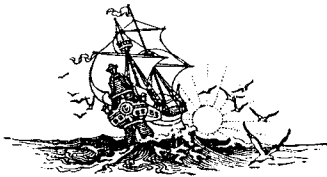


The Broadway Travellers

TRAVELS IN PERSIA



TRAVELS IN PERSIA



THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS
In 26 Volumes

I	An Account of Tibet	<i>Desideri</i>
II	Akbar and the Jesuits	<i>du Jarric</i>
III	Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrada	<i>de Andrada</i>
IV	The Diary of Henry Teonge	<i>Teonge</i>
V	The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico	<i>del Castillo</i>
VI	Don Juan of Persia	<i>Juan</i>
VII	Embassy to Tamerlane	<i>Clavijo</i>
VIII	The English-American	<i>Gage</i>
IX	The First Englishmen in India	<i>Locke</i>
X	Five Letters	<i>Cortés</i>
XI	Jahangir and the Jesuits	<i>Guerreiro</i>
XII	Jewish Travellers	<i>Adler</i>
XIII	Memoirs of an Eighteenth Century Footman	<i>Macdonald</i>
XIV	Memorable Description of the East Indian Voyage	<i>Bontekoe</i>
XV	Nova Francia	<i>Lescarbot</i>
XVI	Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure	<i>Sherley</i>
XVII	Travels and Adventures	<i>Tafur</i>
XVIII	Travels in Asia and Africa	<i>Battúta</i>
XIX	Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo	<i>Hall</i>
XX	Travels in Persia	<i>Herbert</i>
XXI	Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China Vol. I	<i>Huc and Gabet</i>
XXII	Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China Vol. II	<i>Huc and Gabet</i>
XXIII	Travels into Spain	<i>D'Aulnoy</i>
XXIV	The Travels of an Alchemist	<i>Li</i>
XXV	The Travels of Marco Polo	<i>Benedetto</i>
XXVI	The True History of His Captivity	<i>Staden</i>

TRAVELS IN PERSIA

1627-1629

THOMAS HERBERT

 **RoutledgeCurzon**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 1928

Reprinted in 2005 by
RoutledgeCurzon
No2 Park Square, Milton Park
Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

RoutledgeCurzon is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

Transferred to Digital Printing 2005

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

The publishers have made every effort to contact authors/copyright holders of the works reprinted in *The Broadway Travellers*. This has not been possible in every case, however, and we would welcome correspondence from those individuals/companies we have been unable to trace.

These reprints are taken from original copies of each book. In many cases the condition of these originals is not perfect. The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of these reprints, but wishes to point out that certain characteristics of the original copies will, of necessity, be apparent in reprints thereof.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A CIP catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Travels in Persia
ISBN 0-415-34470-0

The Broadway Travellers

PLATE I



HERBERT IN LATER LIFE

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

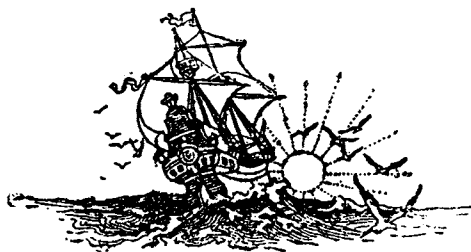
EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS
AND EILEEN POWER



THOMAS
HERBERT
TRAVELS IN PERSIA

1627—1629

Abridged and Edited by
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.
with an Introduction and Notes



Published by

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD.
BROADWAY HOUSE, CARTER LANE, LONDON

First published in the Broadway Travellers, 1928

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ISHER

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	xv
FULLER TITLES OF CHIEF AUTHORITIES QUOTED	xxxviii
<small>CHAPTER</small>	
I. THE OUTWARD VOYAGE	1
II. BANDAR 'ABBĀS. LĀR. SHĪRĀZ	41
III. PERSEPOLIS	84
IV. THE JOURNEY TO ISFAHĀN AND STAY THERE	116
V. THE JOURNEY TO COURT AND EVENTS THERE	141
VI. FROM ASHRAF TO QAZVĪN	173
VII. AT QAZVĪN. DEATHS OF SHERLEY AND COTTON. THE MISSION RETURNS	200
VIII. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON PERSIA	223
IX. THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE	271
APPENDIX. THE AUTHOR'S ITINERARY TO FARAHĀBĀD	297
NOTES	299
INDEX	337

