhtiyâris supplied splendid bodies of cavalry to the armies of the Shâh, and in after times (after the death of Nâdir) one of their chiefs aspired to the throne of Persia. All the tribes of Luristân belong to the great family of Leks, a people of pure Persian extraction. The other tribes, except some Arabian septa, settled in Khurâsân, are of Turkish extraction. The Karagûlis, near Hamadân, supplied the best infantry to the Shâh's army.

Such was the population over which Shâh Isma'il now began to reign, and several years were employed in establishing his power on a firm basis.

But he had numerous enemies on his frontiers.

Shaibâny Khân, the founder of the power of the Uzbêgs beyond the Oxus, having driven Bâber out of Fargânah, defeated the sons of Sultân Husain Mirza, the last reigning prince of the house of Timûr, and conquered Herat; proceeded to overrun the Persian province of Khurâsân.

Shâh Isma'il sent him a courteous message, requesting him to desist from his unprovoked invasion; but the haughty conqueror, flushed with success, replied that 'If Shâh Isma'il had suffered any diminution of his paternal possessions, it was a very easy matter to restore them entire to him;' at the same time sending back the staff and wooden begging dish of a mendicant. The Shâh sent back a spindle and a reel, giving him to understand that words were woman's weapons; but he

followed rapidly with an army of his faithful Kuzil-bâshes, and entirely defeated the Uzbêgs at Merv. Shaibâny himself was killed in an attempt to escape.

From that time until it was sacked by the king of Bukhâra in 1787, the old town of Merv enjoyed great prosperity, but that barbarian demolished its canals and sold the people for slaves, and it has since been sterile and desolate.<sup>1</sup> From the ruined castle Burnes saw a circle of thirty miles covered with deserted villages and decayed walls. A few melon fields, on the banks of the Mûrghâb, are alone cultivated by the Tûrkmân inhabitants.

After his victory, Shâh Isma'îl found among his captives a sister of Bâber, afterwards the founder of the empire of the Great Moguls in India. She had been taken prisoner by Shaibâny ten years before, when he captured the city of Samarkand.

Bâber, in his charming *Memoirs*, gives the following account of her restoration to her family :

'When Shâh Isma'îl defeated the Uzbêgs at Merv, my sister was in the town. Out of regard for me, he paid her every attention, and caused her to be conducted in the most honourable manner to me, at Kunduz. We had been separated for ten years, and I went out to meet her. She, and her attendants did not know me

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Merv was in a plain watered by a canal from the Mûrghâb. The present Merv is an assemblage of about 100 mud huts on the Mûrghâb. The entire waters of that river are dispersed over the sandy plain for purposes of irrigation. The plain is about sixty miles long, by forty. The trade passing through is very considerable, from Bukhâra, Persia, Khiva, and Herat.—Abbott's *Khiva*.

even after I had spoken, but in a short time she recognised me.' Báber, in return, sent an embassy to the Sháh with rich presents, congratulating him on his victory.

Having added Khurásán to his dominions, Isma'il marched to Herat, where the gates were opened to him; and he was guilty of cruel persecution in an attempt to force the inhabitants to adopt the Shí'a'ah doctrine.

In the year 1514 Salim I., Sultán of Turkey, declared war against Persia. Isma'il, with an army of only 30,000 men, advanced to the town of Khoi in Azerbaijan, about 90 miles from Tabríz, where he awaited the approach of the invaders. His army was composed almost entirely of cavalry of the Kuzil-bâsh tribes; while the formidable array of the Ottoman army was made up of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The Persians had never yet seen, or even heard of this new method of destruction. Sháh Isma'il encountered Salim at the head of 200,000 Turks. The town of Khoi, a favourite residence of the Sufâwi kings, is in a rich and well wooded plain, bounded by a finely broken range of hills. The plain is covered with corn-fields, orchards and melon grounds, interspersed with lofty groves of chenar-trees. Here the two armies encountered each other; but the Turks, besides their vast superiority in numbers, had a formidable train of artillery.

'It was in vain that the brave Sháh, with a blow of his sabre, severed a chain with which the Turkish guns were fastened together to resist the shock of the Persian cavalry;'<sup>1</sup> Isma'il was forced to retreat, and

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Stewart's *Journal*, pp. 126-8.

it is said that he never smiled again. It was the only time he was ever defeated ; and the reverse was chiefly owing to Salim's artillery, a means of destruction that had then been but recently introduced into Asiatic warfare.

But on the death of Salim in 1519 the Shâh conquered Georgia.

Isma'il died at Ardebil ; whither he had gone on a pilgrimage to his father's tomb, in the year 1523.

Shâh Isma'il, like many of his ancestors, was a Sûfy philosopher. He was a brave and generous prince, and possessed many estimable qualities besides those which are almost invariably found in the first sovereign of an Eastern dynasty.

Shâh Isma'il Sûfy was succeeded by his son Tahmasp I., who was ten years of age in 1523. Only two years after his accession the young Shâh was involved in a war with the Khân of the Uzbêgs, whom he defeated near Mâsh-had in 1527, driving the invaders out of Khurâsân ; and in 1530 he forced these Uzbêgs to raise the siege of Herat.

The early part of the reign of Tahmasp was disturbed by the feuds of the Shamlû and Tukulû, two of the most powerful of the Kuzil-bâsh tribes, the latter desiring to have the custody of the Shâh's person : but Tahmasp settled the question by a sudden attack on the Tukulû, who were dispersed. In 1532 he was engaged in an indecisive war with Sulaimân, Sultân of Turkey ; and in 1534 'Obaid Khân, with an army of Uzbêgs, succeeded in capturing Herat. During the whole of the reign of Tahmasp, the province of Khu-

râsân was subjected to periodical invasions from the Uzbêgs and Tûrkmâns.

About this time Shâh Tahmasp appointed Pîr Budah Khân Kâjar Governor of Kandahar. This is the first mention, in history, of a chief of the tribe of Kâjar, which now boasts the reigning dynasty of Persia amongst its number.

The reign of Shâh Tahmasp is chiefly famous for his reception of Humaiyûn, the son and successor of Bâber, when he was driven out of India. The Persian sovereign treated him with the most generous hospitality, and gave him an asylum for several years, until he was at length enabled to re-establish his power in India.

In the year 1561 Mr. Anthony Jenkinson arrived in Persia with a letter from Queen Elizabeth of England to the Shâh; whom she styles—‘The right mightie and right victorious prince, the great Sophie, Emperor of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Caramanians, Margians, of the people this side and beyond the river Syris, and of all men and nations between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf.’

Though Jenkinson was courteously received, his mission did not lead to any permanent result.

Shâh Tahmasp died in 1576, at the age of 64; and his fifth son, named Haidar Mîrza, immediately proclaimed himself king. It was the custom, at this time, to commit the king’s sons to the custody of the powerful Kuzil-bâsh chiefs. The Ustajalû chief had charge of Haidar Mîrza, and the Afshar espoused the cause of another son, named Isma’il.

Haidar was slain before his friends could rally round him, and Isma'il became Shâh of Persia. He was a debauched and wicked tyrant. Muhammad Mîrza, the eldest son of Tahmasp, had been set aside on account of a weakness in his eyes, but his son 'Abbâs, then a child, had been left as nominal Governor of Khurâsân, under the tutelage of a chief named 'Aly Kûly Khân.

On the death of his wicked uncle Isma'il, in 1577, the incapable father was set aside after a few years, and young 'Abbâs was proclaimed Shâh of Persia by the nobles of Khurâsân, at Nishâpûr. In the year 1585 he found himself in peaceable possession of the whole of Persia.

He became the greatest sovereign that Persia had known for many centuries, and is known in history as 'Abbâs the Great.

After punishing the Uzbêgs, under 'Abdu-'l-Mumîn Khân in 1587, who had sacked Herat and Mâsh-had, the young Shâh was engaged in a war with the Turks in Georgia.

'Abbâs led his army to the banks of the Araxes ; and some Turkish officers came to one side of the river, while the Shâh and his officers happened to be standing on the other. The Turks, not knowing who he was, invited him to cross and partake of their hospitality. 'Abbâs went at once, and was well entertained. On taking leave, he gave them an invitation in return, and they answered, ' We will attend you with pleasure, as we expect you will contrive to obtain us a glance at your young monarch, whose

fame is already far beyond his years.' 'Abbâs smiled ; and when the Turks arrived they soon discovered who was their host, and returned loaded with presents.

His Turkish war over, 'Abbâs again attacked the Uzbêgs under Talîm Khân, and entirely defeated them near Herat in 1597. From that time Khurâsân had a respite from these incessant inroads until after the death of 'Abbâs. That wise monarch effectually checked them by planting colonies of warlike Kûrdish horsemen on the frontier ; especially along what is called the *Dâman-i-Koh*, or 'skirt,' to the north of the Atrak valley. He also posted a portion of the Kâjar tribe at Merv.

In 1604 the Shâh attacked the Turks, who still retained several conquests in Azerbaijan and Georgia. He retook Tabrîz and Erivan, and, having defeated the enemy in a great battle, the whole of the provinces of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Diabekr, and Baghdâd, were restored to Persia ; and shortly afterwards Kandahar was wrested from the Great Mogul.

In the meanwhile, to make his power more secure, and to suppress the insolence of the Kuzil-bâshes, who threatened to become another Prætorian Guard, he put several of their chiefs to death ; and formed a tribe of his own, called *Shâh Sevund*, 'King's Friends,' which soon became very numerous, and was always loyal to the Sufavean dynasty. He also, to be the more independent of the Kuzil-bâshes, formed a corps of 10,000 horse and 12,000 foot, exclusively under his own orders. These soldiers were called *Gholams*,



or 'slaves of the King,' which is considered an honorable title in Persia.

Shâh 'Abbâs fixed his capital at Isfahân. The city is situated in a fine plain, almost surrounded by mountains, and the river Zainder-Rûd runs past it, whence pipes convey water to the houses.

'Abbâs the Great elevated Isfahân to the rank of one of the most famous cities in Asia. The Great Mosque, the noble palace of *Chebel Setûn*, the avenues and palaces of the *Char Bâgh*, and the bridge over the Zainder-Rûd were all built or planted by 'Abbâs.

In the time of its splendour, Isfahân was twelve miles round, and possessed 150 mosques, many public baths, and spacious squares. Several of the streets were arched over. The *Maidân*, or Royal Square, was a third of a mile long. At the south end was the Great Mosque, two other sides were occupied with shops, and there was a market in the centre. On the remaining side stood the palace, with a fine row of trees, and a running stream in front. Inside the palace gate, on the left, was the hall where the Wazîr administered justice. Thence there was a handsome walk to the audience hall, a long room painted and gilded, and supported by forty pillars. At the further end was the royal throne, on which was spread a rich brocade carpet. There were many other halls; and delicious pleasure-grounds, with fountains and cascades, were attached to the harem.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The architecture of the Sufâwi kings, at Isfahân, is described by Mr. Fergusson.—*History of Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 439.

A walk a mile long, called the *Char Bâgh*, led from the city to the river Zainder-Rûd, with double rows of trees on each side, and in the centre a canal lined with hewn stones, which, at every furlong, fell into a basin and formed a cascade. On either side of the avenue there were gardens and pleasure-houses. At the end was a bridge, with a very high arch, leading to Julfa, a large suburb of Isfahân, inhabited entirely by Armenians, Georgians, and other foreigners; who were encouraged and protected by the enlightened policy of Shâh 'Abbâs.<sup>1</sup>

The river Zainder-Rûd rises in the mountains of Zardah-Kuh, flows past Isfahân, and after a short course loses itself in irrigation. On the opposite side of the Zardah-Kuh range, the much larger river Karûn rises, and falls into the Persian Gulf. Shâh 'Abbâs formed the magnificent design of cutting through the mountain, and bringing the united waters of the Zainder-Rûd and Karûn to his capital. He commenced the undertaking, but it was not completed at his death, and the remains of his work, now called *Kor Kânûn*, may still be seen.

The Shâh also frequently held his court at Kazwîn, near the feet of the Elburz Mountains. This town is situated in a plain, with the high and snow-covered range in full view on the north. For two miles, on

<sup>1</sup> Chardin. The best account of Isfahân, in the time of the Sufaveans, is by Sir John Chardin. He was a French gentleman who fled to England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, being a Protestant. He was knighted by Charles II., and died in 1712.

He first left Paris for the East in 1671, and was for some time a jewel merchant in Persia. On his return he published his travels

every side, it is surrounded by vines planted in deep parallel trenches, and resting on the sunny slopes of the intermediate banks. The mosque has a glazed blue dome, and two high minarets; and an avenue of shady elm-trees leads to the gate of the palace.

But the favourite residence of Shâh 'Abbâs was the beautiful mountainous province of Mazanderân, which borders the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. He carried a causeway across the whole of the province from Keshar, on the south-west corner of the Caspian, to beyond Astrabad, near 300 miles; thus rendering this difficult country passable for armies and travellers at all seasons.

Some parts of this causeway are twenty yards wide, with pavement and a ditch on each side. There are many bridges on it, under which water is conveyed to the rice-fields; and from Aliabad to Sari there are groves of thick woods on each side, whose luxuriant branches afford a delightful shelter. The Shâh threw bridges over most of the rivers in Persia, and erected solid and spacious caravanserais or inns, at intervals on the roads.

He delighted greatly in the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, and erected a palace at Ashraf in Mazanderân. Over the outer gate a sun and lion were carved, to represent the splendour and power of Irân. On passing it there was a long avenue, with thirty apartments for the royal guards on each side. The next gate opened on a garden, in the middle of which was a channel of running water, paved with stones. The garden consisted of walks, bordered by large pines,

orange and other fruit trees, with streams running between them. In front of this garden was the great banqueting hall, hung with pictures; and there were numerous other halls and apartments, with pleasure-grounds attached to them. The whole commands a view of a very fine country, with the Caspian five miles distant, while lofty mountains rise up behind the palace.<sup>1</sup> This was the favourite abode of Shâh 'Abbâs.

His government was quite despotic. His word was law, and his frequent acts of cruelty only prove how unfit any human being is, let his merits be ever so great, to wield such unlimited power. In practice, however, a pure despotism was tempered by the laws of the Kurân, or the written law, called in Persian 'Shirah,' which is administered by learned doctors in the Shâra' Court.

Shâh Isma'il established the office of Sadru-'s-Sudûr, or Chief Pontiff of Persia. He was also called *Nawâb*, in allusion to his office as Vicar of the Imâm el-Mâhdy, until he again appears. The lands with which the mosques were endowed produced a great revenue to this dignitary. Next in religious dignity came the *Mujt-âhids*, 'givers of evidence,' of whom there were seldom more than three or four. They were also very learned and holy men, and great authorities on the Shia'ah doctrine. The *Shaikhu-'l-Islâm*, 'Chief of the Faith,' was the supreme chief of the Shâra' Court. There was one in every great city, nominated by the Shâh, and enjoying a good salary. He is assisted by

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of Jonas Hanway.*

another judge called *Kâdhi*, and a council of *Mùllahs*, or learned doctors; while the *Mufti* prepares an exposition of the case before the Court; but is not a judge. In the small towns there is only a *Kâdhi* to administer the *Shâra'*; and in villages a *Mùllah* suffices.

But, besides the '*Shirah*,' or law of the *Kurân*, there is a system of customs, amounting to laws, in every province, which is administered by secular magistrates in a Court called '*Irf*.' Sir John Chardin says that without the '*Irf*, no person, not a Muslim, could carry on any commercial transactions, as the bigotry of the priests of the *Shâra'* tribunal, and the strict letter of the *Kurân*, would deprive them of any hope of justice. Under the *Shâh* and his *I'timadu'-d-Daulah*, or Prime Minister, the *Bêglar Bêgs*, or Governors of Provinces, were at the head of the civil authority. The *Kalândar* was chief magistrate of a city, and under him were the *Hâkim*, or governors, and *Daroghas*, or lieutenants of police. The heads of villages were called *Ket-Khudâhs*, and *Râis* in the Arabian districts.

There were two kinds of marriages, the one recognized by the *Kurân*, by which a man is allowed to have four wives; and the other called *Zîjah*, confined to Persia, and looked upon with abhorrence by the *Sûnnis*. By the *Zîjah* the duration of the marriage is limited, it may be for a day, or a year, or twenty years; but the number of wives of this kind is unlimited. The offspring are considered legitimate, but hold an inferior position to those children who are born by a marriage according to Muhammadan law.

The religious festivals are an important feature in Persian life. At the festival of *Nau-rauz*, or New Year's Day, it is the custom for all the Governors to send presents to the Shâh. The first ten days of the month *Muhârram*, the first of the year, is then passed in mourning for the death of Husain. At this time there are usually dramatic representations called *Tâziyah*, in which the whole tragedy is acted over again, and the people are worked up to a fearful pitch of religious excitement. On the 20th of the month *Sâfar*, which comes next to *Muhârram*, there is a festival to celebrate the burial of Husain's head; and during the month of *Ramadhân* it is well known that all Muhammadans are bound to fast from sunrise to sunset. On the 10th of *Ramadhân* the death of 'Aly is celebrated as a day of mourning.

One of the wisest acts of the Shâh 'Abbâs was the turning of the tide of Persian pilgrims from the shrines of Mekkah and Kerbela to the more truly national one at Mâsh-had, a city which he made the capital of Khurâsân. The holy Imâm Râzha had suffered martyrdom, and was buried there, and by encouraging pilgrimages to his grave the Shâh succeeded in retaining all the overflowings of religious zeal within his own dominions.

The city of Mâsh-had had been sacked by the Uzbêgs in 1587; but ten years afterwards 'Abbâs the Great raised it to a high state of prosperity as the Holy City, which contained the body of the Imâm Râzha. The city is surrounded by a dry ditch and a mud wall, and is situated in the centre of a vast plain between

two mountain ranges. On the south-east side of the town is the citadel, an oblong with large towers at the angles, and smaller ones connected by curtains.

A magnificent avenue, called the *Khiaban*, planted with rows of fine plane trees and having a large stream of running water flowing through its centre, traverses the whole length of the city, from one end to the other.

The Great Mosque, which is annually resorted to by thousands of pilgrims, is by far the finest building in the city. It is divided into two parts, the first being a large square court, where the devotees are lodged *gratis*. It is paved with flag stones, and the walls are covered with blue tiles, on which there are verses of the Kurân in gold letters. The second division of the mosque covers the remains of the Imâm Rázha, which are deposited in a marble tomb decorated with arabesques and surrounded by a massive silver railing. The whole building is surmounted by a large cupola and two elegant minarets, covered with rich gilding.

Kûm was another holy city, and almost in the very centre of Persia. It is situated in an extensive plain, on the road from Isfahân to Tehran,<sup>1</sup> and on the banks of a small stream which afterwards loses itself in the Great Salt Desert to the eastward. Here was a mosque containing the body of Fâtimah, a sister of the Imâm Rázha, and thus attracted numerous devout pilgrims. By the wise policy of 'Abbás all the wealth, which naturally follows the track of great bodies of devotees, was retained in Persia, and spent in the cities of Másh-had

<sup>1</sup> 80' from Tehran.

and Kûm, instead of forming a constant drain towards Syria and Arabia.

In his foreign relations 'Abbâs displayed as much wisdom as in his home policy. After the conquest of Kandahar, he maintained constant amicable relations with the Great Mogul, and allied himself with the English, Spanish, Dutch, and French Governments.

In 1598 Sir Anthony and Robert Shirley, two English gentlemen, arrived at the Shâh's court at Kazvîn, with a numerous retinue. They were well received, and after some months, Sir Anthony returned to Europe with credentials to several Christian princes. Robert, with five Englishmen, remained at the court of the Shâh. He married a Circassian lady named Teresia, and in 1607 was sent by 'Abbâs as his ambassador to James I. of England.

After travelling through Europe, and remaining a long time at Madrid, Sir Robert Shirley and his Circassian wife landed in his native country in 1611, and was received by James I. with every respect, as the ambassador of a powerful sovereign. His object was to open a trade between England and Persia, but he did not meet with success, owing to the opposition of the Levant merchants. He sailed from Dover with his wife in 1613, and after visiting the court of the Great Mogul, reached Isfahân in 1615. He was, soon afterwards, sent as ambassador to Spain, where he remained until 1622, and in the spring of that year Vandyke painted his portrait at Rome, in the Persian costume. This curious picture is still preserved at Petworth.

In 1618, while Shirley was residing at Madrid, the



government of Philip III. of Spain sent an embassy to Persia, at the head of which was Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, an able and learned diplomatist, who made good use of his time in collecting information, and in writing a detailed account of his mission and of Persia, including a Life of Tîmûr.<sup>1</sup> Garcia de Silva landed at Ormuz, and proceeded thence to Shirâz, where he was most hospitably entertained. The ambassador was forwarded to Kazwîn in June, and had an audience of the Shâh, who received him very graciously. Many conversations afterwards took place between 'Abbâs and the stately Spaniard, touching Spanish victories over the Turks, and other matters of state. But the main object of the embassy, namely security for Ormuz which was now, through the absorption of Portugal, a Spanish possession, was not obtained. Garcia de Silva returned home by way of Aleppo, and embarked at Tripoli for France, on November 12, 1619; devoutly

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Tîmûr, by Garcia de Silva, forming the fifth book of his voluminous work on Persia, is printed in the same volume with the *Crónica de Don Pedro Niño* (Sancha, Madrid, 1782). The remainder is still in manuscript. Purchas (vol. ii.) gives a letter from Silva to the Marquis of Bedma (Bedmar), written from Isfahân in 1619.

Spaniards had become acquainted with Persian affairs through the publication of a very curious, and now very scarce work, fourteen years before the mission of Garcia de Silva. It appears that an educated Persian came to Spain in the beginning of the 17th century, and was baptised with the name of 'Juan.' He was known as 'Don Juan de Persia,' and in 1604 he published a history of his native country, with the following title:—*Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia (tres libros); las cosas notables de Persia, genealogia de sus reyes, guerras de Persianos y Turcos, su conversion, &c.* (Valladolid, 1604.) 8vo. 173 pages.

praying that his friend the Shâh might be victorious over the Grand Turk.

In the meanwhile Shâh 'Abbâs was occupied in establishing and regulating the important trade of the Persian Gulf. Lar, a mountainous province, had previously been completely subdued; and Fars was ruled by Imâm Kûly Khân,<sup>1</sup> one of the Shâh's most trusty and faithful servants. He kept his court at Shîrâz with such magnificence, that 'Abbâs ordered him to spend one dirhem a year less, that there might be some difference between their expenditures.<sup>2</sup>

In 1622 the Shâh determined on the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Persian Gulf. They had seized upon the Isle of Ormuz in 1507, under the famous Albuquerque, and in their hands it had attained great prosperity, and become the emporium of all the commerce of the gulf. But they were quite independent of the Shâh of Persia, whose jealousy and resentment they excited. Assisted by the English East India Company, 'Abbâs collected a fleet at Gombroon, and embarked a Persian force under Imâm Kûly Khân. They laid siege to Ormuz, and the Portuguese, having no hope of succour, were forced to surrender. The island is now covered with desolate heaps of ruins.

The port of Gombroon, on the mainland, and sheltered by the islands of Kishm and Ormuz, rose on the fall of the Portuguese city. It received the name of

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish ambassador calls him 'Berdicano,' and describes him as the richest and most favoured duke in Persia.—*Garcia de Silva MS.*

<sup>2</sup> M. Tavernier, *Travels in Persia.*

*Bandar 'Abbás*, and both the English and Dutch were allowed to establish factories there.

In 1623 Sir Robert Shirley<sup>1</sup> again arrived in England, on an embassy from the Shâh; and in 1627 sailed for Persia, in company with Sir Dormer Cotton, who was sent as envoy from Charles I. of England to the Shâh of Persia. They landed at Gombroon in 1628, and Sir Dormer obtained a very gracious reception from 'Abbás, at Kazvîn, where he soon afterwards died. Sir Robert Shirley had now grown old in the service of Persia. On his return he was slighted by the Shâh and his favourite Muhammad 'Aly Bêg, and he died at Kazvîn in July 1628. Of all the brave and gallant adventurers of the glorious age of Elizabeth, Sir Robert Shirley was by far the greatest traveller, with the exception, perhaps, of Anthony Jenkinson. 'Rank me with those who honour him,' says Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied Sir Dormer Cotton, and published a history of the embassy. His Circassian wife, whom Herbert calls 'the thrice worthy and undaunted Lady Teresia, the faithful wife of Sir Robert Shirley,' retired to Rome, and probably became a nun.

<sup>1</sup> *Sherley Brothers*. Printed for private circulation by Mr. Evelyn Shirley. Sir Robert's embassies to England, his splendid retinue and large pension, excited much attention at the time. In allusion to it, Shakspeare (*Twelfth Night*, ii. 5) makes Fabian say, 'I will not give my part of this sport for a pension of thousands to be paid from the *Sophy*.'

Also in the *Merchant of Venice*, the Prince of Morocco is made to say—

'By this scimitar,  
That slew the *Sophy* and a Persian prince  
That won three fields of Sultan Solyman,' &c. &c.

Act ii. scene 1.

The long and glorious reign of 'Abbâs the Great was now drawing to a close. But the great crime of his life can never be forgotten, and nothing can palliate it. He entertained a miserable jealousy and mistrust of his eldest son Safy Mirza, who possessed many fine qualities, and he caused him to be basely murdered. Not content with this, he had the eyes of his other two sons put out, and the grandson who was designed for his successor, was dosed with opium to prevent him from becoming intelligent.

Such were the atrocious crimes of this great and enlightened prince, whose good qualities were thus destroyed by jealousy and suspicion, the curses of a despot.

'Abbâs was very tolerant, and though religious in other respects was fond of wine. He was almost adored by his subjects, and he certainly established peace and tranquillity in Persia, such as had not been known for centuries. He had a fine face, high nose, and keen piercing eyes, wore no beard, but a large moustache, and was uncommonly robust and active. He died at his favourite palace in Mazanderân, in the year 1628, aged 70. Sir John Chardin says, 'When this great prince ceased to live, Persia ceased to prosper!'

## CHAPTER XI.

THE SUFÂWI DYNASTY—*continued.*

PERSIA was hardly ever more prosperous and powerful than during the reign of 'Abbâs the Great; and after his death, though enjoying comparative immunity from invasion, the country groaned for a century under the rule of cruel and degenerate Sufâwi monarchs.

Shâh 'Abbâs was succeeded in 1628 by his grandson Shâh Safy, a youth only in his eighteenth year. From this period, the royal princes, instead of being educated as soldiers, were, by the short-sighted and suspicious policy of their fathers, imprisoned in the harâm. The natural consequence was that the brave audacious princes who were the immediate successors of Shâh Isma'il, were succeeded by a race of effeminate and cruel tyrants.

Shâh Safy was capricious, cruel, and a great drunkard. His most infamous act was the murder of Imâm Kûly Khân, governor of Fars, the faithful friend and adviser of his grandfather. During this tyrant's imbecile reign, Kandahar was given over to the Great Mogul, and the Turks retook Baghdâd. Shâh Safy died in 1641, and was buried at Kûm.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rodolph Stadler of Zurich was his watchmaker.

He was succeeded by his son 'Abbâs II., who retook Kandahar when only sixteen years of age, conducting the campaign in person.

In 1664 an embassy arrived at Isfahân from the Grand-duke of Muscovy to Shâh 'Abbâs II., consisting of two envoys and eight hundred followers. They were at first courteously received, and lodged in a royal palace, splendidly furnished, which they defiled by their disgustingly filthy habits. The Persians therefore, viewed them as the most base and degraded people in the world; and eventually it was discovered that their object was commerce, and that the character of ambassadors had been assumed to evade the payment of the customary duties on merchandise.<sup>1</sup> The indignation of 'Abbâs II. was excited at their duplicity and filthiness, and he treated them with contempt, sending them back with scarcely an answer.

He also received several embassies from Europe, and gave every encouragement to the Christian merchants and artificers who settled at Isfahân. It is recorded that, when urged to persecute the unbelievers, he said, 'It is for God, not for me, to judge of men's consciences, and I will never interfere with what belongs to the tribunal of the Great Creator and Lord of the Universe.' But, like his father, he was a miserable drunkard, and died from the effects of drink in the year 1668. 'Abbâs II. and his father Shâh Safy are buried in a beautiful mosque at Kûm, with a lofty gilded dome, near the shrine of the holy Fâtimah.

'Abbâs II. was succeeded by his eldest son Shâh

<sup>1</sup> *Chardin*, Paris 1811, vol. ix. p. 112.

Safy II., who, however, having fallen very ill, was crowned a second time, at a more auspicious moment, under the name of Shâh Sulaimân. No people are more addicted to astrological absurdities than the Persians; and to this day no journey is undertaken, no city entered, and no important act performed, without consulting the astrologers for an auspicious hour. Shâh Sulaimân was weak, dissolute, unwarlike, and horribly cruel. Scarcely a day passed without some one of his courtiers or servants being maimed, or put to some lingering torture. At the same time the Uzbêgs renewed their periodical incursions into Khurâsân, the Dutch seized upon the island of Kishm, and the Russians made inroads into Ghîlân and Mazanderân.

But the court of Isfahân, during this reign, was renowned throughout Asia for its splendour, and foreigners continued to be encouraged and protected. The learned Kœmpfer visited Persia at this time, and praises Shâh Sulaimân, who, by every other historian, is branded as a cruel and remorseless tyrant. He died in the year 1694.

His son and successor, named Shâh Sultân Husain, was, during the early part of his reign, under the influence of fanatic Mûllahs, who induced him to persecute those philosophical Sûfis, who represented all the literary merit of his country. This Shâh, though good-hearted, was a weak and licentious man, who no sooner escaped from the influence of the Mûllahs than he fell into the hands of women and eunuchs. For twenty years a profound peace prevailed throughout the empire, but it was the precursor of a terrible and

destructive storm, which was destined to destroy the Sufâwi dynasty, and scatter calamity and death broadcast over Persia.

In the mountainous districts of Kandahar and Kâbul, the hardy tribes of Afghans had for centuries led a wild and almost independent life. They were divided into two great branches, the Ghilzîs of Ghâznah and Kâbul, and the Sâdozâis of Kandahar and Herat, who derived their name from Sâdo, their chief in the time of 'Abbâs I.

Shâh Sultân Husain appointed a Georgian, named Gurghin Khân, as governor of Kandahar, and a chief of one of the Ghilzî tribes, named Mîr Wâis, who had complained of his tyranny, was sent a prisoner to Isfahân.

Mîr Wâis was a man of great talent and no little cunning. He was permitted to go on a pilgrimage to Mekkah in the year 1707, and on his return, he so gained upon the confidence of the Persian court, that he was allowed to return home. At Kandahar he planned a conspiracy against the government, killed Gurghin Khân and all his retinue, seized the city, defeated two Persian armies that were sent against him, and died a natural death in 1715. His brother, Mîr 'Abdallah, succeeded him in the government of the Afghans; but, after a few months, Mahmûd, the son of Mîr Wâis, a very young man, murdered his uncle, and assumed the style of a sovereign prince.

In the meanwhile dark clouds were rising all round the horizon, ready to overwhelm the doomed Sufâwi dynasty. The Sâdozâi tribe revolted at Herat, and declared itself independent in 1717; the Kûrds overran



the country round Hamadân, the Uzbêgs desolated Khurâsân, and the Arabs of Mâskat seized the island of el-Bâhrein, and threatened Bandar 'Abbâs.

Thus surrounded by dangers on all sides, the wretched Shâh was bewildered. He made one vain attempt to regain his possessions in the Persian Gulf; but the Portuguese fleet, which had promised to transport his troops to el-Bâhrein, was defeated by the Imâm of Mâskat, and forced to retreat to Goa.

The court of Isfahân had no sooner received tidings of this disaster, than Mahmûd, with a large army of Afghans invaded Persia in the year 1721, seized Kirmân, and in the following year advanced to within four days' march of the city of Isfahân. The Shâh offered him a sum of money to return to Kandahar, but the Afghân answered by advancing to a place called Gulnabad, within nine miles of the capital.

The effeminate and luxurious courtiers were taken completely by surprise, no preparation had been made, and the capital was unprovided with either provisions or ammunition.

The ill-disciplined Persian army, hastily collected, advanced to attack the rebels. Their centre was led by Shaikh 'Aly Khân, covered by twenty-four field pieces. The Wâlî of Arabia commanded the right, and the I'timâdu-'d-Daulah, or prime minister, the left wing. The whole force amounted to 50,000 men, while the Afghans could not count half that number.

On March 8, 1722, the richly dressed hosts of Persia appeared before the little band of Afghans, who were scorched and disfigured by their long marches. The

Wâli of Arabia commenced the battle by attacking the left wing of the Afghans with great fury, routing it, and plundering their camp. The prime minister, immediately afterwards, attacked the enemy's left wing, but was routed, and the Afghans, taking advantage of the confusion, captured the Persian guns and turned them on their centre, who fled in confusion, without striking a blow. The Wâli of Arabia escaped into Isfahân, and Mahmûd the Afghan gained a complete victory. Fifteen thousand Persians remained dead on the field. A panic now seized on the surrounding inhabitants, thousands of country people fled into the city, and the squares and streets were filled with a helpless multitude.

Isfahân was then one of the most magnificent and largest cities in Asia, containing more than 600,000 inhabitants.

After his victory, Mahmûd seized on the Armenian suburb of Julfa, and invested the doomed city; but Tahmasp, son of the Shâh, had previously escaped into the mountains of Mazanderân.

Famine soon began to press hard upon the besieged, and, in September, Shâh Husain offered to capitulate. He agreed to abdicate in favour of Mahmûd, and to deliver himself up as a prisoner. Having been conducted to the Afghan camp, he fixed the royal plume of feathers on the young rebel's turban, with his own hand; and 4,000 Afghans were ordered to occupy the palace and gates of the city.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have an account of the Afghan invasion, and sack of Isfahân, from an eye-witness, Father Krusinski, Procurator of the Jesuits at

Mahmûd entered Isfahân in triumph, with the captive Shâh on his left hand ; and seating himself on the throne, in the royal palace, he was saluted as Sovereign of Persia by the unfortunate Husain.

When Tahmasp, the fugitive prince, received tidings of the abdication of his father, he at once assumed the title of Shâh, at Kazvîn.

Turkey and Russia were not slow to take advantage of the calamities of Persia. The Turks seized on Tiflis, Tabrîz, and Hamadân ; while Peter the Great, whose aid had been sought by the friendless Tahmasp, fitted out a fleet on the Caspian.<sup>1</sup> The Russians occupied Shîrvân, and the province of Ghîlân on the S.W. corner of the Caspian ;<sup>2</sup> and Peter made a treaty with Tahmasp II., in July 1722, by which he agreed to drive the Afghans out of Persia, on condition that Derbent, Bâkû, Ghîlân, Mazanderân, and Astrabad, were ceded to Russia in perpetuity.

A modest request ! These were all the richest and most important northern provinces of Persia.

In the meanwhile the cruel invader was deluging Isfahân with the blood of its citizens. Dreading re-

that place, whose interesting work was translated into English in the last century.

<sup>1</sup> In 1721 Sultân Husain sent an embassy to the Russians, seeking aid against the Afghans.

In May 1722 a flotilla descended the Volga, commanded by Czar Peter, and on July 19 the Russian flag first waved over the Caspian. Ghîlân was occupied by 6,000 men under General Matuschkin. Peter died in January, 1725.

<sup>2</sup> The Russians remained in Ghîlân until 1734, when they were obliged to evacuate it, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate.

bellion, in 1723, he invited three hundred of the principal Persian nobility to a banquet, and massacred them. Then, to prevent their children from rising up in vengeance, they were all murdered also. Having perpetrated these atrocities, he proceeded to slaughter vast numbers of the citizens of Isfahân, until the place was nearly depopulated.

Not content with this, in February 1725, the wicked young monster assembled all the captives of the royal family in the courtyard of the palace, except the Shâh, and caused them all to be murdered, commencing the massacre with his own hand. The wretched Husain, frantic with grief, rushed to this scene of horror, and was himself wounded in endeavouring vainly to save his little infant son, only five years of age. All the males of the royal family, except Husain himself, Tahmasp, and two children, are said to have perished.

At length the inhuman miscreant died, at the early age of twenty-seven, on April 22, 1725. He had scarcely any neck, round shoulders, broad face with a flat nose, thin beard, and squinting eyes, which were generally downcast.

Mahmûd was succeeded in his usurpation by Ashraf, the son of Mir 'Abdallah, and consequently first cousin of the dead tyrant. He was a brave but cruel Afghan. He gave the dethroned Shâh a handsome allowance, and strove, by a mild policy, to acquire popularity. In 1727, after a short war, he signed a treaty with the Turks, acknowledging the Sultân as Chief of the Muslims.

But the fortunate star of Tahmasp II. was now

beginning to rise, and the days of Afghan usurpation were numbered. He had collected a small army in Mazanderân, and was supported by Fat-h 'Aly Khân, the powerful chief of the Kájar tribe. In 1727 the fugitive Shâh was joined by Nâdir Kûly, a robber chief, who was already famous for his undaunted valour, and who was destined to become the mightiest conqueror of the age. He murdered Fat-h 'Aly, and, having easily appeased the Shâh, received the command of the royal army.

In 1729 Ashraf became alarmed at these formidable preparations in the north, and led an Afghan army into Khurâsân, where he was defeated by Nâdir at Damghân, and forced to retreat.

The Persian general followed close in his rear, and again entirely defeated him outside Isfahân, in November of the same year. The Afghans fled through the town; and Ashraf, murdering the poor old Shâh Husain in his way, fled with the wreck of his army towards Shirâz.

On November 16, the victorious Nâdir entered Isfahân; and was soon followed by his master, the young Shâh Tahmasp II., who burst into tears when he beheld the ruined and defaced walls of the palace of his ancestors. His mother, who had escaped the numerous massacres, by disguising herself as a slave, and performing the most degrading offices, now came forth, and threw herself into his arms.

Nâdir did not give his enemies time to recover from their defeat. He followed them up, and again utterly defeated them in January, 1730. Ashraf tried to

escape to Kandahar almost alone, but was murdered by a party of Balûchî robbers ; and thus, by the genius of Nâdir, his native land was delivered from the terrible Afghan invaders. The ambition of Nâdir, however, was far greater than his loyalty. On the pretext of his incapacity, he dethroned Tahmasp II. in 1732, and sent him a prisoner into Khurâsân, where he was murdered, some years afterwards, by Nâdir's son, while the conqueror was absent on his Indian expedition. For a short time the wily usurper placed Tahmasp's son on the throne, a little child, with the title of 'Abbâs III., while he contented himself with the office of Regent. Poor little 'Abbâs died at a very convenient time, in the year 1736, and Nâdir then threw off the mask. He was proclaimed Shâh of Persia, by a vast assemblage, on the plain of Mogân.

Thus ended the Sufâwi dynasty, after reigning 223 years, from the accession of Shâh Isma'îl to the capture of Isfahân by the Afghans. The sovereigns of this race fill a very conspicuous and important position. Under them the Persians were once more consolidated into one powerful people, with national feelings and national antipathies ; under them the Shia'ah religion became firmly rooted into the hearts of the people, and by making them despise and distrust their neighbours, bound them more closely together by unity of interests ; and under them the poetry and literature of former ages was so effectually patronized, that from that time to this, every Persian with the slightest pretension to refinement, is able to quote many passages from the Sûfy poets. Nor was this period deficient in

authors of its own. Muhammad Kumâl, in the reign of 'Abbâs II., wrote a History of Persia from the reign of Shâh Isma'il: and that famous historian, Ferishta, though living in India, and resting his fame on a History of Indian Dynasties, was a Persian, born at Astrabad, on the shores of the Caspian, in the year 1570.

Shâh Isma'il and 'Abbâs the Great were two of the most talented and powerful sovereigns of Persia since the days of Naurshîrvan; but the later Shâhs of this dynasty were cruel and degenerate tyrants, who had filled their cup of iniquity to overflowing, when the mighty Nâdir put an end to their existence, and proclaimed that the Sufâwis had ceased to reign.

## CHAPTER XII.

## NÂDIR SHÂH.

IN a wretched little tent, which was pitched near the fortress of Kelat, in Khurâsân, famous as the site of one of Rostam's victories, a poor woman gave birth to a son, who was named *Nâdir Kûly*, or 'the Slave of the Wonderful,' in the year 1688. The child's father earned his livelihood by making sheep-skin coats for the peasants, and Nâdir was brought up as shepherd until the age of thirteen, when his father died. An ass and a camel were his only patrimony, and he kept his mother by gathering sticks in the woods and carrying them to market.

In 1704 a marauding band of Uzbêgs carried himself and his mother away into slavery. The latter died, but young Nâdir escaped, after four years of servitude, and, having stolen a flock of sheep, fled into the mountains of Khurâsân, and adopted the life of a robber. His reputation for daring and bravery soon spread over the country; and in 1714 he received the command of a large force, from the governor of his native province, with which he repulsed an invasion of the Uzbêgs and Tûrkmâns.

When Persia was groaning under the yoke of the



conquering Afghans, and the rightful Shâh was a fugitive in Mazanderân, the intrepid robber chief offered his services to his unfortunate sovereign : and, having murdered Fat-h 'Aly Khân, chief of the Kájars, and former commander, he became General of Tahmasp's army.

Nâdir now displayed extraordinary ability, and, as has been before related, in two years had conquered the Afghans in several hard-fought battles, thus completely ridding Persia from foreign invasion. For a time Tahmasp II. was restored to the throne, but the ambition of the robber could never rest satisfied with the position of a subject. Tahmasp and his little son were disposed of; and in 1736 Nâdir was proclaimed Shâh of Persia, by a vast assemblage of chiefs on the famous plains of Mogân, in Azerbâijân.

Having defeated the Turks, and driven them out of Hamadân, Nâdir turned an eye of longing cupidity on the rich, but now degenerate, Indian empire of the Great Mogul.

The empire of the descendants of Bâber in India,<sup>1</sup> had risen to the height of its splendour during the reign of Aurungzêb, who died in 1707; and, at the time of Nâdir's rise, it was sunk to the lowest ebb of degradation. Muhammad Shâh, the reigning Great Mogul, passed his time in sensual pleasures in the palace at Delhi, while the Mahrattas plundered his

<sup>1</sup> Bâber, that most charming of autobiographers, was a Turk, and hated the Moguls most cordially. It is curious that his descendants, through ignorance, should have received in Europe the name of Great Moguls.

southern frontier, and the Sikhs and Rohillas assumed virtual independence in the north and west. One of the great 'Umarâs or lords, who enjoyed the title of *Nizâmu-'l-Mulk*, 'Regulator of the State,' governed the important province of the Dekkan; while Devrân Khân, the chief adviser of the Mogul, exposed his pusillanimous weakness by bribing the Mahrattas with large sums, to desist from their incursions.

The rich and splendid city of Delhi, the centre of all this pitiable weakness, was founded by Shâh-Jehân in 1631, on the west side of the river Jumna, in the midst of a fertile plain. The palace, surrounded by a wall 30 feet high, of reddish stone, is built along the banks of the river, and encircled by orange groves and apricot trees. The *Diwân-i-Khâss*, or 'hall of audience,' was the chief pride of the palace, and an inscription proclaimed, 'If there is an elysium on earth, it is here—this is it!' In its palmy days it contained the famous throne, which stood on six massy golden legs set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, while golden peacocks, covered with precious stones and pearls, formed its canopy. The ceiling of this superb hall consisted of satin canopies, and the walls were hung with silken tapestries embroidered with gold. Here the Great Mogul, surrounded by 'Umarâs in gorgeous dresses, gave audiences to governors and ambassadors. On these state occasions he was attired in white satin, covered with gold embroidery, a turban of cloth of gold surmounted by the figure of a heron, whose feet were covered with large diamonds, and a collar of enormous pearls. The other chambers of the palace

were no less magnificent, and the vaults were filled with countless treasure. The houses of the rich and luxurious 'Umarâs beautified the two principal streets of the city, but the poorer classes lived in mean houses thatched with straw.

It can be no matter of wonder that these vast treasures were coveted by the victorious Nâdir; and that the Great Mogul and his effeminate court should have been suddenly startled, in the midst of their pleasures, by the news that a Persian army was on the frontier.

The detention of an envoy gave a pretext for invasion. Having captured Kandahar, Nâdir invested the city of Kâbul, which was bravely defended by a chief named Sherzih Khân. But his applications for aid were neglected by the Court of Delhi, and, after a month's siege, Kâbul was taken by storm in June 1738. The Persian army then advanced through the narrow mountainous passes between Kâbul and Peshâwur, and Nâdir succeeded in bribing the warlike Afghan tribes to remain neutral. He thus conducted his forces in safety through those dangerous defiles, and captured Peshâwur. Having surmounted this difficulty, the invader led his army across the Indus at Atak, by means of two iron chains, to which inflated skins were made fast, and covered with planks, thus forming a bridge of boats.

The Court of the Mogul was at length thoroughly alarmed. A vast army of 200,000 men, under the joint command of Devrân Khân and Nizâmu-'l-Mulk, who hated each other most cordially, was collected

outside the walls of the capital, and having been joined by Muhammad Shâh in person, with a splendid court, they advanced to the plain of Karnâl, about 60 miles north of Delhi.

Having crossed the Indus, Nâdir Shâh rested his army for a few days at Lahore, and then advanced towards the plain of Karnâl. In 28 months he had marched more than 850 miles. At the same time the Mogul was reinforced by Saadit Khân, a powerful 'Umarâ, with 20,000 men ; but the vast assemblage of Indians, without discipline, valour, or unanimity, had little chance against the tried veterans of Nâdir's army.

The engagement was commenced by a party of 6,000 Kûrds, who began to pillage the baggage of Saadit Khân's division, on the extreme right of the Indian army. Devrân Khân led his men up to strengthen Saadit, and Nâdir advancing at the same time, with a thousand chosen horse, the action became warm ; but the Indians, by the judicious arrangement of the Persian, were also attacked in flank, their brigade of elephants was routed by the clever contrivance of placing stages full of burning tow on the backs of camels, and a panic seized the army. In the thick of the fight Devrân Khân was mortally wounded, and fell back senseless on his elephant. Night put an end to the strife. Only a small portion of the Indian right wing had been engaged, and the Great Mogul was desirous of renewing the battle on the following day. But the cowardly or treacherous counsel of the Nizâmu-'l-Mulk prevailed, and the Emperor of India submitted to the terms of the rude conqueror.

Muhammad Shâh, the following day, was conducted to Nâdir's tent by the Persian Wazir Tahmasp Khân, where he was received with courtesy, but upbraided for having given the conqueror the trouble to march so far to chastise him. The Mogul listened in silence and shame, and the next day the melancholy march to Delhi commenced.

The Great Mogul was attended by 12,000 Persians, followed by Nâdir with the bulk of his army, and in six days the disgraced monarch found himself a prisoner in his own capital. On the following day Nâdir Shâh made his entry into the city, where every house was closed, and proceeded straight to the palace. Here the Indian lords, with true oriental servility, vied with each other in obsequious flattery of their new master. Saadit Khân, alone, preferred a dose of poison.<sup>1</sup>

Next day Tahmasp Khân sent some Persian cavalry to open the granaries, which caused the assembly of a mob, and several Persians were killed. Nâdir issued out of the palace to suppress the tumult, but moderation only increased the insolence of the Hindús, and at length the fierce warrior's wrath was kindled. He ordered the whole city to be given up to pillage and massacre; and, drawing his sword, he stationed himself

<sup>1</sup> Saadit Khân invited Nâdir into India, and the loss of the battle of Karnâl was concerted between him and Asaf Jah (the Nizâm-ul-Mulk), ancestor of the Nizâms of the Dekkan. Nâdir rewarded their treachery by spitting on their beards, and ordering them to be driven from his court. Saadit Khân, Governor of Oudh, was ancestor of the kings of Oudh. He was originally a Persian pedlar, native of Khurâsân.

on the roof of a mosque near the centre of the city,<sup>1</sup> whence he overlooked the work of destruction in grim and sullen silence. He had ordered that in every street where the dead body of a Persian was found, no soul should remain alive. Neither age nor sex was spared, rivers of blood flowed through the streets, and every house from the palace to the hovel was filled with mourning.

At length the wretched Emperor threw himself at Nâdir's feet, and implored him to spare his people. The haughty conqueror answered that the Mogul's prayer was granted. He sheathed his sword, and the massacre ceased. It had lasted from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M., and not less than 120,000 souls, or, according to another account, 200,000, had perished ;<sup>2</sup> while many women had suffered most infamous treatment before they were relieved by death.

Next day, under threat of punishment, all persons were ordered to pursue their usual employments, and a festival celebrated the betrothal of Nâdir's second son to a niece of the Great Mogul. The etiquette of the Imperial Court required that the bridegroom should prove seven generations of noble ancestry. 'Tell them,' said Nâdir, 'that he is the son of Nâdir, the son of the sword, the grandson of the sword, and so on for seventy, instead of seven generations, if they like it.' The fallen monarch was satisfied with the nobility of this terrible pedigree.

Tahmasp Khân, the Persian Wazîr, was commissioned

<sup>1</sup> The little mosque of Roknu-'d-Daulah, in the great bazar.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser makes the number from 120,000 to 150,000.

to inspect the collection of the treasure to be extorted from the people and court of Delhi. The contributions were exacted from high and low, with the utmost rigour ; no cruelties were left unpractised ; and at length an enormous sum was amassed. The jewels taken from the Great Mogul himself and his nobles amounted to 42,500,000*l.* ; the famous peacock throne being alone valued at 11,250,000*l.* Gold and silver plate, melted into large ingots, came to 37,500,000*l.* ; and other spoils, consisting of rich furniture, cannon, and warlike stores, brought the amount up to the prodigious sum of 87,500,000*l.* Another account gives it at 70,000,000*l.* ; and the lowest estimate is considerably above 30,000,000*l.*<sup>1</sup>

This wholesale spoliation gives some idea of the splendour of the Court of Delhi, previous to the ruinous invasion of the Persians.