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<small>PLATE</small>		<small>FACING PAGE</small>
I. HERBERT IN LATER LIFE . . .	.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
II. NATIVES AT THE CAPE . . .	.	12
III. A NATIVE OF MOHILLA . . .	.	20
IV. INDIANS. A BANIAN . . .	.	36
V. A PARSEE BURIAL-PLACE . . .	.	38
VI. PERSIANS . . . . .	.	48
VII. HERBERT'S MAP OF PERSIA . . .	.	120
VIII. GEORGIANS. AN UZBEG . . .	.	126
IX. A MAN OF MAZANDARAN. A ZORO- ASTRIAN . . . . .	.	168
X. SHAH ABBAS . . . . .	.	212
XI. A PERSIAN WOMAN . . . . .	.	236
XII. A QIZILBASH . . . . .	.	242
XIII. A SHARK. BIRDS AT MAURITIUS . . .	.	284
MAP OF HERBERT'S ROUTE . . . . .	.	xl

PREFACE

WHEN the youthful Herbert embarked for Persia in the suite of the English ambassador, nothing was further from his intentions than to publish on his return a book about his experiences. True, he kept a journal throughout his travels (except during the illness that almost proved fatal); but such was the common practice at the time. However, after getting back to England he followed another common practice by compiling an account of his journey for presentation to those noblemen through whose patronage he had obtained the opportunity of making it; and we may well believe that it was this narrative, handed round his circle of friends, that led to the pressure which was brought to bear upon him to issue his observations in book form. The result was the appearance in 1634—four years after his return to London—of a folio volume of about 250 pages. It was provided with two title-pages. The first is elaborately engraved with scenes and figures, with the following title in the centre: *A Description of the Persian Monarchy now beinge, the Orientall Indyes, Iles, and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk. By Th. Herbert, Esq.* The second is in ordinary type print with a long alternative title (which became in effect the only one used in the subsequent editions) beginning: *A Relation of some Years Travaile.* The engraver of the first title-page was W. Marshall, who may have been also responsible for the thirty-five copper-plate engravings which are scattered throughout the volume. These were based upon Herbert's own drawings, as appears from several references to them in his text; but the engraver seems to have considered himself entitled to take liberties with his originals, for in one case—that of a "shark fish" (see plate xiii)—we find

the author protesting with reason that the creature has been "mistaken in the posture by the engraver." Many of the illustrations are small sketches of island and coast lines, or of birds and fishes; and in the present edition it has been thought sufficient to reproduce merely the more important.

It is perhaps right to mention the conjecture of Davies (at p. 208 of the memoir alluded to in the Introduction) that the illustrations were the work of the celebrated Wenceslaus Hollar. The reason adduced is that an engraving by that artist of the ruins of Persepolis was added in the third edition; but this seems a very slight foundation for the ascription to Hollar of those made for the 1634 edition. Moreover, that particular illustration bears Hollar's name, and the fact that the rest are unsigned suggests that they were not by him.

The work appears to have had an instant success. Considerable interest was being taken in Persia at that time, and a full account of the country was welcomed. Thus encouraged, Herbert in 1638 brought out a second edition, described as "revised and enlarged by the author." Enlarged it certainly was. In the earlier edition Herbert had included much, drawn from other writers, about countries he never saw; and he now industriously added similar second-hand material until he increased the size of his original work by four-fifths. At the same time he corrected and added to the strictly narrative portions, and in this respect his revision was a distinct improvement. That he intended the new edition to be final is shown by the statement in his preface that "my hand shall not be guilty of more intrusion; no more pressure to the press; the crowd is too strong already"; and to that resolution he adhered for twenty-seven years, strengthened therein, perhaps, by the consideration that the troublous times of the Civil War and the Commonwealth were unpropitious for the issue of travel

literature. When peace returned with the Restoration, Herbert seems to have bethought himself of the work which had brought him into notice; and in 1665 he published a third, in 1677 a fourth, edition of his Persian travels. In both issues he further amplified his original version, besides giving additional illustrations in each case. On the title-page of the 1665 edition the author boasts that the work is "much enlarged, with many additions, nigh a third part more than in any of the former impressions"; while in the 1677 issue he in like manner declares that he has again made "many additions throughout the whole work." In point of fact, the original edition, with its comparatively modest total of about 100,000 words, had in the end swollen into a volume of over 340,000; and nearly all the fresh matter was secondhand material drawn from a variety of authors, ancient and modern.