Before leaving Delhi, Nâdir Shâh replaced the crown on the head of the Great Mogul with his own hand, and gave him a long lecture on the government of India, concluding with these alarming words, ‘ If necessary, I can be with you myself in forty days from Kandahar. Never reckon me far off.’ On the 4th of May 1739, the conqueror mustered his army in the

<sup>1</sup> <i>Scott</i> gives about 8,000,000 <i>l.</i> to 9,000,000 <i>l.</i>	} in money alone.
The <i>Nâdir-nâmeh</i> says 15 crores of rupees	
<i>Fraser</i> says 30 crores of rupees	
<i>Hanway</i> , 37,500,000 <i>l.</i>	
<i>Tavernier</i> estimates the peacock throne at 6,000,000 <i>l.</i>	
<i>Nâdir-nâmeh</i> " " " " " 2,000,000 <i>l.</i>	
<i>Scott</i> " " " " " 1,000,000 <i>l.</i>	
<i>Hanway</i> " " " " " 11,250,000 <i>l.</i>	

gardens of Shâlimar, on the north side of Delhi, with a vast train of camels, horses and elephants, laden with the spoils, and the following day he commenced his march towards Persia.

It is estimated that, besides the treasure taken away, the natives of Delhi lost 30,000,000*l.* by damage done to houses burnt and fields laid waste. At least 200,000 human beings perished in this terrible visitation—40,000 between Peshâwur and Karnâl, 110,000 in the massacre, and 50,000 by a famine caused by the ravages of the invaders.

It would have been well for the fame of the once mighty family of Tîmûr, if Muhammad Shâh had fallen, sword in hand, at Karnâl, instead of lingering on a disgraced existence in his ruined capital. His pitiable descendants sank lower and lower, first in the power of the Afghans and Mahrattas, then as pensioners of the British Government; and in our time the degenerate representative of the mighty Tîmûr, the accomplished Shâh Rokh, the brave and learned Bâber, and the magnificent Aurungzîb, became the miserable puppet of an inhuman gang of mutineers.

On his return, Nâdir first marched to Herat, where he made a triumphant display of his treasures, previous to depositing them in the almost impregnable castle of Kelat, close to his own birthplace, in Khurâsân. He then undertook a successful campaign against Khiva and Bukhâra.

But the robbery of the riches of Delhi proved a curse to him. From the time of his return he became suspicious, avaricious, and cruel. Numbers of innocent



persons were almost daily put to death or horribly mutilated ; and his own son Râzha Kûly, who, it is true, had intended to assassinate his father, had his eyes put out. Nevertheless, this extraordinary man conceived many plans for the improvement of the country, and encouraged the enterprise of foreign merchants. He established his capital at Mâsh-had.

One of the most remarkable events in the reign of Nâdir Shâh, was the attempt of some English merchants to open a trade with Persia, by Russia and the Caspian Sea.

Anthony Jenkinson, Queen Elizabeth's envoy to Shâh Tahmasp, was the first Englishman who ever hoisted the cross of St. George at the peak of his own ship on the Caspian Sea. In 1557 he travelled through Russia to Bukhâra, and returned by the Caspian and the Volga in 1560. He obtained a decree from the king of Shîrvân, granting permission to the English to establish a factory there. In 1579 one Christopher Burrough built a ship at Nijni Novgorod, and traded across the Caspian to Bâkû ; but she was stranded by the ice, and the cargo of raw silk, being saved in a boat, was landed at Astrakhan.

The Caspian Sea is 640 miles long and from 100 to 200 broad. Towards the centre it is very deep, but other parts are shallow, and the N.E. and S.E. shores are low, swampy, and covered with reeds.

There are no tides, but violent gales from the north and south ; and, though there is no outlet, it receives no less than 84 streams and rivers, besides the Volga. There are immense quantities of sturgeon, salmon, and

smaller fish in this sea ; and, after a storm, the shores of Ghilân and Mazanderân are covered with them. It is a remarkable fact that the Caspian is 83 feet below the level of the Black Sea. The Persians call it *Deryâ Kulzûm*.<sup>1</sup>

One of the earliest navigators of the Caspian was Patrocles, Admiral of Seleucus ; and Justinian, the Roman general, ravaged the coast of Hyrcania with his fleet in 572 A.D.

Peter the Great formed a naval armament at Astrakhan, marched in person to Derbent, and caused his army to occupy Ghilân ; but, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, the Empress Anne ordered the troops to evacuate it in 1739. Peter was anxious that the English should open a trade to Persia, through Russia ; and, in 1738, Mr. John Elton, who had been employed for four years by the Russian Government, on the Orenburgh frontier, proposed to the British merchants in St. Petersburg to trade on the Caspian.

In 1738 he left the Russian service, made up a cargo of goods for Persia, and, sailing from Astrakhan, reached the road of Enzeli in May 1739, after a voyage of fourteen days in a Russian vessel. Enzeli is the anchorage for the province of Ghilân ; and Elton, having landed his goods, proceeded to Resht, eight miles inland, to exchange his English broadcloth for raw silk.

<sup>1</sup> The coasts of the Caspian have now been thoroughly explored by Russian officers. The results of the chronometric and magnetic survey of the Caspian, with a chart of soundings, were published by the Russian Government in 1866, in two handsome volumes. The survey operations had been carried on in 1858-61.

Elton obtained a decree from Rázha Kúly, Nâdir's son, granting him permission to trade in Persia; so, leaving his agent Mr. Græme at Resht, he reached St. Petersburg in January, 1740. He there presented a petition to the British minister, applying for leave to build ships, and establish a factory and a consul at Másh-had, with a branch at Resht, and he obtained permission from Russia to build a ship at Kazan.<sup>1</sup>

Soon afterwards, with a large cargo of cloth, he sailed to Persia, and entered into the service of Nâdir Shâh, engaging to build a fleet and protect the Persian shores of the Caspian. There were almost insuperable difficulties of every kind in his way, but this brave and indefatigable Englishman overcame them all. He found good timber in Ghilân, sail-cloth he made of cotton, cordage of flax, and he fished for Russian anchors that had been lost during a course of years on the coast. His grand scheme was to open a trade from Astrabad to Másh-had, and thence to the cities of India.

In 1743, a worthy English merchant, named Jonas Hanway, embarked on board the 'Empress of Russia,' an English vessel with the national flag flying, at Astrakhan. She was a small brig. He had with him 5,000*l.* worth of cloth. Finding no market in Ghilân,

<sup>1</sup> In those days it took

From Ghilân to Astrakhan (including quarantine)	30 days.
„ Astrakhan to Zaritzen „ „	10 „
„ Zaritzen to Moscow „ „	35 „
„ Moscow to St. Petersburg „ „	20 „
	—
Total	95 „

he sailed for Astrabad, and was four days in sight of the splendid peak of Demavend.

While Hanway was at Astrabad, Muhammad Husain Khân, chief of the Kájar tribe, who, after his father had been put to death by Nâdir, had taken refuge with the Tûrkmâns, suddenly attacked and captured the town. All the property of the British merchant was plundered; but the vengeance of Nâdir soon overtook the insurgent. Astrabad was retaken, blood flowed like water, and Muhammad Husain once more took refuge with the Tûrkmâns. His two little sons, Agha Muhammad and Husain Kûly, remained as prisoners in the power of Nâdir Shâh.

Having escaped out of the hands of the Tûrkmâns, Hanway made a journey to Nâdir's camp at Kazvîn, and obtained a decree for payment of his losses at Astrabad.

The English traveller was astonished at the magnificence of the Eastern conqueror and his army. Running footmen, he tells us, chanters, and guards, ran before the Shâh when he rode forth; and he had four complete sets of horse furniture, one mounted with pearls, another with emeralds, another with rubies, and a fourth with diamonds; one of the latter as large as a pigeon's egg (the *Kuh-i-Nûr*?).

In September 1744, Hanway left Resht, and returned to Russia with a cargo of Persian silk. But the jealous policy of the Russian Government could never endure a British trade on the Caspian, and they determined to destroy it. They also watched the proceedings of Elton with suspicion, and were deeply

offended at his having entered the service of Nâdir Shâh. But, in spite of them, the bold Englishman, by dint of indomitable perseverance and great skill, succeeded in completing for the Persian Navy a vessel mounting twenty 3-pounders, and larger than any Russian craft on the Caspian.

In November 1746, jealous of the proceedings of Elton, the Russian Government formally prohibited the British Caspian trade ; and the two English vessels were obliged to be sold, at a great loss, to the Russian merchants at Astrakhan. The whole export of cloth for this trade had been 174,398*l.* : and the import of raw Persian silk only 93,375*l.*

The difficulties against which those gallant merchant adventurers had to contend were insurmountable ; but the attempt to establish commercial intercourse between England and Persia, by means of the Caspian, though unsuccessful, was an undertaking worthy of Englishmen, and deserving of a place in history.<sup>1</sup>

During the latter years of the reign of Nâdir Shâh, his tyranny and capricious cruelty became more and more insupportable. He ordered the beloved and time-honoured Shîa'ah doctrine of the Persians to be changed for the Sûnnah creed, and any disobedience was punished with cruel mutilation or death. At length the wicked tyrant filled up the sum of his crimes, and retribution overtook him in the midst of his terrible career.

<sup>1</sup> One lasting and most valuable result of this bold undertaking was Jonas Hanway's charming account of his travels, and his very valuable *Life of Nâdir Shâh* (3 vols. quarto).

In 1747, Nâdir encamped on the plains of Sultân Maidân, about a day's journey north of Másh-had; where he meditated, with the assistance of his Tûrk-mân and Uzbêg forces, the massacre of all the Persians whose fidelity he suspected. But the plot was overheard, and recoiled upon its author. At dead of night a Persian officer, named Saleh Bêg, passed the guard, and, having discovered Nâdir's tent, he cut him with a sabre while asleep. The tyrant sprang up, but, in retiring from the tent, he tripped over the cords, and Saleh gave him a mortal wound. 'Spare me,' cried he, 'and I will forgive you all.' The assassin answered, 'You have not shown any mercy, and therefore merit none.'

Thus fell this mighty conqueror. He was rude and illiterate, but possessed a magical influence over his soldiers, and an intuitive instinct which seemed to point out to him the exact moment for action. He was six feet high, with round shoulders, and large, expressive eyes, fixed under a broad expanse of forehead. His voice was like thunder, and a battle-axe was his favourite weapon.

Nâdir's head was sent to his nephew, 'Aly Kâly, then commanding troops near Herat; but the courier lost it on the road, and, to screen his negligence, substituted that of some other man. The body was buried at Másh-had, under a small tomb, with a garden planted round it; but the founder of the present reigning dynasty of Persia, the Kájars, whose grand-sire had been murdered by Nâdir, desecrated the tomb, destroyed the garden, dug up the body, and, it is said,

placed his bones under the steps of the throne at Tehran, that all who passed might trample on them. When Burnes was at Mâsh-had in 1832, a peasant had planted a crop of turnips over the grave.

On the death of Nâdir his mighty empire fell to pieces, and anarchy prevailed over Persia. On the day after his assassination the Uzbêgs and Afghans in his army fought a battle with the Persians; and, afterwards, Ahmed 'Abdallah, who commanded the Afghan contingent, rode home with a few thousand horsemen, and as many jewels as he could steal, (among which was the *Kuh-i-Nûr*), and founded the Dârâni empire.

On receiving tidings of his uncle's death, 'Aly Kûly ascended the vacant throne, and assumed the title of Adil Shâh, or 'the Just King.' He displayed his justice by murdering Râzha Kûly, Nâdir's blind son, and thirteen of the sons and grandsons of the deceased conqueror; besides cruelly mutilating Agha Muhammad, the son of Muhammad Husain Khân, chief of the Kâjars, who had been a prisoner in Nâdir's camp for some years. After a reign of a few months, Adil Shâh was defeated, taken prisoner, and blinded by his brother Ibrahim, governor of 'Irâk, who proclaimed himself king; but was, soon afterwards, made prisoner by his own troops, and killed at Mâsh-had, where Adil Shâh was also put to death.

Shâh Rokh, son of Râzha Kûly, and grandson of Nâdir Shâh, then succeeded. He was a very young man, and his mother was a daughter of Shâh Husain, the unfortunate Sufâwi king. In 1748, a chief named

Seyyid Muhammad, suddenly attacked him, before he could collect any troops, and, having got possession of his person, cruelly deprived him of sight. The adventurer, whose mother was a sister of Shâh Husain, then proclaimed himself king with the name of Sulaimân; but Yûsûf, Shâh Rokh's general, defeated him, and the blind young prince was restored. He continued to govern Khurâsân, at Mâsh-had, but the chiefs of that province, though owning him a nominal obedience, virtually remained in a state of complete independence.

Meanwhile, the chiefs of Ghilân, for a brief space, assumed the government of their province, and disgraced it by the murder of that brave and intrepid Englishman, John Elton; but soon, Muhammad Husain Khân, chief of the Kâjars, returned from his exile in the land of the Tûrkmâns, and conquered Mazanderân and Ghilân. Azerbaijan continued under the rule of an Afghan governor appointed by Nâdir; and Georgia, then governed by a Christian prince named Heraclius, who had learnt the art of war in Nâdir's army, was placed under the protection of Russia.

But the most important consequence of Nâdir's death was the formation of a compact and powerful empire in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan, that mountainous country between Persia and India, has, from time immemorial, been inhabited by a brave and independent race of men, who have ever scorned subjection to a foreign yoke, and lead, for the most part, roving, restless lives.

The Afghans are divided into two great tribes or



divisions—the Ghîlzîs, who inhabit Ghâznah and Kâbul; and the Abdûlîs or Dûrânîs of Kandahar and Herat.

The Ghîlzîs, in former times, had the ascendancy, and their chief Mahmûd conquered Persia and overthrew the Sufâwi dynasty; but, after their expulsion by Nâdir Shâh, the rival tribe gained the supremacy.

The numerous Afghan tribes of Abdûlî inhabit a tract of country bounded on the north by the Paropamisan mountains, on the west by the sandy desert extending to Persia, on the south-west by Sistan, on the south by the Balûchîs, and on the east by the Ghîlzîs of Ghâznah.

In the north, at the foot of the Paropamisan mountains, the country is hilly, and contains fertile valleys abounding in tamarisks, willows, and fruit-trees; but the greater part of the land of the Abdûlîs is desert and sandy. The river Helmund, however, has a strip of cultivated country on either bank; and the neighbourhood of Kandahar is fertile and well cultivated.

The Dûrânî or Abdûlî tribe is divided into nine clans, the chief of which are the Sâdozâis—that of the old Royal family—and the Bârakzâis, a spirited, warlike, and numerous sept, inhabiting the country south of Kandahar, the banks of the Helmund, and the plains in its vicinity. In 1808 the Abdûlîs numbered 800,000 souls.

In the early part of the sixteenth century the Abdûlî tribe of Afghans, hard pressed by the Uzbêgs, consented to pay tribute to the Sufâwi kings of Persia;

and then it was that the chief of the Sâdozâis clan obtained supreme authority over the whole Abdûlî tribe, and became possessed of great honour and many privileges. In 1716 they seized Herat, and established a democratic government there under the Sâdozâi chief. Nâdir Shâh besieged Herat in 1731, and took it after a brave defence of ten months. He then forced a large body of Abdûlîs to join his army, under Ahmed 'Abdallah, the young chief of the Sâdozâis.

After the assassination of Nâdir Shâh, in June 1747, Ahmed retreated to Kandahar with about 3,000 horse, and as many jewels as he could secure from the wreck of the Persian camp (including the *Kuh-i-Nâr*). His native tribe, whose name he changed to Dûrânîs, flocked around him, and in October he was crowned, with the title of Ahmed Shâh Dûrî Durân; the most powerful chiefs of the Dûrânîs, Balûchîs and Hâzarehs, being present. In 1748 he reduced the rival Afghan tribe of Ghilzîs, appointing Dûrânî governor over them, and thus became sovereign of the whole of Afghanistan.

Not satisfied with this great success, Ahmed Shâh invaded India, overran the Panjâb, and threatened the city of Delhi (where Muhammed Shâh was on his death-bed), but returned to Kandahar without pursuing his conquests.

In 1749 the Dûrânî Shâh advanced from Herat to Másh-had, where he treated Shâh Rokh, the blind descendant of his old master, with respect and consideration, confirming him in the government of Khurâsân. His further advance into Persia was checked by

the bold defence of the town of Nishápŭr, and the determined opposition of Muhammad Husain Khân, the Kájár chief, at Astrabad. Ahmed, therefore, leaving Sháh Rokh in the enjoyment of his nominal sovereignty at Másh-had, returned to Herat in 1751.

In 1752 the Afghan sovereign marched into the Panjáb, and conquered Kashmír; after which time he remained for four years in peace at Kandahar, strengthening and consolidating his extensive dominions.

Ahmed Sháh again invaded India in 1759, entirely defeated a great army of Mahrattas at Panipút, and entered Delhi in triumph. But the Afghan conqueror prudently refrained from the dangerous task of annexing the vast provinces of India. He left a miserable puppet on the throne at Delhi, and contented himself with Peshâwur, Kashmír, and Sindh.

Ahmed Sháh died near Kandahar in 1773, in his fiftieth year, after an active and most successful career.<sup>1</sup> His dominions, at the time of his death, included Kandahar, Herat, Sistan, Gháznâh, Kâbul, Balkh, Kashmír, and Sindh—thus forming the celebrated DŭrĀnĪ Empire.

Ahmed was succeeded by his son Timŭr, who changed the seat of government from Kandahar to Kâbul. He died in 1793, and his sons who followed him—Sháh Zamân, Mahmŭd, and Sháh Sŭjah—to

<sup>1</sup> Nâdir, for an act of insubordination, had cut off one of his ears. The limits of his empire at his death, were, to north, the Oxus and the mountains of Kaffirstan; to the south the sea of 'Omân; to the east the mountains of Tibet, the Sutlej, and the Indus; and to the west Khurásân and Kirmân.

gether with the famous brothers of the Bârazâi tribe, who overthrew their dynasty, and are now represented by Shir 'Aly Khân, son of the famous Dost Muhammad, have been intimately connected with the modern history both of British India, and of Persia.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE ZEND DYNASTY.

ON the breaking up of the empire of Nâdir Shâh we have seen how Khurâsân remained under the nominal sovereignty of Shâh Rokh; Afghanistan became a powerful kingdom under Ahmed 'Abdallah; Mazanderân and Ghilân were seized by the chief of the Kájars; and Azerbaijan was retained by Azwad Khân, an Afghan of the Ghilzi tribe, who had been made governor of that province by Nâdir.

But the central and most important part of Persia yet remains to be accounted for. During more than twenty years it was governed by the best and most virtuous sovereign of Persia, since its conquest by the Muhammadans.

On the death of Nâdir, the chief of the Bakhtiyâri tribe, named Reshid, who had held a high station in the court of the conqueror, fled, with a large treasure, to his native mountains, and assisted his brother 'Aly Murdân to appear as a competitor for the vacant throne of Persia.

The lofty chain of mountains, extending from Kermanshâh to Shîrâz, and covering great part of the

provinces of Luristân and Khuzistân, is inhabited by numerous and powerful tribes of Persian origin.<sup>1</sup>

The Feilis, a wandering tribe of about 200,000 families, occupy the western side of the mountains of Luristân, and have long been almost independent of any government.

The Bakhtiyâri tribes inhabit the mountains of Lûr, with their winter quarters near the cities of Shuster and Dizful. They are a brave and hardy race, devoted to rapine and plunder, and lineally descended from those terrible mountaineers who opposed the advance of Alexander the Great, and routed the armies of Rome in the height of her power. They number about 100,000 families.

To the south-east of the Bakhtiyâris, and near Shirâz, are the Menâsennî, who claim descent from Zal and Rustam. They are noted robbers, and possess an almost impregnable stronghold at *Kaleh Safid*, or 'The White Castle.'

Such were the forces with which 'Aly Murdân, chief of the Bakhtiyâris, with the assistance of his rich brother, formed an army to conquer the kingdom of Persia.

It was in 1749 that 'Aly Murdân, then a very old man, suddenly seized upon the city of Isfahân, and drove out the governor who held it in the name of Shâh Rokh, the representative of Nâdir.

<sup>1</sup> Morier on *Îlyâts of Persia*, 1837; Layard's *Khûzistân*, 1846; Rawlinson on *Khûzistân and Luristân*, 1838; Baron de Bode on *Khûzistân*, 1841; Lieut. Selby, I.N., on *The Ascent of the Karân*, 1844.

To secure his conquest, 'Aly Murdân invited all the tribes of Persian origin to join him ; and among these was the Zand, whose chief, named Karîm<sup>1</sup> Khân, was distinguished for good sense, bravery, and humanity. The Zand tribe is a branch of the numerous Lâk tribe, which is subdivided into many clans, and scattered over various parts of Persia. They date their origin from the time of the Kaianian dynasty ; and the Zands declare that their ancestors were charged with the care of the Zand Avesta, by the great prophet Zoroaster himself. The Lâks number about 20,000 families, and are renowned for being great thieves.

'Aly Murdân and Karîm Khân, the chiefs of the Bakhtiyâri and Zand tribes, raised up a puppet of the Sufâwi family, a nephew of the unfortunate Shâh Sultân Husain, with the empty title of Isma'îl III.

'Aly Murdân became commander-in-chief, and Karîm Khân was *Wakil*, or minister to this royal puppet. The *Wakil* displayed his excellent qualities, from the time of his first rise to power, in protecting the Isfahânîs, and particularly the Armenians of Julfa, from all injustice. In 1751 the aged Bakhtiyâri chief was assassinated, and the whole weight of the government of Fars fell upon the virtuous and patriotic Karîm. He summoned the Zand and other tribes of Persian origin, and urged them to join him in throwing off the hateful yoke of Turks and Afghans, under which Irân had so often groaned, and which again threatened to fall upon her more heavily than ever.

The two most powerful enemies of Karîm were

<sup>1</sup> *Karîm* means 'Bountiful.'

Azward Khân, the Afghan governor of Azarbaijan, and Muhammad Husain Khân, chief of the Kájars.

In 1752 Karim was entirely defeated by Azward Khân near Kazvín, and forced not only to abandon the cities of Isfahân and Shîrâz, but to retreat into the mountains between Shîrâz and the *Garmsîr*, 'Region of Heat,' as the plains bordering on the shores of the Persian Gulf and the lower valleys are called. When Azward Khân, flushed with victory, advanced to attack him, the Wakil posted his forces in the narrow pass of Kamara, while Rustam, the friendly chief of Khisht, occupied the heights on either side, and fired down upon the foe. The troops of Azward were thrown into irremediable confusion, and Karim's victory was complete. The Afghan chief threw himself on the clemency of the conqueror, and lived for many years in safety and honour at the court of his successful rival. Azward was the last chief of any note of the Ghilzî tribe.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Husain Khân, chief of the Kájars, who had seized upon Mazandarân and Ghilân after the death of Nâdir Shâh, now became Karim's most dangerous and powerful enemy. At the head of a great army, the Kájar marched through 'Irâk and Fars, and besieged the city of Shîrâz itself,<sup>2</sup> in 1757. But here his career was checked. The garrison made frequent sallies, the Zand horse cut off his supplies,

<sup>1</sup> Mountstuart Elphinstone's *Afghanistan*.

<sup>2</sup> In digging the foundations for a cotton-press near the Isfahân gate at Shîrâz, Major St. John came upon vestiges of this siege in the shape of a deposit of human bones and broken and decayed swords and guns.



and at length he was forced to make a rapid retreat across the whole breadth of Persia, to Mazandarân. Karım followed him slowly, and was received with demonstrations of joy and affection by the people of Isfahân, where he remained to re-establish tranquillity in the provinces of Fars and 'Irâk. Meanwhile his general, Shaikh 'Aly Khân, advanced to the north, entirely defeated the Kájars, and put their formidable chief to death. His eldest son, Agha Muhammad, surrendered himself a prisoner, and was treated with all possible kindness by the generous Karım, who lodged him in the palace at Shîrâz. His second son, Husain Kûly,<sup>1</sup> was attacked at Damghân, in Khurâsân, by Zâky Khân, the brother of Karım, and forced to take shelter amongst the Tûrkmâns, who murdered him in 1763. Zâky Khân, who was as cruel as his brother was generous and humane, planted his prisoners in avenues with their heads downwards.

In 1760, Karım Khân Zand, the Wakıl, thus found himself in unopposed possession of the whole of Persia, with the exception of Georgia and Khurâsân; and he devoted the remainder of his life to the happiness of his people, and the internal improvement of his country.

The Sufâwi puppet, Isma'îl III., was sent to the small walled town of *Abâdeh*, on the road between Persepolis and Isfahân; while the Wakıl chose the city of Shîrâz for the seat of his government. Various causes combined to induce him to make this choice, among which were the love its citizens had always borne him, its

<sup>1</sup> Father of Fat-h 'Aly, late Shâh of Persia.

great beauty, its proximity to the powerful tribes in the mountains of Luristân—the chief supporters of Karîm's power—its central position, and its convenient distance from Bushire, a town which had become the chief emporium for trade in the Persian Gulf.

The city of Shîrâz—the home of Sa'ady and of Hâfizh—has been celebrated for its beauty, and delightful situation, from the earliest times. It is situated in a fine, well cultivated plain, surrounded by mountains, about 20 miles long and 6 broad; bounded on the south-east by the salt lake of Mahâlû. Shîrâz is a little more than three miles round, and consists, like all Persian cities, of houses with flat roofs, forming narrow lanes; the private dwellings are better built and more richly ornamented than in Isfâhan and Tehran. The lofty domes of the mosques, covered with lacquered turquoise blue tiles, and the minarets surmounted by gilded crescents, seen afar through the cypress and plane trees, enrich the view. Karîm Khân built the great bazar of Shîrâz, called *Bâzâr-i-Wakîl*, which is the finest in Persia. It is a quarter of a mile long, built of yellow bricks, arched at the top, and lighted with numerous skylights. On each side of the central path are chambers, before which raised booths are constructed, and under them the traders sit, with their goods beside them; while the chambers behind contain the remainder of their stock. The *ark*, or citadel of Shîrâz, is a fortified space, about 80 yards square, which contains a richly furnished palace, built by the Wakil for his harem.

In the vicinity of the city are numerous beautiful

gardens. The most famous is the *Jahân Numa*, or 'Epitome of the World'—where the cypress-trees, which line the walks, are the tallest and largest that were anywhere to be found. Intermixed with these are broad spreading *chenars* (plane trees), all manner of fruits, and abundance of roses and jessamine. Close to this garden flows the classic stream of Roknabâd.<sup>1</sup> In a small neighbouring garden a tomb was erected over the remains of the poet Hâfizh, by Karîm Khân, and a copy of his works is kept near it as a monument of his mind. The Wakîl also repaired the tomb of the immortal Sa'ady.

The vineyards in the vicinity are very extensive, and the wine of Shîrâz, which is very strong, is famous throughout the East. There are also many large rose gardens, the roses being cultivated to extract rose-water; and 2,000 chests, containing 12 English gallons, in thin glass bottles, used to be exported annually.<sup>2</sup>

Karîm Khân improved and ornamented Shîrâz, and beautified its environs. During his time the people 'passed their leisure hours in the society of moon-faced damsels, the sparkling goblet circulated, and love and pleasure reigned in every breast.' There were 10,000 houses, so that the population must have been

<sup>1</sup> General Monteith says it is only two or three feet wide, but it is a perennial stream of clear water.

<sup>2</sup> Before the time of Karîm Khân, Sir Thomas Herbert, Garcia de Silva, Pietro della Valle (A.D. 1622), Sir John Chardin, M. Tavernier, and Capt. Alex. Hamilton (A.D. 1688–1723), have described Shîrâz. Since his time Sir Harford Jones and others have been charmed by the beauties of this city and its environs. Mr. Rich and Mr. Fraser, whose opinions are very unfavourable, were unwell when they visited it. The former died there.

50,000 ; while at the date of Sir John Malcolm's visit, in 1810, it barely reckoned 20,000 souls.<sup>1</sup>

Under the rule of Karîm Khân commerce and agriculture rapidly revived ; and in 1757 the British factory was removed from Gombrûn to Bushire, about 165 miles from Shîrâz by the road.

Seventy miles west of Shîrâz, through a mountainous and well-wooded country, is the town of Kazerûn. There are two steep and difficult passes on the road, one called *Doktar*, ' daughter, or maiden,' eleven miles ; the other, *Pîr-i-zan*, ' old woman,' eighteen miles from Kazerûn. This town is situated in a valley thirty miles long and eight broad, fertilized by a number of rivulets. The crops are abundant, but sometimes they are destroyed by clouds of locusts.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the valley, fourteen miles from Kazerûn, are the ruins of the ancient Shapûr, once a fine city, in a wild spot amidst rocks and precipices, many of which are sculptured. A rapid stream rushes past the ruins.

Kazerûn is 95 miles from Bushire. The first 47 miles are through deep and intricate defiles, or along frightful precipices ; but from Dalikî, a village at the foot of the mountains, a plain extends to the seashore.

The town of Bushire is situated at the northern extremity of a sandy peninsula, eleven miles long, and four broad in the widest part. The town is on all sides surrounded by the sea, except on the south, where a stone wall is built. The inhabitants suffer from the

<sup>1</sup> It has now from 35,000 to 40,000.

<sup>2</sup> Kazerûn was the capital of Fîrûz, grandson of Varahrân Gôr of the Sassanian dynasty.

excessive heat, the thermometer in August being usually 98° in the shade, and above the flat roofs of many of the houses a *bâdgîr*, or 'wind-catcher,' is erected; a tower open at each side, which acts as a funnel, and cools the houses. The water at Bushire is very bad, and the surrounding flat and sandy country abounds in antelopes. The outer road is six miles from the town, and ships, exceeding 300 tons, cannot come closer in.

Karím Khân reduced all the inhabitants of the Persian coast of the gulf to subjection. The Oha'ab Arabs, who inhabit the seashore between the mouths of the Taáb and Karûn, agreed to pay him tribute in 1762, and his brother, Sâdik Khân, besieged and captured el-Bâsrah in 1775. The trade along the coast, under the wise regulations of the Wakil, became very considerable, and quantities of raw silk and bullion were exchanged at Bushire for European goods.

About this time, Baron Kniphausen, with Dutch ships from Batavia, occupied Karak, an island containing about twelve square miles, thirty miles from Bushire. Karak possesses a safe anchorage; there is abundance of water from wells, besides a spring rising in the higher parts, and though the greater part of the island is rocky, the eastern extremity is capable of cultivation. The Dutch fortified Karak, and held it for eleven years, during which time it became a flourishing settlement, and a great emporium of trade for the Persian Gulf.<sup>1</sup>

Karím Khân Zand died at Shîrâz in the year 1779,

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch held Karak from 1754 to 1765. Mîr Makenna, a petty tyrant of Bandar Rîg, on the mainland, who had killed his

in the eightieth year of his age, after having ruled over Persia with justice and moderation for twenty years. Being the son of a petty chief of a wandering tribe, he had received no education, yet he venerated the memory of Hâfizh and of Sa'ady. He was distinguished by a manly simplicity of mind, those enemies who fell into his power were freely pardoned; and though usually gay and cheerful, he attended carefully to his religious duties. The Wakîl was very anxious to suppress robbery, and render the roads throughout Persia safe for travellers. It is related that on one occasion a man rushed rudely into his presence, calling out loudly for justice.

'Who are you?' asked Karim.

'A merchant,' answered the fellow, 'and have been robbed by some thieves.'

'What were you about when you were robbed?'

'I was asleep.'

'And why did you sleep?'

'Because,' answered the man boldly, 'I made a mistake, and thought you were awake.'

Karim was pleased with the plain-spoken merchant, and ordered him at once to be paid the amount of his losses. The memory of this great and good man is still revered by the Persians, and his name is immortalised in the splendid bazar and other buildings of Shirâz.

On the death of Karim Khân his cruel brother Zâky assumed the government, but proclaimed Abdûl

father, brother, two sisters, and two children, took Karak from the Dutch in 1765.

Fat-h, son of the late sovereign, to be his successor. Several years of miserable anarchy followed.

Sâdik, Kerîm's other brother, on hearing of his death, evacuated his conquest at el-Bâsrah, and marched towards Shîrâz with his son Ja'afar, but was forced to retreat to Kirmân. The most important event was the escape of Agha Muhammad Khân Kâjar, who fled hastily to Mazandarân, placed himself at the head of his powerful tribe at Astrabâd, and declared himself a competitor for the crown of Persia in 1779.

Zâky sent his nephew, 'Aly Murad, against him, who, however, revolted against his uncle and occupied Isfahân. The infuriated Zâky advanced with a large force to punish the rebels, as far as the romantic town Yazdikhâst, which is situated on the summit of a perpendicular rock in a broad ravine. The tyrant demanded payment of a sum of money which the inhabitants were unable to raise, and he ordered eighteen of the chief men of the place to be hurled from a window down the precipice. Never did retribution follow so rapidly on crime. Almost instantly the inhabitants rose in rebellion, and punished the murderer with death.

On hearing of Zâky's end, his brother Sâdik hastened to Shîrâz, and put out the eyes of Abdû-'l-Fat-h, the ill-fated son of Karîm Khân. But 'Aly Murad advanced from Isfahân, seized Shîrâz, and put Sâdik to death, though he spared his son Ja'afar Khân.

'Aly Murad reigned over Persia until 1785, and

carried on a successful war with Agha Muhammad, in Mazandarân, defeating him in several engagements, and occupying Tehran and Sari.

'Aly Murad was succeeded by Ja'afar Khân, the son of Sâdik, who was also successful in his war against Agha Muhammad. Ja'afar reigned at Shîrâz, and was assisted in the government by a remarkably clever but unprincipled man of Jewish origin, named Hajji Ibrahim, who was appointed *Kalantar*, or chief magistrate of the city. Ja'afar's son, named Lutf<sup>1</sup> 'Aly Khân, was a brave and warlike young prince, and was employed during his father's reign in subduing the province of Lar.

In 1789 two conspirators named Seyyid Murad and Hajji 'Aly Kûly, governor of Kazerân, succeeded in poisoning Ja'afar; and, cutting off his head, they threw it into the courtyard of the palace at Shîrâz. Seyyid Murad proclaimed himself king, but the wily Hajji Ibrahim managed to preserve the loyalty of the citizens, the upstart was killed, and the youthful Lutf 'Aly Khân, who hastened to Shîrâz on hearing of his father's death, was welcomed by the inhabitants, and was proclaimed sovereign of Persia by Hajji Ibrahim, who became his chief adviser. Mîrza Husain, another native of Shîrâz, received the appointment of wazîr.

At the time of his accession, Lutf 'Aly Khân was only in his twentieth year, very handsome, tall, and graceful, brave as the hero Rustam, and, like him, an excellent horseman. His beautiful horse *Koraun*

<sup>1</sup> Lutf 'Aly, 'the favour of 'Aly.'



revived the memory of *Reksh* in the minds of the people of Irân. To his fearless bravery and indomitable perseverance Lutf 'Aly united the nobler virtues of generosity and magnanimity. He formed many enduring friendships; and, though false-hearted traitors forsook him in the hour of adversity, others nobly stood by him to the last. Though differing widely in character, Lutf 'Aly Khân was a worthy successor of Karim Khân, the great founder of the Zand dynasty.

He had not been many months on the throne when Agha Muhammad advanced to attack him, and invested the city of Shîrâz, but retreated soon afterwards to Tehran, which he had made the capital of his dominions. The young king then enjoyed a short period of peace. It was at this time that Sir Harford Jones, who had visited Shîrâz for the first time in 1786, came to the court of Lutf 'Aly Khân. We may judge of the impression it left on his mind, from his mournful feelings when he again passed through Shîrâz in 1808.

'I am now in Shîrâz!' he says, 'but with what different feelings to those experienced in my former visit to this city. Where is the noble sovereign, the true lion of war, to whose presence I was familiarly admitted whenever I chose to seek the honour? Betrayed and cruelly destroyed. Where is the royal child whose innocent tattle gave me so much pleasure? Alas! alive, but most inhumanly mutilated. Where is the scoundrel whose mad ambition and black heart brought ruin on his confiding king, and misery the most severe on his fellow-citizens? Gone, I hope,

trust, and believe, to receive a just punishment for his most atrocious villainies. Where is that great, good, and amiable minister, Mírza Husain, whose conversation was a charm, and whose hospitable mansion was always open to me? Where are many other kind friends with whom, when Persia was a new world to me, I rambled about, and loitered, or feasted in the garden of the Wakil, or by the tomb of Sa'ady? Gone! gone for ever!

During the few short months of Lutf 'Aly Khân's prosperity, Shîrâz saw the last of her happy days. Outside the walls of the city Karîm Khân had caused a long straight road, 120 feet wide, to be laid out, well gravelled, and planted on either side with chenar-trees. Here the courtiers of Lutf 'Aly's court would sit in the cool of the evening, and sip their iced sherbet, while many a pleasant party was formed in the neighbouring gardens. The ice was collected for the summer supply of the city at a place three miles north of Shîrâz. A high wall ran north and south, and at its foot on the north side there was a deep ditch. Near it the Rok-nabâd was diverted from its course, into numerous shallow trenches. The water thus admitted was frozen over in the night, and in the morning the ice was shovelled into the large ditch, which, when full, was covered over and secured from the action of the air. The fruits of Shîrâz were cooled by frozen snow, which is preserved in caverns of the surrounding Mountains.

In the year 1790 Lutf 'Aly Khân collected his forces, and marched against the Kájars, in the direction of

Isfahân. But that 'black-hearted villain,' Hajji Ibrahîm, had been intriguing against his kind young sovereign, to whose family he owed everything, not only in the army, but also with Agha Muhammad, the chief of the Kájars, and arch-enemy of the Zands.

Lutf 'Aly Khân was suddenly deserted by the whole of his army, except seventy faithful followers; and when he retreated to Shîrâz, he found the gates closed against him by that Hajji Ibrahîm, who held the city for the Kájar chief. The unfortunate young prince retreated to Bushire, but the Shaikh of that town had also betrayed him. Surrounded by treason on every side, basely deserted alike by his dearest friends and by those who had been raised from the dust by his family, to most men there would have appeared no hope but in flight. The lion-hearted Zand, however, was a worthy countryman of the heroic Rustam. Undaunted by the black clouds that gathered round him, with his little band he boldly attacked and defeated the Shaikh of Bushire, and blockaded the city of Shîrâz. His unconquerable valour gained him many followers, and he defeated an army sent against him by the Kájar in 1792.

Agha Muhammad then advanced in person against his gallant young rival. He encamped with an army of 30,000 men on the plain of Mardasht, near Shîrâz, which, where uncultivated, is covered with the liquorice plant. Lutf 'Aly Khân, in the dead of night, suddenly attacked the camp of his enemy with only a few hundred followers. The Kájars were completely routed and thrown into confusion; but Agha Muhammad,

with extraordinary presence of mind, remained in his tent, and at the first appearance of dawn his *mu'azhin* was ordered to call the faithful to morning prayer as usual. Astonished at this, the handful of Zand cavalry thought that the whole army of Kájars had returned, and they fled with precipitation, leaving the field in possession of Agha Muhammad. The successful Kájar then entered Shírâz, which the traitor Hajji Ibrahim, whom he promoted to be his wazír, had held for several months in his name.

Lutf 'Aly Khân took refuge with the hospitable chief of Tabbas, in the south part of Khurâsân. The small khanat of Tabbas, 396 miles south of Másh-had, and 244 north of Kirmân, is surrounded by a sandy desert for thirty miles, in every direction. On the road from Kirmân there are quicksands in the desert where camels, horses, and men are often swallowed up, and the sand flows in strong winds, and buries every unfortunate whose path it crosses. The town of Tabbas is rudely fortified, and carries on a traffic in sheep and camels, which are bred in great numbers. An Arab tribe, named Benu Shaibân, had been settled in this distant spot since the time of the Khalífahs; and their chief, named Mír Husain Khân, a sensible and honourable man, hospitably received the fugitive prince.

Lutf 'Aly Khân succeeded in collecting a few followers at Tabbas, and advanced into Fars, but was again defeated, and forced to take refuge at Kandahar.

In 1794, however, the undaunted young prince once more advanced into Persia, determined to make a last effort, and either regain his throne, or die in the

attempt. He occupied the city of Kirmân, and, says his historian, 'the fortune of this prince, like the splendour of the meteor which he resembled, shone brightest at the moment of its close.'<sup>1</sup>

Kirmân, at the time that Ormuz and Gombrûn were the chief ports of Persia, was a flourishing commercial town, being half-way between the Persian Gulf and the province of Khurâsân. It had a very fine bazar, and was well fortified. Agha Muhammad besieged it with a large army in 1795, and after a gallant resistance the gates were opened through treachery. For three hours the gallant young prince fought in the streets with determined valour, but in vain. When he saw that all hope was gone, he spurred his faithful horse against the ranks of the enemy, and, with only three followers, fought his way through the Kâjar host, and escaped to Narmashîr, the most eastern district of the province of Kirmân, on the borders of Sistan.

Furious at the escape of his rival, the savage conqueror ordered a general massacre; 20,000 women and children were sold into slavery, and 70,000 eyes of the inhabitants of Kirmân were brought to Agha Muhammad on a platter. The monster counted them with the point of his dagger, then, turning to his minister, he exclaimed, 'If one had been wanting, I would have made up the number with your own eyes.' Kirmân has never fully recovered from the effects of this fiend's atrocities.

The district of Bam-Narmashîr, the last abiding place

<sup>1</sup> 'Aly Râzha's 'History of the Zand Family,' from Malcolm's *History of Persia*.

of the ill-starred Lutf 'Aly, is 90 miles long by 40 broad; with a range of mountains to the south, whose summits are covered with snow. The soil is fertile, and the district is well watered by streams from the mountains. Besides Bam, the capital, there are the little towns of Rîgân, Kuruk and others, which are surrounded by mud walls, within which the cattle are driven every night for protection from the predatory incursions of the Balûchîs. The fort of Bam has a high mud wall, flanked with towers, a broad dry ditch, and only one gate. Outside the ramparts is a bazar, supplied with milk, dates, and other fruit. Part of Narmashîr is fertile and well cultivated, but it is surrounded by wild deserts and mountains.<sup>1</sup>

The fugitive prince took refuge in the town of Bam; but the governor of Narmashîr, anxious to propitiate the conqueror, basely surrounded him, as he was mounting his faithful horse Koraun, to seek a more secure asylum. The young prince fought bravely; but, being badly wounded, and overpowered by numbers, he was secured, and sent to the camp of the Kâjar chief.

The spot where he was seized at Bam, when mounting his horse, is marked by a pyramid, formed, by order of his cruel conqueror, of the skulls of the most faithful of his adherents.

The most hideous indignities and atrocities were committed upon his person by the brutal Kâjar, in

<sup>1</sup> Pottinger travelled through Narmashîr in 1810. He was at Rîgân on April 23, and at Bam on the 28th. It has since been visited by Mr. Keith Abbott, Sir Frederic Goldsmid, and Major St. John.

whose breast not one spark of generous or humane feeling had ever found a place. Finally, the last reigning prince of the house of Zand was sent to Tehran and murdered, when only in his twenty-sixth year. Every member of his family and every friend was ordered to be massacred by Agha Muhammad; and the successful but guilty miscreant thus founded the blundering dynasty of the Kájars, at the price of all the best and noblest blood of Irân.

The Zand dynasty produced two great and worthy scions. Karím Khân by his justice, humanity, and wisdom, preserved the distracted realm of Persia in peace and prosperity for a period of twenty years; and the adventures of Lutf 'Aly, his youth, his indomitable perseverance and heroic fortitude, throw a halo of glory over the last days of his ill-fated house.

The Kájars, raised to power by the hideous atrocities of that monster Agha Muhammad, have supplanted their rivals, and still continue to reign. They are of Tûrk origin, while the Zands were Persian; and it is certain that Irân has not prospered under her present rulers.

Khusru, the son of Lutf 'Aly Khân, though cruelly mutilated, was allowed to live at the court of his father's murderer; and when Sir Harford Jones was in the royal camp in 1810, Fat-h 'Aly, the reigning Shâh, allowed him to have an interview with the unfortunate youth.

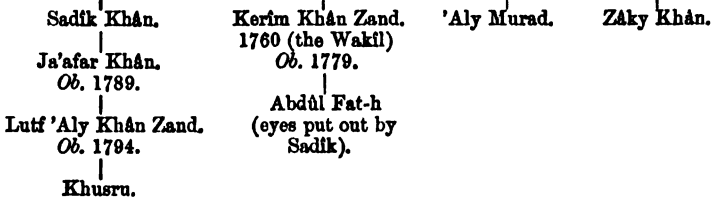
Young Khusru was sent to the ambassador's tent, his father's former friend, and, clasping him in his

arms, burst into a violent flood of tears. They talked over the happy times at Shirâz, now gone for ever; and, on taking leave, the young prince exclaimed, 'I bless God I have lived to see two things. The one, that I saw that scoundrel Hajji Ibrahim deprived of sight; the other, that I have conversed with you.' On the same occasion, Fat-h 'Aly Shâh said, that if he, instead of his uncle, Agha Muhammad, had captured Lutf 'Aly Khân, he never would have suffered such cruel indignities. 'He was a true and noble lion.'<sup>1</sup>

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ZAND TRIBE.

A branch of the Lak tribe, dates its origin from the time of the Kaianian kings; and it claims to have been charged with the care of the Zand Avesta, by Zoroaster himself.





## CHAPTER XIV.

## KÁJAR DYNASTY.

*Reign of Agha Muhammad Shâh.*

SINCE the fall of the noble family of Zand, Persia has been governed by one of the tribes of Tûrân, a Tûrk family, called the Kájars, which first appeared in Persia in the invading army of Jingíz-Khân. Tímûr banished them to Syria; but, yielding to the prayer of the holy Shîa'ah saint at Ardebil, he afterwards allowed them to return, and they became one of the seven Kuzil-bâsh tribes which supported Shâh Isma'il when he founded the Sufâwi dynasty.

The first chief of the Kájars, mentioned in history, is Pîr Bûdah Khân, who was appointed governor of Kandahar by Shâh Tahmasp I. 'Abbâs the Great established some of the Kájars at Merv, others in Erivan and at Kazvîn; but the great body of them was settled at Astrabâd, near the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea. The tribe was divided into five clans: namely, the *Yokari*,<sup>1</sup> or senior branch, the *Ashaka*, the *Devehlu*, the *Shambeyati*, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Yokari bâsh* means 'upper head.'

*Kazvîni*. The Yokari chief had always been looked upon as head of the tribe, until Fat-h 'Aly Khân, of the Ashaka,<sup>1</sup> became general of the army of the unfortunate Tahmasp II., when that branch assumed, and has ever since retained, the ascendancy.

Fat-h 'Aly Khân was murdered by Nâdir; and his son, Muhammad Husain Khân, after a long exile amongst the Tûrkmâns, and an unsuccessful attack on Astrabâd during Nâdir's reign, was finally killed in a battle with Kerîm Khân's army.

His eldest son, Agha Muhammad, who had been taken prisoner by Nâdir when his father attacked Astrabâd, was cruelly mutilated by Adil Shâh, but afterwards escaped and joined his father.

On the death of Muhammad Husain, his son, Agha Muhammad, surrendered himself into the hands of Karîm Khân, who detained him at Shîrâz, but treated him with kindness and consideration. The good old Wakil early observed his extraordinary cunning and ability, and used to call him Piran Wisa, after the famous Wazîr of Afrasiab. But the young viper cherished a secret hatred against his benefactor, and, as he afterwards confessed, used to gratify his impotent malice by secretly cutting up the borders of the rich carpets in the Wakil's palace.

On the death of Karîm Khân, Agha Muhammad escaped to Mazandarân; and, after more than ten years of war, he captured Kirmân, and cruelly murdered his

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Morier, in his paper on the Îlyâts, called this branch, to which the royal family belongs, the Kavanlû.

chivalrous young rival, Lutf 'Aly Khân. Thus, in 1794, he found himself in undisputed possession of the greater part of Persia; the traitor Hajji Ibrahîm became his wâzir, and he fixed his capital at Tehran.

Before obtaining supreme power in Persia, Agha Muhammad had come in contact with the Russians, his future foes, and the most dangerous enemies of Persia; but, on this occasion, the Kâjar completely outwitted the Muscovite.

In July, 1781, the Russian Voinovitch sailed from Astrakhan to Astrabâd with four frigates and two armed sloops. Agha Muhammad being in the neighbourhood, Voinovitch requested permission to build a *counting-house* on the coast. The Kâjar chief, considering that he was unable to drive the Russians away by force, determined to fight them with their own weapon—artifice. He pretended to accede to the wishes of Voinovitch, and the *counting-house* turned out to be a fort with 18 guns, which the Russians built, about 50 miles from Astrabâd. Agha Muhammad paid a visit to the Russians, admired their work, and then invited Voinovitch, and all his officers, to dine with him, at one of his hunting lodges, in the mountains. On their arrival he put them in irons, and declared he would put them to death if the fort was not instantly razed to the ground. Voinovitch, knowing that the Kâjar would be as good as his word, signed an order; the cannon were taken on board again, and the walls of the fort knocked down. Agha Muhammad then

loaded the Russian officers with scornful abuse, and had them whipped down to their ships.<sup>1</sup>

During the long struggle for power with the Zand princes, Agha Muhammad had used the provinces of Mazandarân, Astrabâd, and Ghilân, as the base of his operations, with his head-quarters in the town of Sari. These three provinces occupy the long strip of country which intervenes between the lofty chain of the Elburz Mountains and the southern shores of the Caspian.

The province of Astrabâd is bounded on the north by the Caspian, and the river Gûrgan which divides it from the Tûrkmân wilderness. This river drains the valleys on the northern side of the mountains of Khurâsân, and flows through woods of oaks, beech, and alder, with vines hanging in festoons from them. The ground is covered with beautiful flowers, and thorn trees with a white blossom; and rich pastures alternate with the woods, on either side of the Gûrgan, until it falls into the Caspian.

The town of Astrabâd, the head-quarters of the Kâjar tribe, is surrounded by a wall about three miles round, and thick forests approach it on all sides. The houses are built of wood, with verandahs resting on wooden pillars, a high pitched roof covered with red tiles, and frequently a lofty wind tower. The bazars are also roofed with tiles, instead of being arched, as is usual in Persia, and many of the streets are paved. The houses are surrounded by trees and

<sup>1</sup> *Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East* (2nd ed. 1838), pp. 83-4.

gardens, and luxuriant vegetation is everywhere to be seen, consisting chiefly of fine old chenars, tall cypresses, and fruit trees.

From the hills above the town there is a magnificent view. To the east and south is the Elburz range of mountains, the lower slopes thickly clothed in dark green wood, and their snowy summits usually hid in mist. To the north and north-east is the rich valley of the Gûrgan, diversified with villages, pastures, and forests, and bounded by the distant Tûrkmân desert. To the north-west are the forests and cultivated lands of Mazandarân, and the wide expanse of the Caspian Sea.

The province of Mazandarân, bounded on the west by Ghilân, and on the east by Astrabâd, is about thirty miles wide in its broadest part, and is traversed by several large rivers, which rise in the Elburz Mountains and fall into the Caspian. The whole of this region is covered with luxuriant vegetation.

The road from Astrabâd to Sari, the capital of Mazandarân, leads along the famous causeway of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great, which is formed by filling a deep trench with small stones, and laying a regular causeway of larger stones over them. Although it has never been repaired, this great work is still in tolerable preservation, and the swampy forests of Mazandarân would be almost impervious without it.

The causeway leads through thick jungle, chiefly of thorns and brambles, but interspersed with large forest trees; and occasionally a village, surrounded with cultivated land, is passed. Ashraf, the favourite

palace of Shâh 'Abbâs, is now completely fallen to ruin.

Sari, the capital of the province, is about two miles round, with a wall and ditch. The houses are built of burnt brick, and roofed with red and green glazed tiles; there are orange and other trees in several of the streets, and the town is surrounded by large orange gardens. Agha Muhammad resided at Sari for many years, during his struggle for power, and built a palace there. It is a mixture of dark passages, courts containing tanks, and a few fine rooms. The *dîwân-khânah*, or 'hall of audience,' is adorned with mirrors and pictures, out of perspective, representing the victories of Shâh Isma'il and Nâdir Shâh.

In the neighbourhood of Sari there was, till very lately, a curious monument of antiquity. Hanway believed it to be a Ghebre temple, and Fraser thinks it was a monument to some prince of the Dilami dynasty. It was a lofty tower, known as the *Gûmbuz-e-Selm-e-Tur*, 100 feet high, 30 feet in diameter, hollow to the top without a staircase, and built of burnt brick and mortar. It must have closely resembled the round towers of Ireland. There were two belts of inscriptions round the outside, on green lacquered bricks. When Colonel Stuart visited Sari in 1835, this tower had been completely destroyed by an earthquake.

Some miles west of the capital, are the ruins of the palace of Furrâhad, where Shâh 'Abbâs died in 1628. The road leads through a country varied by forests and cultivation, and the palace was built on a wide

plain, rich in meadow grass and clover. There was once a large garden round the palace, in which there was a tower, from whose summit Shâh 'Abbâs was wont to enjoy a magnificent view of the Caspian.

About twenty miles WNW. of Sari is the thriving town of Barfurûsh, near the banks of the river Bhawal. It is surrounded by forests of splendid trees, with vines festooning gracefully from the branches, while the ground is covered with blue-bells, dandelions, forget-me-nots, and butter-cups. The houses of the town are scattered among fields and gardens. The bazar, a mile long, is well built and roofed with tiles, and there are ten caravanserais.

Near Barfurûsh there is a garden in the middle of a lake, laid out by Shâh 'Abbâs, and called *Bahrûl Irem*, 'the Sea of Paradise.' The lake, two miles in circumference, is overgrown with water-lilies; and the island garden is covered with orange-trees, roses, and cypresses. It is approached by a long wooden bridge, on brick piers. The banks of the lake are surrounded by weeping willows, and beyond there is a fine wooded country, with the snowy peak of Demavend in the background.

At the mouth of the Bhawal, the river of Barfurûsh, is the village of Mâsh-had-i-sar, one of the chief ports of Mazandarân. The Caspian, on its southern shore, washes a sandy beach, beyond which is a thick, marshy forest.<sup>1</sup> Sturgeon and salmon, besides smaller fish,

<sup>1</sup> On the beach there is a broad ridge of sand hills, which are covered with wild pomegranates.—Information from General Monteith.

are caught in immense quantities, and the fishermen's nets are buoyed with gourds. Above Barfurúsh there is a handsome bridge over the Bhawal, of eight arches, erected by the father of Agha Muhammad; and twenty-two miles to the westward is the town of Amol, on the river Heraz; where there is a very handsome shrine built by Shâh 'Abbâs, in honour of a descendant of 'Aly. The Heraz rises at the base of Demavend, and dashes through the rocky mountains and deep secluded ravines of the mountain chiefship of Larijan, before it finds its way into the plain, and flows past Amol into the Caspian. Ask, the capital of Larijan, is a village on the brow of a hill which overhangs the Heraz, and the splendid peak of Demavend rises immediately above it.

The dense vegetation and swampy soil of the plains of Mazandarân produce so much disease, that most of the inhabitants retire to Larijan, and other cool retreats in the Elburz Mountains, during the summer heats. The people of Mazandarân are a very handsome race, with Jewish features; and are remarkable for their civility; but, like every other Persian province, this family inheritance of the Kájars has suffered terribly under their rule.

Mazandarân is bounded on the west by Ghilân, a province also well covered with vegetation, and stretching along the shores of the Caspian for 200 miles.

The northern part of Ghilân includes a portion of the mountainous district of Talish, which is inhabited by wild tribes. The coast is lined with a belt of almost impenetrable forest; and the whole province is covered



with an impervious jungle, excepting where it is cleared away for the cultivation of rice and mulberry trees. The villagers retreat from the unhealthy lowlands, to the summer pastures in the mountains, to avoid the fevers of the hot weather ; returning in the winter.

Resht, the capital of Ghilân, 310 miles from Astrabâd, and only six or seven from the Caspian Sea, is one of the most flourishing towns of Persia. The houses are of red brick, with wide, projecting roofs, covered with tiles, the streets well paved, and the bazars roofed over with tiles : but the town was until lately approached by execrable roads, which lead through thick forests reaching up to the very walls. Resht is the chief mart for the silk of Ghilân, and carries on an extensive trade with Russia.

The road from Resht to the seaport of Enzeli leads through a morass covered with thick forest. The river of Resht empties itself into a creek, where there is a small village called *Pîr-i-bâzâr*. Here passengers and goods are embarked in boats, and are conveyed across a lake to the port. The lake of Enzeli, fringed with forest, is a large back-water, separated from the Caspian by a narrow strip of sand. It is about 35 miles long, by 12 to 15 broad, and is connected with the Caspian by a strait 500 yards broad<sup>1</sup> and a quarter of a mile long, deep enough for any vessel in the Caspian ; but there is a bar outside on which the sea

<sup>1</sup> General Monteith told me that the width of this strait varies, the sandy spits on either side constantly shifting. He said that the river, up to Resht, might be made navigable.

occasionally breaks. The town of Enzeli is situated on a low spit of sand, on the west side of the strait. It was until lately a miserable collection of reed houses, ranged along the water side, with three brick caravanserais. When Colonel Monteith was there in 1828, there were about thirty vessels in port, of from 50 to 70 tons, chiefly from Bâkû and Astrakhan.

The people of the three rich provinces of Ghilân, Mazandarân, and Astrabâd, were the chief supporters of Agha Muhammad; and when he had possessed himself of supreme power by the murder of Lutf 'Aly Khân, he established his capital at Tehran, a city only twelve miles from the feet of the Elburz Mountains, that he might be near Mazandarân and Astrabâd.

His first endeavour was to cement his power by the blood of all his enemies. The noble family of Zand, and all those who had supported it, were exterminated. He then proceeded to murder his own relations; and enticed his brother into his power by promises of safety—promises which the faithless monster kept by his instant assassination. These murders were intended both for his own safety, and to secure the accession of his nephew Fat-h 'Aly, son of his full brother, whom he appointed governor of Fars. But the new sovereign of Persia also indulged in the most contemptible acts of mean revenge. The bones not only of Nâdir Shâh, the enemy of his race, but of the good and generous Karîm Khân, the best ruler that Irân had known for centuries, were dug up and buried at the entrance of the palace gate at Tehran.

While Persia was weakened by intestine dissensions,

the mighty power of Russia had rapidly increased, and the rulers of Tûrân began to look, with greedy eyes, on the rich Persian provinces south of the Caucasus. The Empress Catherine, whose ambition was as insatiable as it was unscrupulous, then reigned at St. Petersburg, and used every effort to extend her dominions in all directions. Unsparing bribery, intrigue, and finally open violence, were successively used to bring the victims of Russia within her clutches.

At the end of 1770 a most remarkable and memorable protest was made against the tyranny and oppression of Russia. Two tribes of Kalmuck Tatars had settled in the steppes north of Astrakhan, and, by rearing sheep and horses, had added immensely to the value of the land. For several years they endured the unrelenting exactions and tyranny of Russian officials, but at length an officer of Catherine's army, bearing the euphonious name of Kischenskoi, actually struck the chief of the Kalmucks, a venerable old man who had shed his blood in the service of Russia, and at the same time ordered one of his ministers to be flogged.

The Kalmucks could endure the tyranny of their oppressors no longer. Collecting together their wives and little ones, their flocks and herds, the whole tribe, consisting of more than 70,000 families, started for their ancient home on the borders of China, leaving the steppes of Astrakhan a deserted wilderness. Kien Lung, the Mantchu Emperor of China, received them kindly, and assigned them vast pastures near the Great Wall. The demand of the Russians that they should be

delivered up was promptly refused; and when Catherine's ministers afterwards applied for a new treaty, they received this memorable answer from the Court of Peking, 'Let your mistress learn to keep old treaties, and then it will be time enough to apply for new ones.'

The conquests of Russia have usually been effected more by intrigue than by force of arms; and when the rich and beautiful provinces beyond the Caucasus began to excite the cupidity of Catherine, she endeavoured, in the first instance, to effect her object by bribes and offers of protection.

The most important of the trans-Caucasian provinces is Georgia: which is bounded on the north by the lofty range of the Caucasus, on the north-west by a desert which separates it from Immeritia, on the west and south by hills which separate it from Armenia, and on the east by the Caspian provinces of Daghestân and Shîrvân. It is a beautiful and fertile country, its hills are covered with splendid forests, and its plains are watered by numerous rivers. Tiflis, the capital, is built at the foot of a hill, on both sides of the river Kur. The men of Georgia are tall, handsome, and well formed, and the women are famous for their beauty throughout the East. A great part of the population is Christian.

On the north-west of Georgia are the provinces of Immeritia and Mingrelia, the ancient Colchis, on the shores of the Euxine. Mingrelia is a mountainous region, covered with extensive forests, and traversed by thirty rivers, the most famous of which is the Phasis, all falling into the Black Sea.

Daghestân, on the west shores of the Caspian, is traversed by a stupendous range of mountains, inhabited by the fierce and independent Lesghis or Circassians. Darband, a seaport on the Caspian, is its capital.

Shîrvân, to the south of Daghestân, extends along the Caspian to the plains of Mogân, which separate it from Azerbaijan. Its capital was Shumâkâ, but it also possesses the best seaport in the Caspian, the town of Bâkû.

These provinces had been conquered by Shâh Isma'îl in 1500, and had remained provinces of Persia until the fall of the Sufâwi dynasty. Heraclius, the Christian Prince of Georgia, who had learnt the art of war under Nâdir Shâh, had been induced, during the anarchy which followed that great conqueror's death, to place his country under of fatal protection of Russia. The intrigues of Catherine's emissaries, working alternately by bribes and flattery, had been but too successful.<sup>1</sup>

When Agha Muhammad had established himself in undisputed possession of the sovereignty of Persia, he thus found that both Georgia and Khurâsân continued independent of his sway. He first turned his attention to the former province.

In the year 1795 the Kájars, rendered formidable and expert in war by the long struggle with the Zands, and powerful in the numerous cavalry of the Îlyâts, crossed the Araxes, and occupied Erivan and Shusha.

<sup>1</sup> In 1768 the first Russian troops crossed the Caucasus, under General Toklabene.

Heraclius, who was then very old, drew up the Georgian army on a plain about fifteen miles south of Tiflis. He was entirely defeated, and Agha Muhammad occupied the capital of Georgia, and ordered a general massacre to be perpetrated. Every priest was murdered, and 15,000 women and children were sold into slavery. Heraclius died of grief, shortly after this terrible disaster, and was succeeded by his son Gûrgîn Khân.

Having subdued Georgia, the Kájar chief encamped on the plains of Mogân, where, early in 1796, he assumed the title of Shâh of Persia. A circular diadem, ornamented with pearls, was placed on his head, and his loins were girded with a sabre which had been consecrated at the shrine of Shâh Isma'îl, in Ardebil.

Agha Muhammad Shâh, the first sovereign of the Kájar dynasty, then turned his arms against Khurâsân, whose chiefs retained a virtual independence, though owning a nominal allegiance to the blind Shâh Bokh, who still ruled at Másh-had. The holy city was occupied by his troops; and the unfortunate grandson of the mighty Nâdir was tortured and murdered by the inhuman tyrant, to extort from him the jewels which had been brought from Delhi.

While Agha Muhammad was in Khurâsân, Catherine ordered her armies to march to the relief of the trans-Caucasian provinces. It must be confessed that the atrocities of the Kájar at Tiflis gave her a most justifiable pretext for advancing to the defence of her Christian allies; but there can be no excuse for dethroning the successors of Heraclius, and seizing upon the rich provinces south of the Caucasus. The Kájar, by

his cruelty, had justly forfeited them, but Russia never had the shadow of a right to appropriate the spoils.

In 1796 General Godovitch, with a force of 8,000 Russians, entered Georgia by the Caucasus, while 35,000 men, under General Zuboff, marched, in the same direction, by the shores of the Caspian. Tiflis, Darband, Bâkû, and Talish were occupied; the whole western shores of the Caspian, and the line of the Araxes, fell into the hands of the Russians; and Zuboff encamped on the plains of Mogân, while detachments occupied the port of Lankoran, and threatened Enzeli, on the coast of Ghilân.

Agha Muhammad Shâh was furious when he heard of this formidable invasion, and collected his army in Khurâsân, to repel the Russians. With great sagacity he at once saw the best means of checking their advance, and rendering their conquests untenable, and he resisted the prayers of his eager chieftains, to be led at once against the enemy. 'Can a man of your wisdom,' he said to his minister, Hajji Ibrahim, 'believe that I will ever run my head against their walls of steel, or expose my irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops? I know better. Their shot shall never reach me, but they shall possess no country beyond its range. They shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert.' It would have been well for Persia if her Kâjar rulers had ever borne these words in mind.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hajji Ibrahim repeated these words to Sir John Malcolm in 1800.

In 1797 Agha Muhammad left Tehran, and occupied Shishâh, on the banks of the Araxes. Here the career of the tyrant came to an abrupt conclusion. A dispute occurred between two servants outside his tent, and the Shâh, enraged at the noise they made, ordered them both to be put to death on the following morning; yet, with extraordinary temerity, he allowed them to continue their duties about his person in the interval. Knowing that there was no chance of mercy, the poor wretches waited until the Shâh was asleep, and then, very naturally, put an end to him with their daggers.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the ignominious end of this inhuman monster, the founder of the Kâjar dynasty. He was in his 63rd year, and as ugly in body as he was deformed in mind. He was very thin, with a beardless face, like a shrivelled old woman; and, knowing how hideous he was, he could not endure anyone to look at him. Lady Sheil saw a portrait of him at Sulaimâniâh. She says, 'He looks like a fiend. The atrocious, cold, calculating ferocity which marked the man is stamped on his countenance.'

In comparison with this wretch, even Nâdir Shâh appears less wicked. The latter had many great qualities and extraordinary genius, while his cruelties were half forgotten when the Persians remembered that he had freed them from a foreign yoke, and made the name of Irân to be feared and respected by every enemy. But Agha Muhammad waded to the throne

<sup>1</sup> The murderers were put to death by Fat-h 'Aly Shâh.



through a sea of blood; he perpetrated the most hideous acts of cruelty and ingratitude; and committed revolting atrocities on the person of his brave and chivalrous rival, the ill-fated Lutf 'Aly Khân Zand. By such means did the present dynasty of Kájars obtain the Persian throne.

## CHAPTER XV.

## KÁJAR DYNASTY.

*Reign of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh.*

(First half,—from 1798 to 1815.)

ON the death of Agha Muhammad, the minister, Hajji Ibrahim, at once proclaimed Fat-h 'Aly; but it was not until 1798 that he arrived from Shirâz, and was crowned at Tehran.

Fat-h 'Aly Shâh was about thirty years of age when he ascended the throne. He was the son of Husain Kûly, own brother to Agha Muhammad; and when quite a child had been taken prisoner by the forces of Karim Khân. But the good and humane Wakil ordered him to be sent back to his mother in Mazandarân, and for the last twenty years he had lived under the protection of his terrible uncle, who had destined him for his successor.

Agha Muhammad had murdered almost every relation who was at all likely to dispute the throne; but there was one uncle left, named Sâdik Khân, who rose in rebellion. Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, who could boast of no personal courage, was obliged to take the field; but one or two shots from a *zambûruk*, or small piece

of camel artillery, made him fall from his horse in a swoon of terror. Old Hajji Ibrahim, to conceal the true state of the case, exclaimed, 'What a terrible passion the Father of the World has fallen into!' But, in spite of this timidity, Sâdik Khân surrendered himself a prisoner, trusting to the sacred oath of his nephew that no violence should be used against him. The cruel Kâjar, imitating the treachery of his predecessor, shut him up in a room, closed up the doors and windows, and left him to die of starvation. When the doors were opened, some weeks afterwards, it was found that the wretched man had dug deep into the earth with his hands, and swallowed the clay to assuage his hunger.

Having perpetrated this atrocity on his uncle, Fat-h 'Aly Shâh turned his attention to the consolidation of his power. Tehran, which had been almost entirely destroyed by the Afghans, may be said to have been refounded by Agha Muhammad, and has ever since been the capital of Persia.

Tehran is situated in a large plain, twelve miles south of the Elburz Mountains, and a few miles north-west of the ruins of the ancient city of Rhé (the Rhages of the Apocrypha), which covers a considerable extent of ground, and has supplied some of the building materials for the modern city. The plain to the east and west of Tehran is populous; and many pretty villages nestle in the green defiles of the Elburz, to the north. On approaching the city, from the Isfahân road, a few domes and a great deal of verdure are visible above the walls. Tehran is about

eleven miles in circumference, surrounded by a curtained and bastioned rampart and ditch of modern profile. Two-thirds of the space included within the *enceinte* is still unbuilt on. The old streets are narrow, and the bazars inferior architecturally to those of Shîrâz. The chief building of consequence is the *Ark*, or 'Citadel,' containing one of the palaces of the Shâh; which consists of many apartments built round courts or *maidâns*, where chenar-trees are planted round large ornamental water tanks. The Ark was surrounded by a wall, with turrets, and a dry ditch, and was entered by a drawbridge. Three sides of the wall formed part of the outer fortification, and the remaining one was within the city. Immediately upon passing the drawbridge and the gate, there was a range of armourers' workshops, enclosed within an arched bazar, through which the road passed into the *maidân*, or square, entered by a gate which immediately faces the principal entrance of the palace, called the *Dar-i-khânah-Shâh*, or 'Gate of the King's House.' It leads into the different courts, gardens, harems, and offices of the palace.

Here Fat-h 'Aly Shâh held his court during the winter months, and gave audiences in the *divân-khânah*, or 'hall of reception;' where, seated on the famous peacock throne of Delhi, he blazed forth in the priceless jewels of Nâdir Shâh. He was a man with regular features, a wasp-like waist, and the finest beard in the East, which reached down far below his waist. For a Persian king he was neither habitually cruel nor unjust; but insatiably avaricious, wanting

in personal courage, and without any great ability. The government of Persia being a pure despotism, and the highest nobles being liable, at the caprice of the sovereign, to be put to death, robbed, or even beaten, few fine qualities can be expected from a Persian courtier, and the throne is surrounded by fulsome flattery. Yet the nobles of Irân still possess the tall, upright figures, and fine features of their ancestors; and with these outward advantages, have inherited their talent and brilliant imaginations. Fat-h 'Aly, himself, was a poet; and his Laureate was an old chief, named Fat-h 'Aly Khân, whose ancestors had been, for several generations, the governors of Kashan. It is related that one day the Shâh gave him some of his verses to read, and asked for his opinion of them. 'May my soul be your sacrifice,' said the Laureate, 'they are bosh.' The insulted sovereign exclaimed, 'He is an ass, take him to the stables;' and the order was literally obeyed. After a short time his Majesty sent for him again, and read some more of his verses. The poet walked off without a word. 'Where are you going?' cried the Shâh. 'Just back again to the stables,' answered his undaunted Laureate. Fat-h 'Aly, delighted with his boldness, called him back, and ordered his mouth to be stuffed with sugar-candy, a high mark of favour.

Fat-h 'Aly Shâh had innumerable wives, and before he died he had a hundred and fifty sons and twenty daughters. The Kájars, as a race, are exceedingly handsome, and may be known by their proud carriage, large black eyes, and well chiselled mouths. Most of the

sons of his Majesty were made governors of provinces ; and the policy of the Kájar sovereigns has been to destroy the power of the great chiefs.

The Persian nobles are very handsome, hospitable, and highly polished in their manners ; but deceitful and haughty. Their bad qualities, however, are the fault of the wretched government under which they live. Their dress, in the days of Fat-h 'Aly, consisted of a black lambskin conical cap ; an open shawl surcoat reaching to the knee, with sleeves cut off at the elbows ; and a shawl round the waist, in which a long dagger was stuck. When indoors they sit erect on their heels on *namads*, or thick felt rugs, and converse while they smoke their *kaliúns*, or 'water-pipes,' and drink coffee. Their women, immured for life and uneducated, were dressed in a silk or muslin shift, a pair of velvet trowsers, and a vest. At present their dress is somewhat different, the dictates of fashion being variable in Tehran as in Paris. Though ignorant, they often enjoy considerable influence. They are taught, when young, to spin and embroider, and sometimes to read and write, but they are degraded to be the mere playthings of their lords ; and the Persians will never be a civilized people until their women regain their rightful place in society—the position they held in the good old times of the Kai-anian kings.

The house of a Persian nobleman is divided into several courts, in the most retired of which (called the *Andarún*) is the *Harem*. The centre court (or *kiat*) is usually square, and divided into parterres

of flowers, with a fountain playing before the *diwân-khânah*. The walls of this apartment are adorned with paintings, and inlaid looking-glasses; and the floor is covered with carpets and namads. One entire side is taken up with large sash windows, often glazed with coloured glass, disposed in beautiful geometric patterns.

From the houses of Tehran there is a view of the Elburz Mountains, and of the snowy peak of Demavend, which towers high above the rest<sup>1</sup>—the ancient abode of the *Dív-i-Safid*, and the scene of Rustam's wondrous exploits. During the three winter months snow falls in great quantities at Tehran. The Sháh and his court then take up their abodes in the city. The *Nao-Rôz*, or Persian New Year's Day, is at the vernal equinox, and then the roses bloom in great abundance, and the nightingales begin their song. During the summer the heat is so excessive that the court re-

<sup>1</sup> On September 4, 1837, Mr. Taylor Thompson, of the British Mission, left Ask, the capital of Laríjan, which is forty-two miles E.N.E. of Tehran, and ascended to the summit of the peak of Demavend. The cold was excessive, but there was a sulphur cave on the summit, where the temperature was very high. There can be no doubt of the volcanic nature of Demavend. Demavend was again ascended in July 1858, by Lord Schomburg Kerr, and Mr. Ronald Thompson (Mr. Taylor Thompson's brother), attachés to Mr. Murray. They found the height to be 21,500 feet above the sea. Humboldt gives its height at 19,750 feet. On Mount Sevellan, above Ardebil, General Monteith saw the peak of Demavend at a distance of 250 miles, across an angle of the Caspian. This mountain is plainly visible from the Caspian Sea by vessels going from Ashuradeh to Bâkû.

In 1624 Herbert, one of Sir D. Cotton's suite, mentions this mountain as smoking. It is at present an inactive volcano.

moves to summer quarters in the Elburzchan Plain, and most of the nobles leave Tehran.

True to the wandering habits of his Turkish ancestors, the Shâh formed a vast camp, during the summer months, usually on the plain of Sultâniyah, or of Ujain.

On one side of the camp were the Shâh's quarters, surrounded by red canvas screens, called *khanâts* or *tejirs*, so pitched as to represent the curtains and bastions of a fort, in an oblong form; and on each side were the tents of officers and guards. The royal enclosure was divided into three compartments: in the first was the *dâwân-khânah*, supported by three immense poles, each surmounted by a large golden ball. This tent covered an acre of ground. The second enclosure was called the *Miyânah*, and here Fat-h 'Aly had a tent lined throughout with Kashmîr shawls; and behind this was the harem.

Between the Shâh's quarters and the first line of tents of the great officers of state was the *maidân*, an open space for reviewing the troops, and for parties to play at throwing the *jerîd*. There were usually about 40,000 persons in the royal camp.

The dress of the Shâh, while in camp, was as magnificent as when he sat in state at Tehran. Fat-h 'Aly wore a purple velvet coat, over which a network of small diamonds was placed. His girdle was of gold twist, richly embroidered with pearls, whence hung a scimitar, the scabbard of which flamed with rubies and diamonds. On his head was a bright steel cap, the centre raised to a point, and ending in a large diamond,



and round it a blue and white Kashmîr shawl was twisted.

Fat-h 'Aly Shâh also sometimes passed a part of the summer in country palaces which he had built near Tehran. His favourite abode was in the broad vale of Sultâniyah, the eastern extremity of which extends to the horizon. The vast plain is now all pasture, with a winding rivulet flowing through it; but, centuries ago, in the palmy days of Irân, it was covered with corn-fields and gardens, and irrigated by subterranean tunnels, the remains of which are still visible. The snow-covered summits of the Elburz Mountains are visible on the north, and in the centre of the plain are the ruins of the city of Sultâniyah, once the capital of the Mogul sovereigns of Persia. The green dome of the tomb of Khodah Bundah, the Shîa'ah Mogul king, rises amidst the ruins, and may be seen at a great distance.<sup>1</sup>

Nearer Tehran, at a place called Sulaimâniah, on the Karij River, the Shâh had a country place divided into several courts, and containing many handsome apartments. One room was richly ornamented with painted glass, and contains a portrait of Agha Muhammad surrounded by the Kâjar chiefs. There was a handsome bath, or *hamam*, in the palace, and a flower garden in the centre of the *andarûn*, or inner court.

Fat-h 'Aly had another favourite villa three miles north of Tehran, on one of the slopes of the Elburz

<sup>1</sup> The dome is 100 feet in diameter and 120 feet high, covered with green lacquered tiles. The building is of an octagonal form, and had a minaret at each angle, but one only is entire now.

Mountains, called the *Kasr-i-Kájar*. It was a brick building, enclosing a court which contained chenar-trees and water-tanks. A flight of steps led from the brick terrace in front of the house to a large garden in the plain below. In the centre of the pleasure-ground was an arched octagon, with an inner set of arches resting on twisted columns of a green stone ; and from the summer-house green vistas opened in every direction. From the top of it there was a splendid view of the great plain of Tehran, with the city in the centre, the cultivated land towards Kazvín on the right ; and generally there might be seen strings of camels on the left wending their way in the far distance towards Khurásán.

The Kájar Shâh was fond of hunting, and shooting at a mark ; but his favourite business was the amassing and hoarding of money. His avarice was insatiable. Always treating Persia as a conquered country, his only thought was the establishment of his own power, and the extortion of the greatest amount of taxes ; his sons, who governed the provinces, followed his example ; and, as a natural consequence, all ranks in Persia had a violent hatred for the Kájar dynasty, whose name was identical with all that is cruel, tyrannical, and unjust.

Under such a degrading system the nobles are the mere slaves of a despot, with all the qualities of insolent menials, cunning, selfish, cowardly, and avaricious.<sup>1</sup> The priesthood, too, lost much of its influence and independence of action. The office of Sadru-'s-Sudûr, or

<sup>1</sup> Fraser's *Khurásán*.

chief priest of Sufâwi times, was abolished by Nâdir Shâh, and the *Imâm-i-Jama* of Isfahân is now the principal ecclesiastical dignitary of Persia. Of lower rank are the Mujt-âhids, Shaikhs ul-Islâm, and Mûllahs, who hold the same respective ranks as in the days of 'Abbâs the Great. The *Mâdrassehs*, or Persian colleges, are entirely in the hands of the clergy, and there are several in every large town. They generally consist of a court, surrounded by buildings containing chambers for students and masters, with a gate on one side; and frequently a garden and a well in the centre of the court. The students are first taught all points connected with the faith, the Kurân, and the standard Shîa'ah works; the system being for the student to read a few lines, which the doctor then expounds. They also have translations of Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, and some other books; but in astronomy they adopt the system of Ptolemy, which is made subservient to astrology. Avicenna and all the Persian poets are studied, and great care is taken in forming the handwriting. There are three kinds of handwriting in the beautiful Arabic character: the *Nass-Taâlîk*, or set hand for writing books; the *Diwâny*, or court hand; and the *Naskh*, or running hand. The Persians write with a small reed, and say that to write well a man ought to lean so lightly upon his pen that a fly may beat it out of his hand. Many of the *mâdrassehs* have been founded and endowed by kings or pious persons.

Next to the nobles, clergy, and soldiery, rank the class of merchants, shopkeepers, and mechanics, who

are less constantly exposed, than others, to tyranny; for the Shâh knows well that much of his wealth depends upon their prosperity. There are many manufactures in the several provinces of Persia.

At Shîrâz, arms, cutlery, glassware, gold and silver enamelled kalîns, and wine are made. In Kîrmân and Yezd, shawls, carpets, namads, silk and cotton cloths, loaf-sugar, matchlocks, and earthenware. In Isfahân, velvets, chintzes, cotton cloths, cutlery, gold brocades, paper, glassware, gold and silver kalîns, shoes, arms, and sweetmeats. At Kashân, velvet and silk goods. In Khurâsân, swords, fire-arms, stoneware, cloths, and sheepskin pelisses. In Mazandarân and Ghilân, silk and woollen goods. Hamadân is famous for its prepared leather and saddlery; and Kîrmânshâh for its manufacture of carpets.

The most important Persian export is the raw silk of Ghilân, where 900,000 lbs. are annually produced, of which three-tenths are purchased by the Russians, three-tenths are sent to Baghdâd, two-tenths to Constantinople, and two-tenths to Isfahân, Yezd, and Kashân—Persian cities which are celebrated for their silk manufactories.<sup>1</sup> Persian grown cotton is chiefly consumed in the country; <sup>2</sup> and the wool, for the most

<sup>1</sup> Frazer in 1823. Sir Justin Sheil, 1856, says that in 1844 the quantity of silk produced in Ghilân weighed more than 1,000,000 lbs.; and valued more than 450,000*l.* The duty paid to government was above 10,000*l.*, at the rate of 5 per cent. for foreigners, and 2½ per cent. for natives.

<sup>2</sup> PERSIAN COTTON.

The best Persian cotton, called Kaghâzi, is from Isfahân. The cotton of Mazandarân comes next. Isfahân cotton of the second

part, is produced on the mountains in the province of Kirmân, where there are large flocks of sheep. Besides raw silk, the exports of Persia are dried fruits and horses sent from Fars to India, tobacco of Laristân exported to Baghdâd, and sulphur from the great mines of Kamîr, formerly rented by the Imâm of Mâskat.

The farmers and cultivators of the land, in Persia, live under a continual system of extortion and injustice. The Shâh extorts from his nobles; they must procure the sum required from the heads of provinces, they from the *Kat Khudâked*, or heads of villagees, and these must squeeze it from the labourers. Every tax, present, fine, or bribe ultimately fall on them. Notwithstanding this cruel oppression, most of the peasants can enjoy the comforts of wheaten bread, sour milk, a bit of cheese, and fruit, which is a staple article of food. Their wives and children generally have sufficient warm clothing, and a few *namads*, or carpets, in their houses. Their great misery is the utter insecurity of life and property. The Persian peasantry are deceit-

class, called Jarkubah, is inferior to Mazandarân, but better than that from Khurâsân. The cotton of Kashân and Kûm may be classed fourth and fifth. The Semnûn or Khurâsân ranks last of all. All these six cottons are grown on land belonging to the Shâh, and the factory is his property, at Tehran. Value of Semnûn cotton 8s. 8½d. per 36 lbs.

Mazandarân	10s. 1¼d.	„
Isfahân	13s. 9½d.	„

The Russian Company buys up all the cotton that Mazandarân can supply. The total cost of the Persian factory is reckoned at 300,000 tomâns=136,000l., while the returns have been altogether inconsiderable. This result is said to be in part owing to speculation. —*Cotton Supply Reporter*, December 2, 1861, p. 718.

ful and prone to theft, but these vices arise from the wretched government which oppresses them ; and they are remarkably active and intelligent. Sir Harford Jones relates that the peasants on the road, who had formerly experienced acts of kindness from him, invariably brought him some trifling present when he passed : either a favourite kid, or a cream cheese and fresh butter made by their wives, and they always refused payment. Lady Sheil praises their kindness, attention, and respectful conduct ; and Mr. Fraser, who formed a most unfavourable opinion of all Persians, admits that the peasantry, when removed from the malign influence of their rulers, possess independence and honesty.

The Ilyâts, or wandering tribes, are rude and independent, but formerly supplied the Persian sovereign with a splendid army. The short-sighted policy of the Kâjar Shâhs has almost destroyed their efficiency.

Early in the reign of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, Persia commenced her diplomatic intercourse with European nations, which has continued to the present day.

In 1799, Marquis Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, determined to send an embassy to the Shâh of Persia, to negotiate a treaty which would have the threefold effect of relieving India from the annual alarm of an Afghan invasion, counteract the designs of the French, and restore a trade which had been in a great degree lost. Major Malcolm was chosen to conduct the mission, and he arrived at Bushire on February 1, 1800, with many valuable presents for the Shâh and his nobles. When an *Elchi*, or ambassador,

arrives in Persia, it is customary to send a noble to attend upon him, and conduct him to the capital, who is called the *Mahmandâr*; and as he approaches each city on his route, a deputation called *Istakbâl*, comes out to meet him.

As the greatest importance is attached to the most minute ceremonial details, and as an *elchi* is respected in proportion to his determination to exact every mark of respect, Malcolm suffered many vexatious detentions owing to disputes about forms and ceremonies.

On November 16, 1800, he was presented to the Shâh in the *dîwân-khânah* of the palace at Tehran. Fat-h 'Aly was one blaze of jewels, and his dress could not have been worth less than a million sterling. The English elchi was received most graciously, his presents were accepted, and old Hajji Ibrahim was appointed to negotiate the treaty. Meanwhile, the dethronement of Zamân Shâh at Kâbul had destroyed the fear of an Afghan invasion; and a treaty was formed which was mainly directed against the French. Malcolm, who became a great favourite in Persia, left Tehran in February 1801, and returned to India by way of Baghdâd.

Soon after the departure of Malcolm, that hoary old traitor, Hajji Ibrahim, met with his deserts; and the ungrateful Shâh, who owed his throne to the energy of his minister, was the murderer. Fat-h 'Aly became jealous of his power, and thirsted for his supposed riches. In 1803 his eyes were put out, his tongue was torn from his mouth, and he died from the effects of

this cruel treatment. His sons and brothers were also put to death. Hajji Ibrahîm<sup>1</sup> was a man of great ability, and extraordinary administrative talent, but nothing can wash away his black treason to the chivalrous Lutf 'Aly Khân. He was succeeded, in the post of Prime Minister, by Mîrza Shafy, a native of Balfrûsh in Mazandarân, who received the title of Sadr Â'zam.<sup>2</sup>

The encroachments of Russia had not ceased on the death of Catherine, in November 1797; for though Pâul, on his accession, recalled General Zuboff from beyond the Caucasus, yet, between the years 1802 and 1806, the Russians had annexed the provinces of Mingrelia, Immeritia, Ganja, Karabagh, and Shîrvân, besides overrunning the whole of Georgia; and in 1803, General Zizianoff was appointed Governor-General of those Transcaucasian provinces. In 1804, Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza, who had been declared by Fat-h 'Aly to be his successor, took the field against him, and was entirely defeated near Erivan. In the following spring, however, Zizianoff was assassinated, while besieging the town of Bâkû.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Morier says: 'Hajji Ibrahîm was a man of the most humane, beneficent, and noble nature, and his great aim was to temper the violence and cruel disposition of his master (Agha Muhammad), by every counteracting scheme which lay in his power.'—*Zohrab*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Sadr Â'zam*, means 'First in precedence.' In the time of the Sufâwî monarchs the prime minister held the title of *Mûtdmidu'd-Daulah*, or 'Trusted of the State.'

<sup>3</sup> In 1805 a Russian fleet anchored off Lankerân, and assisted Mustafâ Khân of Talish in repulsing the Persian troops. The Russians then landed at Enzêli, and advanced on Resht, but were defeated by the people of Ghilân.



Napoleon, on commencing his famous campaign against Russia in 1807, sent an embassy from Warsaw to Tehran, under General Gardanne. The French envoy was profuse in his promises of aid, brought with him several officers to drill the Persian soldiers, and, for a time, obtained great influence at the court of the Shâh. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was signed between Persia and France on May 7, 1807.

The British Government, both in London and Calcutta, became seriously alarmed at the influence of France so near their Indian dominions; and Lord Minto, in 1808, sent Malcolm on a second mission; but the power of the French at Tehran was so great that he was not permitted to advance beyond Bushire; and he returned unsuccessful to Bombay. On his return he urged Lord Minto to send a military expedition to the island of Karak; but this was deferred, owing to the mission of Sir Harford Jones from England, who departed from Bushire as soon as Malcolm had left the gulf.

Sir Harford Jones, who had resided at el-Bâsrah from 1784 to 1794, had visited Shîrâz when the Zand princes reigned there, and had been political agent at Baghdâd from 1798 to 1806; was appointed to conduct a mission at the Court of Persia in 1807, and sailed from Portsmouth on board H.M.S. 'Sapphire,' in October, with Mr. Willock as an assistant, and Mr. Morier as his private secretary.

In December 1808, he left Bushire, and assumed

so bold and dictatorial a tone with the Persians, that all difficulties were soon cleared away. The Peace of Tilsit, too, had been concluded, and the French were no longer able to promise aid against the Russians, so that General Gardanne was dismissed from Tehran a few days before Sir Harford Jones entered it, in February 1809. Mirza Shafy, the Prime Minister, was appointed to negotiate a treaty with him; and the impetuous conduct of the British Envoy instilled into the minds of the Persian courtiers both astonishment and respect.

He arranged that one of the articles should remain indefinite until the decision of the British Government could be announced; but Mirza Shafy insisted on its being made definite, and exclaimed, 'Do you come here to cheat us?' The indignant Baronet fired up at once, and said, 'You stupid old blockhead, do you dare to use those words to me, who, in this room, represent the King of England? If it were not for the respect I bear your master, I would knock your brains out, if you have any, against the wall.' He then pushed him with some violence, and, kicking over the candles, rode home with the treaty. In a few hours a number of the minister's servants came to demand it back, when he started up, and said, 'I will tell you what it is, my worthy friends, by —, if you stay here making a noise and a riot, I will soon make it as much as your heads are worth.' They went away, saying, 'The Farangy is either mad or drunk!'

This peculiar, but straightforward, way of negotiating, proved entirely successful; and a preliminary

treaty was soon afterwards signed by Sir Harford Jones and Mirza Shafy, on March 12, 1809. The difficulties of the British Envoy were much increased by the conduct of Lord Minto, then Governor-General of India. Annoyed at the interference of the Home Government in the affairs of Persia, which, in his opinion, belonged exclusively to India; he refused to honour Sir Harford's bills, which caused him great annoyance and embarrassment, wrote despatches in which he found fault with all he had done, and finally sent Sir John Malcolm as a rival Envoy to Tehran.

Sir Harford Jones sent Mr. Morier, with the treaty, to England, who was accompanied by Mirza Abdûl Hâsan, as ambassador from the Shâh to George III.; and, having been superseded by Sir Gore Ouseley, he returned to England himself in 1811.<sup>1</sup>

The second mission of Sir John Malcolm was, in a diplomatic point of view, entirely useless, as Sir Harford Jones already represented the King of England at the court of the Shâh. But, in point of usefulness, it was far more important than any mere diplomacy can ever be. To it we owe Sir John Malcolm's invaluable and most interesting 'History of Persia'; and the vast stores of geographical and historical information collected by the eminent men who composed his suite. He was attended by Christie, who per-

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harford Jones, on his return, was treated with neglect by the East India Company; though he had certainly done good service in Persia. He appears to have been a most warm-hearted, though quick-tempered man. He died in 1846.

formed a journey, by Sistan, to Herat : Pottinger, the explorer of Balûchistân : Ellis, afterwards Minister in Persia : Macdonald Kinneir, also afterwards Minister in Persia, and author of a very able geographical memoir on that country : Monteith, an engineer officer :<sup>1</sup> Briggs, the translator of 'Ferishta':<sup>2</sup> and Lindsay, the young artillery-man. The latter came with a present of some field-pieces to the Shâh, and afterwards distinguished himself by many acts of heroic gallantry in his service. He was a handsome young man, of gigantic stature, who reminded the Persians of their renowned hero, Rustam.<sup>3</sup> Captains Grant and Fotheringham, also accompanied Malcolm, and were sent to Baghdâd, to collect information in the countries through which they travelled; while, with the same object, Monteith and Kinneir went to el-Bâsrah.

In March 1810, the two former were attacked by a band of robbers, headed by a chief named Kalb 'Aly, in the mountains of Luristân. Grant was shot dead; and the robber gave Fotheringham his choice between death and the denial of his religion. There could be no doubt of the choice of a brave English officer, and the brutal assassin shot him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General Monteith was twenty years serving in the Persian army, and afterwards was with the Russian Marshal Paskeiwitch, in the campaign against the Turks (1828).

<sup>2</sup> General Briggs, one of the first Orientalists of the day.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Sir Henry Bethune, Bart. He died at Tehran in 1851, having been for many years a general in the Persian service.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Rawlinson travelled this way in 1836, and had an interview with a chief of Luristân, 'in whose conversation there

On June 23, 1810, Sir John Malcolm had an audience of the Shâh, at his camp on the plains of Ujain, who gave a cordial welcome to his old friend. Fat-h 'Aly, indeed, was anxious to confer upon him some distinguished honour. He had made General Gardanne a 'Knight of the Sun,' and proposed thus to decorate Malcolm also; but the latter refused to wear the same order as a Frenchman. The Shâh, therefore, created a new order, called 'The Sun and Lion,' wherewith to honour Malcolm; and it has since been frequently conferred, by the Shâhs of Persia, on distinguished Europeans.

The Shâh received the field-pieces, and the services of Lindsay and Christie, to assist him in the protracted war with the Russians; and Malcolm, leaving the camp on July 23, returned to India by Baghdâd and el-Bâsrah.<sup>1</sup>

In 1811, Sir Gore Ouseley, accompanied by the Persian ambassador, Abdûl Hâsan, and Mr. Morier, arrived in Persia, to conclude a definite treaty, which was signed at Tehran on March 14, 1812, by the British Envoy and Mîrza Shafy.

In the meanwhile, the Russian war had lingered on. In 1808 the Russian General Godovitch besieged

was a tinge of bigotry, which forcibly reminded him of the infamous Kalb 'Aly, who murdered Captains Grant and Fotheringham.' Rawlinson had nothing to apprehend, as he was at the head of a Persian regiment.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm filled several important political posts in India, and eventually became Governor of Bombay. His *History of Persia* is most ably written, and displays great learning and research. It is the only complete history of that country in the English language. He died in 1833.

Erivan; a most important town, defended by a fort in a position of great natural strength. He blockaded it for six months, but his storming party was repulsed, and he was forced to retreat. In May 1809, Prince Muhammad 'Aly Mírza was ordered to join from the Baghdád frontier. Prince 'Abbás Mírza commanded another division. They both marched towards Erivan. The former, after ravaging the country up to the walls of Tiflis, was repulsed before Gonja, the latter did nothing. The Persian army dispersed as usual, on the approach of winter. In 1810, little or nothing of importance was done. In 1812, the Persian army was disciplined by several British officers, Major D'Arcy, Captain Christie, Major Stone, and Lieutenants Lindsay, Monteith, and Willock. Sir Gore Ouseley came to the camp as a mediator between the Persian Prince, 'Abbás Mírza, and the Russian Commissioner. He returned, however, unsuccessful to Tehran; and ordered the English officers to withdraw from the Sháh's service. Captain Christie, however, and Lindsay, the stalwart artillery-man, who was 6 feet 8 inches high without his shoes, with thirteen drill serjeants, resolved to remain. Sir Gore told them—'If gentlemen think proper to knock their own heads against a wall, I cannot help it.'

The Persian army then advanced to the Araxes, and, on October 31, 1812, were completely surprised by the Russians, and retreated over a little tributary of the Araxes, on their right, with the loss of all their ammunition and camp equipage.

The following night the Russians made an attack

on the Persian army at Aslandúz,<sup>1</sup> and entirely routed it. The British officers had in vain advised 'Abbás Mírza to secure his retreat; and in the night attack Christie fell fighting bravely at the head of his brigade. He had been wounded, and the Russian villain<sup>2</sup> who commanded, hearing that an English officer was lying wounded on the field, coolly looked at him with his glass, and ordered two of his men to go and kill him. His body was found with five dreadful wounds, four of them with the sabre.

Lindsay lost seven of his guns, but saved two. Major Stone, of the Royal Artillery, died at Ardebil on November 6, 1812. In the same year the Persians obtained a trifling success by driving the Russians out of Lanke-rân, a Caspian seaport in Talish; but in January 1812, it was retaken by a Russian force of 3,000 men and three vessels of war.

This long war had never been carried on with vigour by the Russians, owing to the attention they were forced to concentrate on the momentous affairs of Europe; and the Persians had failed to gain any permanent success on account of the incapacity of their officers. At length the protracted struggle was

<sup>1</sup> *Aslandúz* means 'the lion's plain,' so called from a mound erected by Tímúr, on the spot where a lion had been slain.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian's name was Kutlerousky, afterwards killed before Lanke-rân. The Russian version of the story is that Christie was killed because he refused to surrender.

'Christie was as brave an officer and amiable a man as ever existed. His great bodily strength was combined with perfect mildness of disposition, while his courage and kindness endeared him to the whole army, both English and Persian.'—Monteith's *Kars and Erzeroum*, p. 94.

brought to a conclusion, through the intervention of Sir Gore Ouseley; and a treaty of peace was signed between Russia and Persia, at a village in the Karabagh, called Gulistân, on October 24, 1813. The Russians were immense gainers, as they succeeded in securing to themselves the provinces of Georgia, Mingrelia, Immeritia, Gonja, Karabagh, Sheki, Shirvân, and Talish on the Caspian. The Persians were excluded from the navigation of the Caspian in ships of war; and an ill-defined boundary to their conquests was left by the Russians, in order that a bone of contention might exist, over which to play the part of the wolf and lamb with their unfortunate neighbour, on the first favourable opportunity.

Sir Gore Ouseley does not appear to have acted, on this occasion, with much zeal for the cause of our defeated ally; for the Russian Autocrat was so well pleased with the part he had taken, that he gave him an order (which, however, he was not permitted to wear), and treated him with marked distinction when he passed through St. Petersburg, on his return to England in 1814. The definitive treaty he signed with Persia was informal, and, as it could not be ratified, it was necessary to frame another.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Morier remained in charge of the mission at Tehran.

While Sir Gore Ouseley was in Persia, he presented the Shâh with a beautifully written copy of the Bible in Persian.

In 1811, the Rev. H. Martyn had arrived in Shirâz,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Gore Ouseley died in the year 1844.



and, with the assistance of a learned Irânî, named Mîr Seyyîd 'Aly, completed the translation of the whole of the New Testament into Persian; and Fat-h 'Aly Shâh is said to have publicly expressed his approbation of the work.<sup>1</sup> But, though there are a few wild tribes of Nestorians on the western frontier of Azerbaijan, Christianity has never gained ground in Persia; and, unless we except the doubtful story of the conversion of one of the Sassanian and of one or two of the Mongol sovereigns, no Christian has ever reigned over Irân.

In 1814, Mr. Ellis, in conjunction with Mr. Morier, was deputed to negotiate a finally definitive Treaty between Great Britain and Persia. Mîrza Shafy, the Prime Minister, and another statesman, named 'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, were appointed to treat on the part of the Shâh. The principal articles of this Treaty were that England agreed to supply aid in troops, or a subsidy of 200,000 tomâns annually, in case of the invasion of Persia, provided that the Shâh was not the aggressor: that if any European power, at peace with England, made war on Persia, England is still bound to assist Persia by troops or by a subsidy: that if the Afghans invaded India, Persia was to send an army against them: and Persian rebels were to be expelled from British territory, and, if they refused to leave it, they were to be seized and sent to Persia.

This treaty, usually known as the Treaty of Tehran,

<sup>1</sup> While at Shîrâz, Mr. Martyn officiated as chaplain to Sir Gore Ouseley's Mission. He died at Tokat in Turkey in 1812.

was signed by Mr. Morier and Mr. Ellis on the part of England : and by Mîrza Shafy (Prime Minister), 'Abdu-'l-Wahihâb (Secretary of State), and Mîrza Bûzûrg (Kâim-Makân), on the part of Persia, on November 25, 1814 ; and continued in force until the war between Persia and England in 1856-7.

From this time a British Envoy has always resided at the court of the Shâh of Persia ; and in July 1815, Captain Willock relieved Mr. Morier as Chargé-d'Affaires.<sup>1</sup>

The house of the British Mission in Tehran is built in the European style, with a broad flight of steps leading up to a Doric portico between two projecting wings. On the opposite side of the street is the garden belonging to the British Mission. Two double rows of cypresses form a cross, with flower-beds, and a number of fruit-trees on either side. The roses grow to a height of eight or ten feet ; and an infant daughter of Sir Gore Ouseley is buried in a small tomb, in a corner of the inclosure.<sup>2</sup> The gardeners are Ghebres, or fire-worshippers. The snowy mountains of Elburz, seen above and between the rows of cypresses, have a most beautiful effect.

The Shâh bestowed a village on the British and

<sup>1</sup> Captain Willock was Attaché in Persia in 1809-10 ; Chargé-d'Affaires from July 1815 to January 1827 ; was knighted in 1827, and as Sir Henry Willock became a Director of the East India Company in 1838. He died in 1858, aged sixty-nine.

<sup>2</sup> She was born at Shîrâz, in the palace of Takht-i-Kâjar, on June 13, 1811, and was christened Eliza Shîrîn by Mr. Martyn. She died at Tehran.

Russian Missions, near the foot of the Elburz, where they might encamp, during the intense heats of the summer, when every one leaves Tehran. The British Mission village, called Gúlahék, is about seven miles north of Tehran, and 3,800 feet above the level of the sea. The Russians encamp at another village, about half a mile distant.

Thus Persia commenced a regular diplomatic intercourse with European nations ; and, from her position half-way between Russia and India, obtained an amount of importance, which, under the misgovernment of the Kájar Sháh's, she would otherwise never have known.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE KÁJAR DYNASTY.

*'Abbâs Mîrza.*

(The last half of the reign of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, from 1815 to 1834.)

AFTER the Treaty of Gulistân—although a Tûrân, more terrible and unscrupulous than that of Afrasiab, cast a dark and threatening shadow over her northern frontier—Persia enjoyed a period of external peace. But the deplorable misgovernment of the Kájars still continued.

One Muhammad Husain Khân, who had begun life as a vendor of provisions at Isfahân, had become Sadr-Â'zam, or Prime Minister ; and retained the favour of the Shâh by extracting a considerable revenue from the province of 'Irâk, of which he was governor : while 'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, one of the negotiators of the several treaties with England, and the most popular, honest, and talented man in the Shâh's court, was Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the title of Mûtâmidu-'d-Daulah.

The avaricious old Shâh continued to devote his attention to the extortion of the greatest possible amount of revenue, and the destruction of the power

of all those great chieftains whose followers formerly composed the flower of the Persian army.

The revenue of Persia is chiefly derived from the land-tax, which yielded Fat-h 'Aly about 989,000 tomâns. The presents at the *Nao-Rôz* and on other occasions, fines, and confiscations raised it to about 1,500,000 tomâns more, making a total of 2,489,000 tomâns, or about 1,500,000*l.* a year, a very small sum considering the extent and natural riches of the empire, and a striking proof of the misrule of the Kájars.<sup>1</sup>

With this income the Shâh had to maintain three hundred wives, and their establishments, a large number of courtiers and public servants, and to give away annually a great number of *khila'ats*, or dresses of honour.<sup>2</sup> The expenses of the provincial governments and of the army are not included in this estimate of the revenue.

By oppressing and destroying the power of the

<sup>1</sup> The land-tax averages about 20 per cent. on the gross produce. The peasants pay double the amount of the tax, but no part of the excess comes to the Shâh's treasury. Part is paid in money, part in kind. The total revenue, in money, in 1852, was tomâns 2,677,000 (a tomân being about ten shillings). From wheat and barley the income was 245,237 kherwars (a kherwar=650 lbs., at 2 tomâns the kherwar); rice 4,437 kherwars (same value); chaff for horses, 10,895 kherwars (at three shillings). This is expended for rations to soldiers, and in provisioning the Shâh's camp. Total revenue, 1,588,000*l.*—*Colonel Shiel.*

<sup>2</sup> In 1852, a sum of 800,000 tomâns was expended at the capital in salaries to courtiers and public servants, exclusive of the army. The prime minister received 42,000 tomâns, exclusive of other emoluments which tripled the income. General expenses, including presents, were 335,521, military, 1,222,764; provincial, 292,231.

great chiefs of the Ilyâts, Fat-h 'Aly deprived the country of her natural defence, her clouds of irregular cavalry, and by placing his sons in the government of every province of Persia, excepting 'Irâk, which was held by Muhammad Husain Khân, he delivered them over to misrule and tyranny.

Azerbaijan was given to 'Abbâs Mîrza, the heir apparent, and Kirmânshâh to Prince Muhammad 'Aly Mîrza, the Shâh's eldest son.

'Abbâs Mîrza, who was Governor of Azerbaijan for many years, was not the Shâh's eldest son, but had been proclaimed *Wâly Ahd*, or 'Heir Apparent,' because his mother was a Kâjar Princess. He was a handsome and dignified prince, with large black eyes, and a dark complexion. He appears to have possessed enlightened views, and to have been desirous of improving the condition of his country, but was deficient in talent, was rather weak-minded, and loved flattery.<sup>1</sup>

He had the advantage of having, in his Minister, a wise councillor as well as a devoted and attached friend. This was Mîrza Bûzûrg, the *Kâim-Makân*, or governor, who had served in early life under Lutf 'Aly Khân, and always talked of that ill-fated prince with affectionate esteem. He was son of Mîrza Muhammad Husain, the good and amiable Minister

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harford Jones, and several other writers, say that 'Abbâs Mîrza was an excellent, enlightened, and talented prince. Mr. Fraser, who abuses all Persians high and low, says he had neither much talent nor steadiness of character; was weak-minded, and a lover of flattery.

of Lutf 'Aly, and a descendant of the Prophet. Mirza Bûzûrg was a man of great ability, and was desirous of the prosperity of his country, while he cherished a wholesome and very natural hatred for the Russians.<sup>1</sup>

Azerbaijan,<sup>2</sup> the province which 'Abbâs Mirza and his minister Mirza Bûzûrg governed, is one of the most important in Persia. It is separated from Armenia, on the north, by the river Araxes, which rises in the mountains twenty miles south of Erzerum. This river is very rapid, but fordable in many places during the summer, and at Nakshawân, it is not more than sixty paces across. A few miles below Megrî, which is about fifty-five miles north of Tabrîz, a handsome bridge was thrown across the river by 'Abbâs the Great, which is still entire, and the river, forming a junction with the Cyrus, fifty miles from the Caspian, finally empties itself into that sea.

On the south, Azerbaijan is separated from 'Irâk by the river *Kaziluzain*, 'Golden Stream,' which rises a few miles north-west of Sennah in Kurdistân. It flows along the northern frontier of 'Irâk; and uniting with the Shâhrûd rivulet, the two streams assist each other in forcing a way through the Elburz Mountains, and under the name of Safid Rûd, 'White River,' flow, through Ghilân, to the Caspian Sea. The pass by which these waters force their way through

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Bûzûrg was the ablest and most upright of all the Persian ministers.—Monteith's *Kars and Erzeroum*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Azerbaijan* means the 'country of fire,' probably from the number of fire temples that once existed there. Its ancient name was *Atropatene*, from the Satrap Atropates, who, on Alexander's death, declared himself independent.

the mountains forms a grand and terrific sight, and the roar of the waters, dashing through a ravine with precipices on either side, is heard at a great distance.

On the east, Azerbaijan is bounded by Ghilân and Talish, on the west by Armenia and Kurdistân. The province is composed of a succession of undulating eminences, partially cultivated, opening into extensive plains, such as those of Ujain, Tabrîz, and Urumiyyah; while, on the south, are the lofty mountains of Lakund, and on the north, the black rocks of Karabagh slope down towards the vast plains of Mogân. The villages of Azerbaijan are embosomed in orchards and gardens, which yield delicious fruits; but, besides the rivers Araxes and Kaziluzain, there is only one considerable stream, the Jaghatû, which, rising in the mountains of Kurdistân, falls into the lake of Urumiyyah. It is two hundred paces wide, and full of fish.

The chief towns of Azerbaijan are, Ardebil, Urumiyyah, Khoi, Marâghah, and Tabrîz, the capital. Ardebil, on the eastern frontier of the province, is situated in an immense plain, bounded on the west by the snowy peak of Sevellan. The climate is cold, but there are fine meadows and some cultivation in the plain. The most picturesque and flourishing portion of Azerbaijan is around the towns of Urumiyyah and Khoi. The latter, supposed to be on the site of the ancient capital of Armenia—Artaxata, is the chief town of a rich and fertile district, and the emporium of the trade between Persia and Turkey. The walls of the town are in good repair, the bazars excellent, and the streets built with regularity, and shaded with avenues of trees.

Urumiyyah, one of the reputed birthplaces of



Zoroaster, is situated in a plain, fertilized by the river Shar, and the neighbourhood produces corn and wine in abundance. The lake of Urumiyyah is a noble expanse of water (300 miles round), surrounded by picturesque mountains, and fertile valleys filled with villages. The waters, of a dark blue colour, are very salt. On its south-east side, is the town of Marâghah, which is well built, with a spacious bazar, handsome public baths, and high walls. It is famous as the capital of Hûlâkû Khân.

At Urumiyyah, and in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains of Kurdistân to the westward, where the Tigris rises, there are numerous tribes of Nestorian Christians. In 1835, when Colonel Sheil was at Urumiyyah, the Bishop paid him a visit, in an enormous red and yellow pair of trousers, an immense red and black turban, and a stout beard. His church, in a village surrounded by beautiful gardens, near Urumiyyah, was a dark room with an altar; and the service consisted in the Bishop chanting alternately with the priest, and reading the Bible. No pictures or images were allowed. Two American missionaries, Dr. Grant and Mr. Perkins, established a flourishing mission at Urumiyyah in 1834; which, in 1853, consisted of thirty-eight American men, women and children. They profess only to teach the Nestorians, not to interfere with their tenets, and were warmly received both by the clergy and people. They have established numerous schools, which are thronged with pupils, and there is also a French mission in the district of Salamás, between Urumiyyah and Khoi.

The patriarch of these Christian tribes lives at Kochânes, near Julamerk, in the heart of the mountains of Kurdistân, and can muster an army of 15,000 Christian followers. Dr. Grant believes these Christians to be a remnant of the Ten Tribes of Israel, and estimates their number at 200,000 souls. In the district of Urumiyyah they have long been cruelly oppressed by the Afshar tribe, which is settled there, who extort money from them by torture, and often forcibly take their daughters from them, to give them to Muslim husbands.<sup>1</sup>

Tabriz, the place where Cyrus deposited the wealth of Croesus, and the favourite residence of Zubaidah, the wife of the Khalifah Hârûn-er-Rashîd, is the capital of Azerbaijan. The city is built in an immense plain, at the foot of a mountain, and on the banks of a small stream which is lost in irrigation. The town is in a ruinous and dilapidated condition, but the chief place of interest is the *ark*, or 'citadel,' originally built by order of Zubaidah, a noble mass of masonry on a hill outside the walls. Here 'Abbâs Mirza established the arsenal and workshops for his army.

The Prince was anxious to have an army of regular

<sup>1</sup> The Nestorians, following the tenets of Nestorius, maintain two persons in Christ, joined in one *parsopa* of filiation. They do not use auricular confession, and forbid pictures and images. The laity receive the Communion in both kinds. They fast abundantly, read the Scriptures a good deal, allow the clergy to marry, and say prayers for the dead; but do not believe in purgatory. See *Eight Years among the Nestorian Christians*, by Justin Perkins (Andover, U.S., 1843). But for a more complete account of these Christians, see *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, by the Revd. G. P. Badger (2 vols. 1852).

troops, disciplined in the European manner, and several English officers were employed in drilling them. The flower of the Persian army is drawn from Azerbaijan; and the soldiers are naturally active, robust, energetic, and possessed of great powers of enduring cold, exposure, and fatigue. They are enlisted for life, and by compulsion. But the native officers are usually worthless, cowardly, and promoted by favour and bribery.

After the death of Christie, at Aslandû, Major Hart was very successful in drilling the infantry of Azerbaijan, and Lindsay brought the artillery to great perfection. Under the instruction of English artificers, a foundry was established at Tabriz, where guns were cast, gun-carriages built, and musket ammunition prepared, while a powder-mill was constructed outside the town. 'Abbâs Mîrza had an army of about 10,600 regular troops, consisting of 9,400 infantry, about 640 artillery, 500 lancers, and 100 men in charge of *zambûraks*, or small swivels on the backs of camels. Besides these, he could call out about 10,000 irregular Tabriz *tufangchîs*, or 'matchlock men,' and about 12,000 irregular cavalry from the tribes; making altogether a force of about 32,000 men. The Sirdar of Erivan, a powerful and nearly independent chief, could also muster, on an emergency, about 1,000 regular troops and 2,000 Kurdish horse.

While 'Abbâs Mîrza was introducing the discipline and drill of European troops into his army, Muhammad 'Aly Mîrza, his formidable rival, and the eldest son of the Shâh, ruled over Kirmanshâh, and kept up an effective military force.

Muhammad 'Aly Mîrza was the son of a Georgian

slave, and was of a very different character from his brother. He was haughty and impetuous to a degree, but, at the same time, he was enterprising, gallant, and generous. He had loudly protested against being excluded from the succession to the throne. This Prince administered the affairs of Kirmanshâh in a truly paternal way, his charities enriched the town, and the people lived in the enjoyment of plenty.<sup>1</sup> His province was bounded on the west by the Pashâlik of Baghdâd ; on the south by the mountains of Lâristân, inhabited by wild tribes, many of whom belong to a sect believing that 'Aly was God ; and on the north by Ardalân, the eastern division of Kurdistân. The country of the Kurds is wild and inaccessible, and has never been completely subdued. The people are brave, robust, and hardy, but very barbarous ; war and rapine are their delight, and murder is hardly considered a crime.

The most powerful Kurdish chiefs are the Wâlis of Sulaimâniyyah and Ardalân. The latter, though he pays a tribute to Persia, is really independent, and governs his people more as a patriarch than a tyrant. His dominions, nominally in Persia, are 200 miles long from the river Sharûh to the Turkish district of Zohab, and 160 miles broad, being separated from the plain of Hamadân by a low range of hills. The Wâli of Ardalân claims descent from the great Saladin. His country is composed of clusters of hills, with occasional table lands covered with flocks and the tents of Kurdish tribes, who pass the summer in Ardelân, but remove to the neighbourhood of Baghdâd in the winter. These tribes refuse allegiance to both Turkey and Persia ; and

<sup>1</sup> Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*.

as they habitually cross the frontiers and make aggressions upon their neighbours, they were long the cause of constant quarrels between the two Governments.

The villages of Ardalân are built in the glens, and some of the mountains are covered with oak forests. Sennah, the capital,<sup>1</sup> is situated in a deep and well cultivated valley, interspersed with orchards of peach, apple, and cherry trees. The Wâli lives in a palace on the summit of a small hill, in the centre of the town.

Surrounded by these lawless tribes of Kurds and Feilis, Muhammad 'Aly Mírza was much employed in subduing and keeping in subjection their turbulent chiefs. One of these, named Asa'ad-Khân, disgusted with the way in which his services had been requited by the Shâh, retired, in sullen discontent, to his fastnesses not far from Kirmanshâh. The Prince marched against him ; and, when near the stronghold, without saying a word to his followers, he rode by himself, straight to the Khân's quarters, and, having announced himself, addressed him on the folly of his conduct in resisting so overwhelming a force. The Khân, struck with the Prince's spirited conduct in thus boldly placing himself entirely in his power, was readily brought to terms : and a desperate rebel was transformed into a brave and attached servant.

Muhammad 'Aly Mírza was fond of the sports of the field, chasing the bustard, gazelle, or hare along the valleys and small plains of Kirmanshâh. The Persian sportsman is a great trainer of the *charkh* (the *sákar* of old writers on falconry), which is famous for courage

<sup>1</sup> Seventy-seven miles from Kirmanshâh.

and daring. It is usually flown at the bustard or gazelle. The *shahîn* (*Falco peregrinator*), as well as the European peregrine, or *bhairi*, were also flown, before the use of fire-arms became general; but are now only found in the Shâh's mews. The *bâz*, or goshawk, remarkable for the beauty of its speckled plumage, is still used by the Persians for catching partridges. The gazelle is chased by both hawks and greyhounds, trained to hunt together. When loosed from the wrist, the hawk flies steadily, and near the ground, towards the gazelle,<sup>1</sup> and darts several times at its head, while the greyhound gains upon the poor frightened animal. The fleetness of the beautiful gazelle is so great that few dogs can overtake it, without this assistance of the hawk.

In the year 1821, a war broke out between Persia and Turkey, arising from the insults offered to Persian pilgrims going to Mekkah. Muhammad 'Aly Mîrza led his army, consisting chiefly of Kurds who had been disciplined by French officers,<sup>2</sup> to the invasion of the Baghdâd Pashâlik; but, just as he was on the point of possessing himself of Baghdâd, he was carried off by cholera. He was a prince of a noble and generous disposition, thoroughly Persian and national in his feelings; and apparently better fitted than his brother and rival to have succeeded to the throne of Persia.

Jealous of the successes of his brother, 'Abbâs Mîrza invaded the Turkish territory with his highly disciplined army, and in 1821 besieged and took Bayazid. The

<sup>1</sup> *Gazella subguttarosa*.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these French officers, on the death of Muhammad 'Aly Mîrza, took service in the Panjâb, under Runjît Singh.

Turkish army advanced to a small fort, called Topra Kala, and drew up in order of battle, with the Pasha of Vân on the right and the Sar'-Askar in the centre. The Persian army was led by the Prince in person, with the Sirdar of Erivan on the right. The *sarbâz* or 'infantry' of Azerbaijan stormed a hillock in front of the Turkish position in gallant style. The Turks fled in confusion, and were pursued by the Persian cavalry; 2,500 of them were killed, and all their camp equipage and baggage fell into the hands of the victors.

The cholera, that terrible scourge, which now first appeared in Persia, and which had already carried off Prince Muhammad 'Aly, put a stop to the Turkish war. It broke out with terrible violence in the victorious Persian army, and the Prince retreated in terror and confusion to Khoi, where the troops rapidly began to disperse. The good old Kâim-Makâm, Mîrza Bûzûrg, fell a victim to this terrible scourge at Tabriz, on August 14, 1822. He was succeeded in the office of Minister to Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza, with the title of Kâim-Makâm, by his son Mîrza Abu-'l Kâsim, a very different and less worthy man.

The long threatened storm from the north was now about to burst over Persia, and Russia considered the state of affairs to be favourable for another slice of her neighbour's territory. The unsettled boundary question afforded a pretext for constant disputes, and General Yermoloff, the Governor General of Georgia, took every opportunity of exasperating the Persians. In August 1826, Prince Menschikoff was sent on a mission to Tehran, ostensibly to announce the accession of the

Emperor Nicholas, and to settle the disputed boundary, but, judging from his conduct at Constantinople in 1853, he was not very likely to conciliate, and the choice of such a man was an indication of the intentions of Russia. Believing that war was inevitable, 'Abbâs Mîrza determined at least to take the initiative, and commenced hostilities in the summer of 1826.

It had been determined in 1824 to transfer the superintendence of the British Mission, and the appointment of an Envoy, from the Home to the Indian Government; but the new Envoy, Sir John Macdonald, did not arrive at Tehran until December 3, 1826. In the meanwhile the war had broken out with Russia; and Mr. Willock, only holding his place until relieved by his successor, did not feel justified in offering his mediation. It was the fact of Persia not having asked for it, before declaring war, which afterwards gave the British Government an excuse for evading the engagements with Persia which were contained in the Morier and Ellis Treaty.

'Abbâs Mîrza crossed the Araxes, his army occupied Talish, and at first he met with some success; but on September 14, he suffered a signal reverse. With 20,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, 8,000 irregulars, and 24 guns, he had taken up his position near the little river Jam, about four miles from Elizabethpol. Yermoloff, who had by this time concentrated his forces, advanced against him with 6,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 12 guns. The Persians were defeated, and in the following November were obliged to retreat across the Araxes.



In the spring of 1827, Yermoloff was superseded by General Paskewitch. In April the Russians captured Echmiazin, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch, without a blow, and invested the important fortress of 'Abbásabád. 'Abbás Mirza and the Sirdar of Erivan advanced to its relief. Paskewitch crossed the Araxes, by means of hides forming air-bladders, to oppose their progress, and found them posted in a very strong position; but their centre being forced by the Russians, they broke and fled, leaving 5,000 men on the field. The Prince himself owed his escape entirely to the fleetness of his horse. This was the battle of Jevan-Bulak, fought on July 18, 1827. 'Abbásabád surrendered on the 31st of the same month.

'Abbás Mirza then attempted to retake Echmiazin, and General Krasowsky advancing to its relief, a very bloody battle was fought at 'Abbáran on August 29. On this occasion the Persians fought most gallantly; and, though defeated, they inflicted a very severe loss on their enemies. Two Persian battalions charged two battalions of the Russian guard, and came off victorious, Krasowsky himself was wounded, and 1,200 Russians were killed. Paskewitch then advanced against the Persians and, having forced 'Abbás Mirza to retreat across the Araxes, he laid siege to Erivan, which important fortress, with immense stores of provisions and ammunition, surrendered on October 13.

The Persians were now thoroughly exhausted, their treasure was well nigh spent, and their troops were dispirited. 'Abbás Mirza retreated with the shattered

remains of his army to Khoi; and on October 10, the city of Tabríz was surrendered to the Russians, under General Aristoff, by the Ásafu-'d-Daulah without a show of resistance.

On November 9, the Persian Government submitted to the terms of the conquerors; and when they demurred to some of their demands, the Russians at once resumed hostilities, seized upon Ardebil, robbed the shrine of Shâh Isma'íl of its valuable library, and proceeded to overrun the whole of Azerbaijan.

Persia was now prostrate before her relentless foe, and hard conditions were unscrupulously wrung from her. The negotiations were carried on at the village of Túrkmanchai, between General Paskewitch, 'Abbâs Mírza, the Kâim-Makâm and Ásafu-'d-Daulah, with the British Envoy, Sir John Macdonald, acting as mediator. The treaty was signed on February 21, 1828.

The Khânâts or provinces of Erivan, and Nakshawân were ceded to Russia in perpetuity, including Echmiazin, the abode of the Armenian Patriarch. Persia was forced to pay an indemnity to Russia of nearly 4,000,000*l.* (fifteen crores of tomâns) for the expenses of the war,<sup>1</sup> but the most unjust stipulation was that Persia should not be allowed to have any armed vessel on the Caspian. Thus this sea, which washes the provinces of Persia, equally with those which had been seized upon by Russia, was converted into a Russian lake, although Persia had a peculiar right to defend her

<sup>1</sup> Part of this treasure was conveyed to the Russian camp by General Monteith. He says that much of the gold was Indian coin, spoils brought from Delhi by Nâdir Shâh.

coasts from the piratical inroads of the Turkmâns. As will be hereafter seen, the Russians had ulterior views, when they enforced this unjust stipulation.

Completely crushed as Persia was by this treaty, she had yet to suffer a more serious disaster in the abrogation of the conditions of the Treaty of Tehran by the British Government. The English offered to give Persia 200,000 tomâns towards the payment of the demands of her enemy, on condition that the Shâh consented to abrogate the two articles in the Treaty of Tehran containing promises of assistance in case of invasion. In his dire necessity old Fat-h 'Aly was obliged, most unwillingly, to consent to these hard terms. Thus, to save themselves from possible future embarrassment, the Government of England virtually broke their solemn agreement, deserted an old ally in the moment of her deepest misfortune, and very naturally forfeited their former influence at the Court of Tehran.

The excuse made by Mr. Canning and his colleagues was that Persia was the aggressor, and that, therefore, the obligation ceased: but the answer to this is given by Sir Justin Sheil, who says that 'the war was provoked by the domineering attitude of Russia, and by *the aggressive occupation of a portion of Persian territory.*'<sup>1</sup>

The articles were abrogated, for a pecuniary compensation, on August 25, 1828.

The conduct of England on this occasion was as shortsighted and impolitic as it was unjust, for, from

<sup>1</sup> Sir Justin Sheil, in *Lady Sheil's work*. Note D. p. 344.

that day our influence has declined in Persia, while the Russians have occupied the place formerly held by Great Britain, and have steadily advanced their schemes of encroachment and conquest.

In December 1828, M. Grebayadoff was sent as Envoy to Tehran, and, assuming a haughty and insolent tone, demanded that all women of the new Russian territory should be brought before him, to declare whether or no they remained in Persia of their own free will. Among these he demanded the production of two women of Erivan, who resided in the house of a Persian nobleman named 'Aly Yâr Khân. They were sent to his house, and declared that they did not wish to leave Tehran, yet he determined to detain them a day or two, to see if they would alter their minds.

The mullahs of Tehran were indignant at this conduct of the Russian Envoy, and, assembling at the principal mosque, declared that their most sacred rights were trampled on, and that if the women were not given up, they should be forcibly dragged from the Russian's house by the populace. They then ordered their congregations to proceed to the Russian Embassy, and demand the women. An infuriated mob soon surrounded the house, the roof was torn off, and a fire was opened upon the people in the rooms. Others forced their way into the house, every soul was murdered, and M. Grebayadoff himself was killed with a knife-stab on the left side.<sup>1</sup> The brutal mob then

<sup>1</sup> M. Grebayadoff was celebrated as a dramatic author in the Russian language, as well as an ambassador.

One of his comedies, entitled *Gore ot Ouma*, which first appeared

stripped the bodies, and threw them in a heap in the courtyard. M. Maltzoff, the first secretary, alone escaped. A few feeble attempts had been made by the Shâh to quell the disturbance, but his troops finally shut themselves up in the citadel.

The old Shâh and Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza were naturally terrified at the resentment of the Russian Government, when they should hear of this shocking outrage; but, luckily for them, the Emperor Nicholas was just about to engage in a war with Turkey: and a humble embassy, consisting of Khusru Mîrza, a young son of 'Abbâs Mîrza, accompanied by Mîrza Masûd (afterwards Minister of Foreign Affairs), and the Amîr-i-Nizâm, or 'Commander-in-Chief,' proceeded to St. Petersburg, and succeeded in appeasing his just indignation.

Deserted by England, Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza now threw himself into the arms of Russia. Two regiments, which had been disciplined by British officers, were named after the Russian Emperor; and, at the instigation of Prince Dolgorouki, the Prince in autumn 1830, proceeded to wage war upon his own subjects, and to

at Moscow in 1823, has lately been translated by one Benardaky, who announces it as the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Russian stage.

The *Athenæum* remarks: 'If its strokes *did* hit, Muscovite folly and autocracy must be far feebler and thinner of skin than we have been used to fancy.'—*Athenæum*, December 19, 1857.

General Monteith says Grebayadoff was a mild, amiable man; (p. 222), but that his servants were men of the worst character.

A full account of the murder is given in *Blackwood's Magazine* of September 1830. It was written by the secretary of a Persian, nobleman, and translated by Major Willock. There is another account by De Bode, also from a Persian point of view.

reduce those chiefs of Khurâsân, who had only held a nominal submission to the Shâhs since the time of Nâdir. This suicidal proceeding, in weakening the Persian Empire by intestine feuds, exactly suited the policy of Russia.

On June 11, 1830, Sir John Macdonald, the British Envoy died at Tehran; and was succeeded by his assistant, Captain Campbell of the Madras Cavalry, who was not, however, confirmed until two years afterwards, when he was knighted. On the same day Major Hart, who had disciplined the infantry of 'Abbâs Mirza's army, also died.

In 1829 the cholera, which had first made its appearance in Persia in 1821, again committed fearful ravages, carrying off 200,000 souls in Ghîlân alone. It was followed by a famine.

In March 1831, 'Abbâs Mirza commenced his advance towards Yezd and Kirmân, to reduce the Governor, who was in a state of open rebellion, and to restore order. He crossed the desert from Kashân and occupied Yezd on the 25th, Kirmân falling into his hands on the 5th of the following month.

The town of Yezd is built on a large sandy plain, surrounded by hills: it produces fruit and some corn, but there is a scarcity of water. It consists of two parts: the old town well fortified, with a wall, ditch, four gates, an excellent bazar, and about 6,000 houses; and a straggling new town, outside the walls. The population is about 15,000 souls; and there are considerable manufactures of stuffs, silk being imported from Ghîlân, and namads. Great numbers of camels

are also bred there. Yezd is the last resting place of the persecuted *Ghebres*,<sup>1</sup> or 'fire worshippers,' and there were then about 3,000 families in the town, and many more in the surrounding villages. They are an industrious and patient race, but subject to heavy taxation. The peculiarity of the dress of these people is, that the men invariably wear some shade of yellow, and the women bright striped silk or cotton trousers. Their manners and customs are very different from those of the Parsis of Bombay, and they bear little or no resemblance in features. The Ghebres are all cultivators. The road from Yezd to Kirmân, a distance of 185 miles, passes through the long, barren, and sterile valley included between the great central range of Persia and the more fertile outlying hills. At Kirmân there is a manufacture of shawls made from the wool of a small white sheep, whose long thick coat frequently sweeps the ground: but the town was in a ruinous state for many years after the terrible siege of Agha Muhammad in 1794.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1857 the Persian Government demanded 500 tomâns from the poor Ghebres of Yezd, as a contribution to the holy war against England. An agent of the Parsis of Bombay interceded for them, and failed. The Parsis then authorised him to pay the sum for their persecuted brethren.

A heavy poll tax is imposed on the Ghebres, amounting to 667 tomâns annually; and great cruelties are practised on them, when they cannot pay.—See Account of Parsis and Ghebres, at the end of the chapter on the Sassanian dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> The present town of Kirmân has been gradually rebuilt on the southern part of the former site. It now covers about two-thirds of a square mile, and contains about 35,000 inhabitants, including a small number of Ghebres, and about fifty Hindû merchants. It is

Having reduced these provinces to order, 'Abbás Mírza marched with his army towards Khurásân, taking the road by Isfahân and Kâshân to Samnân. He was accompanied by his son Muhammad Mírza, the Kâim-Makâm, Colonel Shee who had long been employed in disciplining the troops in Azerbaijan, and some English drill serjeants. He reached Másh-had on January 12, 1832, and commenced a campaign against the turbulent and almost independent chiefs of Khurásân.

The large and important province of Khurásân is diversified by plain and upland; and its northern frontier consists of a range of mountains, which connects the Elburz with the Paropamisan, and forms the rampart wall of the great table-land of Persia. All south of this chain, which, under different names, extends from Azerbaijan to Balkh, is many feet higher than the country to the north. The Paropamisan joins the Hindû Kûsh, and the whole forms, what

surrounded by the usual mud rampart, flanked by round towers. The two forts, on rocky hills close to the town, which defended it, and made it an almost impregnable fortress, have never been rebuilt. The town owes its prosperity to the enlightened rule of the present governor and his father, who have ruled the province for fifteen years; paying a net sum to the Shâh (200,000 tomâns, about 80,000*l.*), and rendering no account of taxation or expenditure. Although Kirmân is the driest province in Persia, the Wakilu-'l-Mulk (the governor's title), boasted to Major St. John that not a single Kirmâni had died of hunger during the famine that desolated Persia from 1870 to 1872. The governor's system is, by making the sale of the wool a government monopoly, and retaining the whole export trade of wool to India in his own hands, to realize such an income as to be able to relieve the people of the grinding taxation which prevails elsewhere.



the Arabian geographers call 'the stony girdle of the earth.'

Khurâsân was divided into nine petty States,<sup>1</sup> whose chiefs were often at war with each other, and openly defied the government of the Kâjar prince at Mâshhad.

The towns and districts in the centre of Khurâsân, being on the direct road between Tehran and Mâshhad, alone remained in the hands of the government, but they suffered terribly from the continual inroads of the Turkmâns.

The first town in Khurâsân, coming from Tehran, is Samnân (124 miles from Tehran). Close round the walls there is a little cultivation, but the rest of the plain is brown and desolate up to the foot of the mountains, which frown in gloomy grandeur around it. It is a wretched poverty stricken town, with a dilapidated wall. This is the extreme western point of ordinary Turkmân incursions.

Fifty miles east of Samnân, is the town of Damghân, which is in a still more ruinous condition than the former; in fact, it is described as a mass of desolate ruins in a vast gravelly plain, with a wretched vaulted

<sup>1</sup> Six on the northern frontier, namely—

Turbat Haidary, whose chief could muster	1,200 horse
Kala'at Nâdir	500 "
Deregez	1,000 "
Bûjnûrd	1,000 "
Chirsaran Khabûshân	} Kurds, planted there by 'Abbâs the Great

Three on the south, namely—Tûrahîz, with	600 horse	} Arab.
Tabas	6,000 "	
Khazn	3,000 "	

lane of mud-built shops for a bazar. The mosque has a minaret of burnt brick, ornamented with filigree work.

Thence to Shâhrûd is thirty-six miles, over a plain containing many villages. This town has a wall flanked with towers, the bazar is good, and there are many gardens and much cultivation in the environs. Shâhrûd is 210 miles from Tehran, and 240 from Mâsh-had, and here the road branches off to Astrabâd, which is 45 miles to the north-west.

A plain, intersected by low hills, and for the most part devoid of water, intervenes its eighty-six long miles between Shâhrûd and 'Abbâsabâd. The village of 'Abbâsabâd consists of a few houses, and a large fortified caravanserai on an eminence. It was founded by 'Abbâs the Great, who transported a hundred unfortunate Georgian families to this wretched place. It is in the centre of a barren and wide space, which was often rendered impassable by Turkmân inroads and the despotic monarch exiled these poor people to render the road more safe. The whole country is constantly overrun by Turkmâns, and stragglers are often carried off, but they have never yet succeeded in surprising the fort. A poor man, in this village, on hearing from Mr. Fraser that England was free from these calamities, exclaimed—'Oh! take me to that happy land.'

Seventy miles further east, through a wilderness abounding in deer and wild asses, is the thriving little town of Sabzawâr, the chief town of a district covered with villages and cultivation. The town contains

about 1,200 houses, and a clean and well roofed bazar.

Sabzawâr is ninety-six miles from Nishâpûr, the road leading over a plain with villages here and there, and across a chain of hills. Nishâpûr, a very ancient city is situated among gardens and villages, about four miles to the south of a lofty range of mountains, The remains of the *kanâts*, or underground aqueducts, which once rendered the plain so famous for its fertility, are to be seen in every direction. In a mountain glen, thirty miles from Nishâpûr, are the torquoise mines. The plain of Nishâpûr is eighty miles long by forty broad.

After leaving the plain, the road leads over a mountain range, and in many places it is bordered by willow, ash, and plane trees, which stand out in pleasing relief against the barren precipitous mountains, whose sides are often frequented by agile goats and deer. After ninety-four miles, the city of Mâsh-had<sup>1</sup> is reached, the capital of Khurâsân.

All the villages of this province are walled, to protect their inhabitants from the inroads of the Turk-mâns.

These lawless tribes dwell between the eastern shore of the Caspian, and the old ruined town of Merv, and from the borders of Khurâsân to Khiva. They have for ages dwelt in tents, and wandered with their flocks from one pasture to another.<sup>2</sup> The Turk-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Mâsh-had, see page 280.

<sup>2</sup> Their tents, called *khirjabs*, are of conical form, the framework being made of wood, and folding up. Thick felts are stretched

mâns are of the Súnnah creed, and are cruel, blood-thirsty, rapacious, and so far cowardly as always to prefer flight to facing a superior force. They are divided into three principal tribes, namely, the *Yamûts*, the *Guklâns*, and the *Tekehs*.

The Yamûts, consisting of 25,000 families, are settled between Khiva and the river Atrak, and at the mouths of the Atrak and Gûrgan on the Caspian. They are the least ugly of the Turkmân tribes, and are subject to Persia. The Guklans, also subject to Persia, number 12,000 families, and are the most settled and peaceful of the Turkmâns. They live between Astrabâd and the Atrak, especially on the banks of the river Gûrgan.

The Tekehs, of 35,000 families, wander between the sources of the Atrak, and the town of Merv (Mâru), and extend their excursions to Khiva and Sarakhs.<sup>1</sup>

The arms of the Turkmâns were a spear ten feet long and a sword. They now have guns. They are excellent horsemen, and pass their lives in pillage and rapine. Their raids into Khurâsân are called *chapaus*. When a chief determines on making one, a month is given to his followers to get their horses into proper condition. A horse receives one half his usual allowance until his flesh is much reduced. He is then put at full speed for half an hour every day, and gets little water. After thirty days of this training, the marauders take the field with two horses each, one the

over this frame, and the tent may be made very warm, so as to protect its inmates from the severe winters to which the country is subject.

<sup>1</sup> Vambéry (1864) estimates the total number of Turkmân tents at 196,500, or (five souls to a tent) 982,500 souls.

charger, and the other an inferior beast called *Yabû*, which carries the robber to the Persian frontier, the charger following. The first day's march is usually only about twelve miles, which is increased each day to sixteen, twenty and twenty-four. The charger is then given  $4\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. of barley flour, 2 of maize flour, and 2 of sheep's tail fat, which puts him into the best possible condition.

Spies are sent out, and news being brought the whole party gallop swiftly on their prey, whether caravan or village. In a few minutes all is over, the people carried off into slavery, and the village burnt. The prisoners are tied to the saddle bows of their captors, and treated with horrible cruelty, until they are finally sold in the slave markets of Khiva. The horses of the Turkmâns have been known to go over 600 miles in six or even five days.

Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza undertook his campaign in Khurâsân, not to put an end to these Turkmân atrocities, or to destroy the vile slave markets of Khiva, but to reduce the hereditary nobility of an important Persian province, and to extend the dominion of the Shâh to the banks of the Oxus. These were the avowed objects. He commenced by besieging a fortress called Sultân Maidân, between Sabzawâr and Nîshâpûr, which was defended by a powerful rebel chief, named Râzha Kûly Khân. After having repulsed an assault very bravely, the besieged surrendered on December 10, 1831.

During the spring and summer of 1832, 'Abbâs Mîrza captured the strongholds of Amir-abâd,

Túrshín, Khabûshan, Sarakhs, and Turbat Haidary, and forced all the most turbulent chiefs to submit. Khabûshan was the stronghold of the Ilkhâny of the Kurdish tribes who had been settled in Khurâsân by 'Abbâs the Great. After its capture the Ilkhâny was deposed, and replaced by his son. Sarakhs was held by the Salur tribe of Turkmâns; and when it fell, 'Abbâs Mîrza perpetrated a general massacre. The British detachment, under Colonel Shee, then returned to Tabrîz, which they reached in March 1833. Since the subjection of Khurâsân, the hereditary nobility have given place to the greedy hangers-on of the prince governor at Mâsh-had, whose rapacious exactions have made the Kâjar rule hated everywhere, and the Turkmân inroads have become even more frequent than they were before.

Having subdued all opposition in Khurâsân, 'Abbâs Mîrza then proposed to march against the independent Afghan principality of Herat, but Fat-h 'Aly strongly disapproved of the measure. The old Shâh, however, seems to have been overruled, for in 1833, Prince Muhammad Mîrza, 'Abbâs Mîrza's eldest son, led an army to besiege that important place.

Herat is rather more than 200 miles from Mâsh-had, but the road is good, leading through well peopled valleys and plains, with only one important fortress, that of Ghorîân, on the road. Muhammad Mîrza did not wait to besiege this place, but contenting himself with masking it, he hastened to the siege of Herat. His proceedings, however, were abruptly brought to

an end by the news of his father's death, and he retreated to Másh-had.

Prince 'Abbás Mírza died at Másh-had on October 21, 1833. He had ruled over Persia, in his father's name, for many years, and had conducted all important negotiations with foreign powers, yet the old Shâh outlived him. 'Abbás Mírza was certainly a prince of enlightened views, and desirous of his country's good, but without any extraordinary talent. He gained the respect of the English officers who were for many years in his service, and had several attached and faithful servants, like old Mírza Bûzûrg, amongst his own countrymen.

The old Shâh at once proclaimed Muhammad Mírza to be Heir Apparent, with the government of Azerbaijan, and the command of the armies, and the Kâim-Makâm, who had held the office of minister to his father, since the death of Mírza Bûzûrg, was retained by Muhammad. But there were many intrigues carried on at court, and it became evident that on the death of the old Shâh, which could not be long deferred, there would be several rival competitors for the throne. Muhammad Mírza, therefore, repaired to Tabríz to make preparations for ensuring his own succession.

Fat-h 'Aly Shâh had now reached the age of 68, and Burnes, who saw him at this time, says that his voice was full and sonorous, and that he still sat erect with much dignity, his splendid beard reaching down far below his waist. The old Shâh died, at Isfahân, on

October 23, 1834. He was buried at Kûm, in a chapel adjoining the shrine of the holy Fâtimah.<sup>1</sup>

During a long and disastrous reign of 37 years he had lost considerable tracts of important territory, and had misgoverned Persia to such an extent that the Kájar race had become universally hated. His besetting sin was avarice, yet, at his death, his treasury was nearly empty, and his hoards were torn from him by the Russians, who wrung money as well as land from the conquered Persians.

In private life Fat-h 'Aly would have been loved and respected ; he was neither cruel nor unjust naturally, and possessed many qualities, such as a love for poetry and history, which were well fitted to adorn a private station ; but he had no ability for governing, and was entirely deficient in military talent.

During the reign of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, the great importance of the position of Persia was recognised by the European Powers ; and from the obscurity of a distant Eastern monarchy, she rose to a place of some consequence among the politicians and diplomatists of the West. But unfortunately this was owing to her position, not to her power ; and there can be no hope that, under the rule of the Kájars, Persia will ever regain her ancient glory and prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> See page 281.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE SEYYIDS OF 'OMÂN.

THE Persian Gulf (Bâhr Fâris, or Bahr-el-'Ajam) is connected with many of the most charming associations, which have made the East familiar to Europeans. The voyage of Nearchus, the remnant of the fire worshippers, Sindbad the sailor,<sup>1</sup> and many of the other tales in

<sup>1</sup> Sulaimân was one of the first Arab (Muhammadian) merchants who embarked on the Persian Gulf, in the beginning of the ninth century. His principal establishment was at el-Bâsrah, and he visited the various States of India, and all the seas and coasts between el-Bâsrah and Malacca. His voyages were first translated from Arabic into French by M. Renaudot, in 1718.

Sindbad's voyages took place when the Abbasside Khalfahs were in the height of their power.

His first voyage was probably to the coast of Malabar, and the land of the Râjah of Bijnagar.

His second to the Malay Peninsula, where camphor is obtained.

His third to the Andaman Islands, where he met tattooed and ferocious savages.

His fourth to the Malabar coast, where the best pepper is grown, and thence to Malacca.

His fifth to some part of Malabar, where it was the custom to use men, instead of horses, as beasts of burden. Hence his story of the 'Old Man of the Sea.' Thence to the Maldives; thence to the pearl-fisheries of the Gulf of Manâr.

His sixth, cast on shore near Cape Comorin, and went by the rocky bridge of Râma (he calls it a subterranean passage) to Ceylon.

His seventh, sent by Hârûn-er-Rashîd on an embassy to Ceylon.

The fictitious parts of his narrative are clearly accounts of what

the *Arabian Nights*, the glories of the city of Ormuz (Hormûz); all these pleasant memorials of the past are associated with the wild and desolate shores of the Persian Gulf.

Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet, sailed from the mouth of the Indus with orders to explore the unknown ocean, and if possible to reach Babylon by sea. This famous mariner kept so accurate a log-book, as he coasted along the shores of the Ichthyophagi and of Persia, that the seaman in modern times can, by his descriptions, easily identify every place at which his fleet anchored.<sup>1</sup> There is Cape Monza; and

he had heard. The roc has been described by many other travellers; but there is no doubt that such a person as Sindbad existed, and wrote his travels, which were copied into the *Arabian Nights* (Baron Walckenaer).—See *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, 1857.

With reference to the existence of the roc, Professor Owen says that there existed at Madagascar, since the period of the creation of man, though now extinct, an enormous bird, whose egg would hold the contents of 170 chickens' eggs.

Doubtless, allowing for Oriental exaggeration, this was the bird referred to by Sindbad.

The Moas were a gigantic race of birds, destitute of wings, in New Zealand; a kind of ostrich, called *Dinornis Palapteryx*, *Aptornis*, and *Notornis* by naturalists. The average height of the *Dinornis* was thirteen feet, and, unlike all other birds, their leg-bones were filled with marrow instead of air. Their eggs were nine inches in diameter and twelve long. Their toes were adapted for uprooting fern roots. In his edition of *Marco Polo*, Colonel Yule gives the 'Roc's egg,' measured and drawn from the egg of the *Æpyornis*, in the British Museum. Marco Polo says that the 'roc' of Madagascar was so strong that it could seize an elephant in its talons and carry him high into the air. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 349.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut. Kempthorne, I.N., in 1828, traced each anchoring-place of the Grecian admiral, and wrote a most interesting account of these shores.

Sonmeani ; the sandy shores of Hormarah, the desolate Isle of Ashtola, abounding in turtle ; the bay of Gwârdel, which he calls Mosarna, and describes with accuracy ; and Charbâr, the barren waste of sand surrounding a large bay. The whole of this coast from Charbâr to the Indus was inhabited then, as now, by poor tribes of Balûchîs whom Nearchus called Ichthyophagi, both men and cattle living entirely on fish. Then the Grecian admiral sighted Cape Musândim, and entered the Persian Gulf. Nearchus next came to Neoptana, where then, as now, the fishermen used canoes made of several small planks sewn together with cords made of the bark of the date-tree. At Anamis, now Minav, he received tidings of Alexander's army, and personally reported the safety of his fleet. He was ordered to complete his wonderful voyage ; and accordingly having touched at Organa, the modern Ormuz ; Oaracta, now the Isle of el-Kishm, the small Isle of Hanjâm, the Islet of the Great Tanb, Mogû, Halilah, and Gogana, now the town of Kankân, he at length arrived safely in the river Tigris, 325 B.C. Alexander himself, also descended the Eulœus, and Pasatigris (Kârûn), and sailed up the Tigris to the camp of Hephœstion.<sup>1</sup>

The Persians, excepting the fishermen of the Caspian, never became sailors : they have ever had an insuperable dislike and dread of the sea, and their shores have always been peopled by the tribes of Arabian origin, who were sometimes merchants but

<sup>1</sup> See Table on following page.

more frequently pirates. Shápúr, the great Persian King, who got the surname of Zu'laktáf from having

## LOG OF NEARCHUS.

Stations	Dist.	Date	Remarks
	Miles		
1. Krokala . . . (Karachi)	..	Oct. 9	326 B.C. Left the <i>Indus</i> .
2. Bibacta . . . (Chilney Isle)	..	..	Here Nearchus remained, in camp, for twenty-four days.
3. Isle of Domsæ	..	Nov. 8	N.E. Monsoon commences.
4. Saranga . . .	19	..	Water half-a-mile from the shore.
5. Sakala . . .	..	" 6	Anchored on an open coast.
6. Morontobara . . .	..	" 7	A land-locked harbour. People fed on shell fish.
7. Arabis River	..	" 7	Shell fish abundant.
8. Pagala . . .	12½	" 8	
9. Kabana . . .	19	" 9	Open and desert shore. Violent surf. Two gallees foundered.
10. Kokala . . .	12	" 11	People confined on board for two nights. Received ten days' provisions of grain, &c., from Leonnatus.
11. Tomerus . . .	31	" 21	Coast low. A savage race, living on fish.
12. Malana . . .	19	" 27	A desolate coast, inhabited by fish-eaters.
13. Bagasira . . .	37	" 28	Good harbour.
14. Arraba Cape	..	" 29	
15. Koita . . .	12½	" 30	
16. Kalama . . .	37	Dec. 1	A few date palms. Natives sent presents of fish.
17. Karbis . . .	12	" 2	N.E. Monsoon settled in.
18. Mosama . . .	..	" 3	Here Nearchus took on board a pilot named <i>Hydraces</i> .
19. Balomus . . .	47	" 4	A village on an open shore.
20. Barna . . .	25	" 5	Gardens. The Greeks made themselves chaplets of flowers.
21. Dendrobosa . . .	12	" 6	
22. Kophas . . . (E. of Cape Guardiel)	25	" 7	Water procured by opening pits on the beach. A few wretched natives, with small boats managed by paddles.
23. Kyisa . . .	50	" 8	Victory over some whales, which were spouting. Gwatur Bay.
24. A small town	30	" 9	Obtained some corn.
25. Bagela Pt. (W. pt. of Gwatur Bay)	..	..	
26. Taimena . . .	62½	" 10	
27. Kanasida . . .	25	" 11	A well, and wild palm trees. Bay of Churbar.
28. A desert shore	..	" 12	Bâs Godeum.
29. Kanata . . .	..	" 13	Tanka.
30. Trois . . .	50	" 14	
31. Dagasira . . .	19	" 15	
32. Badis . . . (Cape Jaak)	69	" 17	Corn and fruit. Boundary of Ichthyophagi and Karmania.
33. Open coast . . .	50	" 18	
34. Neoptana . . .	44	" 19	
35. Anamis . . .	6	" 20	Naval camp established. Nearchus visited camp of Alexander.
36. Oaracta Isle . . .	19	Jan. 1	325 B.C. Passed the desert isle of Organa ( <i>Ormuz</i> ). } Kishm.
37. Oaracta Isle . . .	..	" 2	Second anchorage; opposite the isle of <i>Hanjam</i> .
38. An island . . .	40	" 3	<i>Great Tanb Isle</i> .
39. Sidodone . . .	..	" 4	Passed <i>Poktor Isle</i> . Supplies of fish and water. Mogû.
40. Tarsia Cape . . .	19	" 5	Here the province of Persis commenced.
41. Ila . . .	25	" 6	
42. Okhus Mount . . .	..	" 7	
43. Apotana . . .	28	..	
44. Gogana . . .	..	..	Congû.
45. Sittakus River	50	" 11	Vessels drawn on shore for repair. Supplies from Alexander arrive.
46. Hieratis . . .	47	Feb. 1	Hallsa Bay.
47. Mesambria . . .	..	" 2	Bushire.
48. Taoke . . .	12½	" 3	Bandar Rig.
49. Brozana . . .	25	" 4	
50. Arosis . . .	..	" 5	Hindiyân.
51. Diridotis . . .	..	..	Mouth of Shattu-'l-'Arab.
52. Aginis . . .	47	" 9	At the mouth of the Kârtûn.

punished these sea robbers,<sup>1</sup> is said to have traded with India ; and one of the Atâ-bêgs of Fars conquered the Islands in the Persian Gulf ; but generally the natives of Irân have remained true to the saying of one of the greatest of their poets—

Upon the sea 'tis true there's boundless gain,  
Would'st thou be safe, upon the shore remain.

When, however, a remnant of the Fire Worshippers of Irân fled to the Isle of Ormuz, from the fury of their Arab conquerors, they were forced, by reason of the imminence of their danger, to embark on the dreaded element. They escaped to India ; and the Parsis, as upright merchants and shipbuilders, have since become the most respected portion of the native population of Bombay.<sup>2</sup>

When the Arabs, in the eighth century, overran Mesopotamia and Persia, they at once took to the sea ; and, perceiving the immense commercial importance of the Persian Gulf, they built the town of el-Básrah near the mouth of the Tigris, as a seaport of Baghdâd, the Khalifah's capital.

The Arabs not only carried on a considerable trade with the ports of India, their voyages also extended to the Islands of the Indian Archipelago, and to Canton. A regular commerce was opened, in the ninth century, between China and the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian mariners speak of the silk, the porcelain, and the tea of the Celestial Empire. The whole trade of the Persian Gulf remained in the hands of the Arabs for many

<sup>1</sup> See page 75.

<sup>2</sup> See page 98.

centuries, and a long line of merchant-kings reigned at Ormuz, before Vasco da Gama discovered the Cape of Good Hope. From that time, until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese were paramount in that inland sea. The great Albuquerque seized upon Ormuz and Máskat, and several forts and factories were established by the Portuguese along the shores and islands of the gulf. 'Ormuz,' says Robertson, 'became in the hands of the Portuguese the great mart from which Persia was supplied with Indian things; and a city they built on this barren island, without water, became one of the greatest seats in the East for splendour and luxury.'<sup>1</sup>

The entrance to the Persian Gulf is formed, on one side, by the long promontory of Râs Musândim, with two isolated rocks called the Quoins, at a short distance from the land, and on the other by the Isle of Ormuz,<sup>2</sup> a few miles from the Persian shore. Ormuz is twelve miles round, and appears broken and rugged from the sea. The hills are in many places covered with an incrustation of salt, which is exported in great quantities. Here there was once a city of 40,000 inhabitants, whither merchants from every quarter of the globe resorted. Now a few ruins scattered amidst wild deserts of salt alone testify to its former greatness.

Opposite Ormuz the river Minav enters the Persian Gulf, which, at high tide, is navigable for vessels of

<sup>1</sup> Under the Portuguese rule, the descendants of the old Arab kings of Ormuz were permitted to retain their titles and some vestiges of former splendour, and a ceremony was performed on their accession.

<sup>2</sup> Properly Hormûz.

20 tons up to the town of Shâh Bandar, about 14 miles. One mile from the town is the fort of Minav, a square with round towers at the angles, and some old Portuguese guns. From Shâh Bandar a fertile plain extends to Hajjiabâd. Sheep and goats are numerous, and the land is covered with crops of wheat, and orchards of cherries and apples.

A few miles west of the mouth of the Minav is the town of Gombrûn or Bandar 'Abbâs, which rose to importance on the fall of Ormuz. The town is built on a slope close to the sea, there are few good houses, and the natives are mostly lodged in huts. The old English factory is now in ruins, but the Dutch building is still in tolerable repair, and served as a residence for the Seyyid of Máskat, when the town was occupied by that prince. The European tombs are just outside the walls.

Between Bandar 'Abbâs and Linjah there is little to attract attention on the Persian shore. The mountains gradually approach the sea, and at Linjah they are only three miles off. The maritime plain is low and barren, with a few cultivated spots at intervals. Opposite the island of Laft there are some mangrove thickets, and close to the sea is the village of Khamîr, near the famous sulphur mines formerly rented by the Sultân of Máskat. Between Khamîr and Linjah are the towns of Bandar-Mu'allim, and Kunk, where the Portuguese had a factory.

The island of el-Kishm (three miles south of Gombrûn) is about thirteen miles from the Persian

shore, and resembles a fish in shape: the town of el-Kishm at its head, Laft and the isle of Hanjâm to the north and south of either fin, and Bâsîdû at the extremity of the tail. el-Kishm is fifty-four miles long by twenty broad. The northern part is the most fertile, yielding barley, melons, dates in large quantities, and grapes from which a white wine is made. There are about 5,000 inhabitants in the villages along the coast. The town of el-Kishm, near the sea at the eastern point of the land, is walled, and the houses have flat roofs. There are date trees, and a few patches of cultivation near the town, the population of which is 2,000. The other towns on the island are Laft and Bâsîdû. The plains abound in small and very beautiful antelopes, which are chased with greyhounds; goats are also bred in great numbers, and partridges and rock pigeons are plentiful, but the island is infested by jackals.

Twenty-five miles from the western extreme of el-Kishm are two rocks, called the Great and Little Tombs, or more correctly *Tanb*. The great Tanb is a low flat islet, about four miles round, abounding in antelopes, which were often coursed with greyhounds by the British officers from Bâsîdû. The channel between el-Kishm and the mainland is very intricate, with numerous small islets covered with verdure.

At the upper part of the Persian Gulf is the bay of Halîlah, having many villages on its shore, with a lofty hill, about thirty miles off, where snow may be had: and a little further on is the town of Bushire, at the end of a peninsula; consisting of about 600 houses, 400 huts, and two mosques. From the sea the wind-



towers on the tops of the houses have a pretty effect. The British Residency is near the beach, at the south extreme of the town.

From Bushire to the Shattu-l-'Arab, the shores of the Persian Gulf are inhabited by the powerful Cha'ab (or Ka'ab) tribe of Arabs. On the Arabian side of the gulf is the large island of el-Bahrain, and the extensive banks of pearl oysters. The deep diving, at the pearl fisheries of el-Bahrain, does not commence until the hot months of July and August. The water on the Bahrain banks is about seven fathoms deep. The divers have their ears stuffed with bees'-wax, their nostrils compressed with a piece of horn, and a net round their wastes to contain the oysters. They hold on to a rope attached to the boat in their descent, and one minute is rather above their average time under water; though, in good weather, a diver will descend from twelve to fifteen times a day. The annual amount produced at the pearl fishery of el-Bahrain is about 200,000*l.* and about half as much more at the other fisheries of Râs el-Khaimah, Abu-Zháby, and esh-Shârikah, making a total of 300,000*l.* There are about 1,500 pearl fishing boats at el-Bahrain, and the trade is in the hands of merchants: much seed pearl is used, throughout Asia, in the composition of majûns, a sort of intoxicating sweetmeat.

The Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf are barren and desolate, the wild tribes living on dates, salt fish, and a little rice. Râs Musândim, the Arabian point at the entrance of the gulf, is the outer part of an island separated from the main by a deep and narrow channel. The point itself is 200 feet high, rising abruptly from

the sea, and composed of basalt. Its aspect is black and gloomy. On both sides of the cape, the coast is indented by deep coves, where the transparent blue sea penetrates far into the land, with lofty cliffs on either side. Here the rock fish may be seen sporting amidst the coral, in ten fathoms depth close to the shore, and occasionally a huge sun fish (fourteen feet across the back, nine feet long, with a mouth six feet wide, and a tail four feet long), will flounder to the surface. In these coves the basalt hills, rugged and barren, rise abruptly from the sea to a height of 200 to 800 feet ; and the water makes a deep roar as it washes into the vast caves at their base. At the extreme ends of the inlets there are little sandy bays, where a poor and ignorant race of Arabs live in small stone huts, surrounded by a few date palms, and feed on dates and salt fish.

After the fall of the Portuguese, the English and Dutch, with their factories at Gombrûn, shared the trade of the Persian Gulf. During the anarchy which followed the fall of the Sufâwi dynasty the Europeans retired from Gombrûn ; but under the enlightened rule of the good Wakîl Karîm-Khân their trade was again restored. The Dutch occupied the island of Karak for several years ; and the English established themselves at Bushire, to be near Karîm's capital at Shîrâz. On July 2, 1763, the Wakîl signed a treaty with A. Price, Esq., by which the English were permitted to build a factory at Bushire, and in any other part of the kingdom. No duty was to be charged on their goods ; they were to have the exclusive right of importing

cloth; to enjoy the free exercise of their religion without molestation; to have a burial ground and a garden; and to receive back the house which had formerly belonged to them at Shîrâz.<sup>1</sup>

A powerful maritime Arab power also arose, on the fall of the Portuguese; and the Sovereign of 'Omân, better but incorrectly known as the Imâm of Mâskat, has long been the most important naval prince, not only in Arabia, but in Asia.

'Omân is a narrow strip of land, never exceeding 150 miles in width, extending from the island of Masîrah to Cape Musândim. A range of mountains traverses the whole extent and, in latitude 23° N. the Jebel-Akhdhar, another range of much greater height, branches from them at right angles. The coast is barren and desolate; and the interior, beyond the mountains, may be described as an arid desert plain, studded with oases.<sup>2</sup> Inland 'Omân is bounded by the trackless desert of the interior of Arabia. The oases

<sup>1</sup> After the establishment of a factory at Bushire, one vessel used to be sent there annually by the East India Company, with a cargo of sixty to one hundred bales of Masulipatam chintz, iron, sugar, Bengal muslins, and coarse Surat goods, consisting chiefly of blue checked veils for the women. From 1784 the trade between Bushire and India rapidly increased, in spite of the wars between the Zands and Kájars, and in 1809 the annual importation of chintzes alone, at Bushire, had risen to 600 bales. Bushire, in 1828, was governed by a Shaikh named 'Abdu-'r-Rasûl, a despotic tyrant, and guilty of every kind of excess and cruelty towards his subjects. The inhabitants trembled at his approach; but in 1832 he was assassinated in the desert, whilst returning from Shîrâz, where he had been staying during the virulence of the plague. His son then took the reins of government.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut. Wellsted, I.N., *Journey into 'Omân in 1837.*

of 'Omân are very fertile. At el-Bediyyah there are seven, clustered together, and watered by subterranean rivulets. There are plenty of almond, fig, and date trees, and the oranges and limes are thickly covered with fruit. Ibra, twenty-two miles from el-Bediyyah, is another oasis containing a town, with houses having windows and doorways surmounted by Saracenic arches, doors cased with brass, and parapets round the roofs. Another oasis is Minna (or Manh), covered with lofty almond trees, citron and orange trees, emitting a delicious fragrance. Fields of corn and sugar-cane stretch away for miles, intersected by streams of water, and the people are contented and happy. Nezwa is the largest and most populous oasis.

The range of the Jebel-Akhdhar Mountains, running about thirty miles from east to west, is intersected by deep and narrow valleys, which have plenty of fresh water springs, abundance of fruit, and are inhabited by an independent and brave race of Arab mountaineers.

On the sea coast the chief ports are Bârkah, which is large and well built, and Máskat, the maritime capital of 'Omân.

In a small cove, protected by an island, and a ridge of mountains on its north-west side, is the city of Máskat, built on a sandy beach, at the gorge of a pass into the interior. On an eminence, on the north-west side, there is a fort mounted with guns, and batteries and watch-towers are dotted over the mountains and crags around. The town is crowded with tall houses in narrow and heated lanes or bazars, and domes and minarets rise above the flat roofs.

The Sultân's palace is a very good stone building, close to the sea, with rooms opening into a small court. The city has a few deep wells round it, some clusters of date palms, plenty of fruit, and abundance of excellent fish. The Imâm resided chiefly at Bârkah, on the sea coast, about sixty miles to the eastward.

The beach of Máskat is covered with packages of dates blackened with flies, and scented with salt fish. The heat is intense in summer, as the town is shut out by hills from every breeze, and there is scarcely a breath of air.

'Omân was governed, under the Khalífahs, by a Wâly; but in 751 A.D. the people elected a sovereign of their own, named Julânda-bin-Mas'ûd, who is styled the first of the rightful Imâms of 'Omân. The word *Imâm* is from an Arabic root signifying 'to follow after,' and Imâm thus means, one whose example ought to be followed. When 'Aly consented to submit his dispute with Mu'âwiyah to arbitration, 12,000 true believers took offence and revolted. They were called *Khawârij*; and affirmed that a man might become Imâm though not of the tribe of Kuraish, provided he were just and pious. The original *Khawârij* were defeated by 'Aly in 658 A.D., but they were not extinguished; and in 750 the head of their sect in 'Omân was 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh, whose followers are still called, after him, *Ibâdiyyah*. They elected their Imâms for their personal merit or popularity, irrespective of family descent, for nearly 900 years, reckoning from Julânda-bin-Mas'ûd to the accession of Nâsir-bin-Murshid in 1624 A.D. After that time, the best man of the ruling family was generally elected.

The warlike Imâms drove the Portuguese out of Máskat in about 1652, putting the whole garrison to the sword, except a few who became converts to Islâm. From that time the Imâm of Máskat became the paramount native power in the Persian Gulf. In 1697 he conquered extensive dominions from the Portuguese on the east coast of Africa, which are held by the Arabs to this day. They consist of several towns on islands close to the shore, the chief of which are Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombâsa, and Lámû.

The two chief tribes of 'Omân were called the Hinâwy and Ghâfiry, and the Imâmship remained in the power of the latter until 1738.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Mâlik-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab, being ruler of 'Omân, with his capital at er-Rastâk, seventy learned Muslims chose for their Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid, which office he accepted in 1618 A.D.

Nâsir-bin-Murshid reigned until A.D. 1644; and on his death the learned Muslims of 'Omân conferred the office on his cousin, Sultân-bin-Seif. From his time there were constant disputed successions. The office, however, always remained in the same family. In 1724 the succession was disputed between Seif-bin-Sultân and Bela'rab-bin-Sultân, and the former called in the aid of the Persians, which alienated the affections of the people, and the Imâmship was conferred on his uncle Sultân-bin-Murshid.

On the death of Sultân-bin-Murshid, at the siege of Sohâr in 1738, Ahmed-bin-Sa'id, the most renowned warrior of 'Omân at that time, of the tribe of the

Hinâwy, was declared Imâm by the people, and founded the present dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

Ahmed-bin-Sa'id enjoyed the dignity of Imâm for forty years; when he was succeeded, in 1775, by his son Sa'id, who was deposed by his son Hâmed. Hâmed died in 1792; and his uncle Sultân succeeded, who only retained the title of Seyyid. The rulers of 'Omân have never since assumed the title of 'Imâm.'

In 1784 the 'Uttûbi Arabs, who had long been great traders at Grain (or el-Kuweit) near el-Bâsrah, seized upon the island of el-Bahrain and the pearl fisheries. The Shaikhs of Bushire made several attempts to dislodge them, but failed. At length they refused to pay the customary tribute of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. which had always been takên by the Seyyid of Máskat from all native boats trading from the Persian Gulf to India or Africa. In 1800, therefore, the Seyyid Sultân attacked them, seized el-Bahrain, and gave the government of it to his son the Seyyid Sâlim, then only twelve years old; but the 'Uttûbis retook it, and remained on it for seven years.

It was at about this time that the East India Company first entered into political relations with the ruler of 'Omân, the first treaty being dated August 12, 1798.

The Seyyid Sultân rented el-Kishm, Hormûz, Bandar

<sup>1</sup> Zanzibar Commission. Rev. G. P. Badger, from the *History of 'Omân*, 1858. See also, for a more complete history of 'Omân, Mr. Badger's valuable work, forming a volume of the Hakluyt Society's series: *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân by Salîl-ibn-Razîk*, translated from the Arabic by Rev. G. P. Badger, F.R.G.S. (1871), with Notes and an Introduction.

'Abbâs, and the sulphur mines of Khamîr from the Shâh of Persia.

In January 1800, Sultân concluded a second treaty with Sir John Malcolm, by which it was arranged that a British Agent should reside at Máskat. In 1803, as Sultân was going with his fleet from el-Kishm to Khamîr, the ships were becalmed, and he went on in an open boat. He was attacked and murdered by five pirate vessels, within sight of his own fleet. The Seyyid Sultân left three sons, namely, Sâlim, Sa'id, and Hámed. The government, thereafter, was administered conjointly by the two brothers Sâlim and Sa'id until the death of the former in 1821.

The pirates who murdered Sultân belong to those Arab tribes which inhabit the shores of the Persian Gulf, and are called el-Juwâsimi or el-Kuwâsimi. They are excellent sailors, brave and independent, but incorrigible pirates. There is a tradition concerning their origin, which relates that a fisherman once found his net very heavy, and hauling it up with great difficulty a hairy monster appeared, which kept crying '*Houl! houl!*' The creature proved docile and intelligent, and was put to guard his flocks. Having gallantly driven off some Persian robbers, it was rewarded with the daughter of the fisherman, and became the ancestor of the el-Juwâsimi.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the present century, the el-Juwâsimi tribes joined the Wahnâbis, and thus added zeal and fanaticism to their desperate courage.

The sect of Wahnâbis was founded by one Muham-

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's *Sketches in Persia*.



mad-bin-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, of the Benu-Temîm tribe. In about the year 1730 he left the Nejd, or central part of Arabia, to study theology in the colleges of Baghdâd and Mosul. Disgusted with the luxury and tyranny of the Turks, which ill accorded with the simplicity enjoined by the Arabian Prophet, and denying the right of the Turkish Sultân to the title of Imâm, he retired to ed-Dir'iyyah, the capital of Nejd, to preach his reformed doctrine. The chief of ed-Dir'iyyah, Muhammad-bin-Su'ûd, became his first convert, and his father-in-law; and very soon his disciples included the Arabian tribes between Hillah on the Euphrates and ed-Dir'iyyah, and between Grain and Arabia Felix. The Wahhâbis were the Puritans of Arabia, and Muhammad-bin-Su'ûd assumed the character both of a temporal and spiritual leader. Most of the lawless tribes on the Persian Gulf embraced his tenets.

The chief of ed-Dir'iyyah, in 1798, sent a Wahhâbi envoy to the Pâsha of Baghdâd. Entering the splendid palace in the simplest Arab dress, he said: 'Let the ratification of the agreement be done soon, and the curse of God be on him who acts treacherously. If you seek instruction, the Wahhâbi chief will afford it.' He then rose up and departed, to the utter astonishment and confusion of the Pâsha.

'Abdu-'l-Azîz, son of the former chief, had now assumed the lead of the Wahhâbis, and between 1798 and 1806 they acquired a great increase of power. After a war with the Sharîf of Mekkah, they captured et-Tâif, the summer residence of the people of Mekkah; and in 1803 they besieged the holy city

itself, which was bravely defended by Sherif Shaikh Ghâlib. Mekkah, however, was forced to submit to the conquering Wahnâbis; and in 1804 el-Medînah, the whole of the Hijâz, and Yemen were conquered by the reformers.

In 1803 'Abdu-'l-Azîz was assassinated, and his son Su'ûd II. succeeded him in command of the Wahnâbis, with his capital at ed-Dir'iyyah.

The fierce and savage race of el-Jawâsimi pirates of the Persian Gulf, who had embraced the Wahnâbi tenets, became more desperate and audacious than ever. In 1807 they seized el-Bahrain, and drove out the 'Omâni troops. They also had strongholds at Laft, on the isle of el-Kishm, and in other places, but their chief fortress was at Râs-el-Khaimah, on the Arabian coast, near Cape Musândim. The pirates in large boats attacked every merchant-man they met, and murdered every soul—showing no undue partiality for creed or nation. On one occasion they had the audacity to make an attack upon H.M.S. 'Lion' (50), but were beaten off; and in 1808 three pirate boats came alongside H.M.S. 'Nereid,' Captain Corbett, mistaking her for a merchant vessel. Two were sunk, and the third was run down, not one of the pirates escaping. Soon afterwards a large English ship, the 'Minerva,' was seized and every soul on board put to the sword. The raids of these piratical Wahnâbis, however, were not confined to the gulf, and the islands of Kuria-Muria and Socotra suffered from their ruthless attacks.

At length their ravages became unbearable, as it

was impossible for any peaceful trader to enter the Gulf, and it became necessary to take some steps to put an end to their atrocities. Accordingly, the British Government at Bombay, in league with the Seyyid Sa'id of 'Omân, in 1810, sent Colonel Smith (afterwards Sir Lionel Smith) with a land force and the 'Chiffonne' frigate, Captain Wainwright, to root them out of their strongholds. The expedition first destroyed Râs-el-Khaimah, and many piratical vessels, and finally attacked the el-Juwâsimi fort of Shinâs, aided by 4,000 of the 'Omân troops, in December 1809. The fort was bombarded, and in January 1810, the troops landed on a sandy beach with two field-pieces. The fort was taken by storm after a most gallant and desperate resistance. In February the expedition returned to Bombay, and the acts of piracy were immediately renewed in all parts of the Gulf, accompanied by the usual atrocious murders.

But the Wahhâbis on shore had already met with a more ruthless enemy. The famous Muhammad-'Aly, who became Pâsha of Egypt in 1804, commenced hostilities against them in 1809. Collecting a large fleet of boats at Suez, his son Tusûn-Bey landed an army at Yembo, and in 1814 el-Medînah and Mekkah were in the hands of the Egyptian Pâsha. In 1814 Su'ûd, Prince of the Wahhâbis, died, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdallah.

In January 1815, the Wahhâbis were entirely defeated by Muhammad-'Aly, 5,000 heads were laid at the Pâsha's feet, and the rest fled; but the 'Aseir Arabs tied each other by the leg to prevent a single

one of their number from taking to flight, and they all fell fighting side by side. Muhammad-'Aly offered quarter to 300 Wahnâbis, who accepted it; but the old ruffian impaled fifty before the gates of Mekkah, and the rest were tortured to death in front of the gate of Juddah. This battle was fought at Bâsal, between Kulâkh and et-Tâif.

In 1816 Ibrahim Pâsha took the field against the Wahnâbis; and in 1818, after a long siege, he captured ed-Dir'iyyah, their capital, and sent their chief 'Abdallah in chains to Constantinople, where he was barbarously put to death.

But the depredations of the Wahnâbi pirates did not cease with the fall of ed-Dir'iyyah, and at length it became necessary to send another English expedition against them. A small squadron under Captain Collier, and a force of 3,000 men commanded by General Sir William Grant, sailed from India in November 1819, and besieged the piratical stronghold of Râs-el-Khaimah. The Arabs displayed extraordinary bravery and military skill both at sea and on shore; but the place was captured by the English, 200 boats were burnt, and many Indians were released from slavery. A garrison of native troops was left there, which was afterwards removed to el-Kishm. The hill fort of Zyah, defended by a veteran Wahnâbi, was also captured after a gallant defence.

A detachment, aided by the ruler of 'Omân, was then sent against the Benu-bu-'Aly, who dwelt under Râs-el-Hadd, and were accused of piracy. Captain Thomson landed at Sûr, and marched against them, in

November 1820; but a sudden and overwhelming attack was made upon him, and his detachment was totally destroyed, seven officers and 303 men being left dead on the sandy plain.

In January 1821 Sir Lionel Smith, with 1,282 European and 1,718 native troops, sailed from Bombay to avenge this disaster. They landed at Sûr, and the same night the Benu-bu-'Aly vigorously attacked their camp, and were repulsed with much difficulty. As soon as the English came in sight of their town, the Arabs boldly attacked them with swords, dashing on unchecked by a rolling fire of musketry. At last they retired in good order, and the old Shaikh surrendered, after having displayed great gallantry, and proved himself an enemy worthy to cope even with British valour.

In 1837 Lieutenant Wellsted, I. N., visited the Benu-bu-'Aly tribe. He went boldly to the Shaikh's tent, and proclaimed himself to be an Englishman. The whole tribe immediately received him most cordially, delighted at his confidence in thus throwing himself amongst them. 'We have fought,' said these gallant children of the desert, 'and we should now be friends.'

After the destruction of the pirates, it became necessary for the English to maintain a naval force in the Persian Gulf; and the influence of England was exercised:—1st, to suppress piracy and to extend commerce; 2nd, to maintain the *status quo* of the chiefs on the shores of the Gulf; 3rd, to prevent war and aggression on the sea; 4th, to exclude all foreign

influences ; and 5th, to suppress the slave trade and slavery. Bâstdû, on the island of el-Kishm, was fixed upon as our naval head-quarters. A guard ship was established there, and a hospital, racket-court, billiard-room, and bazâr were erected on shore. A sandy region, without half a blade of grass, surrounds the place on every side : there is an intense glare from the sand, and the heat in summer is excessive. The naval force was placed under the orders of the British Resident at Bushire.

The occupation of el-Kishm had been sanctioned by the ruler of Máskat ; but, early in 1821, the Persian Government made complaints, and asserted their claims to it. It appeared that the Arabs of Kûnk, a Persian port, had occupied the island in 1740, and rented it from Nâdir-Shâh, but that the Seyyid Sultân had driven them out in 1792, and had since continued to hold el-Kishm, Bandar 'Abbâs, Hormûz, and Khamîr. The British Government at Bombay sent Dr. Andrew Jukes, in 1822, to make explanations to the Shâh of Persia, and to represent our motives of action in the Gulf, but he died on his way, of the plague, at Isfahân.

The rulers of 'Omân have always been the firm and faithful allies of England, but their naval power has declined of late years. In 1820, the Seyyid Sa'id had five fine ships, two of which were frigates, the ' Shâh 'Âlam ' of fifty and the ' Caroline ' of forty guns, besides several buggalows. The carrying trade of the Seyyid and his subjects was very extensive, and his income greatly exceeded his expenditure. His revenue consisted of a tithe of the produce of 'Omân, chiefly dates,  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

on produce passing up the Gulf in Arab bottoms, revenue of land at Khamîr and Minav in Persia, and of sulphur mines at Khamîr, and the salt of Hormûtz : also the duties at Bándar 'Abbâs, Zanzibar, and the Seyyid's other African possessions. In 1837, the imports at Máskat, consisting chiefly of cloth and corn, were valued at 3,300,000\$ a year. The exports are dates, madder, salt fish, and sharks' fins to China (for soup). The population was about 60,000.<sup>1</sup>

Sa'id, the Seyyid of Máskat and 'Omân, was tolerant, just, and generous, and the merchants of every nation were protected in his dominions. His revenue was about 80,000*l.* a year, 20,000*l.* of which was derived from the slave trade, and 40,000 slaves used to be sold yearly at Zanzibar ; yet, in August 1822, he signed a treaty with Captain Moresby of H.M.S. 'Menai,' by which the slave trade was abolished throughout his dominions. The Seyyid Sa'id's favourite residence was at Zanzibar, but he visited Máskat every two or three years, until 1840, when Zanzibar became his permanent place of residence. At length, after a very long reign, during which he had maintained his friendship with England unbroken, although, when attacked by the Wahhâbis in 1832, we left him to his fate, he died in 1856. He was succeeded by his son the Seyyid Thuwainy at Máskat, and by the Seyyid Mâjid at Zanzibar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The trade of Zanzibar in 1859 was valued at 1,664,577*l.*

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Lord Aberdeen in 1844, the Seyyid Sa'id said that he constituted his son Khâlid to succeed him in Africa, and the Seyyid Thuwainy in 'Omân. Khâlid died in 1854, and in 1856 he appointed the Seyyid Mâjid to succeed him in Africa.

Disputes arose between the rulers of Máskat and Zanzibar, which

The English may look back upon their connection with the Persian Gulf with almost unmixed satisfaction. They have rooted out the nests of an atrocious horde of ruthless pirates; have preserved peace and enabled

were settled amicably, in 1861, by the Zanzibar Commission, consisting of Brigadier-General Coghlan and the Rev. G. P. Badger.

Mâjid and Thuwainy were to be acknowledged, and mutually to acknowledge each other as sovereigns of Zanzibar and Máskat respectively, and Mâjid to pay a yearly subsidy of 40,000 crowns to Thuwainy and all arrears since the death of their father.

Seyyid Sa'id left 34 children; 59,917 crowns to each son, and 28,958 to each daughter. His ships were :

Frigate 'Shâh 'Âlam'	} Valued at rs. 421,000, or crowns 195,814
'Victoria'	
Corvette 'Artemise'	
'Nâsrah'	
Brig 'Taj'	
'Gazelle'	Crown = 2r. 2a.

Total property of Seyyid Sa'id valued at 425,363 crowns.

#### DYNASTY OF THE SEYYIDS OF 'OMÂN.

I. Ahmed-bin-Sa'id elected Imâm 1741.

A.D. 1738-78.

II. Sa'id (Imâm.)  
Last who bore  
the name.

IV. Sultân.  
A.D. 1788-1803.

III. Hâmed.

Sâlim.

Hâmid.

V. Sa'id.  
A.D. 1803-1856.

Khâlid.  
Ob. 1854.

Mâjid  
(of Zanzi-  
bar.)  
A.D. 1856-70.

VI. Thuwainy  
(of Máskat.)  
A.D. 1856.

VII. Sâlim.

VIII. Túrky  
(of Sohar.)  
1870.

Bârghash.  
(Zanzibar)  
1870.

Other  
Sons.

None of the sons of the Seyyid Sa'id are now called Imâm by the Arabs. They are usually styled Seyyids, that is 'lords' or 'chiefs,' and not in the sense in which the same word is commonly used as one descended from the family of the Prophet.



unarmed merchantmen to pass up and down in safety ; and they still continue to reconcile the turbulent Arab chiefs, to prevent the constant scenes of bloodshed which formerly occurred at the pearl fisheries, and above all their indefatigable exertions to suppress the slave trade have been crowned with considerable success.

The Persian Gulf is destined to become a route of the greatest importance, when the Euphrates Valley Railroad is completed, and the shortest route to India is finally adopted.

Many of the most important events in the world's history have taken place on the shores of the river Euphrates, or on its sister stream the Tigris. Here stood the capitals of mighty empires, which rose up one after the other, as ages rolled on, Nineveh, Babylon, Ctesiphon, and Baghdâd. Here God's chosen people endured a long captivity. Here the fate of nations was often decided in battles, fought by armies which had been collected from every part of the known world. Nor is this region less memorable as the site where men first sought to discover the secrets of nature. Ages ago the Chaldæans watched the motions of the planets, from the banks of the Euphrates, and the astronomers of the Khalifah el-Mamûn measured the arc of a degree on the plains of Mesopotamia before Egbert had conquered the nations of the English Heptarchy.

The most ancient commerce in the world was carried on by navigating the Persian Gulf and the rivers of Mesopotamia. Herodotus tells us how rafts, floating on

inflated skins, carried 128 tons of merchandise, down the Euphrates, from Armenia to Babylon.

On the shores of the Euphrates, Alexander the Great conceived his magnificent schemes of conquest and discovery. Trajan constructed a fleet in the mountains of Nisibis, and floated it down the same river A.D. 106; and the Emperor Julian followed in his wake, 256 years afterwards, in 1,100 small vessels, when he made war on the Persians, A.D. 362.<sup>1</sup>

That an extensive commerce existed between Mesopotamia and India, in the time of the Sassanian kings of Persia, is evident from the fact that beams of *teak*, which must have come from the coast of Malabar, have been found on the top of the ruined palace at Ctesiphon, on the Tigris.<sup>2</sup> During the prosperous reigns of the early Arabian Khalifahs the commerce between Baghdâd and India was very important, and el-Bâsrah became one of the most thriving ports in the east; but since the decay of the Muhammadan nations the traffic on the rivers of Mesopotamia has become inconsiderable, though Baghdâd is still a place of great trade.

The river Euphrates has two sources, one a short distance north of Erzerum, and the other near Bayazid, which unite in the recesses of the Taurus, and, after a course of 1,400 miles, the river falls into the Persian Gulf. The name Euphrates, in Arabic *el-Furât*, is the P'râth of Genesis ii. 14, probably a word of Aryan origin, meaning 'the good and abounding river.'

<sup>1</sup> The historian Ammianus Marcellinus accompanied this expedition.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Colebrooke.

The Euphrates ceases to decrease in volume about the middle of November, and thence to the end of December there is no sensible difference in its level. In March the great rising of the waters commences, and continues to the end of May, when the highest point is attained. The depth, 829 miles above el-Básrah, is then increased by 11 to 12 feet, and lower down by 15 to 18, while the current is running at the rate of five knots an hour. From May the river declines gradually in depth and speed till it reaches its lowest point in the middle of November. The Euphrates is very gradual and regular in its rise and fall; while the Tigris is more tortuous, more rapid, and more subject to irregular rises.

During the low season, the Euphrates averages 300 to 450 yards in width, with a depth of from 6 to 10 feet, from Bir to el-Kurnah, a distance of 829 miles

From the sea to the point where the Euphrates and Tigris unite, a distance of 104 miles, the river is called the Shattu-'l-Arab. The principal bar, at its mouth, has a depth of 16 feet in the low season, and at the same period the Shattu-'l-Arab averages a width of from 350 to 450 yards, and a depth of from 3 to 5 fathoms.

The town of el-Básrah was founded by order of the Khalifah 'Omar in 636, and in a few years became one of the largest and most flourishing ports in the East. The Turks got possession of it in 1668. It is situated on the west bank of the Shattu-'l-Arab, 70 miles from its mouth, and the river is navigable up to the city for vessels of 500 tons burden. The tide rises 9 feet perpendicular. el-Básrah is surrounded by

a wall 7 miles in circumference, but the greater part of the area inside is taken up by gardens and plantations of palm-trees, intersected by a number of small canals.<sup>1</sup> The streets of the town are narrow and filthily dirty; and the bazars, though stocked with the richest merchandise, are miserable structures, roofed with matting, laid on rafters of date-trees. The surrounding country is flat and productive.

Thirty miles above el-Básrah the Euphrates and Tigris unite at a place called el-Kurnah. 186 miles above el-Kûrnah the Lamlûn marshes commence, and extend on either side of the river for 60 miles. When the waters are swollen, the flat level country of the Lamlûn marshes is inundated for a breadth of 60 miles; but the moment the water recedes, in June, the land is covered with crops of rice and other grain. The main stream of the river is here from 70 to 90 yards broad, with a depth of from 6 to 9 feet.

At Hillah, 86 miles above the Lamlûn marshes, and 389 from el-Básrah, the river narrows for a moment to 450 feet; and the two parts of the town, fronting each other on opposite banks of the river, are connected by a bridge of boats. The soil in the vicinity is very fertile, but much neglected. Four miles north of Hillah, are the ruins of ancient Babylon; and about twenty miles north-west at the extremity of a very fine canal

<sup>1</sup> The East India Company established a factory at el-Básrah, for the sale of woollen goods, in the middle of the last century. Sir Harford Jones was stationed there from 1784 to 1794. Mr. Manesty was agent there for twenty years, and built the British Residency, the finest building in the town. He left in 1811. Mr. Colquhoun was also stationed there, from 1806 to 1819.

drawn from the Euphrates, and surrounded by large groves of date palms, is Kerbela, the sacred city of the Persians.

The boats on the Euphrates resemble a half moon. They are covered with bitumen, have no keel, an immense rudder made of a number of spars bound together, one mast, and a lateen sail. They float down the stream to el-Básrah, but are tracked up, on their return. There are also circular boats of wicker work, covered with bitumen, and seven feet in diameter. They are described by Herodotus, and are still used on the Euphrates and Tigris.

The town of Hit is 250 miles above Hillah, and about half way between el-Básrah and Bír. It is built on the western bank of the river, and there is here a bridge of boats. The district has been famous from the most ancient times for inexhaustible fountains of bitumen.

From the town of Hit to the island of el-Uş is 94 miles; and all the difficulties to be encountered in the navigation of the Euphrates are comprised in the 170 miles above the latter place. The country on either bank had previously been, for the most part level, but above el-Uş a range of hills encloses each bank, and there are several towns and numerous islands. Aqueducts of the irrigating mills literally cover the banks, which are from 250 to 500 yards apart. The depth of the Euphrates here averages 8 feet at the lowest season, but there are several camel fords and rocky places, which occasionally reduce it to 3 and even  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. When the water is high, between March

and August, all the rocks are covered with 14 feet of water. Ânah is 106 miles above el-Us, and Bîr is 313 above 'Ânah. Bîr, 1,143 miles above el-Bâsrah, by the river, is the point where the railway from the Mediterranean would touch the Euphrates. The distance from Bîr to the port of Scandarûn is 187 miles; the country presents no engineering difficulties of any consequence, and the road is good.

The great obstacle to the establishment of the Euphrates route has been fear of opposition from the wild tribes of Arabs which inhabit the surrounding country; but there can be little doubt that their assistance may be gained by prudent and conciliatory measures, and General Chesney, who was the greatest authority on this subject, believed that when they should see the advantages that an increased traffic on the Euphrates would bring them, they would lend their cordial co-operation to the work.

The Euphrates valley is the direct route to our Indian possessions; it is the cheapest route both for constructing and working a railway, the most free from engineering difficulties, and most easily defensible by England, both its termini being upon the open sea. The importance of having an alternative route to India cannot be over-estimated. The length of a Euphrates Valley Railway, from Alexandretta to the Persian Gulf, would be 920 miles. The cost for a line on the English gauge of 4 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches is estimated at 8,110,000*l.* For its execution it is proposed that the British Government should give a counter-guarantee on the amount of the requisite capital, which it is proposed

should be raised by an Ottoman loan ; the Turkish Government providing the land free of charge, and furnishing specific guarantees for the due payment of the interest ; privileges in regard to conveyance of troops and mails being conceded to Great Britain in perpetuity.

Taking Bombay as a starting point, the route by the Euphrates to England is 320 miles shorter than that by Suez and Alexandria. Karáchi is connected by a line of steam communication with the important province of the Panjáb, and will soon be joined to Multán by a railway ; and from this port the Euphrates route has a still greater advantage over the Red Sea and Egypt, being shorter by 1,104 miles.<sup>1</sup>

In a political point of view it is difficult to overrate the importance of the rivers of Mesopotamia ; and it is not impossible that, by delaying too long, England, and with her the whole civilised world, may lose the chance of availing herself of the Euphrates route. Already is the vulture of Túrân hovering over the Armenian mountains, whose slopes are covered with splendid timber. The Russians may not be slow in following the course of Trajan and of Julian ; and once in possession of Baghdád<sup>2</sup> and el-Básrah, it will be a difficult and expensive work to drive them back.

By the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates Railway

	Miles		Miles
London to Suez . . .	4,372	London to el-Básrah . . .	4,271
Suez to Karáchi . . .	1,705	el-Básrah to Karáchi . . .	702
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	6,077		4,973

<sup>2</sup> In 1858 the Russians appointed a Consul at Baghdád for the first time.

mails and passengers might arrive in London, from India, in a fortnight, while, by the Suez route, it takes nearly three weeks. These great advantages are obvious, and cannot fail eventually to receive universal assent ; so that the future importance of the Persian Gulf will be very great. The island of Kárák will become a great commercial depôt, and the old town of el-Básrah will regain that opulence and prosperity which it enjoyed in the days of the Khalífah Harûn-er-Rashíd.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. xxiv. of Selections from the *Bombay Records*, 1856 (pp. 1-40, 41-44, 91-119, 121-165, 225-297, 531-634).



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CENTRAL ASIA.

THE vast territory comprised under the general name of Central Asia, the ancient Tûrân, includes the modern states of Khiva, Bukhâra, Kokân, Kúnduz, and Badakshân, on the north of the Hindû Kûsh and Paropamisan ranges, and Afghanistan on the south.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Princes of the house of Tîmûr were driven out of the northern half of Central Asia by Shaibâny Khân and his conquering hordes of Uzbêgs, who have ever since occupied the country. This territory, known to the Arabs by the name of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr, consists of vast sandy deserts, some ranges of mountains with pleasant valleys, and fertile strips of land along the banks of the rivers.

Khiva, Khuwârizm, or Urjunj, the most western principality of Central Asia, is merely a large oasis separated from the Persian province of Khurâsân by a wide desert, 450 miles across, which is inhabited by wandering tribes of savage Turkmâns. The town of Khiva is fifteen miles from the Oxus and 240 from the Caspian Sea. It is encircled by a ruined wall; and the wretched houses are made of reeds, plastered with

clay. The surrounding country, for several miles, is studded with villages, gardens, and corn-fields, irrigated by canals from the Oxus: but where this irrigation ceases, the desert commences.

The descendants of Jengîz-Khân had ruled in Khiva since the time when Shaibâny conquered all the kingdoms of Tûrân. From 1642 to 1663 Abu-'l-Ghâzy, the famous historian, was Khân of Khiva;<sup>1</sup> and in 1714 his grandson, Hajji Muhammad Bahadûr, sent an embassy to St. Petersburg.

In 1719 Peter the Great sent a force of 2,500 men, in several vessels, under the command of General Beckowitz (a Circassian), to take possession of a part of the east coast of the Caspian, and open a negotiation with the Khân of Khiva. The troops were landed, a fort was built, and the Khivans, who made an attack upon them, were repulsed. Beckowitz then advanced into the country; but having separated his force into small parties, to go in different directions in search of water, they were nearly all either cut to pieces, or sold into slavery by the Khân of Khiva. A remnant of the Russians escaped, in their vessels, to Astrakhân.

Nâdir Shâh totally ruined Khiva in his retributive invasion in 1740. On his death, an Uzbêg named Muhammad Amîn Khân, assisted by the Yamût Turkmâns, seized upon the supreme power at Khiva. He was succeeded by his son Iman Khân in 1792, who was followed by his son Itenazar in 1800. The latter was drowned in the Oxus, when on his way to invade Bûkhâra in 1804. His son Muhammad Rahîm Khân then became Khân of Khiva, and received the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 231.

Russian Mission under Muravieff. He died in 1826 ; and his son Allah Kuli Khân reigned from 1826 to 1841.

In March 1855 the Khân of Khiva was surprised and killed by a chief of Tekeh Turkmâns of Merv, when at a distance from his troops, surveying a fight between them and a body of Turkmân and Persian irregular horse, at Sarakhs.

His successor took several Yamût Turkmâns into his pay. In March 1856, they, one day, entered his audience-room at Khiva, and publicly murdered him. They then retired, but the affairs of Khiva remained in great confusion, for a long time. Eventually, Seyyid Muhammad became Khân.

Khiva is supplied with European goods by Russia, from Orenburgh, a caravan journey of 940 miles over a desert thinly inhabited by the wandering Kirgiz ; but it was also the chief mart for the unfortunate slaves stolen from Persia, in the Turkmân chapaus ; and, as such, the place, with its vile population of man stealers, deserved some terrible punishment.<sup>1</sup>

The Oxus divides Khiva from Bukhâra. This famous river rises in the table-lands of Pamîr,<sup>2</sup> and after

<sup>1</sup> The Khân had under him four *Inags* (younger brothers or relations), one of them always governor of the province of Hezaresp ; next comes the *Nakîb*, or 'spiritual chief ;' the *Bi*, who is always at the right hand of the Khân in battle ; the *Atalik*, a sort of Councillor of State ; the *Kûsh Bêgi*, or Wazîr ; and the *Mehter*, who has charge of the internal affairs of the court.

The taxes are of two kinds : 1, the *Salgit*, or 'land tax,' the Khân receiving for all cultivable land eighteen *Tenghe* (ten shillings) for ten *Tanab* (a tanab=sixty square ells) ; 2. *Zakiyyât*, or 'customs,' 2 per cent. on value of goods.

<sup>2</sup> The lake Sirikol is 15,600 feet, by boiling point thermometer, above the level of the sea, that is, nearly as high as Mont Blanc ; and is a sheet of water fourteen miles long and one broad, on the

watering the rich valley of Badakshân, passing through a mountainous region, and thirty miles north of the city of Balkh, it enters the desert. The river flows past Khiva into the Sea of Aral, fertilizing a tract of about one mile on either bank. It is navigable and free from rocks as far as Kúndz, a distance of 600 miles, but there are vast swamps at its mouth. Its average depth is never less than nine feet, and the current flows at the rate of four knots an hour. The inundations commence in May and end in October, and the river is often frozen over in the winter. Large flat bottomed boats are used on the river, fifty feet long by eighteen feet wide, with the gunwale three feet above the water when loaded. They are made of logs of wood clamped together with iron, and 150 men might be embarked on one of them. A bridge of these boats has usually been used by conquerors, in all ages, to transport their invading armies across the Oxus.

On the east side of the Oxus is the Principality of Bukhâra, which is divided by a desert from Khiva on the west, and by a mountain range from Kokân<sup>1</sup> on the east.

The town of Bukhâra is 390 miles from Másh-had by the caravan route which crosses the Oxus at Char-jûi, where the river is 650 yards across, with an average depth of nine feet. It is 290 miles north of Balkh, and 1,000 from Orenburgh on the Russian frontier. It is a very large city surrounded by a

high table-land, called by the natives *Bam-i-duniaâ*, 'Roof of the World,' a name not unfitly applied to the watershed of the Indus and the Oxus.—Wood's *Oxus*, chap. xxi. p. 354.

<sup>1</sup> The Arab geographers write it Khuwâkand.

brick wall, with towers at intervals, and with twelve gates.

Bukhâra, in a rich flat country, lies embosomed among gardens and trees, and cannot be seen from a distance. The chief place of resort is the *Rajistân*, in front of the palace, a large open space. On two other sides are massive buildings, colleges of the learned, and on the fourth side is a fountain filled with water, and shaded by lofty trees. The town is full of Uzbêgs, Persian slaves, and some Chinese and Armenians. In the *Rajistân* the fruits are sold under the shade of a square piece of mat—grapes, melons, apricots, apples, peaches, pears, and plums. The people are very fond of tea. There is also abundance of ice, in the hot weather. The city is intersected by canals, shaded by mulberry trees. The great mosque occupies a square of 300 feet, and has a dome covered with blue enamelled tiles. It has a lofty minaret, built of bricks arranged in various patterns. There are 366 colleges in Bukhâra, square buildings surrounded by a number of small cells, called *kûjrus*. They are well endowed; but the students are taught nothing but theology.

The surrounding country, for forty miles in every direction, is covered with villages, corn-fields, and fruit gardens. The place once enjoyed considerable trade, two caravans going yearly to Russia, and caravans to *Mâsh-had*, Herat, and the frontier towns of China. The once splendid city of Samarkand, little better than a mass of ruins, and now fallen into the hands of the Russians, is 150 miles east of Bukhâra.

When Shaibány Khân, with his Uzbêgs, drove the princes of the house of Tímûr out of Ma-warâ-'n-Nâhr, early in the sixteenth century, he fixed his capital at Bukhâra, and his descendants continued to reign there until the time of Nâdir Shâh. Shaibány himself, who was killed at the battle of Merv by Shâh Isma'il in 1500, was lineally descended from the great Jingîz-Khân. He was succeeded by his nephew 'Ubaidu'llah, who captured Másh-had, and slaughtered many of its inhabitants. 'Ubaidu'llah reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by Iskandar, a cousin of Shaibány, who reigned twelve years, and was followed by his son 'Abdallah, who reigned for thirty years. Abdu-'l-Muamin, his son, was murdered by the Umarâs or nobles in six months, for tyranny; and in 1587, his cousin Wâli Muhammad Khân succeeded, and reigned eighteen years. He was defeated by 'Abbâs the Great near Herat; and on his death his son Imâm Kûly Khân became King of Bukhâra, and reigned sixteen years. In his old age he became blind, and abdicated in favour of his brother Seyyid Nâdir, who reigned twenty-four years, and had twelve sons. Driven out of Bukhâra by the rebellion of his sons, he retired to Mekkah, and died there. His son 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz made Balkh his capital, and having reigned thirty years, he also retired and died at Mekkah. His brother Subhân Kûly Khân reigned twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son Abûlu-'l-Fidâ Khân, who, being weak and indolent, lost most of his dominions, but retained Bukhâra.

In August 1740, Nâdir Shâh crossed the Oxus to invade Bukhâra, but was conciliated by large supplies,

and bribed not to enter the city. It was at this time that an Englishman first penetrated to these distant regions. Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Reynold Hogg undertook to open a trade with Khiva and Bukhāra in 1740. They travelled from Orenburgh, across the desert, with some Kirghiz Tatars to the Sea of Aral, and skirting along a high and rocky shore where there was only brackish water, and where horses, asses, antelopes, and wolves abounded, they reached Khiva on September 9. They soon found that no profit could be expected in proportion to the risk; Hogg, therefore, returned to Orenburgh, while the more adventurous Thompson, after visiting Bukhāra, returned by Māsh-had and Persia.

On the departure of Nādir Shāh, the grand Wazīr, named Rahīm Khān, dethroned and killed the indolent king, and thus put an end to the dynasty of Shaibāny. Rahīm Khān reigned twelve years, and his only daughter married Amīr Dānyīl, of the race of the Mangit, who reigned twenty-four years. His son Murād, better known as the renowned Bēgi Jān, became Amīr of Bukhāra in 1783.

Bēgi Jān was a very singular man. On Amīr Dānyīl's death he dressed himself as a common mendicant, and went to every quarter of Bukhāra, imploring forgiveness for the tyranny of his father. He then gave himself up to devotion, in the principal mosque for many months. He destroyed every drinking and gambling house in the city, and presided every day in the hall of justice, assisted by forty Mullahs. Smoking tobacco was also forbidden, as contrary to the

Kurân ; and the police were constantly employed in driving the people to prayers, yet, notwithstanding his own severity, Bêgi Jân was a great favourite of the populace.

The army of Bêgi Jân was almost entirely composed of cavalry. After reducing all the tribes of his own nation, he besieged and destroyed Merv, and overran Khurâsân, calling on the people to embrace the Súnnah belief, in 1794. From that time he made annual incursions into Khurâsân, riding at the head of his army, mounted on a small pony, and dressed as a religious man of the poorest class. On his seal the following inscription was engraved: 'Power and dignity when founded on justice are from God ; when not, from the Devil.'

This remarkable and enterprising fanatic was succeeded by his very religious son Haidar,<sup>1</sup> who reigned until 1825, when his brother Nâsru-'d-Dîn, became Amîr of Bukhâra, and reigned (when Burnes was there in 1835), 'with a just and impartial hand.'

The Amîr of Bukhâra was very fond of learning and of learned men of the Súnnah sect. He was described as tall and handsome, leading a simple life, and very fond of preaching to the people from a pulpit. He lectured every morning to pupils on the Súnnah traditions, afterwards dispensed justice according to

<sup>1</sup> Haidar introduced a era of bigotry. He took the name of *Amîru-'l-Muslimîn*, 'Commander of the Muslims,' and performed the duties of a priest rather than those of a king, read prayers over the dead, disputed in the mosques, and taught in the colleges.



the laws of the Kurân, and in the afternoon conversed with learned Mullahs. It is also said that, when any of his subjects died he repaired to the house, and said funeral prayers. The Ulamâhs, or heads of religion, rank next to the king, who is absolute ; and then follow the Umarâs or nobles, headed by the *Divân-Bêgi*, or Prime Minister. The great mass of the population consists of Uzbêgs, who are said to be honest and good tempered, and fond of horse flesh, and *kimiz* or intoxicating drink made from mares' milk, but there are also many wandering Turkmâns, and other tribes in the territory of Bukhâra.

To the east of Bukhâra is the little principality of Kokân, which was long almost entirely unknown to Europeans. It was once the kingdom of Farghânah before the princes of the house of Timûr were driven out of this part of Asia.

Bâber, the founder of the Mogul Empire in India, has given a minute description of it.<sup>1</sup> It is now about 200 miles long by 150 broad, and the present capital of Kokân is on the banks of the Jaxartes.

Narbak Khân, the sovereign of Kokân, in the end of the last century, had two sons. 'Âlam Khân, who succeeded him, was a tyrant, and was murdered by 'Omar Khân in 1806, who then became Khân of Kokân. He was still reigning in 1820, and was then described as a mild, good, and equitable sovereign ; and his nobles were fond of riding, hawking, and getting drunk. The village system of government

<sup>1</sup> See page 237.

prevailed. The town of Kokân was only a little village, previous to the time of Narbak Khân, but, since becoming the seat of government, it has greatly increased. It has no walls, and is watered by the Jaxartes, on the banks of which it is built, sixty miles east by north of Khojend.<sup>1</sup>

The two great rivers of Central Asia, the Jaxartes or Syr, and the Oxus or Amû, empty themselves into the Sea of Aral, which is 200 miles long by 150 broad.

The Sea of Aral, (*Aral Tenghiz*, or 'Sea of Islands'), is thirty-seven fathoms deep, in the deepest part, but the shores are constantly rising. The water is about as salt as the Gulf of Finland, near Croustadt, and this brackish condition is probably caused by the enormous volume of fresh water which is poured into the sea by the Oxus on its southern, and the Jaxartes on its north-eastern side. The mouths of these rivers are much obstructed by sand.

The eastern coast is sandy, with hills of sand mixed with clay rising to a height of about eighty feet, and several salt lakes. The ground is covered with steppe brushwood, chiefly *jonquil*, or camel thorn, as well as

<sup>1</sup> 1861. Kokân has a fertile soil, easily irrigated; pomegranates, grapes, and apricots abound. There is trade with China and the Russian settlements. Âk Mâsjid, the Russian fort on the Jaxartes, is 250 miles from Kokân. The king takes one-fifth of the grain produce, and a money rate on fruit and vegetables, one in forty of horses and cattle, and duties on merchandise. The total revenue is reported to be twenty-one lakhs of rupees.

The State is frequently engaged in hostilities with Bukhâra.—*Panjâb Reports*, 1860-61, p. 54.

The Principality will be fully described in the forthcoming work of M. Fedchenko.

the adjacent isles, and the margins of the coast are lined with beds of reeds.

The northern coast is an argillaceous table-land, about 300 feet high, abrupt towards the south, a wild and barren desert. The isles of Kug Aral and Barsa Kilmis are of the same character.

The western coast is composed of the table-land of Ust-Urt, about 300 feet high, abrupt towards the sea, composed of argillaceous schist and sandstone. This desert is inhabited by the Kirghîz Tatars; and the caravans from Khiva to Orenburgh pass across it.

The southern coast is entirely flat, and covered with vast swamps, formed by the mouths of the Oxus. In the adjacent country the nomade tribes of Karakaplâks seek pasture, subject to the king of Khiva.

Near the centre of the sea are the Islands of the Czar, covered with steppe underwood, and inhabited by numbers of antelopes. On the coasts and islands of the Aral there are innumerable flocks of pelicans, cormorants, sea gulls, terns, geese, and ducks; and the sea abounds in sturgeon, bony pikes, and many kinds of smaller fish, but there are no seals. Many wild hogs live in the reeds of the eastern coast, and tigers roam along the sands. The Jaxartes and part of the Sea of Aral are usually frozen over in the winter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of the Sea of Aral*, by Commander A. Butakoff.

In 1847 a small vessel, the 'Nicholas,' was built at Orenburgh, on the model of the Caspian fishing boats, transported in pieces across the steppe to the Jaxartes, and launched. The Russians surveyed the northern coast of the Sea of Aral in her, in 1848.

In 1848 the flat-bottomed schooner, 'Constantine,' fifty feet long, was transported in pieces across the steppe, and put together at the

South of Bukhâra and Kokân is the region of the Upper Oxus. It comprises the famous Pamîr tableland on the east, the mountain ranges of the Karatau and Hindû Kûsh on the north and south, and the valleys down which the streams flow from those heights to form the Oxus. The width from Karatau to the Hindû Kûsh may average 250 miles, and the length from the summit of the Pamîr plateau to below Balkh, where the lower course of the Oxus may be said to commence, is about 450 miles. It comprises Khulm, Kúnduz, Badakshân, and some mountain chiefships.

Kúnduz thus is north of the Hindû Kûsh and south of the Oxus. It was long ruled by an Amîr of an Uzbêg family, who was named Murâd 'Aly Bêg when Burnes passed through it in 1833.<sup>1</sup> He retained all

fort of Aralsk or Raim. She was launched into the Syr in August 1848, and M. Butakoff completed the survey of the sea of Aral in her in 1848-9. The Russians have a fishery in the sea, and a fort at Aralsk near the mouth of the Jaxartes.

<sup>1</sup> In 1824 Mr. Moorcroft was at Kúnduz, and Murâd Bêg extorted 23,000 rupees from him before he would allow him to depart. He then went to Bukhâra, but died on his return, about eighty miles from Balkh. His companion, Mr. Trebeck, also died of fever, near Balkh.

Murâd Bêg was an Uzbêg of tall stature, harsh Tatar features, eyes small to deformity, forehead broad and frowning, and no beard.

Kúnduz is situated in a valley, surrounded on all sides by hills, except the north, where the Oxus flows at a distance of about forty miles. The climate is very insalubrious. The valley is marshy, and the roads are constructed on piles of wood, and run through the rankest weeds. The chief never visits it but in winter. The snowy mountains of Hindû Kûsh are in sight, to the south.—*Burnes*, vol. ii. p. 196.

Sir A. Burnes sent Dr. Lord and Lieut. J. Wood, I.N., to Kúnduz, on the invitation of the Khân, to cure his brother of ophthal-

the petty chiefs in their authority, but stipulated for a contingent of troops when required ; and was thus able to bring 20,000 horse and six field-pieces into the field. His cavalry carried immense spears, and a few had matchlocks. The revenue was paid in kind.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Murâd 'Aly Bêg in 1836, an Uzbêg chief named Muhammad Amîn Khân seized upon Kúnduz, Khulm, Balkh, and Badakshân ; and assumed the title of Mîr Wâly. He permitted Rustan Khân, son of Murâd, to retain the government of Kúnduz, made his own son Genj 'Aly Bêg, governor of Badakshân, and fixed his capital at Khulm, which is about twenty miles east of Balkh and seventy west of Kúnduz. Khulm consists of four or five villages on a plain, connected together by large gardens. The residence of the Mîr Wâly was in a fortress upon a hill. His revenue was 24,000*l.* in silver and 50,000*l.* in cereal produce ; and besides his army of cavalry, he had ten field-pieces of large calibre. He was still reigning when Mr. Ferrier was at Khulm in 1845.

But Kúnduz was occupied by Dost Muhammad in 1859, and his son Afzal Khân held his ground, in spite of the hostility of the people and of the chiefs of Maimûna. Andkhoi, Kúnduz and Badakshân are now tributary to Shir 'Aly Khân, son of Dost Muhammad, the present ruler of Afghanistan.

mia in October 1836. Kúnduz was then a wretched place, consisting of 5,000 or 6,000 mud hovels, with gardens and cornfields in the suburbs. The Tajiks of Kúnduz are a Caucasian race, perhaps the indigenous race of Persia and Transoxiana. The Uzbêgs intermarry with them, and their physiognomy is thus becoming softened.

<sup>1</sup> Next to Kúnduz, the chief towns are Khana-i-bâd, and Talikhan.

Balkh, 'the mother of cities,' was long a bone of contention between the Amîr of Bukhâra, the Chief of Kúnduz, and the Afghans—sometimes in the hands of one, sometimes of another. Its once splendid bazars and mosques are now a mass of ruins.<sup>1</sup>

Badakshân<sup>2</sup> is a mountainous region above Kúnduz, and in the upper part of the valley of the Oxus. The people are of the Tajik<sup>3</sup> race, and possessed the country before the inroads of Turks and Uzbêgs. They are a wild people living in villages, surrounded by gardens, in the little glens and ravines of the hills. Marco Polo mentions that the chief of Badakshân laid claim to Grecian origin; Báber corroborates the story; and Elphinstone says that the Chief of Darwaz, in the vale of the Oxus, was a Macedonian. Burnes mentions that the Chiefs of Kulâb, Shighnân, and Wakhân, north of the Oxus, lay claim to the same descent; and he

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Balkh, 'the mother of cities' (Immu-'l-Balâd), extend for a circuit of about twenty miles. They consist of fallen mosques and tombs of sun-dried bricks. It was seized by the Amîr of Bukhâra, from the Afghans, in about 1824.

It stands on a plain about six miles from the hills. The gardens are now overgrown with weeds, the aqueducts dried up; but there are clumps of trees in many directions. The apricots are delicious.

Through Balkh, and where the desolated tombs  
Of Parthian kings scatter to the wind  
Their wasting dust.—Shelley's *Alastor*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Wood's opinion is that Badakshân was first peopled from Balkh. The country seems to have been subject to the Great Moguls, and afterwards to the Dûrants. Prior to the Uzbêg invasion, the Badakshânîs were Shia'ahs; and the Tajik hill tribes still retain that creed.

<sup>3</sup> The Tajiks are a handsome race of the Caucasian stock, and speak Persian.—Wood's *Oxus*, p. 295.

believes in the descent of several of the Chiefs of Badakshân from the Greeks of Bactria.<sup>1</sup>

The Pamîr table-land containing the sources of the Oxus, which flow thence through Badakshân is the central boss or converging point of the Asiatic mountain systems. Humboldt looked upon it as a range running north and south, and connecting the Thiân-Shan with the Himâlaya. Some Russian geographers, with whom Colonel Yule seems inclined to agree, consider the Pamîr to be a knot whence the lines of the Thiân-Shan and the Himâlayas diverge. But, for the correct appreciation of the bearings of its geographical features on political questions, the Pamîr should, to all intents

<sup>1</sup> In 1823 Badakshân made a last stand for independence against the Khân of Kúnduz, under Mîrza Bêg Khân, with 1,000 men. Murâd Bêg had 10,000. The conquered Badakshânis fell back on Faizabâd. The kings of Badakshân passed the summer at Faizabâd, and the winter in the pretty vale of Mashid.

Of Faizabâd, the former capital of Badakshân, scarce a vestige was left, except the withered trees which once ornamented the gardens, when Wood was there. It was destroyed by Murâd Bêg, who forcibly removed the inhabitants to Kúnduz. The capital of Badakshân was Jerm, a cluster of scattered hamlets, with a population of 1,500. South of Jerm are the lapis-lazuli mines, in the valley of the Kokcha, about 200 yards wide, with high and naked mountains on either side. The formation is of black and white limestone. The ruby mines are in a district called Gharam, on the right bank of the Oxus. A great deal of snow falls in Badakshân in the winter. The rooms, if large, are supported in the centre by four stout pillars, within which the floor is considerably lower than in the other parts, and the benches thus formed are carpeted with felts, and form the seats and bed-places of the family. The walls are thick, and covered with mud. Household utensils are kept in niches in the walls.—Wood's *Oxus*, 1837.

Faizabâd has since regained some of its prosperity, and is again the capital of Badakshân.

and purposes, be viewed as a continuation of the great Himâlayan plateaux. From this point of view, we see the lofty mass, called Pamîr in one part, Karakorum in another, Kuen-lun in another, rising to an average height of 15,000 feet, and pouring forth its waters to east and west; those to the east draining off to the desert on the confines of China, those to the west forming rivers, the Oxus and the Indus, which empty themselves into the Aral Sea and the Indian Ocean. The Pamîr peaks and table-lands are at too great an elevation to be permanently habitable; but the streams flowing on them have formed gorges and valleys where small tribes have dwelt from the most ancient times. Each, in its isolated territory, speaks a separate dialect, but they are few in number, and have suffered cruelly from the inroads of barbarous conquerors who have occupied the lower valleys of the Oxus basin. These mountaineers are Tajiks of the pure Aryan stock; and their valleys are believed to be the original cradles in remote antiquity of the Indo-Germanic races, the old homes of our ancestors. There are nine or ten of these mountain tribes in the valleys which descend from the western side of the Pamîr and Karakorum ranges. The first six are within the Oxus basin, and the others are in that of the Indus. Commencing from the north, where the Karatau mountains diverge in a westerly direction from the northern end of the Pamîr, we have the people of Karategin in the valley of the Surkh-âb, the great northern affluent of the Oxus. Their country has never been visited by a European, although M. Fedchenko, who was near the source of the Surkh-âb,



on the Alaï plateau, and General Abramoff have collected some information respecting Karategin. Yet Colonel Yule says, that it is one of the least known regions of Asia. Next come Kulâb, and Darwaz, and Roshan, of which nothing is known at all from actual observation. *Darwaz* means 'an open door,' and was doubtless a district through which one of the roads across the Pamîr passed. Then comes Shighnân, of which M. Fedchenko heard some particulars, but it has never been visited by any European. Then Wakhân, the gorge through which flows the Panja or main stream of the Oxus, and which is inhabited by about 500 families. Captain Wood is the only European who has ever visited it. He entered Wakhân, from Badakshân, by the Ishkashm Pass, 10,920 feet above the sea. He then ascended the Wakhân valley, on the south side of the Panja river, passing through three villages, Ishkashm (forty-five houses), Ishtrakh (fifteen houses), and Kûndût (thirty-five houses). Beyond Kûndût he crossed the river and came to Langar Kaish (twenty-five houses), at a height of 10,800 feet above the sea. This is the last inhabited place before the Pamîr table-land is reached. But a southern branch of the Panjâ, explored by Major Montgomerie's Mîrza, is not so lofty, and its valley contains several villages. Then comes Chitral, which though on a river which joins the Kâbul, an affluent of the Indus, is occupied by mountaineers of the same race as those on the Oxus tributaries, and is only separated from the Wakhân valley by a low ridge. Then Yasîn, and Gilgit, also gorges, with streams flowing to the Indus.

The Aryan inhabitants of these valleys raise crops of barley; but their country is unproductive and their climate rigorous, so that they are dependent on the people of the plains below for many necessaries. It is likely that their country contains great mineral wealth. Its ruby and lapis-lazuli mines have been famous since the days of Marco Polo and Clavijo; and, next to the slave trade, the principal business of Faizabâd, the capital of Badakshân, is the casting of iron. Although the mountain chiefs are virtually independent, it is likely enough that they have usually acknowledged a sort of feudal suzerainty in the rulers who have from time to time been in possession of the lower and richer parts of the valleys. Karategin has wavered in its allegiance between Kokân and Kúnduz, according to the power of their respective rulers. Of Shighnân we know little or nothing. Wakhân, and sometimes Chitral, have generally acknowledged the supremacy of Badakshân. Yasin and Gilgit owe fealty to Kashmîr.

The lofty mountain chains which encompass these valleys form natural frontiers: the Karatau between the allies of our Indian Government and the Uzbêg Khanats, whose succession is claimed by Russia; and the Pamîr between our own territories and those of our Afghan neighbour on the one side, and the dominions of the Atalik Ghâzy in Kashgar on the other. The valleys leading to the Pamîr contain the immemorial tracks of merchants passing across Asia, between the western countries and China. There are two principal caravan routes across Central Asia. One passes by Bukhâra and Samarkand, on the northern side of the Karatau

Mountains, and over the Terek Pass to Kashgar. This is already in the hands of the Russians, since they occupied Samarkand in 1866. The other passes up the valley of the Oxus, by Balkh and Faizabâd, and then up one or other of the gorges to the Pamîr table-land, whence it descends the eastern slopes to Kashgar. It was mainly by this latter route that communications were kept up between China and the Western world from the most ancient times. It was traversed by Marco Polo in the 13th century, by Benedek Goez in 1603, and by the agent of Major Montgomerie two or three years ago. There appear to be several routes across the bleak and inhospitable Pamîr. One is from Faizabâd and up the Wakhân valley, another through Darwaz, and another by Karategin to Kokân.

Kúnduz and Badakshân are separated from Kâbul by the snow-clad mountains of the Hindû Kûsh, which are inhabited by wild tribes of Kâfirs or infidels.<sup>1</sup> There are several passes over this mighty range. The most lofty, named Hajjîguk, attains an height of 13,000 feet above the level of the sea; Kalû is also nearly 13,000, but the other passes do not exceed 9,000 feet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Siah Posh*, or 'black-vested Kâfirs' are handsome men, with open foreheads, blue eyes, and black hair. They abhor the Muslims, who kidnap them for slaves. They pride themselves on being brothers of the Feringis; and believe in the supremacy of a Deity, and that men who have been good and hospitable on earth will be rewarded in heaven. Wood believes them to be of the same race as the Tajiks of Badakshân, and that on the invasion of the Muhammadans they fled into the fastnesses of the mountains.—Wood's *Oxus*, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> The pass of Ünna is about 11,000 feet high, and winds past the snow-clad Koh-i-Bâbâ, a remarkable ridge with three peaks,

From the plains of Balkh and Kúnduz the mountains rise in a bold and precipitous line, their sides bare, black, and polished. All the passes of the Hindú Kúsh are free from snow previous to the end of June, but they are destitute of wood. The defiles are very tortuous, forming distinct inclosures, as it were, every half mile, with mural precipices on each side of the road, rising up to 2,000 or 3,000 feet in perpendicular height. The only fuel is stunted thorny furze; but the pasture is good in many places, and the people rear barley and very fine fruit-trees, especially apricots, in the valleys. The peak of Koh-i-Bábá, above the Kalú Pass, is covered with eternal snow. The peaks are granite, and the sides of the defile of Kalú, which is never more than 200 yards across, are micaceous schist. In a defile of the Hindú Kúsh near Bammiyân, lead, copper, tin, and antimony ores are found.

South of the mountains of the Hindú Kúsh is the country of the Afghans, which we left (at the end of the chapter on Nâdir Shâh) under the dominion of Timûr, the son of Ahmed 'Abdallah, the founder of the Dûrâny dynasty.

Timûr died in 1793, and was succeeded by his son Zamân Shâh, who passed his reign in threatened invasions of India. The English authorities were kept in constant alarm; and one of the chief objects of Malcolm's mission to Persia, in 1800, was to negotiate a league against the dreaded Afghan invader.

about 18,000 feet high. Burnes went by Ünna to the Pass of Hajjiguk, which is 12,400 feet above the sea, then up the Pass of Kalú, 1,000 feet higher

The danger from Zamân Shâh's invasion was exaggerated in the eyes of Lord Wellesley and his advisers, who were not aware of his own inability, and the insecure state of Afghanistan. He, however, commanded both the entrances into India, by which, in all ages, the conquerors have poured their hosts into its fertile plains—the Khaibar and the Bolân Passes.

The Khaibar Pass, leading from Kâbul to Peshâwur, was the route taken by Alexander the Great, Tîmûr, Bâber, and Nâdir Shâh. The road winds through narrow defiles in the mountains. At 'Aly Mâsjid the mountains, on either side, rise to a height of 1,300 feet, slaty and bare, and the defile, though a mile long, is nowhere more than twenty-five paces broad. After this ravine the mountains recede, and a fine view of the Khaibar valley (1,500 paces broad) is obtained; and the road leads into the valley of the Kâbul river. Nâdir Shâh, with heavy artillery, passed the Khaibar, but he gave large sums of money to the wild tribes, to secure a quiet passage. Peshâwur, at the foot of the Khaibar Pass, is in a plain thirty-five miles long, and enclosed on all sides but the east, by mountains. It is fifty-one miles from Atak, on the Indus, a fortress founded by the Emperor Akbar in 1581, at the point where invading armies have usually crossed that famous river. It is here 260 yards broad, with a current of six knots an hour.

The Bolân Pass is more difficult than the Khaibar, and leads from Sind by Quettah, to Kandahar. It runs for ten miles, in a tortuous course, with not sufficient breadth for a dozen horsemen to ride abreast,

and rocks rising, like walls, to a great height on either side. Ahmed 'Abdallah entered Sind by the Bolân Pass.

But the danger hanging over India from the ambitious schemes of Zamân Shâh was only imaginary. He fell a victim to his own treacherous ingratitude. Poyndah Khân, the powerful chief of the Barukhzy tribe, whose wisdom had sustained the fortunes of Tîmûr and who had supported Zamân on his accession, was murdered by that ungrateful Prince. He left twenty-two sons, who now had their father's murder to avenge.

Fat-h Khân, the eldest of these sons, fled into Persia, and leagued himself with Mahmûd, the turbulent brother of Zamân. They besieged Kandahar with a handful of cavalry, took the king prisoner, and put his eyes out, in 1801. Zamân Shâh escaped into India, and, for nearly half a century, the threatened invader of Hindustan was a pensioner on British bounty at Lûdiâna.

Mahmûd, who then succeeded to the Afghan throne, was a haughty, indolent, rapacious barbarian. His brother Shujâ'-l-Mulk attempted to oppose him, but was defeated by Fat-h Khân near Kâbul.

Soon afterwards, however, a rebellion broke out at Kâbul, Fat-h Khân fled, and Shujâ' entered the capital in triumph. Mahmûd threw himself at his brother's feet, and was forgiven.

Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent on an embassy to Shâh Shujâ' at Peshâwur, and was cordially received. A treaty was signed by which the Afghan king bound

himself not to allow the French or Persians to invade India, A.D. 1808. But almost immediately on the departure of the English Envoy, Shujâ' was defeated by Fat-h Khân in 1809, and took refuge at Lahore. Here his host, old Ranjît Sing, robbed him of his diamond, the famous Kuh-i-Nûr, and in 1816 he fled to Lûdiâna.

Mahmûd again seated himself on the Afghan throne, with Fat-h Khân as his minister, to whom he gave up all real power. At this time the since famous Dost Muhammad, a younger brother of Fat-h Khân, first rose into notice, and became the favourite of his powerful kinsman. He was the son of a Kuzilbâsh woman, sprung from the military Persian colonies which had been settled in Afghanistan, and was despised by the great Dûrany ladies. As a boy he was employed in the menial office of sweeper of the sacred cenotaph of Lamech. But his graceful person, his courage, activity, enterprise, and sagacity attracted the notice of his elder brother, and at the age of fourteen he was the favourite and lieutenant of Fat-h Khân.

The great Afghan minister had an interview with Ranjît Sing, to obtain permission to cross his territory for the reconquest of Kashmîr, with his eighteen stalwart brothers standing round him; but in 1811 Ranjît seized upon Atak.

During the reign of Tîmûr, and through all these feuds and revolts in Afghanistan, Hajji Fîrûz, a brother of Mahmûd, had reigned quietly as governor of Herat.

In 1810 Mahmûd demanded tribute from Herat, and Hajji Fîrûz refused it. Fat-h Khân led an army

to the walls, and his brother Dost Muhammad entered as a friend. He then threw off his treacherous mask, massacred the guard, seized Prince Hajji Fîrûz, and finally tore the jewels off a lady of the harem, which drew an oath from Prince Kamrân, Mahmûd's son, that he would avenge her.

Kamrân, therefore, collected a large force, advanced to Herat, took Fat-h Khân prisoner and Dost Muhammad escaped to Kashmîr. Mahmûd and his son Kamrân then tried to force Fat-h Khân to betray his brother, and, on his refusal, they hacked him to pieces. His nose, ears, lips, fingers, arms, and legs were chopped off, one by one, in their presence. He raised no cry, the brave chief's fortitude was unshaken to the last.

Dost Muhammad swore to avenge his brother's murder, and terribly did he keep his oath. From the blood of Fat-h Khân rose the power of his brothers, the famous Barukhzy Sirdars, who soon conquered all Afghanistan, except Herat.

Dost Muhammad occupied Kâbul, his brother Kohun-dil-Khân seized upon Kandahar;<sup>1</sup> and in 1818 Mahmûd, the Dûrany sovereign, had nothing left but the little principality of Herat. After some intestine feuds, Dost Muhammad became supreme at Kâbul in 1826.<sup>1</sup> He left off getting drunk, taught himself to read and write, studied the Kurân, was ever ready to hear the complaints of his subjects, and soon became very popular. His chief supporters were the

<sup>1</sup> Pûr-dil-Khân and Shîr-dil-Khân ruled at Kandahar, with their brother Kohun-dil-Khân.



Kuzilbâshes, the descendants of a Persian military colony to which his mother belonged, who had long been settled in Afghanistan.

In 1834 Shujâ' made an unsuccessful attempt to recover his lost kingdom. He advanced to Kandahar, but was entirely defeated by Dost Muhammad and his son Akbar Khân, and escaped to his place of exile at Lâdiâna.

In 1829 Mahmûd died at Herat, and was succeeded in the government of that small principality by his son Kamrân,<sup>1</sup> while the Barukhzy Sirdars ruled the rest of Afghanistan.

Herat is well fortified with a wet ditch, and wall with five gates. It has four long bazars, roofed with arched brickwork, which meet in a domed quadrangle in the centre of the city. It is situated in a beautiful and fertile valley, watered by the river Heri-Rûd. Herat is the 'gate of India.' All the great roads converge here, and it is only by this route that a well equipped

<sup>1</sup> When Kamrân ruled Herat, Mizrab Khân was Wâly of Maimûnah, between Herat and Balkh, and acknowledged the supremacy of Kamrân. In 1838, when the Persians besieged Herat, he supplied them with provisions, but returned to his allegiance on their departure. Mizrab Khân died in 1839, and was succeeded by Hukûmat Khân. In 1849, being embroiled with some of his family, the Wâly asked Yar Muhammad for assistance, who came with an army of 3,000 men and six guns. The Wâly then made an expedition again Khairabâd, 30 miles from Maimunah; a strong fort held by Shîr Khân, the Wâly's brother, which they destroyed.

While at Khairabâd, Kuzumfer Khân, nephew of Sûfî Khân, the independent ruler of Andkhoi, came to Yar Muhammad, and offered him a bribe, if he would depose his uncle. He agreed, and the uncle surrendered; but Andkhoi was sacked by the Heraty soldiery. They then marched to Shibargân; but its chief boldly

modern army can march, from the north and west, towards India. The great importance of this place, so blessed by nature, so cursed by the tyranny of man, has long been apparent to European statesmen; and when, as will be seen in the next chapter, the ambition of the new Shâh of Persia was turned in this direction, it became the policy of England to frustrate his designs, which were backed up by the intrigues of Russia; and attention was for several years concentrated on the politics of Central Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Sistan,<sup>2</sup> the province intervening between Persia and Afghanistan, and of which so much is heard in the earliest periods of Persian history, is divided by Sir Frederic Goldsmid into 'Sistan Proper' and 'Outer Sistan.' The former covers about 947 square miles, and has a fixed population of some 35,000 souls, with closed his gates against them. Yar Muhammad then returned to Herat.

The Wâly of Maimunah continued his allegiance to Herat, by the annual present of a few horses; but he took no active part in the defence of Herat in 1856.

Muhammad Afzul Khân, ruler of Balkh, in 1857, made exorbitant demands on the Wâly, and conquered Maimûnah in 1860.

The population of Maimunah is 40,000 families, almost all Uzbêgs. The army consists of 12,000 horse. The fort is strong, with a wet ditch all round. It has one 36-pounder and four 6-pounders, all serviceable. Maimûnah is celebrated for its breed of horses, which are small but hardy. Immense quantities of wheat, barley, and rice are cultivated and exported.

<sup>1</sup> The Hazârah and Eimiks occupy the whole of the mountain belt from Kâbul to Herat. The former on the eastern part, and are quite a Tatar race, uglier than the Uzbêgs. They strongly resemble the Kirghîz of Pamîr. The Hazârah nation of the Paropamisan range has a population of 156,000 souls. They used to pay a tribute in slaves to the Khân of Kûnduz. They are Shia'ahs.

<sup>2</sup> More correctly Sijistân.

10,000 nomades in addition. This gives forty-eight to the square mile. The country consists of tracts of alluvium with mounds and rising grounds, and many old ruins and vestiges of a former civilisation. It has bushes, but no trees, and yields crops of barley, beans, and oil seeds. The famous Lake of Zirrah was dry at the time of Sir Frederic Goldsmid's visit. There were merely pools and hollows of water at the mouths of the Helmund, Farak-Rûd, and other feeders. A canal brings the waters of the Helmund into the heart of the country. North of Sistan is the district of Lash-Jowain, and, from its position, the tract of country comprised in these provinces has long been a bone of contention between the Persian Government and the Afghans.

Tîmûr Shâh, son of Ahmed 'Abdallah, appointed a chief named Muhammad Zamân Khân to be Governor of Sistan and Lâsh-Juwain in the beginning of the present century; with his residence in the fort of Lâsh. When Sirdar Barkhudâr was appointed to succeed him, he laid waste the country, slaughtering women and even children. The next Governor was Sirdar Imdâd Khân, who collected the revenue without opposition, and returned to Kandahar. The Sistan people continued their submission to Afghanistan during the reigns of Tîmûr Shâh and his son Mahmûd. But when the Barukhzy Sirdars drove Mahmûd to Herat, Sistan became independent, until it was subdued by Kamrân of Herat at the head of 6,000 men. When the Persian besieged Herat in 1838 (see the next chapter) Sistan again rebelled. Subsequent feuds between the Rulers of Herat and Kandahar enabled the Sistanis to maintain

their independence of both ; but the native rulers are shocking barbarians. One of them 'Aly Khân, in 1841, murdered Dr. Forbes in cold blood with his own hand ; and when the same man went to Tehran in 1858, to obtain the support of Persia, he received the hand of a Kájar Princess, first cousin of the Shâh.

The preceding sketch of the history and position of the various States which are comprised in the general term of Central Asia, is intended to render more clear the modern annals of Persia, from the accession of Muhammad Shâh in 1835 to the present time. Owing to the unwise ambition of the half educated and semi-barbarous Kájar Shâhs on the one hand, and to the policy of their Tûrânic neighbour on the other, modern Persian history is inextricably mixed up with the progress of events in Central Asia.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE KÁJAR DYNASTY.

*Reign of Muhammad Shâh.*

ON the death of Fat-h 'Aly Shâh, Muhammad was not suffered to succeed in peace. There were two other competitors for the throne, amongst the hundreds of the old king's descendants ; but the wonder was that there were not twenty, instead of two, considering the way in which the princes had been brought up, placed in independent governments in the provinces, and surrounded by vile flatterers.

Muhammad was at Tabriz, making preparations for a march on the capital. Prince 'Aly Mîrza, full brother of 'Abbâs Mîrza, with the title of Zil-i-Sultân, was governor of the citadel at Tehran ; and, on his father's death, he declared himself a competitor for the throne. He was supported by the Amîru-'d-Daulah, the old Shâh's chief minister, and most of the courtiers. Prince Hâsan 'Aly Mîrza, Governor of Fars, with the title of Firmân-firmâ, also proclaimed his right to the throne at Shîrâz. He was a man without ability, but well supplied with money.

But Muhammad was supported by his father's veteran

army, by many nobles of distinction, and by the power of England. The Kâim-Makâm, his father's minister, retained his office ; but the most important supporter of Muhammad was his maternal uncle, Alâyar Khân. This chief was the head of the Yukâry-bâsh, or senior branch of the Kâjar tribe, and the old Shâh had married his sister to Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza, who became the mother of Muhammad. Alâyar Khân received the title of Âsafu-'d-Daulah, 'Wazîr of the Empire,' and was, at this time, the most powerful nobleman in Persia. A short time before the old Shâh's death a British detachment of officers under Colonel Pasmore, and including the distinguished names of Sheil and Rawlinson had arrived in Persia, to discipline the troops. They were all at Tabrîz, and Sir Henry Bethune (the Lindsay of former days) took command of the new Shâh's army. But Muhammad's treasury was exhausted, and he could not commence his march on the capital without paying the troops, and procuring supplies. Sir John Campbell, the English minister, with the subsequent sanction of Government, therefore advanced him a large sum of money, and thus enabled him to secure the throne. The army marched from Tabrîz, under the command of Sir Henry Bethune, early in 1835, and at Kazvîn it was joined by the Ilyâts under Menucheher Khân, a Russian Armenian renegade. Zil-i-Sultân made no attempt at resistance, and Muhammad entered Tehran in triumph, and was installed as the third Shâh of Persia of the Kâjar race.

Sir Henry Bethune then marched to Shîrâz ; the

insurgent troops fled before him, and he entered the city on March 15, 1835, having taken the Firmân-firmâ prisoner. No atrocities stained the commencement of the reign of Muhammad Shâh ; and his rivals, the Zil-i-Sultân and Firmân-firmâ were allowed to retire to Khoi and Kerbela, with small pensions.<sup>1</sup> The Kâim-Makâm, however, was imprisoned and murdered in June 1835.

The Âsafu-'d-Daulah was appointed Governor of Khurâsân ; Menucheher Khân, with the title of Mu'tamu-'d-Daulah, became governor of Ghilan, and in 1837 was removed to Kirmanshâh ; and Prince Bahram Mîrza, the Shâh's brother, was made governor of Azerbaijan. The office of Prince Minister was conferred upon Hajji Mîrza Aghasy, a native of Erivan, who soon attained unlimited influence over his weak-minded master. He had formerly been the Shâh's tutor, and professed the Sûfy doctrine : a quizzical old gentleman, with a long nose, whose countenance betokened the oddity and self-sufficiency of his character. He was wholly devoted to the Russian interest.<sup>2</sup>

The Shâh's son, a child named Nâsru-'d-Dîn, was proclaimed Wâli 'Ahd, or Heir Apparent.

On the accession of Muhammad Shâh, the English Government determined to transfer the superintendence of the Persian Mission, once more from the Government

<sup>1</sup> Three sons of the Firmân-firmâ visited England in 1837, under the care of Mr. Fraser.

<sup>2</sup> The Hajji could write a tolerable letter, and read the Kurân, but was without any other literary attainments. He always affected great humility. He had formerly been half valet, half tutor, to Shâh Muhammad.

of India to the home authorities ; and in November 1835 Sir Henry Ellis arrived at Tehran as Envoy, to congratulate the new Shâh.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Ellis was received by the new Shâh on November 5, 1835. He was conducted through the palace, by a dark passage into a large court, ornamented with stiff rows of chenar-trees and oblong tanks. A brick pavilion is built across it, where the Shâh gives audience to his subjects, on a throne of white marble, supported by twisted columns of greenish marble which once adorned the palace of the good Karim Khân at Shîrâz. Another long passage, led to a garden, on the south side of which is a pavilion called the *Gulistân*, fitted up with mirrors and lustres, and open on one side. Here the Shâh received the English Envoy, seated on the peacock throne of Delhi, and covered with jewels ; and Ellis congratulated him on his accession.

In August 1836 Sir Henry Ellis returned to England,<sup>2</sup> and was succeeded by Mr. McNeill, who had been many years in Persia, as Doctor to the Mission.

Muhammad Shâh was short and fat, with an aquiline

<sup>1</sup> In November 1835, Sir John N. R. Campbell, the former Envoy from the East India Company, left Tehran. He had been in charge of the Mission since June 1830, and was knighted in 1832. He was formerly in the Madras Cavalry. By his assistance Muhammad Shâh was placed on the throne, and he expended 78,000*l.* in equipping his troops. 'He was so generous and high-minded that, on more than one occasion, he bought up bad bills, given by stray English adventurers, in order that our national honour might not suffer.'—*Colonel Stuart*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Ellis, who was in the East India Company's service, died in 1855.



nose and agreeable countenance ; but he was a man without ability for governing, exceedingly fond of military display, and easily led by flattery. It was by means of his silly vanity and love of glory that he was led into aggressions against Herat ; and the Russians determined again to commence those intrigues which, while advancing their own schemes, have ever been so disastrous to Persia.

Their instrument was a Dalmatian who had been taken prisoner when serving in the French army during the Moscow campaign, and afterwards entered the Russian service. This was Count Simonich, who arrived at Tehran, as Minister to the Shâh, in February 1833. He was a coarse looking stout man, with a limping gait, caused by a wound received from a Persian bullet, in the battle of Ganja.

Count Simonich was instructed to encourage the Shâh in his schemes of conquest, in the direction of Herat ; and, in the first instance, there can be no doubt that the Persians had right on their side, as Shâh Kamrân, the Afghan ruler of Herat, had violated the territory of Khurâsân, invaded Sistan, and otherwise failed to fulfil the treaty made with 'Abbâs Mîrza. But, afterwards, the ruler of Herat offered every reparation in his power ; and when the Shâh, having refused all offers of accommodation, advanced to invade Herat, it was an act of unprovoked aggression prompted by the advice of Russia. England had always advised Persia to direct her attention to the amelioration of her internal condition, and dissuaded her from foreign conquest. It was the evident interest

of England that Persia should become a prosperous and powerful kingdom, and that she should not weaken her resources by useless foreign wars ; but Russia had another game to play. That ambitious power knew that if the Shâh was defeated, he would be weakened and at the mercy of his northern neighbour, and if successful he would be embroiled with England. In either case Russia would be the gainer ; and her agents were instructed accordingly, but it was impossible for England to allow Herat, 'the key of India,' to fall into the hands of a power whose councils were entirely guided by Russia.<sup>1</sup>

In November 1837, the Persian army, accompanied by the Shâh in person, invaded the territory of Herat, and the vanguard under the Âsafu-'d-Daulah captured Ghorîân on the 15th. On the 22nd the siege of Herat commenced, but the Afghans bravely disputed every inch of ground, while the Persians were taking up their positions in the surrounding gardens and ruins.

Kamrân Shâh, the ruler of Herat, was broken down by long years of debauchery, and, being usually drunk, he had resigned all real power into the hands of his minister. Kamrân was cruel, ungrateful, short, ungrainly and marked with the small-pox. His minister, Yar Muhammad Khân, was the nephew of Atta Muhammad, chief of the 'Aly-Khâzy tribe, who had

<sup>1</sup> But our interference was unfortunately a direct breach of the Ninth article of the Morier and Ellis Treaty (commonly called the Treaty of Tehran, and dated November 25, 1814), which provided:—

'If there is war between Persia and the Afghans, England will not interfere, unless her mediation is solicited.'

been minister at Herat, to Hajji Firtúz. Yar Muhammad was stout, and of middle height, with thick negro lips, and overhanging brow. He was outwardly affable and courteous; but, in reality, the most avaricious unscrupulous miscreant in Central Asia, and utterly faithless and cruel. It happened that a young English officer, named Eldred Pottinger,<sup>1</sup> was in Herat when the Persians arrived before the city, having come there from Kâbul, by the mountainous Hazárah country, and its gallant and successful defence must be attributed entirely to his energy and valour. For a long time communication was kept up with the country, and sorties were made every night. The greatest animosity prevailed; the Afghans sold all Persians to the Turkmâns as slaves, and the Shâh killed every Afghan prisoner.

Colonel Stoddart was in the Persian camp; and the Shâh had a Russian detachment under General Samson, called 'deserters.' On April 6, 1838, Mr. McNeill arrived in camp, and remonstrated against the proceedings of the Shâh. He declared that the invasion of Herat was a violation of the treaty, and that, therefore, Great Britain was at liberty to take measures to compel the withdrawal of the Persian army. All English officers serving in Persia had already been ordered to leave the country.

Meanwhile the siege went on with increased activity. On April 21 Count Simonich, who had driven his carriage the whole way from Tehran to Herat, arrived

<sup>1</sup> A lieutenant in the Bombay Artillery. He was sent by his uncle Sir Henry Pottinger, then resident in Sind.

in camp, and began to conduct the operations of the siege in person. Russian influence was paramount, and every opportunity was taken to insult the English. One of Mr. McNeill's messengers had been stopped and insulted by the Persians in the previous October, but all reparation was refused, and on June 7, he left the camp.

The besieged now began to be hard pressed, and their miseries increased every day. Still the siege was pushed forward under Russian superintendence, and on June 24 a desperate assault was made. The walls of the city were, all four, a little less than a mile in length, and on the exterior slope of the embankment there were two covered ways, or '*fausse braies*,' one within and one without the ditch. On the north side, the *ark*, or citadel, overlooks the city. It is surrounded by a wet ditch, and is built of brick, with lofty ramparts and numerous towers. The mud walls of the town offered a passive resistance to the Persian fire; but in the fierce assault of the 24th of June, the place was well nigh lost. Yar Muhammad and Pottinger hastened to the scene of slaughter. The former lost heart, and had it not been for the gallant example of the young Englishman, the city would have been taken by assault. One desperate rally was made, and Herat was saved.

But famine now stalked through the afflicted city. The poor died in the streets from want of food, and the rich were cruelly tortured by Yar Muhammad, for their money.

The Government of India had, in the mean time, sent a small force, consisting of 387 Sepoys under

Colonel Sheriff into the Persian Gulf, who occupied the island of Kárák on June 19, 1838; and Mr. McNeill sent Colonel Stoddart to the Sháh's camp, informing him that unless he desisted from his attack on Herat, the British expedition would proceed to further acts of hostility. Colonel Stoddart arrived at the camp on August 11.

This slight demonstration had the desired effect. The warlike Sháh was terrified at the arrival of a few Sepoys on an island thirty miles from the coast of Persia; and on September 9, the Persian army began to retreat from before Herat. Pottinger declared that the Sháh might have taken the place in twenty-four hours after his arrival, if the army had been properly commanded. Simonich advanced a large sum of money, and promised that if the Sháh took Herat, the balance of the Russian debt should be remitted. But the Russian Government did not confine its schemes to Herat. An emissary named Captain Vicovitch, who had been aide-de-camp to the Governor of Orenburgh, was sent to intrigue against British interests at Kandahar and Kábul.

Yet when the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg remonstrated with Prince Nesselrode, that wily statesman, as it did not then suit the plans of Russia to quarrel with England, coolly denied the acts of the Russian agents. Simonich was superseded by Count Meden in 1839; and poor Vicovitch, who was of less consequence, was entirely ignored. The wretched man, thus disowned by his own Government, committed suicide. The Russians, however, by leading Persia

into a ruinous war, and estranging her from England, gained the end they had in view, and subsequently seized upon the coveted bit of Persian territory, without opposition.

At this time the English Government embarked on that gigantic blunder, the invasion of Afghanistan. Alarmed at the intrigues of Russia, and at her influence over the councils of Persia, the Government, instead of cultivating the friendship of the *de facto* ruler of Kâbul, Dost Muhammad, conceived the idea of placing a puppet of their own, in the shape of Shâh Shujâ', the Lûdiâna pensioner, on the throne.

The principal statesmen in England who were acquainted with Eastern affairs, the late Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, Mounstuart Elphinstone, and Sir C. Metcalfe, emphatically disapproved of the measure. But in September 1839 Kâbul and Kandahar were occupied, and Lord Auckland was made an Earl. In 1842, after suffering one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell the English arms, their tarnished honour was restored by the glorious operations of Nott and Pollock ; and we retired from the scenes of our unjust invasion with credit.

Dost Muhammad was restored to his government, and retained it to the day of his death. When peril surrounded the English in 1857, he administered a fitting rebuke and took a noble revenge, by remaining faithful to his alliance with Great Britain.

When the siege of Herat was raised by the Persians, in 1839, every effort was made by Stoddart and Pottinger to save the inhabitants from starving: 600 or

700 of them were fed daily by Pottinger, on millet boiled up with the fat from sheep's tails, and a little salt: and a monthly sum was paid, by order of Lord Auckland, to support Kamrân and his chiefs, and to restore the defences. Major Todd was sent on a mission<sup>1</sup> to negotiate a treaty of alliance, by which the independence of Herat was to be guaranteed, on condition that the slave trade was abolished. This arrangement was completed in August 1839. The people were exempted from taxes till after the harvest of 1840, and a monthly allowance was granted by the Governor General, for the support of the state.

The exertions of the English officers to prevent Yar Muhammad from selling the wretched people to the Turkmâns excited his ferocious enmity. British honour and Asiatic cruelty and treachery could have no real sympathy, but the tyrant concealed his hatred that he might continue in the receipt of English gold. Two months after the siege Colonel Stoddart left Herat for Bukhâra; and in August 1839, Eldred Pottinger<sup>2</sup> also left Herat, after having endured the gross insults and vile ingratitude of Yar Muhammad.

The treacherous miscreant wrote to the Persian Government that 'he merely tolerated the English Envoy from expediency, but that his hopes were in the Asylum of Islâm;' and he continued to intrigue with

<sup>1</sup> The mission to Herat consisted of the following officers:—

Major Todd	Lieut. Abbott	Lieut. Pottinger
Lieut. R. Shakespear	Lieut.-Col. Stoddart	Lieut. North
Capt. Sanders	Lieut. Conolly	Surgeon Login.

<sup>2</sup> Pottinger, after distinguishing himself during the Kâbul disasters, died at Hong Kong in 1843.

Persia, after receiving 190,000*l.* from the British Government. At last his insolence and treachery became intolerable, and Major Todd<sup>1</sup> withdrew the mission from Herat in September 1840.

During the British occupation of Afghanistan several efforts were made by English officers to mitigate the slave trade and explore Central Asia.

Lieutenant Wyburd of the Indian Navy had in June 1835 been sent to Khiva by Sir John Campbell, and his fate long remained a mystery. After the siege of Herat, Colonel Stoddart penetrated to Bukhâra; and, in December 1838 was cast into a loathsome prison by the Amîr who then governed the country. In 1840 Lieuts. Abbott and Shakespear, at different times, visited Khiva, and succeeded in liberating many Russian slaves, and bringing them safely to Orenburgh. In November 1840 Lieutenant Conolly reached Khiva, travelled thence to Kokân, and eventually proceeded to Bukhâra, to attempt the liberation of Colonel Stoddart. In March and June 1841 Sir William Macnaghten received letters from Stoddart, but afterwards both the officers were cast into prison, and murdered.

In February 1844 Dr. Wolff started for Bukhâra, and arrived there on April 27, in company with Dil Hâsan Khân an envoy from the Governor of Khurâsân. He ascertained the fate of the unfortunate officers but too surely; they had been foully murdered by the

<sup>1</sup> Todd's proceedings at Herat were disapproved of by Lord Auckland. He was remanded to his regiment, and was killed at the battle of Firuzah



Amîr in July 1841; and Wyburd, after being confined in a dungeon for many years, had also been murdered. Dr. Wolff left Bukhâra on May 21, 1844, and arrived safely from his adventurous and perilous enterprise.

The differences between Persia and England were, after much negotiation, brought to an amicable termination: the English evacuated the island of Kârak in March 1842; and Colonel Sheil, Mr. McNeill's successor, after a long residence at Erzerum, arrived at Tehran as British minister in August 1842.

But the Russians had already taken advantage of the exhausted state of Persia, consequent on her exertions to capture Herat. The Northern Tûrân had played a deep and a winning game. The coveted prize was an island close to the Persian shores of the Caspian.

The island of Ashûrada is about twelve miles from the coast nearest to Astrabâd, and situated in the bay which takes its name from the Persian city. It is about a mile and a half long, and less than a mile broad, with a sandy surface. It has fresh-water springs, and the water is deep close to the beach.

In 1841 two Russian vessels of war arrived at the island of Ashûrada, with the ostensible purpose of repressing the piratical incursions of the Turkmâns, but really with the intention of committing an unprovoked act of aggression on a weak ally, and of forming a permanent settlement. The remonstrances of Persia were answered by accusations of ingratitude, and complete possession was taken of the island. It is now covered with Russian houses, hospitals, barracks, and

gardens; and no Turkmán or Persian boat is allowed to move without a Russian passport.<sup>1</sup> The position of Ashûrada is most important for the development of the further schemes of Russian aggression, as it brings the northern invaders several hundred miles (the whole length of the Caspian) nearer to India.

On the coast, opposite to Ashûrada, the river Gurgân empties itself into the sea, which is navigable for small steamers, for many miles in the direction of Másh-had. Along the course of this river, from Astrabâd to Deregez (within 120 miles of Másh-had), there is a level plain, covered with rich pasture, where numerous flocks of sheep and herds of oxen feed, and capable of producing corn. Coal is abundant at Tejer Tash, 24 miles north of Shâhrûd, and at Ramîan, 50 miles east of Astrabâd. These facts prove the great importance of Ashûrada, as a point whence the Russians may, at some future day, invade Khurâsân and Herat, and threaten our Indian Empire.

After the settlement of the differences with England, the attention of the Persian Government was turned to the Turkish frontier, where the greatest disorder prevailed amongst the wild Kurdish tribes. The Persian and Turkish Kurds kept up a constant warfare, travellers were murdered, villages plundered, and a deplorable state of things had continued to exist for a length of time.

The exact boundary had never been determined, and the Turkish and Persian Governments requested England and Russia to assist them in deciding the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Justin Sheil, note D, p. 346-7.

question, and in drawing up a treaty of peace. A commission assembled at Erzerum in 1843, in which England was represented by Colonel Williams (now Sir William Williams of Kars), Major Farrant, and Mr. Curzon, and the Treaty of Erzerum was signed between Persia and Turkey on May 31, 1847, for the settlement of the boundary dispute. In May 1849 the Boundary Commissioners again met at Baghdad; and in 1851 they met at Muhámmarah, Captain Glascott, R.N., being the English surveyor. The survey was continued jointly by the Russians and English until 1853, when the Crimean war broke out. The country surveyed commences near Mount Ararat, and terminates at the head of the Persian Gulf, a distance of nearly 700 miles, with a width of 20 to 40 miles, over the wild and difficult tract comprising the Kurdish mountains. The resulting map was divided into 21 sections, on a scale of one inch to a mile, and was completed by Captain Glascott in 1865. It does not lay down the boundary, but only represents a strip of country within which it had been agreed that the boundary should finally be fixed. Two copies were presented to the Turkish and Persian Governments in 1869; and it has been agreed that, until the actual frontier line is settled, the *status quo* shall be maintained.

Soon after the Boundary Commissioners met at Erzerum in 1843, a terrible catastrophe overtook the Persian pilgrims at Kerbela, who were accustomed to flock, in thousands, with their dead, to the holy shrine of Hásan.

Kerbela is about 55 miles south-south-west of Baghdâd, on the banks of the Euphrates. The town is nearly two miles round, and surrounded by a brick wall, 24 feet high. The tomb of Hâsan in the centre of the city, and of his brother 'Abbâs in the south-east quarter, are the chief buildings, but the streets are very narrow, and the houses mostly belong to Persians. The population is about 20,000, but always fluctuating. Kerbela is surrounded by gardens close up to the walls, and clumps of huge date-trees.

The Persians in Kerbela had, for years, nearly thrown off the authority of the Sultân, and two Turkish Governors had been murdered. At length Námak Pâsha of Baghdâd determined to enforce obedience to the Sultân, and sent a force against the town under Abu-'l-Abût Pâsha, who pitched his camp in a grove of palms; and demanded the payment of arrears of tribute. This was insolently refused, and in January 1843 the Turks took Kerbela by storm. A horrible massacre followed, 3,000 Persians were killed, and a Kâjar princess, daughter of the Firmân-firmâ, was wounded. At first the Persian Government breathed nothing but war and vengeance for this sacrilegious outrage, but eventually things were explained away, and the difference was made up.

During the latter years of the reign of Muhammad Shâh, he passed his time in sitting at a window, and shooting at sparrows with a pistol. Hajji Mîrza Aghasy, the half crazy old Prime Minister, had the whole administration in his hands, and obtained complete control over the Shâh. The mis-government of

the country grew worse and worse, while the people starved, and cursed the Kájar dynasty.

At Tehran the influence of Russia was in the ascendant, the Hajji openly declared himself a Russian subject, and Count Meden was succeeded as Russian minister by Prince Dolgorouki, who arrived at Tehran in January 1846.

The condition of the provinces was deplorable ; and every man with any pretension to talent or patriotism was driven into exile by the old Hajji, who was sedulously collecting wealth for himself at Tehran, at the expense of the wretched country. The governorships of provinces were sold to the highest bidders, who oppressed the people in a fearful manner.

Kirmanshâh, in 1846, was bought by one Mauhib 'Aly Khân, who seized upon all the flocks and herds, and left the people to starve. Men and women might be seen lying in the streets, at the last gasp of starvation.

'Irâk had been governed since 1839 by Menucheher Khân, the Mu'támu-'d-Daulah, who obtained the appointment through Russian influence. On one occasion he was driven out of Isfahân, by the people, for cruelty and oppression ; but he was a man of energy and courage, and in 1841 completely crushed the Bakhtiyâri tribes, which had risen in rebellion. His vigorous though severe administration secured to the people of Isfahân some little justice ; but he died in May 1848.

Azerbaijan was, for several years, governed by Bahram Mírza, the Shâh's brother ; but he excited the

jealousy of the Hajji, and was banished. He was a man of considerable ability, and has ever since lived in Georgia, on a Russian pension.

But the most melancholy fate was that of the powerful Âsafu-'d-Daulah, who had been governor of Khurâsân since the accession of Muhammad. He was a man of great ability, of a naturally good disposition, but proud and haughty. European strangers were always treated by him with kindness and hospitality when they visited Khurâsân. M. Ferrier was received by him in an upper chamber at Nishâpûr, looking upon a large garden full of roses, the perfume of which scented the atmosphere. He was simply dressed in a woollen robe and a sheep-skin cap, and his intelligent countenance preserved all the freshness and vivacity of youth. He received him with great kindness, and forwarded the objects of his journey. Dr. Wolff, also, received cordial assistance from him; and he displayed much interest in the fate of Stoddart and Conolly, sending an envoy to Bukhâra at his own expense.<sup>1</sup>

His son, the Sâlâr, or General, a title given him by the old Shâh, Fat-h 'Aly, is described by Colonel Stuart as one of the handsomest men he ever saw. The Sâlâr usually commanded his father's troops.

But the mild and beneficent rule of the Âsafu-'d-Daulah, in Khurâsân was brought to a sudden close by the jealousy of old Hajji Mîrza Aghasy. He was

<sup>1</sup> General Monteith told me that the Asafu-'d-Daulah was a nasty, mean, wretched fellow, remarkable only for his excessive conceit, and without any capacity for governing.

PEDIGREE OF THE KÁJAR SHÁHS.

FAT-H 'ALY SHÁH  
(Began to reign 1798; died 1834).

Muhammad Muhammad 'Abbas Mirza Khalí Mirza, Wály Mirza. 'Aly Mirza. Died 1838.	Muhammad Muhammad 'Aly Naki Mirza Husein Mirza Hisean Mirza. (Ruikan- 'e-Daulah). (Prince of Shirás).	'Aly Sakh (Zhilli-Sultán) Governor of Fars at his father's death. Reigned one month in 1834, with title of 'Adil Sháh. Died in 1854.	Imán Verdi Mirza. (Lives at Bagdad). Mubammad Taqi Mirza. (Large family).
Muhammad Shah (1834-1845).	Shahich 'Aly Mirza. Fat-h 'Allah Mirza. A daughter, wife of the present Sháh, and mother of Musháfiq 'd-dín Mirza.	Sultán Muhammad Mirza (Saifu-'d-Daulah). (Resides at Bagdad). Three sons.	Sulaimán Mirza (Killed by Arabs at Bagdad). Malik Kasim Mirza. Died 1857.
Muhammad Shah (1845-1848).	Báhrán Mirza. (murdered in Sistan). Died 1841.	Sultán Músháq Mirza. Hánsah Mirza. Formerly Governor of Fars, then of Azerbaizan.	Farhad Mirza. Governor of Kurdistan.
Nasr-ud-Dín, The reigning Sháh.	Nashtevan Mirza (In Russia).	Akbar Mirza. 'Abdu-'s-Samed Mirza. Governor of Kashan.	Ardashir Mirza. Governor of Azerbaizan.
Sultán Masud Mirza (Zhilli-Sultán). Born 1848. Governor of Fars 1873.	Músháfiq-'d-Dín Mirza. Declared Wáli 'Ahd 1849. Died November 6, 1856. Son of a Kájar Princess, daughter of Fat-h-'l-'Allah Mirza.	Kasim Khán Mirza. Declared Wáli 'Ahd. Died June 29, 1868.	Khán Mirza. Commanded against the British at Mubammerah.
	Músháfiq-'d-Dín Mirza. Born 1851. Declared Wáli 'Ahd. Died in 1868.	Sultán Husein Mirza. Jalál-'d-Daulah. Died in 1868.	Kamran Mirza. NAD-'e-Sultánat. Not the son of a Kájar Princess.

recalled to Tehran in March 1847, and sent on a forced pilgrimage to Mekkah. In vain his sister, the Shâh's mother, interceded, and declared her intention of going with him. The influence of the minister prevailed ; and the Prince was ruined, and driven from his country, never to return.

The Sâlâr was left in the government of Khurâsân ; but the province fell into disorder, and Ja'afar Kûly Khân, the powerful Chief of Bûjnûrd, rose in revolt.

Such was the miserable state to which Persia had been reduced by the imbecility of the fat weak-minded Shâh ; the rapacity and incapacity of his minister Hajji Mirza Aghasy ; and the intrigues of Russia. Muhammad Shâh died on September 4, 1848, at Tehran, and was buried at Kûm. He was succeeded by Nâsru-'d-Dîn, the present Shâh of Persia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the time of Muhammad Shâh's death, Colonel Sheil was in England, having gone on leave in October 1847. Colonel Farrant was left in charge of the British Mission.



## CHAPTER XX.

## THE KÁJAR DYNASTY.

*Reign of Násru-'d-Dîn Shâh.*

ON the death of Muhammad Shâh, his wretched old minister, Hajji Mírza Aghasy, went to the palace of Tehran with 1,200 followers and shut the gates; declaring that he was a harmless old man, and only wished to pass the remainder of his days in peace. In reality, he dreaded the loss of his ill-gotten riches.

Násru-'d-Dîn, the new Shâh, was at Tabríz; and, in Mírza Tâky, the Commander of the forces, he had an invaluable supporter. This extraordinary man was the son of Bâhram Mírza's cook, and had been brought up and educated with the Prince's children. In process of time he became Wazíru-'n-Nizâm, Adjutant General of the forces, in Azerbaijan, and amassed great wealth. In 1845, he was sent to Erzerum, to represent Persia in the Boundary Commission, and signed a treaty between Persia and Turkey in June 1847. On the death of the old Amíru-'n-Nizâm, 'Commander-in-chief,' he returned to Tabríz, and succeeded to his office.

Mírza Tâky, the new Amíru-'n-Nizâm, marched the army from Tabríz to Tehran, and seated Násru-'d-Dîn on the throne; who gave him his sister in marriage,

and made him Prime Minister, but he retained the title of Amîru-'n-Nizâm.

Old Hajji Mirza Aghasy relieved Persia of his presence, and retired to Kerbela, where he died in 1850.

Nâsru-'d-Dîn Shâh entered Tehran on October 20, 1848, and succeeded as the fourth Shâh of the Kâjar dynasty. Colonel Stuart, who saw him when quite a little boy in 1835, at Dîran, a village surrounded by extensive orchards, near the lake of Urûmiyyah, says : ' I never saw so beautiful a child ; the expression of his countenance is mournful, and the poor thing is evidently shy.' His minister, the Amîru-'n-Nizâm, took the whole administration into his hands, and exerted himself to repair the disorders which had resulted from the misgovernment of the Hajji. He improved the army and the finances, and evidently had the good of his country at heart ; but he committed the great mistake of degrading the young Shâh to a mere cipher.

Colonel Sheil, the English minister, who had been on leave, returned to Tehran in November 1849.

The tyranny and oppression of the late reign produced their fruit in disorders and insurrections in several provinces. In 1850 a bloody rebellion broke out at Isfahân, which was not put down without much fighting. But the most alarming rebellion was in Khurâsân, consequent on the unjust treatment of the once powerful Âsafu-'d-Daulah, whose family had been reduced to poverty by the confiscations of the late Shâh and his minister.

In May 1848 his son, the Sâlâr, who had taken refuge with the Turkmâns on his father's disgrace,

raised the standard of revolt, and was joined by Ja'afar Kûly Khân, the Chief of Bûjnûrd. The Sâlâr seized upon Másh-had, which was besieged by a Persian army under Mûrad Mirza.<sup>1</sup> Up to February 1850, the siege made little progress; the place was not entirely invested, and the citizens made frequent successful sorties. Muhammad 'Aly Khân, the Sâlâr's brother, who had passed through the whole of Persia in the disguise of a pilgrim, arrived at Másh-had in February with supplies and money. But in April 1850, the gates were opened by a traitor named 'Abbâs Kûly Khân, and the Shâh's troops took possession of the holy city. The Sâlâr and his brother were put to death, the former being previously tortured, and another brother was poisoned at Tehran. Thus a blood-feud was created between the Shâh's family and the senior branch of the Kâjar tribe; and the great and important services of the noble old Âsafu-'d-Daulah were rewarded by the confiscation of his property and the slaughter of his children. Ja'afar Kûly Khân of Bûjnûrd made his peace with the Government, and was appointed Governor of Astrabâd. Prince Mûrad Mirza, in 1851, became Governor of Khurâsân.

The Russians at Ashûrada were suspected, not without reason, of having intrigued with Ja'afar Kûly, and fostered the rebellion in Khurâsân: and, in 1851 they

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Stuart, in 1833, says, 'It was great fun to see the swagger of Sultân Mûrad Mirza (Muhammad Shâh's brother), a little prince twelve years old, when he came on parade in his red coat and gold epaulettes, to drill a regiment lately raised at Tabriz, in the Maidan.'—p. 231.

enacted the fable of the wolf and the lamb with such bare-faced coolness, that it excited the mirth even of their Persian victims.

They had long imposed vexatious restrictions on the movements of the Turkmâns of the opposite shore, and at length they were taken off their guard by their watchful neighbours. It is the custom of Muscovites to get very drunk on Easter night, as some consolation for the long previous fast. The Yamût Turkmâns were aware of this little weakness, and landed on the island of Ashûrada under cover of the night. They made a sudden onslaught on the drowsy guards, put several to death, and carried away about twenty to be sold as slaves, returning safely to the mainland. Meanwhile, the war steamer in the harbour, whose crew were also far gone, made no attempt to rescue the people on shore, but steamed about firing her guns without any object. The Persians said she, too, was evidently as drunk as the crew. In short, there was a regular panic, and the Turkmân foray was completely successful.

Then came the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian minister in Persia, had the assurance to demand redress for this disgraceful affair from the Shâh's Government; though the Russians had unjustly deprived the Persians of the right of navigating the Caspian, and the Turkmâns were not their subjects. The demand was too outrageous to be enforced, and, after some altercation, it fell to the ground.

The commencement of the reign of Nâsru-'d-Dîn

Shâh was disturbed by the rise of a new fanatical sect. Its founder, the Seyyid 'Aly Muhammad, who took the name of *Bâb* (Arabic for 'a gate'), was born at Shirâz, in 1810, the son of a merchant. He first divulged his pretensions to being a prophet near Baghdâd, after passing several years in religious seclusion. Many people of all ranks in Persia became his followers, but he was eventually shot at Tabrîz. His doctrines were composed of Pantheism and the wildest Socialist principles, and his morals resembled those of Hâsan Sabah, the founder of the Assassins. The great numbers of mullahs and educated men in all parts of Persia, who joined this wild sect, proves how loosely the Muhammadan faith now hangs on the modern Persians, and how easily any accident might shake Islâm, and make it totter to its fall.

In Mazandaran, Fars, Kirmân, and 'Irâk many hundreds of Bâbis were killed. They died fighting to the last, and bravely enduring the most cruel tortures. In Zerjân, a town 200 miles from Tehran, on the road to Tabrîz, the Bâby religious movement broke out with great violence in 1851. For months the Bâbis sustained a siege against the forces of the Shâh; and, when the place was stormed, they fought from house to house until all were killed, the wounded being bayoneted in cold blood. From that time the Bâbis have been obliged to conceal their creed, but their numbers are still increasing. Soon afterwards they made an attempt to assassinate the Shâh, when going out hunting, which failed. The conspirators were tortured in the most barbarous way, holes were dug in their bodies into

which lighted candles were stuck, and finally they were divided amongst the different public offices, to be put to death. But Bâblism is not extinct, and these atrocities will only add to the fury of the religious zeal of the fanatics.

In 1851 Amîru-'n-Nizâm, one of the most able ministers that Persia has known in modern times, was disgraced and foully murdered. The Shâh had become jealous of his power, and he was hated by the courtiers for his integrity, and attempts at economy.

In November 1851 he was dispossessed of all his offices, and sent as a prisoner to Kashan. His young wife, the Shâh's sister, who was only seventeen and very pretty, insisted on accompanying her fallen husband, and proved, by her noble and generous conduct, that conjugal love exists amongst Persian ladies. The Amîru-'n-Nizâm was several months in confinement, during which time his wife always tasted his food first, to guard against poison. On January 9, 1852, the Farrâsh-Bâshi, 'Steward of the Household,' was sent by the Shâh, with a party of assassins, to murder the man who had placed him on the throne. He accomplished his purpose by treachery, sending to tell the Princess that the Shâh had relented, that her husband was at liberty to retire to Kerbela, and that he might safely come out and enjoy a bath. On hearing the joyful news the poor Amîru-'n-Nizâm left the Princess's apartments, and she never saw him again. He made a desperate resistance, but was overpowered and murdered by the Farrâsh-Bâshi, and his vile crew. All Tehran was struck with horror at this foul deed ; his

faults were forgotten, and his ability, his patriotism, and desire for the welfare of Persia were alone remembered.<sup>1</sup>

Thus did the Kájar Shâh, after the manner of his ancestors,<sup>2</sup> reward the services of the man who had placed him on the throne, by foully murdering him.

The Amîru-'n-Nizâm was succeeded in the office of Prime Minister by a Persian courtier named Mirza Agha Khân, who had formerly enjoyed the title of I'timâdu-'d-Daulah, and had been under the protection of the British Mission. In November 1851 he received his appointment from the Shâh, and assumed the title of Sadr-Â'zam 'first in precedence,' the usual title of the Prime Minister under the Shâhs of the Kájar dynasty. The Sadr-Â'zam was a man of considerable ability, of long experience in court intrigue, and kept his place by clever and assiduous flattery of the Shâh, who never heard the truth, and was kept profoundly ignorant of the real state of the country; but the Sadr-Â'zam, like most Persian courtiers, was utterly faithless, without any honourable feeling, and, when he dared, was inclined to be haughty and insolent. The welfare of his country was quite a secondary consideration when compared with his own interests. Such is the man, in whose hands the government of Persia continued for seven years.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Watson, in his *History of Persia*, p. 364, writes in the highest terms of the Amîru-'n-Nizâm.

<sup>2</sup> The Kájar Shâhs have always celebrated their accessions by murdering the faithful followers to whom they owed their crowns. Fat-h 'Aly assassinated Hajji Ibrahim, Muhammad assassinated the Kâim-Makâm, and Nâsru-'d-Din assassinated the Amîru-'n-Nizâm.

Soon after the entry of the Sadr-Â'zam into power, the ambitious designs of the Persian Government were once more turned towards Herat.

In 1844, Yar Muhammad had murdered old Kam-rân, banished all the Sâdozâi Princes, his relations, and seized upon the supreme power at Herat. From that time he had paid assiduous court to the Persian Government, and thus continued in possession of his ill-gotten power. Yar Muhammad died on June 8, 1851, and was succeeded by his son Syd Muhammad Khân.

The new ruler is described by Mr. Ferrier, who saw him in 1845, as a handsome young fellow of about twenty, with agreeable manners, but he was a miserable drunkard, and placed himself entirely in the hands of Persia. He sent several Heraty nobles as prisoners to Másh-had, and even condescended to accept his appointment of Governor of Herat from the Shâh. He had, in fact, ceased to be an independent prince; and the Persians only waited for a pretext to seize upon the city itself.

This was afforded in the advance of Kohun-dil-Khân, the Bârazzâi Chief of Kandahar to Farrah. On pretence of repelling this invasion, 'Abbâs Kâly, the traitor of Másh-had,<sup>1</sup> marched towards Herat, and in April 1852, he occupied the citadel without opposition, leaving a Persian force at Ghoriân. He was soon afterwards reinforced by Sâm Khân, Îlkhâny of Dereghez, a chief of great notoriety in Khurâsân; and

<sup>1</sup> See page 493.



though Sam Khân was recalled in January 1853, 'Abbâs Kûly still remained as wazîr to Syd Muhammad, receiving his appointment from the Shâh.

These proceedings of the Persians, in taking advantage of the dissolute wretch who ruled Herat, and occupying that city, obliged Colonel Sheil to remonstrate in strong terms with the Sadr-A'zam, and even to accompany his remonstrances with threats. These latter had the desired effect; and on January 25, 1853, an engagement was contracted and signed by the Persian Government respecting Herat.

By this engagement they agreed to send no Persian troops to Herat; not to interfere with its internal affairs; to abandon the demand for coinage, and the *Khûtbah* (or 'prayer'), to be said in the Shâh's name; not to have a permanent agent there; and to set at liberty all Heraty Khâns now at Tehran or Mâsh-had. 'Abbâs Kûly was therefore recalled.

This was the last political act of Colonel Sheil.<sup>1</sup> In February, 1853, he resigned his appointment, and returned to England, leaving the secretary, Mr. Taylor Thompson, in charge of the Mission.

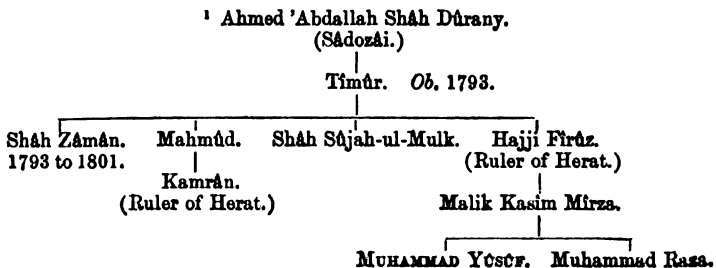
The Persian Government being thus, for a time, obliged to relinquish their designs on Herat, prepared

<sup>1</sup> Sir Justin Sheil, K.C.B., first came to Persia in 1834, and was employed for some years in disciplining the regiments of Azerbaijan. In 1836 he became secretary to the Mission, and was Envoy from 1842 to 1853. He died on April 13, 1871. Sir Justin Sheil was a brother of the Right Honourable Lalor Sheil of Waterford. In 1856 Lady Sheil published *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, a charming work, to which Sir Justin added some valuable notes.

to attack the Turkmâns of Merv. 'Abbâs Kûly, who had returned from Herat in May 1853, was made Governor of Merv, and died there. In August, the Khivans besieged the Persian army at Merv; and in May 1854, they were obliged to retreat. In March 1855, the Khân of Khiva was surprised near Sarakhs, and killed by a Turkmân chief. The incursions and depredations of the wild hordes into Khurâsân continued to be as disastrous and frequent as ever.

In 1855 there was a sudden change in the government of Herat, which led to very important consequences.

Prince Muhammad Yûsûf, a Sâdozâi prince, a grandson of Hajji Firûz, the former ruler of Herat, was, by education and character, far superior to any other prince of the Sâdozâi race.<sup>1</sup> He was much respected at Herat, and on very friendly terms with the officers of Major Todd's Mission in 1839; but on the murder of his relation Kamrân in 1844, he had been forced to seek safety in Persia, from the enmity of Yar Muhammad Khân. He had resided for several years at Mâsh-had; and in October 1851, was appointed to command a body of irregular cavalry at Serjam,



on the Herat frontier, by Prince Mûrad Mîrza, the Governor of Khurâsân. In that year he had been invited by several chiefs, who detested the vicious rule of Syd Muhammad, to come to Herat ; but things were not then ready.

In September 1855, however, he was again invited ; and, reaching Herat in safety, he seized the government, and put Syd Muhammad to death, with a number of his followers of the 'Aly-Khâzy tribe, who were suspected of being accomplices in the murder of old Prince Kamrân.

The Persians appear to have approved of Muhammad Yûsûf's accession, as they believed that he would be a useful and subservient instrument in furthering their ambitious designs.

The young Shâh, like his father, was full of schemes of aggrandizement in the direction of Afghanistan ; and he was encouraged by the flattery of the Sadr-Â'zam. An excuse for the invasion of Herat was soon found. Kohun-dil-Khân, the ruler of Kandahar, died in the autumn of 1855 ; and, in October his brother Dost Muhammad, the Amîr of Kâbul, marched to Kandahar, and annexed it to his dominions. The discontented sons and nephews of Kohun-dil-Khân fled to Tehran, and the Persian Government declared that Dost Muhammad intended to invade Herat, and threaten Kurâsân. Prince Mûrad Mîrza, on pretence of resisting an Afghan invasion, was ordered to advance with a Persian army, and occupy the city, in March 1856.

Previous to these transactions, the Hon. C. A. Murray arrived as British Minister at Tehran in April 1855.

He was followed by M. Bourée, at the head of a French mission. Prince Dolgorouki had been superseded by M. Anitchkoff in September 1854.

Sir Charles Murray,<sup>1</sup> a most entertaining author, had been for some time Consul-General in Egypt; and his great talent, extensive information, and facility of acquiring languages, well fitted him for his difficult and harassing post. But the Persian Government had entered upon a career of aggression in the direction of Herat, in defiance of the agreement with Colonel Sheil, and with a full knowledge that England would disapprove of the conquest of that important city. The Sadr-Á'zim, bent only on flattering the vanity of the Shâh, not only turned a deaf ear to the just remonstrances of Mr. Murray, but took every opportunity of insulting and annoying the British Mission. The treatment practised on Mr. McNeill was repeated in Mr. Murray's case. Every kind of petty annoyance was heaped upon him by this truculent and semi-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Murray, now Sir Charles, is second son of the fifth Earl of Dunmore, by Susan, daughter of the ninth Duke of Hamilton. He was born November 22, 1806. On December 12, 1850, after a long attachment, he married Elizabeth, only daughter of James Wadsworth, Esq. She died on December 8, 1851, leaving one son.

He is author of *The Prairie Bird, Travels in North America*, etc. and *Hassan, or the Child of the Pyramid*, an Egyptian tale, published in 1857. Mr. Murray has had very unfavourable experience of Persian character, he says: 'Rare fruit in the East we admit it to be, nevertheless, however contrary it may appear to general experience, truth, modesty, and unselfishness may be found—that is, among the Turks, Arabs, and those brought up with them. He that would seek such fruit farther East, that is, in Persia, had better settle his affairs before he starts, and be prepared for a journey of indefinite duration, and worse than doubtful result.'—*Hassan*, vol. ii. p. 3.

barbarous government. Persons under British protection were thrown into prison, personal and slanderous attacks were made upon the minister himself, all redress was refused; and, at length, longer endurance becoming impossible, Mr. Murray hauled down his flag in December 1855, and retired to Baghdád.

But Prince Muhammad Yûsûf did not prove so complete a tool as the Persian Government had expected, and even if he had been inclined to further their views, he would have been prevented by the people of Herat, headed by Isân Khân, an energetic chief of the 'Aly-Khâzy tribe of Afghans. The first Persian detachment, under Sam Khân, was refused admittance, and Isân Khân informed that chief that the Heratys would resist the entrance of the Persians.

Prince Mûrad Mîrza, on hearing this, halted at Tûrbat-i-Jâmi; but he received peremptory orders from Tehran to advance, and accordingly, after defeating the Heratys at Ghorîân, he regularly besieged the city, in the beginning of April 1856.

The Afghans made a most gallant defence, but there was no English officer—no Pottinger to conduct it, and the place eventually fell.

The defence was at first conducted jointly by Prince Muhammad Yûsûf and Isân Khân; but the former, having made an unsuccessful effort to imprison the Afghan chief, whose growing power he dreaded, Isân Khân seized the unfortunate prince, and sent him a prisoner into the Persian camp. He was forwarded to Tehran, where he was treated as a rebel, and many insults were heaped upon him by the Shâh.

Mûrad Mîrza had a besieging force of 30,000 men, and the operations were conducted by a Frenchman named Buhler; yet for several months the assaults were repulsed, and the besiegers were harassed by hordes of Turkmâns from Merv and Sarakhs. On August 30, though the Heratys were suffering severely from scarcity of provisions, the Persians were repulsed with great loss from the walls, by Isân Khân. The Heratys had twelve 12-pounders, well mounted, and the shot of the Persians lodged harmless in the solid mud walls of the city. The Persian General could never have taken the place by force, his officers were cowards, and the besieged were fighting with heroic bravery; but famine did its work, and on October 26, 1856, the Persians took possession of Herat.

Their loss during the siege was 1,800 men, that of the Heratys 1,500, and the gallant Isân Khân was murdered after the surrender. The Shâh declared Herat to be a part of his dominions.

It was impossible for England to allow the Shâh to take permanent possession of the most important place in Central Asia—‘the key of India,’—in defiance of an engagement ratified by himself; and it was absolutely necessary that an apology and reparation should be made for the gross insults that had been offered to Mr. Murray. Our demands formed the basis of a negotiation at Constantinople between Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Farûkh Khân, the Persian envoy about to proceed to Paris; but it failed, and the Persian sailed for France.

On November 1, 1856, the Governor-General of

India declared war with Persia, for having broken her engagement with Colonel Sheil, and seized upon the city of Herat.

An expedition sailed from Bombay, and occupied the island of Karak on December 4, 1856, without opposition. On the 7th the troops, under General Stalker, were landed at Halilah Bay, near Bushire, and the position of the Persians, in the ruined fort of Reshir, near the sea, was carried after two hours' hard fighting, on the 9th. The Persians retreated into the town of Bushire; and when the English troops had advanced to within a thousand yards of the walls, the Governor hauled down his flag, and surrendered. But in the meanwhile the fleet had been bombarding the town for nearly four hours. 59 guns, 300 muskets, and large stores of ammunition were captured.

On January 27, 1857, General Sir J. Outram arrived at Bushire to take command of the English forces. The Persian general, Shujâu-'l-Mulk, had formed an intrenched camp at the village of Burazjan, 46 miles from Bushire, and 12 from the feet of the mountains which separate the sandy coast from the table-land of Persia. He had an army of 5,000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 18 guns, with excellent artillery men. On February 3 Outram marched out of Bushire, to dislodge him, with 419 native cavalry, 2,022 native and 2,212 European infantry, and 18 guns. The force was without tents or extra clothing of any sort, each man carrying his great coat, blanket, and two days' cooked provisions.

After a march of 46 miles in 41 hours, in cold nights and deluging storms of rain, they reached the enemy's intrenched position on the morning of the 5th, and found it abandoned, all the camp equipage and ordnance magazines being left behind. Outram commenced his return march to Bushire on the 7th; and was followed by the Persian army, which, at daybreak on the 8th, was discovered in his rear, drawn up in order of battle 7,000 strong, near the little village of Kûsh-âb.

The British troops at once moved to the attack, their artillery doing great execution. The 3rd Light Cavalry charged a Persian square, broke it, and killed nearly every man in the regiment. On the cavalry and artillery fell the whole brunt of the action, and by 10 A.M. the defeat of the Persians was complete. They fled in a disorganised state, leaving 700 men dead, and two guns on the field of battle. The English bivouacked on the night of the 8th, near Kûsh-âb,<sup>1</sup> and returned the following day to Bushire.

General Outram, having thus secured the safety of Bushire, prepared to strike a blow at the most vulnerable point of Persia. The important province of Khuzistan (or Arabistan) is watered by the river Karûn, which falls into the Shattu-'l-'Arab, as the Euphrates and Tigris are called from their junction to the Persian Gulf. This river is navigable for small steamers as far as Shuster, the capital of Khuzistan, and the Persians had occupied the seaport of

<sup>1</sup> *Kûsh-âb* means 'sweet-water.'



Muhámmerah, at its mouth. The sea-coast of this province is inhabited by turbulent tribes of Cha'ab Arabs; in number about 27,300; and the mountains above Shuster are the homes of almost independent Bakhtiyáris. Shuster is 300 miles from Shîráz, 260 to Kirmanshâh, and only about seven days' journey to Isfahân. It is clear that the conquest of this province would threaten the very heart of the Persian Empire: and the restless Bakhtiyáris and Cha'ab Arabs were quite ready to assist the English against their Persian masters.

The Persians had erected strong earth batteries on either side of the mouth of the Karûn, completely commanding the passage, and very skilfully placed. The banks, for many miles, are covered with date groves, and the opposite shore of the Shattu-'l-'Arab was Turkish territory, and therefore not available for counter-batteries. The Persian army amounted to 13,000 men, and 30 guns, in a camp at Muhámmerah, commanded by Prince Khâlar Mîrza.

On March 18, Sir J. Outram left Bushire, with 392 horse, 1,534 European and 2,385 native infantry, 342 artillery and twelve guns—total 4,886 men; with four armed steamers, and two sloops of war. On the 26th the mortars on a raft, and the steamers, opened fire on the batteries at the mouth of the Karûn, while the troops were landed under General Havelock. They advanced through a date grove, and across a plain, towards the intrenched camp of the Persians; but the Kájar Prince, exhibited the most disgraceful cowardice, and fled precipitately without striking a blow, leaving tents, baggage, stores, and sixteen guns behind him.

On the 29th an expedition under Captain Rennie, of the Indian Navy, was sent up the Karûn, in search of the Persian fugitive army, 13,000 strong. His force consisted of three river steamers, three gun-boats, and three ships' cutters, with 300 men of the sixty-fourth and seventy-eighth regiments. On April 1, they approached Ahwaz, about half-way between Shuster and Muhámmerah, where the Persian army was encamped. 300 men landed, and the whole Persian force fled in confusion before this handful of British troops, their rear not being 1,200 yards from them. Ahwaz was occupied by Captain Rennie, and great stores of grain for the army were distributed by him amongst the people. Captain Hunt, of the seventy-eighth Highlanders, commanded the military detachment. The expedition returned to Muhámmerah on the 4th; and on the 5th of April Sir J. Outram received the news of the signature of the Treaty of Peace between Persia and England.

Khâular Mîrza's army was thoroughly disorganized; and in a few days Outram might easily have conquered the whole province of Khuzistân. The treaty of peace, which suddenly put a stop to these successful operations, had been negotiated between Lord Cowley and Farûkh Khân, at Paris, and was signed on March 4, 1857.

By this treaty the Shâh engaged to withdraw his troops from Herat, to relinquish all claims to sovereignty over it, and never to demand any marks of obedience, such as the coinage, or 'Khútbah,'<sup>1</sup> from the chiefs.

<sup>1</sup> *Khútbah*, 'prayer for the king.'

He further agreed to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and to recognize the independence of Herat. All prisoners taken at Herat were to be set at liberty without ransom. The British Mission was to be received at Tehran with apologies. The slave trade was to be suppressed in the Persian Gulf. Finally, apologies were to be made to Mr. Murray, for the insolent conduct of the Shâh and his Minister. The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Baghdâd, between Mr. Murray and a Persian officer, on May 2, 1857.

During the war the Persian Governor of Khurâsân, Prince Mûrad Mîrza, had dismantled the defences of Herat; and Sultân Ahmed Khân, or Sultân Jan,<sup>1</sup> a nephew of Kohun-dil-Khân, the late Ruler of Kandahar, and son of Sirdar Muhammad Azim Khân (brother of Dost Muhammad), was sent by the Persians to assume the government of the city and territory of Herat (July 27, 1857). He was bribed to receive a creature of Persia, named Syd Abûl Hâsan Shâh, as his Wazîr, and to make other concessions.

On April 17, after the signature of the treaty, and in open violation of one of its articles, the Shâh caused an atrocious murder to be perpetrated on the unfortunate Prince Muhammad Yûsûf, late Ruler of Herat. He was given up to the relations of Syd Muhammad, within the precincts of the palace at Tehran, and literally hacked to pieces: having received seventeen wounds before his sufferings were over.

<sup>1</sup> Married to a daughter of Dost Muhammad.

TRIBES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF HERAT, JANUARY 1868.

Name of Tribe	Families	Horse	Foot	Residence		Stronghold	Remarks
				Summer	Winter		
Tekeh Turkmáns . . .	40,000	15,000	15,000	Muzdarán Sháhrád	Orgunj Sarakhis	Sarakhs	In time of war the Tekeh Turkmáns can assemble 40,000 fighting men, of whom 25,000 are mounted. They have seized Merv. A very rich tribe.
Sarakh Turkmáns . . .	18,000	8,000	...	Punjideh Mardchak	Merv ...	Merv Yelatan	Of this tribe about 5,000 families have joined the Persian army, now acting against the Turkmáns.
Salor Turkmáns . . .	8,000	2,000	1,000	...	...	Mardchak	Formerly paid tribute to Yar Muhammad. Now independent at Merv. Occupy their time in making carpets.
Irsaly Charsungy } Turkmáns	2,000	500	500	...	Punjideh	...	Independent, formerly paid tribute to Yar Muhammad.
	10,000	4,000	...	Devandur Bundzermust	Pustalik	Kalas'-i-Nú	
Jamshidy . . .	12,000	4,000	...	Devandur Bund-i-Afzal	Pustalik	Bala Múrgab	Formerly very numerous. Yar Muhammad destroyed many of them. During the late sieges, the Persians removed them all into Khurdsán.
Tyman Timbry . . .	12,000 2,000	4,000 250	2,000 ...	Non-migratory Fursy	Yezdan	Tigar Ishlan ...	Very faithful to the Herat State, and assisted in the recent defence. Their chiefs are 'Abdallah Khán and Mehdez Kúly Khán.
Ferkatohy Házareh Berbery . . .	20,000 20,000	5,000 5,000	... 5,000	Charsudeh Sirjungul	Charsudeh Sirjungul	... ...	Much scattered. Have many chiefs. Taken away by the Persians during the sieges. Received villages near Túrsház.
Total . . .	144,000	47,750	23,500				Own allegiance to Herat ruler. On death of Yar Muhammad revolted. Now independent.

Mr. Murray returned to Tehran on July 18, 1857, and, the stipulated ceremonies and apologies from the Sadr-'Âzam having been duly gone through, friendly relations were resumed between Persia and England. Mûrad Mîrza and all the Persian troops evacuated Herat; the English forces at Bushire and Karak, under General Jacob, were ordered to return to Bombay;<sup>1</sup> and Colonel Taylor accompanied by Captain Claud Clerk was sent on an Embassy to Sultân Ahmed Khân, the new Ruler of Herat, in August 1857, to ascertain that the provisions of the treaty had been faithfully fulfilled. He was received with all due respect and cordiality by the new ruler in December. Colonel Taylor left Herat on March 1, 1858.<sup>2</sup>

The war with Persia, doubtless, will have an excellent effect on the Government of that country, for they cannot fail to perceive how completely their southern provinces are open to invasion, which in a contest between Englishmen and Asiatics is equivalent to con-

<sup>1</sup> Brigadier Honner did not finally evacuate Kârak until February 4, 1858, and the Persians delayed the evacuation of Lash and Juwain in Sistan.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed, ruler of Herat, desired to succeed the Dost as Chief of the Bârazâis. He invaded the Dost's territory, and took Farrah by treachery. In May 1862 the Dost commenced his march against Ahmed, drove him back into Herat, and besieged the town throughout the winter of 1862-3. A Persian force hovered about the frontier, restrained from assisting Ahmed by the British minister at Tehran, who insisted upon the observance of the treaty of 1857. Ahmed died in the spring of 1863, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sirdar Shanawaz Khân. Dost Muhammad took Herat, and in 1865 the place was ruled by a lad of sixteen named Sirdar Muhammad Yakûb Khân, son of the present ruler of Kâbul, who is again governor of Herat for his father.

quest, by means of the river Karûn. But it is the interest of England that Persia should remain strong and independent; and if a really patriotic minister should rise up, the most cordial friendship might be established between the two countries.

In case of the Shâh's death, he had proclaimed his second son (by a Sîgheh marriage) to be Wâly 'Ahd,<sup>1</sup> and Bâhram Mîrza, his uncle, who is now a Russian pensioner, residing at Tifis, would probably have been Regent. But the Shâh has an only brother also, Prince 'Abbâs Mîrza, whom he hates most cordially, and who now lives at Baghdâd.

The Sadr-'Âzam, who, by the most fulsome flattery, managed to retain his office for several years, followed on the same road as his worthy predecessor Hajji Mîrza Aghasy. All men of any worth or talent were banished or degraded, every place was given to his worthless relations, and the provinces were every day becoming more discontented and poor; the finances were in disorder, the Turkmâns continued their inroads into Khurâsân, and the army was irregularly paid. At last the Sadr-'Âzam was disgraced, and died at Kûm in 1860. The office was not filled up, but Farukh Khân, the former minister to England, became Keeper of the Seals and Minister of the Interior.

In the autumn of 1857 Mûrad Mîrza invited eighty Turkmân chiefs to a conference at Mâsh-had, and treacherously threw them into prison. He then marched against the Turkmâns, as far as Sarakhs, the

<sup>1</sup> The Wâly 'Ahd, to whom the Shâh was much attached, died on June 29, 1858.

enemy retreating before him. In December he defeated the Turkmâns, and occupied Merv.

But the Turkmâns continued their incursions to the very gates of Másh-had during the two following years; and Sultân Mûrad Mîrza was replaced in the government of Khurâsân by Hamza Mîrza. In July 1860 the new governor re-occupied Merv; and in the following October he met with a disastrous defeat in an attempt to storm the entrenched camp of the Tekéh Turkmâns, further down the course of the Mûrghâb. The Persian army fled in all directions, leaving thirty field guns in the hands of the victors. Since that time the Persians have contented themselves with keeping a strong garrison at Sarakhs, and making occasional forays against the Turkmâns, in one of which the thirty guns abandoned in 1860 were recovered.

When the English officers left Persia in 1838, they were succeeded by some French officers, whose efforts to discipline the troops were a complete failure. Afterwards the instruction of the Persian army was in the hands of a few refugee Italians and some Germans lent by Austria. The flower of the army is drawn from Azerbaijan.

During the last fifteen years Persia has made progress as regards political power and material prosperity, in spite of the deplorable mal-administration of the Kájars, and the terrible famine which devastated the country from 1870 to 1872.

One source of hope for the future may be derived from the probable cessation of foreign wars, owing to the establishment of settled frontiers. From time

immemorial, Persia has had elastic limits. When ruled by capable and ambitious sovereigns, the Persian empire has extended almost over half Asia; while the prevalence of anarchy has led to the rise of petty independent states in all directions. Thus, there have always been vast claims to territory which could not be enforced, and uncertain frontiers which led to continual disputes. The increase of stability and power, commencing from the reign of Muhammad Shâh, led to the raising of some of these claims, and has finally had the happy result of settling most of them, and of establishing fixed boundaries guaranteed by treaties.

The Russian boundary, west of the Caspian, was settled definitively by the Treaty of Tûrkmanchai;<sup>1</sup> and a belt of neutral ground between Turkey and Persia was marked out by the joint English and Russian Commission, which was at work from 1843 to 1865.<sup>2</sup> Since then, the Arab occupation of Persian ports in the Gulf has finally ceased, and portions of the frontier on the eastern side of Persia have been settled. It will be useful briefly to notice the events which have led to these arrangements, commencing with the question of the Arab occupation of ports in the Persian Gulf.

The rulers of 'Omân had held Bandar 'Abbâs and other ports in farm from the Shâh of Persia since 1798,<sup>3</sup> for an annual payment of 6,000 tomâns. But in 1854 the Persians drove the Seyyid's officials and garrisons from the ports they occupied on the shores of the Gulf,

<sup>1</sup> See page 397   <sup>2</sup> Page 485.   <sup>3</sup> Page 425.



and which the Arabs looked upon as belonging to 'Omân in perpetuity, provided that the stipulated rental was paid. An Arab expedition, under the Seyyid Thuwainy,<sup>1</sup> succeeded in re-capturing Bandar 'Abbâs, and other places. But the Persians were largely reinforced, while the British authorities interfered to prevent our Arab allies from joining Thuwainy by sea. That prince was, therefore, obliged to make the best terms he could with the Persians; and a treaty was concluded in April 1856. Bandar 'Abbâs, the islands of el-Kishm and Ormuz, Minav, and other places were declared to belong to the Persian Government. The Seyyid of Máskat was to be allowed to rent them for 16,000 tomâns a year, and to appoint governors for twenty years, who were to render obedience to the Governor of Shîrâz. At the expiration of twenty years, these places were to be restored to Persia, with which power it was to rest to decide whether the farm should be renewed or not.<sup>2</sup> The Seyyid's Wâli or Governor was thus virtually reduced to the condition of a Persian vassal, removable at the caprice of the Governor of Shîrâz. It is said that this humiliating agreement broke the heart of the old Seyyid Sa'id, the faithful ally of England, who died on his way back to Zanzibar, on board his frigate, the 'Victoria,' on October 19, 1856.

His son and successor, Seyyid Thuwainy, was murdered by his own son Sâlim, at Sohâr, on February 11, 1866. In October 1868 Sâlim was surprised and

<sup>1</sup> See page 433.

<sup>2</sup> See Badger's *Seyyids of 'Omân*, p. xcvi.

driven out of Máshad by one 'Azzân-bin-Kais,<sup>1</sup> the Wâli of er-Rastâk ; and since then, Seyyid Túrky, a brother of Thuwainy, has become ruler of Máshad. This unsettled state of affairs in the Arab principality has given an excuse to the Persian Government, within the last few years, for assuming the entire government of Bandar 'Abbâs and the other ports. It is on the whole a beneficial arrangement that the system of farming the ports by a foreign and independent sovereign should have come to an end ; and that the farmers of customs should be more directly responsible to the Persian Government. The development of the resources of Kirmân and Fars, and of the trade of the Persian Gulf, are likely to give great future importance to the port of Bandar 'Abbâs.

The southern limits of Persia have thus been settled. Her eastern frontier, where Persian territory borders on Baluchistan, Sistan, and Afghanistan, has also been the subject of investigation. The Government of Muhammad Shâh had adopted a policy of enforcing what they called a re-acknowledgment of Persian suzerainty from alleged vassals, who had in some cases been refractory, and in others had altogether shaken off allegiance and declared themselves independent. Under this theory, Afghanistan and Baluchistan were two states which belonged in their entirety to Persia, having been her provinces in the days of Nadir Shâh, and formed part of that outlying power which she wished gradually to bring back under her home government. After the

<sup>1</sup> A descendant of the Imâm Ahmed (see page 425). His father was made Governor of er-Rastâk by Seyyid Sa'id.

war with England in 1857, these Persian encroachments became more systematic; and ten years of unscrupulous and vigorous action pushed the boundary line of Persia nearly five degrees of longitude to the eastward, but south of Sistan. In 1866, the Persians claimed as far as a point between Charbar and Gwadar, on the Mekran coast, and forcibly asserted possession over the whole of western Baluchistan; and, in the same year, Sistan was occupied by Persian troops. There were thus boundary disputes between Persia and her eastern neighbours; and in August 1870, at the request of the Persian Government, and with the concurrence of the Amîr of Afghanistan and the Khân of Kalat, Sir Frederic Goldsmid, with the local rank of Major-General, was sent out as Commissioner for the settlement of the boundary limiting Persian encroachment on Baluchistan and Sistan. He arrived at Tehran on October 3, but was unable to take up the Sistan work owing to the disturbed state of Afghanistan.

After the death of Dost Muhammad in 1863,<sup>1</sup> his favourite son Shîr 'Aly succeeded, and the eldest, named Afzul, was imprisoned. But in 1865, Abdu-'r-Rahman, son of Afzul, and Azîm, another son of Dost Muhammad, surprised Kâbul and expelled Shîr 'Aly. A civil war prevailed for the three following years. Afzul

<sup>1</sup> See pages 467 and 480. Dost Muhammad only ruled over Kâbul, including Jalalabad, from 1826 to 1850. In 1850 he commenced aggressions on Turkistan. In 1855, on the death of his brother Kohun-dil-Khân, he acquired Kandahar. In 1857 he annexed Sabzawar, Lash, Farrah, Andkho, and Maimaneh. In 1860 he acquired Kúnduz and Badakshân, and in 1868, the year of his death, he captured Herat.

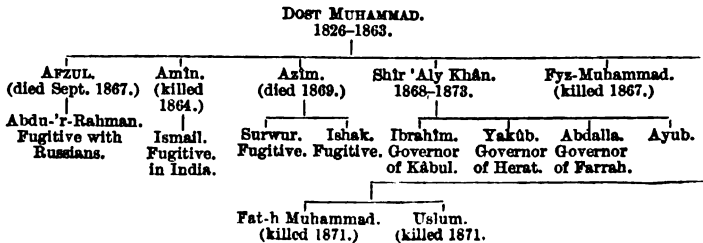
died in 1867, and in January 1868, after several changes of fortune, Shîr 'Aly Khân entirely defeated Azîm and Abdu-'r-Rahman, and again became Ruler of Afghanistan. Azîm died in Persia, and Abdu-'r-Rahman took refuge with the Russians at Samarkand. In 1869 Shîr 'Aly had an interview with Lord Mayo at Ambala ; and he has since, aided with money and arms by the Government of India,<sup>1</sup> remained in possession of Afghanistan, including Herat, Kúnduz, and Badakshân. The most able of his sons is Yakûb Khân,<sup>2</sup> the Governor of Herat, whose rebellion in 1870, the scene of which was the province of Sistan, retarded the proceedings of Sir Frederic Goldsmid. In 1871, he was pardoned by Shîr 'Aly Khân, and is again Governor of Herat ; but Abdalla is the Amîr's favourite son.<sup>3</sup>

In consequence of the disturbances caused by Yakûb in Sistan, Sir Frederic Goldsmid proposed to commence

<sup>1</sup> In December 1868, Lord Lawrence sent Shîr 'Aly 6 lakhs of rupees and 3,500 stand of arms, and in January 1869 he added six more lakhs. Lord Mayo, in 1870, added 6,500 more stand of arms, 4 18-pounder siege guns, 2 8-inch howitzers, a mountain battery of 6-pounders, 9 elephants with gear, ammunition, 2 more lakhs of rupees, and afterwards more small arms.

<sup>2</sup> See note at p. 511.

#### RULING FAMILY OF AFGHANISTAN.



with the Baluchistan boundary, and proceeded to Bampur with a Persian Commissioner, where he was met by one from Kalat. General Goldsmid thence moved on to Gwadar, making enquiries into the geographical and political questions as he marched, and detaching an engineer officer for further survey. After much delay, the Persian Commissioner followed him to the sea coast, and finally the general returned to Tehran, by way of Bushire and Shîrâz. After a protracted discussion, in which the Shâh himself took a prominent part, Goldsmid's line for the Mekran boundary was accepted by the Persian Government.

In 1871, Sir Frederic Goldsmid left England with his staff, to negotiate the arbitration for the Sistan frontier, proceeding by way of Calcutta, in order to have an interview with Lord Mayo. Landing at Bandar 'Abbâs, Sir Frederic marched thence to Sistan, where, after a month's stay, he was joined by General Pollock and Dr. Bellew, who came from India by way of Kandahar. Every obstacle was then thrown in the way of a fair arbitration; and, three days after the arrival of General Pollock, the whole party repaired to Tehran, by way of Mâsh-had. At Tehran, the negotiations, which had been broken off in Sistan, owing to the conduct of the Persian Commissioner, were renewed; and on August 19, 1872, Sir Frederic Goldsmid delivered his full and formal arbitration. Both the Persian and Afghan Commissioners appealed; but Lord Granville, the final referee, supported the decision, which was eventually accepted by both appellants. The eastern frontier of Persia is now as shown on the Map which

accompanies this volume. The Makran frontier runs from Jalk to the sea. In Sistan, a large triangular territory, partly watered by the Helmund, is awarded to Persia; and the Afghans are prohibited from drawing off water from the river, except for the irrigation of lands along its banks. A chain of hills fills up the gap between the Makran and Sistan lines; and if the old conventional line from Herat to Sistan be adopted, the whole eastern frontier of Persia is settled.

But that famous frontier to the north of Khurâsân, between Merv and the Caspian, the scene of Tûrânic invasions from time immemorial, remains unsurveyed. The Russians, in 1870, acknowledged that Persian jurisdiction extended to the mouth of the Atrak, and it includes the whole basin of that river, and its northern tributaries. The frontier passes along the ridge known as the Daman-i-koh or Atak (skirt), and goes thence to the Mûrghâb, thus including Sarakhs and Merv. But the exact line is still uncertain; and the recent encroachments of the Russians, whose frontier is now extended to Khiva and the Oxus, renders an early settlement of this part of the Persian boundary one of the most urgent and important of existing Asiatic political questions.

The settlement of her boundaries is a very great boon to Persia; for the cessation of endless disputes with neighbouring states gives her people some chance of improving the internal condition of the country. Better means of communication have scarcely been thought of as regards the interior; but of late years great facilities have been provided for approaching both the Caspian and Persian Gulf ports, which have increased

the trade, and the intercourse with foreign countries, and have thus been the means of enabling the Persians to make some slight advance in material prosperity. On the Caspian the *Caucase et Mercure* Company of Moscow, receiving a large subvention from the Russian Government, on condition of furnishing all the transport that may be required, has a large and increasing fleet of three-masted schooners with auxiliary screws. Two or three of these vessels sail every week from the port of Astrakhan, carrying merchandise only. There are also three passenger steamers plying on the Caspian, belonging to the same Company; <sup>1</sup> and one sails every week along the western and southern shores, touching at the Persian ports of Enzeli and Másh-had-issar, and at Ashûrada. A good macadamised causeway has been made across the morass from Enzeli to Resht, and both places have been much improved of late years.

In the Persian Gulf the British India Steam Navigation Company now has a regular line of fine steamers running fortnightly from Bombay to el-Básrah, and touching at Bandar 'Abbás and Bushire; and the trade of the Gulf ports is rapidly increasing.

The construction of the electric telegraph has also had a sensible effect on the progress of Persian civilisation. Lines from Tehran to Tabríz and Resht were constructed by the Persian Government itself in 1862. In the same year Colonel Patrick Stewart was employed

<sup>1</sup> Two paddle-wheel steamers, of about 300 tons each, the 'Constantine' and 'Bariatinsky,' and a screw steamer of 250 tons, the 'Michael.' All the crews are Persians, from the coasts of Ghilan and Mazandaran.

to report upon the practicability of constructing a telegraphic line through Persia, as a link of the communication between England and India. A telegraphic convention, an abstract of which will be found in the Appendix, was signed between England and Persia on February 6, 1863, in spite of the intrigues of Russia. The line was to pass from Khanakīn on the Turkish frontier to Tehran, and thence to Bushire. But Colonel Stewart did not live to see the successful result of his labours. He died at Constantinople in January 1865, from the effects of exposure and over-exertion, a very short time before the lines were formally opened. English officers have since worked the line between Tehran and Bushire. Another convention, in 1865, provided for a second wire; and a third convention, in 1872, arranges that a third wire shall be erected at the expense of the English Government. The Indo-European Telegraph Company, in 1870, carried a telegraph line from Tehran to London, by way of Tabriz, Tiflis, Kertch, Warsaw, Berlin, and Nordeney.

The absence of correct statistics makes it difficult to acquire any sound knowledge of the population, wealth, trade, and agriculture of Persia, or of the condition of the people. The population is placed at 4,000,000 by one high authority, and at 10,000,000 by others.<sup>1</sup> We have little information respecting the rules and

<sup>1</sup> The Bengal Census has given a striking example of the worthlessness of rough estimates of population derived from revenue returns. In 1870-71 the population of the Lower Provinces was believed to be 42,500,000. The total number counted in the Census of 1872 was 66,856,859.



customs for the use of water in irrigation, and no accurate trade returns.<sup>1</sup> But it is certain that the system of farming provinces still prevails, and that, though there are exceptions, such as Kirmân, where a wise governor has created prosperity in spite of the system,<sup>2</sup> the country is on the whole wretchedly governed. The present Shâh, since the fall of the Sadr-Âzam in 1858, has generally ruled without a Prime Minister, though one was appointed shortly before his journey to Europe, and disgraced on his return. But he has shown little wisdom, and has not been an exception to the proverbial administrative incapacity of the Kâjar Turks. In 1870 he undertook a useless and enormously expensive pilgrimage to Kerbela; instead of adopting the wise policy of the Sufâwi Shâhs. 'Abbâs the Great did all in his power to make the shrines popular that were within the limits of Persia, such as Kûm and Mâsh-had; in order that the wealth of devotees might be retained in the country, instead of being drained away into Turkey or Arabia.<sup>3</sup> In 1873 Nasru-'d-Din made another expensive journey through Europe, possibly with more useful results, in enlarging his ideas and those of his relations and immediate followers. But this may be considered doubtful.

The most recent important act of the Persian Government has been the grant of a concession for the construction of public works to Baron Reuter: a full

<sup>1</sup> A nominal return for Bushire, in 1870, gives the value of exports at 153,000*l.*, and imports at 470,000*l.* Colonel Pelly has also given the quantities, but not the value, for Bandar 'Abbâs.

<sup>2</sup> See note at p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> See page 280.

abstract of which will be found in the Appendix. Baron Reuter, in the first place, under a penalty of 40,000*l.*, engages to construct a railway from Resht, on the Caspian, to Tehran; to be eventually continued to a port on the Persian Gulf; and, in return, the Shâh grants him exclusive privileges of constructing public works for seventy years. The distance from Resht to Tehran is about 200 miles, and Baron Reuter's engineers have already begun to survey the line; but there is probably little prospect of the other works mentioned in the concession being undertaken for some years to come.<sup>1</sup>

All these undertakings—the lines of steamers touching at the Caspian and Persian Gulf ports, the telegraph lines, and the works of Baron Reuter—are hopeful signs of advance; and the completion of the projected railways and other public works can alone save the land from such fearful visitations as the famine of 1870–72. Persia needs peace, and a respite from Russian encroachments and intrigue, to ensure her future welfare.

Whatever may be the ultimate fate of this interesting country, there is a charm about its former history which will always command attention. IRÂN:—where the pure religion of Zoroaster flourished; where the Kings who did the work of the Almighty reigned; where the palace of Persepolis reared its

<sup>1</sup> The Persian Government are recently reported to have declared the Convention with Baron Reuter null and void, on the ground that the stipulation to commence work at a certain date had not been complied with.

beautiful pillars on high; and where Sa'ady and Háfizh wrote their soul-stirring poetry,—must ever be an enchanted land, full to overflowing of the most delightful associations.

We picture to ourselves the mighty Kings of old, the heroes as generous and merciful as they were brave, the lovely maidens, and the inspired poets of Irân, until the whole history rises up before us like a wondrous mirage. The traveller over the sands of Mesopotamia may sometimes behold its counterpart in the ruined palace of the ancient kings of Irân, at Ctesiphon. Gazing, from the opposite shores of the Tigris, he will be astonished at the sight of vast arcades, which will change into a beautiful tower reaching to the sky, and pierced from base to summit by innumerable arches. Suddenly this fairy vision will be converted into a magnified image of the palace, with an exact counterpart upon it, upside down; and finally the naked ruin is seen in all its desolation, standing alone in the sandy plain.<sup>1</sup>

Just in the same way we may dwell upon the past history of Irân; the age of Rustam and his heroes, the precepts of Zoroaster, the gorgeous line of Sassanian Kings, the age of Poets, the restored magnificence of 'Abbâs, and finally the stream of history brings us down to the naked deformity of the Kâjar rule and the desolation of modern Persia.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Layard saw this mirage, and beautifully describes it, pp. 570-2.



## APPENDIX A.

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### *ABSTRACTS OF TREATIES.*

#### I. ENGLAND AND PERSIA.

THE Treaty Engagements between England and Persia commenced when the English first established commercial relations in the ports of the Persian Gulf. These relations were opened by the letter from Queen Elizabeth to Shâh Tahmasp I., written in 1561, which is the first document in the present Appendix. Then follows an abstract of the Grant of Privileges from Karîm Khân Zand to the East India Company in 1763.

The Political Treaty, concluded by Malcolm in 1801, an abstract of which follows, is the first engagement between the English Government and the Kâjar Dynasty. The commercial treaty, concluded at the same time, secured all the privileges granted by Karîm Khân, while the duties to be collected from purchasers of staples were reduced to one per cent.

The treaties of Sir Harford Jones, concluded on March 15, 1809, and of Sir Gore Ouseley, signed on March 14, 1812, merged in the final Treaty of Tehran, negotiated by Morier and Ellis, and signed on November 25, 1814, an abstract of which follows that of Malcolm's Treaty. In the preamble the previous negotiations are recapitulated. By Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty of Tehran the English Government undertook to aid Persia by troops or money, in case of in-

vasion, provided that Persia was not the aggressor. In March 1828 a letter was obtained from Prince 'Abbás Mirza, afterwards confirmed by his father, the Shâh, by which Articles 3 and 4 were abrogated, on condition that the British Government assisted Persia with 200,000 tomâns, towards the liquidation of the indemnity due from Persia to Russia.

No commercial treaty had been concluded since that of Malcqm, which the Persians considered to be superseded by the Treaty of Tehran in 1814. In 1823 a Firman ordered that no duty should be levied on horses exported by British subjects; and in 1836 another Firman granted to British merchants the privilege of paying only the same dues as were paid by the merchants of Russia. But in 1841 Sir John McNeill at last concluded a Commercial Treaty with Persia; an abstract of which follows the Treaty of Tehran.

Between 1848 and 1851 engagements and conventions were obtained from Persia on the subject of the Slave Trade. In the former year Firmans were issued by the Shâh, at the request of Colonel Farrant, prohibiting the importation of negroes by sea, but declaring that the importation of slaves by land is by no means forbidden. In August 1851 a convention was made between Sir Justin Sheil and the Persian Government, permitting British ships of war, for a period of eleven years, to search Persian merchant vessels suspected of carrying slaves.

The next engagement between Persia and England was that in 1853, respecting Herat; an abstract of which follows that of the Commercial Treaty of 1841. Its breach led to the hostilities in 1867, which were concluded by the Treaty of Paris. This is the most recent treaty between England and Persia. It renews the Slave Trade Convention of 1851, and provides for its continuance. An abstract of the Treaty of Paris follows that of the engagement respecting Herat.

*Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Tahmasp I., Shâh of Persia.*

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c., to the right mightie and right victorious Prince, the great Sophi, Emperor of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanes, Caramanians, Margians, of the people this side and beyond the river of Syris, of all men and nations between the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Persia: greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie.

By the goodness of God it is ordayned that those people which, not only the huge distance of land and the invincible wideness of seas, but also the very quarters of the heavens do most farre separate and sette asunder, may nevertheless, through good commendation by writing, communicate between them not only the conceived thoughts or deliberations, and grateful offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutual intelligence.

Therefore, whereas our faithful and right well beloved servant, Anthony Jenkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined, with our license, favour, and grace, to pass out of this our realme, and, by God's sufferance, to travel even into Persia; we mind truly, with our good favour, to set forward and advance that, his laudable purpose, and the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is grounded upon an honest intent to establish trade of merchandise with your subjects.

Wherefore we have thought good, both to write to your Majestie, and also to desire the same to vouchsafe, at our request, to grant to our saide servant, Anthony Jenkinson, good passports and safe conducts, by means and authority whereof it may be free and lawful for him, together with his servants and merchandise, to pass through your realms, dominions, jurisdictions, and provinces, freely and without impeachment, to journey, go, passe, repasse, and depart, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to return whensoever he shall think good.

M M

If these holie duties of entertainment, and sweet offices of humanitie, may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmly observed between us and our realms, and subjects ; then doe we hope that the Almighty God will bring it to pass that of these small beginnings, greater things shall hereafter spring, both to our furnitures and honours, and also to the greater commodoties and use of our peoples : so it will be known that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heavens have so much force to separate us, as the goodly disposition of natural humanitie and mutual benevolence have to join us strongly together. God grant unto your Majesty, long and happie felicitie in earth, and perpetual in heaven.

Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25th day of the month of April in the year of the Creation of the World 5523, and of our Lord Jesus Christ 1561, of our Reign the Third.

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*Grant of Privileges from Karim Khân Zand (the Wakl),  
July 2, 1763.*

The Great God, having of his infinite mercy given victory unto Karim Khân, and made him Chief Governor of all the kingdoms of Persia, he is desirous that the said kingdoms should flourish, and obtain their ancient grandeur by the increase of trade and commerce, as well as by a due execution of justice.

Having been informed that the Right Worshipful William Andrew Price, Esq., Governor of the English nation in the Gulf of Persia, is arrived with power to settle a factory at Bushire ; and has sent to me Mr. Thomas Durnford to obtain a grant of their ancient privileges in these kingdoms ; I do grant unto the said Governor, in behalf of his King and country, the following privileges, which shall be held in sacred good faith :—



1. That the English Company may have as much ground at Bushire as they please, to build a factory on, or at any other port in the Gulf. They may have as many cannon mounted on it as they choose, but not to be larger than 6-pounders.

2. No customs shall be charged the English on any goods imported or exported by them at Bushire, or at any other port on the Gulf.

3. No other European nation shall import any woollen goods to any port on the Gulf; but the English Company only.

4. Should any Persian be truly indebted to the English, the Shaik or Governor of the place shall oblige him to pay.

5. In Persia the English may sell their goods to, and buy from, whomsoever they judge proper.

6. If any English ship be unfortunately wrecked, the Governors of the adjacent places shall not claim any share of the said wreck, but shall assist the English all in their power.

7. The English shall have the free exercise of their religion, without molestation from any one.

8. Should soldiers or sailors desert from the English in any part of Persia, they shall be delivered up.

9. Wherever the English may have a factory, their servants shall be exempt from taxes, and under their own command and jurisdiction.

10. Wherever the English are, they shall have a spot of ground for a burial place, and another for a garden.

11. The house that formerly belonged to the English Company, at Shirâz, I now re-deliver to them, with the garden and water thereto belonging.

*Articles desired by Karîm Khân.*

1. That the English shall purchase goods from the Persian merchants, such as will answer for sending to England or India, and not export the whole amount of the sales in

money; as this will impoverish the kingdom, and, in the end, prejudice trade in general.

2. That the English shall not maltreat the Muslim.

3. The English shall not give protection to any of the Khân's rebellious subjects.

4. The English shall at no time, either directly or indirectly, assist the King's enemies.

Dated in Shirâz, July 2, 1763.

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*Abstract of Malcolm's Treaty, January 1801.*

Praise be unto God, who said—'Oh you, who believe, perform your contracts, perform your covenants with God, when you enter into covenant with Him; and violate not your engagements, after the ratification thereof.'

A treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the greatest among the high Wazîrs, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, and splendour, Hajji Ibrahim Khân:—on being vested with authority by the High King, whose court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the ornament in the cheek of eternal Empire, whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon.

And the high in dignity, the adorer of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, (delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power, seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the ship on the sea of glory and of Empire, Lord of the countries of England and India. May God establish his glory and command upon the seas!). In the manner explained in his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor General of India.

I.

The beautiful image of excellent union shall remain fixed on the mirror of duration and perpetuity.

## II.

If the King of the Afghans should show a resolution to invade India, an army overthrowing mountains shall be sent from the state of the conspicuous and exalted King of Persia, to lay waste and desolate, to ruin and humble the Afghan nation.

## III.

Should the King of the Afghans become desirous of opening the gates of peace with the King whose dignity is like Jamshid, when negotiations are opened it shall be stipulated that the Afghans shall abandon all designs of attack on the territories of the King of England.

## IV.

Should any King of the Afghans, or the French nation, commence war with Persia, the King of England shall send as many warlike stores as possible to be delivered over at one of the ports of Persia.

## V.

Should an army of the French nation attempt to settle on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a joint force shall unite to expell and extirpate them : and if any of the great men of the French nation express a desire to obtain a place of residence on any of the shores or islands of Persia, such request shall not be consented to, and leave for residing in such place shall not be granted.

JOHN MALCOLM.  
HAJJI IBRAHİM.

*January 1801.*

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*Treaty of Tehran (abridged), November 25, 1814.*

Praise be to God, the All-perfect and All-sufficient.

These happy leaves are a nosegay plucked from the thornless garden of concord, and tied by the hands of the Plenipotentiaries of the two great States, in the form of a Definitive Treaty, in which the articles of amity and friendship are blended.

Previously to this period, the high in station Sir Harford Jones, Envoy Extraordinary from the English Government, came to this Court to form an amicable alliance, and in conjunction with the Plenipotentiaries of Persia, Mírza Muhammad Sheffy and Hajji Muhammad Husain Khân, concluded a Preliminary Treaty in 1809.

Afterwards when his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Britannic Majesty, arrived at this exalted and illustrious Court, for the purpose of completing the relations of amity between the two States, he concluded a Definitive Treaty of fixed articles on March 14, 1812.

That treaty having been submitted to the British Government, certain changes in its articles appeared necessary, and Henry Ellis, Esq. was accordingly despatched to this Court in charge of a letter explanatory of the above-mentioned alterations. Mírza Muhammad Sheffy (Prime Minister), Mírza Búzurg (Kâim-Makâm), and 'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb (Secretary of State) were duly appointed, and invested with full powers to negotiate with the Plenipotentiaries of His Britannic Majesty, James Morier, Esq. recently appointed Minister at this Court, and the above-mentioned Henry Ellis, Esq. These Plenipotentiaries have comprised the terms for this treaty in eleven articles. What relates to commerce and trade will be drawn up in a separate commercial treaty.

## I.

All alliances with States in hostility with Great Britain are null and void; and the Shâh engages to oppose the

invasion of India, by way of Khiva or Bukhâra, by any European power.

## II.

England will not interfere in the internal disputes of Persia.

## III.

This treaty is strictly defensive.

## IV.

Aid in troops, or a subsidy of 200,000 tomâns annually, shall be given by England to Persia, in case of invasion, provided that Persia is not the aggressor.<sup>1</sup>

## V.

Persia is at liberty to employ European officers to discipline her troops, provided they are not of a nation hostile to England.

## VI.

Should any European power, when at peace with England, make war on Persia, England is still bound to assist Persia by troops, or by a subsidy.<sup>1</sup>

## VII.

The subsidy to be paid in as early instalments as may be convenient.

## VIII.

If the Afghans make war on the English, Persia will send an army against them, England defraying the expenses.

## IX.

If there is war between Persia and the Afghans, England will not interfere unless her mediation is solicited.

<sup>1</sup> The Shâh, much against his will, was induced to abrogate the IVth and VIth articles of the Treaty of Tehran, for a pecuniary consideration, on August 25, 1828.

## X.

Persian rebels are to be expelled from British territory ; and if they refuse to leave it, they shall be seized and sent to Persia.

## XI.

If required, England shall assist Persia in the Persian Gulf with troops and ships ; Persia defraying the expenses.

Certain changes, not inconsistent with friendship, having been made in the former definitive treaty of twelve articles ; we, the Plenipotentiaries of the two States, comprising the said treaty in eleven articles, have hereunto put our seals, in the royal city Tehran, on November 25, 1814 (A.H. 1229).

JAMES MORIER.

MUHAMMAD SHEFFY.

HENRY ELLIS.

MÍRZA BÔZURG.

'ABDU-'L-WAHHÂB.

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*Commercial Treaty of 1841 (abridged).*

Whereas, by the benign favor of the one Almighty God, whose bounties are infinite, from the day on which the treaty of friendship and attachment was concluded between the glorious States of Great Britain and Persia, the renowned and just Sovereigns of the two everlasting States have day by day, and at all times attended to and observed the whole of its articles and stipulations, and have caused the subjects of both Governments to enjoy all its benefits and advantages, except the Treaty of Commerce which, in the preamble of the Treaty of 1814, the two Governments engaged to conclude and which up to this time, for certain reasons, has been postponed and left unfinished, therefore, in this fortunate year, that all the stipulations of the auspicious treaty may be fulfilled, His Majesty the Shâh of Persia has appointed His Excellency Hajji Mírza Abul Husain Khân to be his sole Plenipotentiary, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain

and Ireland and Sovereign of India has appointed Sir John McNeill to be her sole Plenipotentiary, and the said Plenipotentiaries have concluded a Commercial Treaty in these two articles here annexed.

## I.

The same import and export duties shall be levied on the goods of merchants of the respective countries as are levied on merchandise imported by the merchants of the most favoured European nation ; and except this, no claim shall be made on the merchants of the two States in each other's dominions, and the said merchants shall receive the same aid and support, and the same respect which is received by the subjects of the most favoured nations.

## II.

Two commercial agents, on the part of the British Government, shall reside, one in the capital and one in Tabriz, and in those places only, and he who shall reside in Tabriz, and he alone, shall be honoured with the privileges of Consul-general ; and the Persian Government grants permission that a British Agent shall reside at Bushire as heretofore ; and two Persian Agents shall reside one in London and one in Bombay.

(Signed)

JOHN MCNEILL.

MİRZA ABUL HUSAIN KHÂN.

*Tehran, October 21, 1841.*

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*Engagement contracted by the Persian Government  
respecting Herat, January 25, 1853.*

## I.

The Persian Government engages not to send any troops to Herat unless foreign troops invade Herat ; and, even in that case, Persian troops shall not enter the city of Herat.

## II.

The Persian Government engages not to interfere with the internal affairs of Herat.

## III.

The Persian Government engages to send a letter to this purport to Syd Muhammad Khân.

## IV.

The Persian Government engages to abandon the pretension and demand for the coinage, the *Khútbah*, or any other mark whatever of Herat being subject to Persia.

## V.

The Persian Government engages not to have a permanent agent at Herat; but there shall be intercourse (going and coming) as in the time of the late Yar Muhammad Khân, Zahîru-'d-Daulah.

## VI.

The Persian Government also engages to set at liberty and unbridled all Herat Khâns now in Másh-had or in Tehran.

The above six engagements are in force so long as no interference of any sort shall occur on the part of the British Government; but, if otherwise, they will be invalid.

JUSTIN SHEIL.

MÎRZA AGHA KHÂN (Sadr-'Â'zam).

*Tehran, January 25, 1853.*

*Treaty of Paris, March 4, 1857. Ratified May 2, 1857,  
at Baghdâd, (abridged).*

In the Name of God, the Almighty, the All-merciful.  
Her Majesty the Queen of England, and His Majesty the Shâh of Persia, being both equally animated by a desire to



put a stop to the evils of a war, which is contrary to their friendly wishes, by means of a peace calculated for their mutual advantage and benefit; have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, Her Majesty the Queen of England, the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, and His Majesty the Shâh of Persia, His Excellency the abode of greatness, the favourite of the king, Farukh Khân, Amîru-'l-Mulk, who have agreed upon the following treaty :—

## I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the two States.

## II.

Peace being concluded, it is agreed that the forces of Her Majesty the Queen shall evacuate Persia, subject to conditions hereinafter specified.

## III.

All prisoners shall be immediately liberated.

## IV.

The Shâh engages to publish a full amnesty absolving all Persian subjects from any responsibility for their intercourse with the British forces during the war.

## V.

The Shâh engages further to withdraw the Persian troops from the territory and city of Herat, and from every part of Afghanistan.

## VI.

The Shâh engages to relinquish all claims to the sovereignty over Herat, and never to demand from the chiefs of Herat, or of the countries of Afghanistan, any marks of obedience, such as the coinage, or *Khûtbah*, or tribute. He further engages to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of Herat, and promises to recognise its inde-

pendence. In case of differences between Persia and Herat or Afghanistan, the Shâh agrees to refer them for adjustment to the friendly offices of England.

## VII.

In case of violation of Persian territory by any of the States referred to above, if due satisfaction is not given, the Shâh is at liberty to send a military force across the frontier, but it is agreed that this force shall retire as soon as its object is accomplished.

## VIII.

The Persian Government engages to set at liberty all prisoners taken during the operations of the Persian troops in Afghanistan.

## IX.

Consuls shall be placed in the dominions of each State, on the footing of the most favoured nation, and the treatment of the subjects of the two States, and their trade, shall be on the same footing.

## X.

On the ratification of this treaty, the British Mission shall return to Tehran when the Persian Government agrees to receive it with the apologies and ceremonies specified in the separate note, signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries.

## XI.

Within three months after the return of the British Mission, the Persian Government agrees to appoint a Commissioner, who, in conjunction with the Commissioner appointed by the British Government, shall decide on the pecuniary claims of all British subjects on the Government of Persia.

## XII.

The British Government will renounce the right of protecting hereafter any Persian subject, not actually in the

employment of the British Mission, &c., provided no such right is exercised by any other foreign Power.

## XIII.

The high contracting Powers hereby renew the agreement entered into by them in August 1851, for the suppression of the *Slave Trade* in the Persian Gulf, and agree that it shall continue in force for ten years after August 1862, and so long afterwards as neither of the Parties shall annul it.

## XIV.

On the ratification of the treaty, the British troops shall desist from all acts of hostility against Persia.

## XV.

The present treaty shall be ratified at Baghdâd in the space of three months, or sooner if possible.

COWLEY.  
FARUKH.

*Paris, March 4, 1857.*

*Note.*

The Plenipotentiaries agree that the following ceremonial shall take place on the re-establishment of friendly relations; and this agreement is to have the same force as if inserted in the Treaty of Peace.

The Sadr-Â'zam shall write, in the Shâh's name, a letter to Mr. Murray, expressing his regret at having uttered and given currency to offensive imputations upon the honour of Her Majesty's Minister, and requesting to withdraw his own letters and the letter containing a rescript from the Shâh. The substance of this letter shall be made public at Tehran.

On Mr. Murray's arrival at Tehran, the Sadr-Â'zam shall go in state to the British Mission, and renew friendly relations with Mr. Murray. The Sadr-Â'zam shall visit the

Mission at noon on the following day, which visit Mr. Murray will return on the following day, before noon.

COWLEY.

FARUKH.

*Paris, March 4, 1857.*

The letter of the Shâh an insolent production, (which was withdrawn) is annexed to the treaty.

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### *Telegraph Conventions.*

Since 1857 there have been three conventions for the construction of lines of telegraph, dated February 6, 1863, November 23, 1865, and December 2, 1872.

The Telegraph Convention of 1863 consists of six articles. By the first the Persian Government agrees to construct a telegraph from Khanakin to Tehran, and thence to Bushire, and to allow the English Government to use it on paying certain rates. By the second the Persian Government agrees to assign the necessary funds for the construction and purchase of material. By the third it is arranged that the material shall be purchased from the English Government. By the fourth it is agreed that the line shall be placed under the superintendence of an English engineer officer paid by the English Government. By the fifth the officer is empowered to call upon the Persian authorities to supply materials; and by the sixth the English Government engages to purchase materials required for the works at reasonable rates in England, to convey them to the Persian frontier, and to receive the price from the Persian Government by five annual instalments.

The Telegraph Convention of 1865 consists of 19 articles. A second wire is to be attached to the poles from Bushire to Khanikin to be used solely for international messages in

European languages, under the supervision of an English engineer officer and staff. The British Government agrees to procure all the wire, insulators, and 200 iron posts for the marshy tract near Bushire, and to deliver these materials at a suitable port, receiving payment in five annual instalments. A staff, not exceeding 50, is to be engaged for five years, at the expiration of which time the line is to be made over to the Persian Government. Provision is made for the protection of the line by Persian officers. A charge of 14 shillings is to be made for every message of 20 words from Khanikîn to Bushire. The receipts to be credited to the Persian Treasury, unless they exceed 30,000 tomâns, when the surplus is to be paid to the English officers for the cost of their establishment. Provision is also made for the adjustment of accounts.

The Telegraph Convention of 1872 consists of 20 articles. A third wire is to be erected at the expense of the English Government, and under the superintendence of its officers, and iron standards are to be substituted for existing wooden poles, at the rate of 500 annually; the Persian Government paying 10,000 tomâns, in ten annual instalments, towards the expense. The first wire, set up in 1854, is to be used for local traffic, the second and third for international traffic, the first being worked by Persian, and the other two by English Government *employés*. An arrangement is made with the Indo-European Telegraph Company and the English Government, by which Persia renounces all claims on the revenue from transit traffic on the line from Julfa (on the Russian frontier) to Bushire, on payment to her Government either of 12,000 tomâns, or of 2 francs per message of 20 words. The maintenance of the line remains in the hands of the English director and staff, the Persian Government paying 1,000 tomâns annually towards it. The debt to England, on account of materials and erection of the first and second wires, amounted in the end of 1869 to 47,217*l.*; and the English Government agrees to accept payment, without interest, in the course of 24 years.

II.—CONCESSION OF THE PERSIAN GOVERNMENT TO BARON  
REUTER (ABSTRACT), JULY 25, 1872.

I.

Authorises Baron Reuter to establish in London a company, or any number of companies, for carrying out the works specified in the Concession.

II.

Authorises Baron Reuter, or his associates or representatives, to construct a railway between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, as well as any other railways he may think fit. This important privilege excludes competition, and is accorded for a period of 70 years.

III.

Extends the railway privilege to tramways, referring to Articles 4, 5, and 6 for the rules to be observed in establishing and working these two kinds of lines.

IV.

Relates to the land required for the construction of railways, tramways, and the buildings and works connected with them. The Government land wanted will be handed over free of expense; the land belonging to private persons may be appropriated at current prices. In the land required for the line is included the permanent way, wide enough for a double set of metals and a space of 30 mètres on either side.

V.

Allows the concessionaire (who is throughout identical with the company or companies representing him) the gratuitous use of the stone, sand, gravel, &c., on the Government domains, which may be required in the construction

and maintenance of the works. The Government also engages to see that the persons employed by the company be supplied with provisions, beasts of burden, &c., at charges not exceeding the ordinary prices of the country.

## VI.

Enacts that all the *matériel* imported by the concessionaire, or company or companies, both for railway or other purposes, shall be exempt from any duty, toll, custom, or excise whatsoever. All the concessionaire's lands, works, and *employés* will be free from any impost whatsoever; all business will be conducted free from impost; all his products, manufactures, &c., will be allowed to circulate in the country, or to be exported from the country, free of impost.

## VII.

Stipulates that the details of the construction and working of the line shall be laid down in a *cahier de charge*, to be appended to the concession.

## VIII.

Demands that the sum of 40,000*l.* be deposited as caution money in the Bank of England, in the name of the Persian Government and the concessionaire. Should the works not be begun within fifteen months of the date of the concession the caution money will be forfeited to the Persian Government. If the works are begun within the time specified, the caution money reverts to the concessionaire, in exchange for a certificate from the Government of Resht, confirming the arrival at Enzeli of the quantity of rails necessary for the construction of the line between Resht and Tehran.

## IX.

Allots to the Government 20 per cent. of the net profits resulting from the working of the line.

N N

## X.

The line, or lines, after a period of 70 years, revert to the Government, free of charge, unless another agreement has been previously concluded between the Government and the concessionaire or concessionaires. As to the buildings, &c., belonging to the line, or lines, they will have to be paid for under any circumstances by the Government at the prices accorded by the most liberal Governments on such occasions.

## XI. and XII.

Introduce the subject of mines. With the exception of gold, silver, and precious stones, any mine situate on Government land may be appropriated and worked by the concessionaire free of charge, his sole obligation consisting in handing over to the Government 15 per cent. of the net proceeds. Any mine situate on private property, unless it has been worked five years previous to the concessionaire expressing a wish to acquire it, will have likewise to be handed over to him. Any mine discovered by the concessionaire may be bought by him at the price currently paid for the mere superficies of the ground in which it is situate.

## XIII.

The land required to work the mines, as well as the land to put them in communication with railway, tramway, or high road, if belonging to the State, is handed over gratis to the concessionaire. The exemptions accorded to railway and tramway in Article VI. are expressly extended to the mines, which likewise come under the 70 years' clause contained in X.

## XIV.

Accords to the concessionaire for 70 years the sole and exclusive privilege of making the most of the Government forests, all the land not cultivated up to the date of the concession being expressly included in this clause; 15 per cent. of the proceeds of the forests belong to the Govern-



ment. If the concessionaire cuts down a wood, the land thus gained must be sold to him in preference to other buyers.

## XV.

Passes on to canals, wells, and other subjects connected with the natural and artificial water-courses of the country. All such works are the exclusive privilege of the concessionaire, who receives the necessary land without payment, but undertakes to indemnify those proprietors who are injured by the innovation. Any cultivated land made productive by these works belongs to the concessionaire, who will enter into an understanding with the Government respecting the price of the water to be sold. 15 per cent. of the net profits of the works belong to the Government.

## XVI.

Empowers the concessionaire and his associates to raise a capital of 6,000,000*l.* by means of shares or obligations, to commence the construction of the railway and other works. The concessionaire to be left at liberty to determine the mode of raising the sum.

## XVII.

Contains a guarantee of the Persian Government to undertake to pay an interest of 5 per cent., and an additional 2 per cent. as a sinking fund, on all capital raised or to be raised by the concessionaire, his associates, or representatives.

## XVIII.

Pledges the income of the Government mines, forests, water-courses, and Customs for the payment of the 7 per cent. accorded. The guarantee comes into force only after the construction of the line between Resht and Isfahân, the concessionaire, his associates, and representatives undertaking to pay interest upon the capital issued up to that time.

## XIX.

The Government engage to hand over the management of their Customs to the concessionaire or concessionaires for a period of twenty-five years, beginning March 1, 1874.<sup>1</sup> The concessionaires engage to pay for this privilege 20,000*l.* a year in excess of what the Government now receive. The price thus fixed will hold good for the first five years, an additional 60 per cent. of the net proceeds being accorded to the Government for the sixth and following years.

## XX.

Records that if the Persian Government should determine to permit the establishment of a bank or any other credit institution in their country, the concessionaire or concessionaires will be allowed the first refusal, in preference to any other parties.

## XXI.

Extends this right of preference enjoyed by the concessionaire to all enterprises connected with the providing gas, roads, telegraphs, mills, manufactures, forges, pavement, &c. Improvements in the capital and post-offices are also included in this clause.

## XXII.

Provides that the right accorded in this concession can be transferred to other parties at any time.

## XXIII.

Stipulates that the works connected with the mines, forests, and water-courses shall be begun simultaneously with the construction of the line; the Government engaging to supply the requisite amount of manual labour at current prices, and to protect the agents, *employés*, and property of the company.

<sup>1</sup> Of course he is unable to raise the duties, in the teeth of Treaties of Commerce with foreign countries.

## XXIV.

The French text of the concession, in preference to the Persian text, is declared the one by which all difficulties shall be decided.

An additional article stipulates that the 7 per cent. shall not be paid by the Government direct, but be taken from the proceeds of the Customs, mines, forests, and water-courses, in case of need.

## III.—RUSSIA AND PERSIA.

*Treaty of Gulistân, October 12, 1813, abridged.*

His Majesty the Emperor of Russia and His Majesty the Shâh of Persia, sincerely desirous of putting an end to the evils of war, and of re-establishing the relations of amity which have subsisted from ancient times between the Empires of Russia and Persia, have named as their Plenipotentiaries,—

The Emperor of Russia—His Excellency General Nicholas Rtischtchen, &c., &c., and the Shâh of Persia, his Minister Mirza Abdul Hâsan Khân.

In consequence, we the Plenipotentiaries have met at Gulistân, in the territory of Karabagh, near the river Leiwa, and have agreed to the following articles :—

## I.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between Russia and Persia.

## II.

Peace shall be concluded on the basis of the *status quo præsentis*, each party retaining possession of the countries, khanats, and territories which they now occupy. The

following line shall form the frontier between Russia and Persia:

This line commences near the plain of Odina Basara, traverses in a straight line the desert of Mogân, as far as the ford of Edibuluk, on the river Araxes. Thence it ascends the Araxes as far as the mouth of the little river Kapanaktschaja. It then follows the mountains of Migrin, along the frontier of the Khanats of Karabagh and Nakshirvân, to the plain of Daraleges; where the frontier of Karabagh, Nakshirvân, and Erivan meet, and the circle of Elizabethpol, (which formerly belonged to the Khanat of Ganschin). Thence it follows the boundaries which separate Erivan from Elizabethpol, as far as the forest of Eschok Maidân, and thence to the village of Schuragel. Thence by the snowy mountain of Alages, to the little river Arpatschaja. The limits of the Khanat of Talish shall be regulated, after the signature of the present treaty, by Commissioners.<sup>1</sup>

### III.

The Shâh, to prove the sincerity of his intentions to the Emperor of Russia, solemnly recognises the right of Russia to the following Khanats and Governments: The Khanats of Karabagh and Ganja which now form one province under the name of Elizabethpol; the Khanats of Schekin, Shirwan, Derbent, Kubin, Bakou, and Talischin, with the territory appertaining to them, now in the power of Russia: also all the Daghestân, with the provinces of Schuragel, Imeritia, Guriel, Mingrelia, and Abbasia; with all the territory in the Caucasus Mountains, as far as the Caspian Sea.

### IV.

The Russian Emperor, in return, solemnly engages to assist the son of the Shâh who shall be named by him, as his successor.

### V.

Russian merchant vessels, as formerly, shall have the right of navigating the Caspian Sea and in case of shipwreck, the

<sup>1</sup> This was never done.

Persians shall give them assistance. Persian merchant vessels shall also have the same right. But, as before the war, the Russians shall alone have vessels of war on the Caspian. No other Power shall fly a military flag on that sea.

## VI.

All prisoners shall be set free, within three months after the ratification of this treaty.

## VII.

The ministers of the two Courts shall be received according to their ranks and the importance of their mission.

## VIII.

Merchants, furnished with proper certificates, shall be allowed to travel freely in the two countries.

## IX.

The duty of merchandise imported from Russia into Persia shall not be more than 5 per cent.

## X.

Full liberty shall be given to the merchants of the two States to sell their merchandise.

## XI.

After the signature of the treaty the Plenipotentiaries, without delay, shall make it known in order to put a stop to hostilities.

Done, in the Russian camp, in Gulistân, in the province of Karabagh, on the river Leiwa, on October 12, 1813; according to the Persian calendar Shawâl 29, A.H. 1228.

*Treaty of Túrkmánchái, February 21, 1828, abridged.*

## I.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between Russia and Persia.

## II.

Considering that the hostilities between the high contracting parties have put an end to the obligations which were imposed by the Treaty of Gulistán ; the Emperor of Russia and Shâh of Persia have judged it right to replace the said Treaty of Gulistán by the present stipulations, which are destined to consolidate more and more the future peaceful relations between Russia and Persia.

## III.

The Shâh cedes to Russia the Khanats of Erivan and Naktchivan ; and engages, within six months, to transmit to the Russian authorities all the archives and public documents connected with the government of the two Khanats.

## IV.

The two high contracting parties agree to establish, for a frontier between the two States, the following boundary line:

From the point on the frontier of the Ottoman States, nearest, in a straight line to the summit of the Lesser Ararat, the boundary runs to the summit of that mountain : thence it descends to the source of the river called the Lower Karasu, and follows its course to its junction with the Araxes opposite Cherar. Thence the line follows the bed of the Araxes to the fortress of 'Abbâsabâd. The line shall then be drawn round the outerworks of that place, at a distance of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  versts (1 verst =  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a mile), until it again joins the Araxes. It then continues to follow the bed of the river, to 21 versts beyond the ford of Yedi-bulak ; whence it crosses the plain of Mogân, in a straight line, to the left bank of the river

Bolgaru, 21 versts from the confluence of two little streams called Adinabazar and Lavakamysche. Thence it follows the river Adinabazar to its source, and thence to the summit of the heights of Jiku; whence it reaches the banks of the river Astara, which it follows to the Caspian.

## V.

The Shâh of Persia declares that the territory between the frontier defined in the preceding article and the mountains of Caucasus shall belong to Russia.

## VI.

In order to compensate for the considerable sacrifices which the war has occasioned to the Empire of Russia, the Shâh engages to pay a pecuniary indemnity of five millions of tomâns, (twenty millions of silver roubles), and the mode of payment of this sum shall be arranged by a special agreement.

## VII.

The Emperor of Russia engages to recognise Prince 'Abbâs Mirza as the successor to the Persian throne.

## VIII.

The merchant ships of Russia shall have a free right to navigate the Caspian Sea, and shall receive assistance in case of shipwreck, and the same right is accorded to the merchant ships of Persia. But men-of-war bearing the Russian flag shall alone have a right to navigate the Caspian Sea. No other Power but Russia shall have ships of war on that sea.

## IX.

The Envoys of the two Powers shall be received with the usual honours and distinctions, and a special Protocol shall establish the ceremonies to be observed.

## X.

Respecting the appointment of Consuls.

## XI.

Respecting the liquidation of claims, and the settlement of former disputes between Russian and Persian subjects.

## XII.

Respecting the settlement of claims on property on the new boundary line.

## XIII.

All prisoners of war shall be liberated within four months of the ratification of this treaty.

## XIV.

The subjects of each State shall have liberty to pass from one to the other.

## XV.

The Shâh will grant an amnesty to all people of the province of Azerbaijan, without exception for their conduct during the war.

## XVI.

After the signature of the present treaty, hostilities shall cease.

GENERAL PASKEWITCH.

ALEXANDER OBRESKOFF.

'ABBÂS MÎRZA.

KÂÏM-MAKÂM.

ASAFU-'D-DAULAH.

MU'TAMU-'D-DAULAH.

*Türkmanchai, February 21, 1828.*

By a Protocol it was stipulated that a million and a half of tomâns should be paid by Persia within eight days of the conclusion of the treaty; a million more fifteen days later, another million and a half by April 13 of that year, and one million by January 1830.



A Commercial Treaty, also dated February 1828, stipulated that Russian traders should enjoy all the privileges accorded to the subjects of the most favoured nation. Goods passing from one country to the other were to be subjected to one sole duty of 5 per cent., levied at the frontier.

## APPENDIX B.

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### *BRITISH ENVOYS TO THE COURT OF PERSIA.*

A.D.	
1290 . . .	Geoffrey de Langley (sent by Edward I. to Arghun).
1561 . . .	Antony Jenkinson (Elizabeth to Tahmasp I.).
1627 . . .	Sir Dormer Cotton (Charles I. to 'Abbás I.).
1631 . . .	The Earl of Denbigh. <sup>1</sup>
1800 (Nov.).	Sir John Malcolm (Lord Wellesley to Fat-h 'Aly).
1809 (Feb.).	Sir Harford Jones (George III. to Fat-h 'Aly).
1810 . . .	Sir John Malcolm (Lord Minto to Fat-h 'Aly—Mr. Thomas Sheridan in charge).
1811 (March).	Sir Gore Ouseley <sup>2</sup> (entered Tehran November 9).
1814 (Nov.).	Mr. Morier and Mr. Ellis.
1815 (July).	Sir Henry Willock.
1826 (Sept.).	Sir John Macdonald.
1830 (June).	Sir John Campbell.
1835 (Nov.).	Sir Henry Ellis.
1836 (Aug.).	Sir John McNeill.
1842 (Aug.).	Sir Justin Sheil.
1847 (Oct.).	Colonel Farrant (acting).
1849 (Nov.).	Sir Justin Sheil (returned from leave).
1853 (Feb.).	Mr. Taylor Thomson (acting).
1855 (April).	Hon. A. C. Murray.
1855 (Dec.).	Mr. Stevens (as Consul until November 1856).
1857 (July).	Hon. A. C. Murray (returned after the peace).
1859 . . .	Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B.

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Denbigh is stated to have been sent as Envoy to the 'Sophy,' on a rare old print by Voerst. The portrait of the Earl by Vandeyck, in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, is surrounded by palm-trees.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. W. Canning, as chaplain to the Embassy, landed at Bushire in January 1812, and joined the Mission at Tehran. He afterwards accompanied Sir Gore Ouseley to St. Petersburg.

A.D.

- 1860 (April). Mr. Charles Alison (died April 1872 at Tehran).  
 1872 . . . Mr. Ronald F. Thomson (Chargé-d'Affaires).  
 1873 . . . Mr. Taylor Thomson.
- 

*RUSSIAN ENVOYS TO THE COURT OF PERSIA.*

- 1662 . . . Two very dirty ambassadors; obliged to be sent  
 away, owing to their filthy habits (see *Chardin*).  
 1817 (Aug.). General Yermoloff (left October 1817).  
 1819 (April). M. Mazarowitch.  
 1823 (Jan.). M. Ambourger (acting).  
 1824 (July.). M. Mazarowitch (returned from leave).  
 1825 (Sept.). M. Ambourger.  
 1826 (July). Prince Menschikoff.  
 1828 . . . M. Grebayadoff (murdered).  
 1831 . . . Prince Dolgorouki.  
 1833 (Feb.). Count Simonich.  
 1839 . . . Count Meden.  
 1846 (Jan.). Prince Dolgorouki.  
 1854 (Sept.). M. Anitchkoff.  
 1857 (June). M. Lagowski (acting).  
 1858-63 (Aug.). Count Anitchkoff.  
 1863-67 . . . M. de Giers.  
 1867-69 . . . M. Zenoviev (acting).  
 1869 . . . M. Beger.
- 

*FRENCH ENVOYS TO THE COURT OF PERSIA.*

- 1807 . . . General Gardanne (May 7).  
 1855 . . . M. Bourrée.  
 . . . M. de Gobineau (acting).  
 1858 (Feb.). M. Pichon.  
 1863-65 . . . Count de Rochechouart (acting).  
 1866-67 . . . M. de Massignac.  
 1870-71 . . . Count de Maugny (acting).  
 1871-73 . . . M. Belle (acting).

## APPENDIX C.

*PERSIAN TITLES, CIVIL AND MILITARY,  
REVENUE TERMS, MONEY,  
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, TIMES AND SEASONS.*

## TITLES.

Shâhân-Shâh . . .	King of kings.
Kîblati-'Âlam . . .	Centre of the Universe.
Wâli 'Ahd . . .	Heir apparent, or rather Heir designate.
Shâh-zâdah . . .	Royal born. A prince of the blood.
Shâh-zâdah-khânâm . . .	Princess.
Mírza . . . . .	A contraction of Amír-zâdah, 'nobly born.'
	When affixed to a name it signifies
	'Prince,' when prefixed, simply 'Mr.'
Sadr-Â'zam . . .	First in precedence. Prime Minister.
Sultanat . . . .	The kingdom.
Daulah . . . . .	The State or Government.
Mulk . . . . .	The kingdom.
Zhilli-Sultân . . .	The Shadow of the king.
Nâûbi-'s-Sultanat <sup>1</sup> . . .	The Lieutenant of the kingdom.
Husâmi-'s-Sultanat . . .	The Sword of the kingdom.
I'tizâzi-'s-Sultanat . . .	The Excellent of the kingdom.
Firmân-firmâ . . .	Commander of commands. Viceroy. The
	highest title conferred on governors.
Bêgler-Bêgi . . . .	Lord of lords: formerly a Governor of a
	Province, but now never so used. In
	Shîrâz the governor of the town has this
	title.

<sup>1</sup> Titles with the affix of Sultanat are the highest, and are rarely conferred on any but the Shâh's near relatives. Those with the affix of Mulk are the lowest.

- Daryâ-Bègi . . . Lord of the sea. A title occasionally conferred on the Governor of Bushire.
- Âsafu-'d-Daulah . . . Minister of State. Solomon is said to have entrusted the wazirate to Asaf, a grandson of Saul, who was famous for his integrity and ability.
- I'timâdu-'d-Daulah . . . The Support of the State.
- Nâsratu-'d-Daulah . . . Defence of the State.
- Mu'tâmu-'d-Daulah . . . Faithful of the State.
- I'mâdu-'d-Daulah . . . Confidence of the State.
- Amîru-'d-Daulah . . . Amîr of the State.
- Nizâmu-'d-Daulah . . . Order of the State.
- Dzîkru-'d-Daulah . . . Fame of the State.
- Kâramu-'d-Daulah . . . Nobility of the State.
- Sarâju-'d-Daulah . . . Firmament of the State. *Sarâj* is improperly used in India for 'Sun.'
- Izzu-'d-Daulah . . . Pride of the State: a female title.
- Mushîru-'d-Daulah . . . Lieutenant of the State.
- Sarmu-'d-Daulah . . . Strength of the State.
- Muktâru-'d-Daulah . . . Faithful of the State.
- Shujâu-'d-Daulah . . . Valiant of the State.
- Zharîfu-'d-Daulah . . . Ornament of the State.
- Amîrû-'l-Mulk . . . Amîr of the kingdom.
- Nizâmhu-'l-Mulk . . . Regulator of the kingdom.
- Kiwamu-'l-Mulk . . . Support of the kingdom.
- Mushîru-'l-Mulk . . . Councillor to the kingdom.
- Azîzu-'l-Mulk . . . Dear to the kingdom.
- Saifu-'l-Mulk . . . Sword of the kingdom.
- Îusâmu-'l-Mulk . . . Sword of the kingdom.
- Shujâu-'l-Mulk . . . Valiant of the kingdom.
- Dusturu-'l-Mulk . . . Pillar of the kingdom.
- Janâb . . . Excellency.
- Kâim-Makâm . . . Substitute. Viceroy.
- Dîwân . . . Council.
- Mîa'yyîru-'l-Mamâlik . . . High Treasurer.
- Mustâfi-'l-Mamâlik . . . Minister of Finance.
- Mustâfi . . . Councillor.
- Hâkim . . . A Governor.
- Daroghah . . . Superintendent of Police.
- Kalândar . . . Magistrate of a city.

Kedi-Khudâ . . .	Head of a village.
Râis . . . . .	Head of an Arab village. Also master of a vessel.
Wastu-'s-Sanâf . . .	Mediator of a guild. Representative of a body of merchants or mechanics.
Jânkhû . . . . .	Council of elders of a tribe.
Mîri-Ghâdhab . . .	Executioner.
Khân . . . . .	Lord.
Bêg . . . . .	Lord : a lower title than Khân.
Wâli . . . . .	Governor.
Amîr . . . . .	Lord.
Îlchy (Elchi) . . .	Ambassador.
Mahmandâr . . . .	Officer to receive an Ambassador.
Istakbâl . . . . .	A deputation of welcome.
Wakîl . . . . .	An agent.
Mîrza . . . . .	Writer. Secretary.
Farrâsh . . . . .	Menial servant.
Farrâsh-Bâshi . . .	Superintendent of servants.
Paishkidmat . . . .	A body servant.

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Sarhang . . . . .	Lieutenant-Colonel.
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Sultân . . . . .	Captain.
Nârb . . . . .	Lieutenant.
Wakîl . . . . .	Serjeant.
Fauj . . . . .	A regiment.

Tufanchy . . . .	A man armed with a gun. Irregular infantry soldier.
Ghulâm . . . . .	A term for horsemen employed on special duties. Literally, 'a slave.'
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A Kharwar of grain . . . . .	=100 Tabrîz mânns.
Gaz or Zar . . . . .	=40 to 42 inches.
Farasang=3½ to 4½ miles. Chardin says the word means 'Persian stones.' It is pronounced <i>Farsah</i> , and the word is probably derived from the custom of heaping up stones at fixed distances on the roads. Such heaps are even now called <i>Fara-sang</i> . The Greeks called it <i>Parasang</i> .	



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