Besides the four English editions that appeared during his lifetime, Herbert had the satisfaction of seeing two foreign versions of his work, both taken from his second edition. The first of these, entitled *Th. Herberts Zee- en Lant Reyse na verscheyde Deelen van Asia en Africa*, was issued at Dordrecht in 1658, and was the work of Lambert van den Bosch. The translator made considerable omissions; yet his version contains over 90,000 words. Herbert's illustrations were replaced by nine engravings of some merit, specially drawn to elucidate the narrative. The second version was an independent translation into French by Abraham de Wicquefort, published at Paris in 1663, under the title of *Relation du Voyage de Perse et des Indes Orientales, traduite de l'Anglois de T.H.* It has no illustrations, but is more complete than its privileged Dutch rival, filling 567 quarto pages.

Since the author's death no attempt has been made to reprint his narrative in full, though condensed versions have appeared in some collections of travels, such

as Harris's (1705) and Moore's (1785). When the resolution was taken to include the work in the present series, it was obvious that this could only be done subject to an unsparing use of the pruning-knife. The 1677 edition (as being the author's final revision) was taken as the basis; but from its pages the editor has ruthlessly excised most of the matter drawn from other authors (such as De Laet, Lord, etc.): the long accounts given of countries and places Herbert never visited; his vocabularies of various languages; his unnecessary excursions into such questions as the site of the earthly Paradise, the country whence the Magi came, whether a Welsh prince discovered America before Columbus, and so forth. The author's frequent classical allusions and his poetical quotations (including some mediocre effusions of his own composition) have been for the most part pared away. In short, the aim has been to leave only what the author actually saw or might reasonably be supposed to have gleaned at first hand. Even then, the text as now printed is fully as long as in the first edition of the work, despite the fact that Herbert's subsequent elaborations of the narrative portions have been retained.

In accordance with the general plan of the series, the text has been modernized in respect of spelling, punctuation, etc., except in the case of some of the names (place or personal), coins, weights and measures, foreign or unusual words, which have been left as Herbert spells them. As a matter of convenience, the work has been divided into nine chapters. The amount of space devoted to notes may seem large, but this was unavoidable, in view of Herbert's allusive style and many obscurities. Identifications of places have been put as briefly as possible (in many cases merely within square brackets in the text), and the same course has been adopted in the case of the numerous strange or obsolete terms occurring in the

narrative. It has been left to the reader to trace the sources of the classical allusions, if he cares to do so.

The portrait of the author forming the frontispiece is from an engraving by Joseph Halfpenny, the Yorkshire artist, in the Print Department of the British Museum. A similar portrait, etched by J. Quilley (probably copied from Halfpenny's print), was prefixed to the 1813 edition of Herbert's *Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of Charles I.* In both cases the original painting was stated to be in the possession of F. Smyth, of Newbuilding. A different portrait, painted on panel in 1642 and ascribed to Robert Walker, was lent by Mr Robert Williamson to the Leeds Exhibition in 1868, and was reproduced in Edward Hailstone's illustrated catalogue; judging from the photograph there given, the original was in a very bad condition. Quite recently a mention was made of a portrait still more interesting in connection with the present reprint. A paragraph in the *Evening News* of February 11, 1927, stated that a painting representing Herbert as a young man wearing a Persian dress was seen in a shop-window in Holywell Street just prior to the destruction of that thoroughfare early in the present century; but the writer could give no information as to what had become of the picture, and such inquiries as I have since made have unfortunately proved fruitless.

The index has been compiled by Miss L. Freeman.

There remains the pleasing duty of thanking several friends who have assisted in the elucidation of the text, including Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.B.A., Mr. W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Oliver Wardrop, K.B.E., C.M.G., and especially Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D., and Mr. C. A. Storey, M.A., the Librarian of the India Office, both of whom have permitted the editor to trouble them continually for information on doubtful points.

W. F.

INTRODUCTION

A CAREFUL summary of what is known concerning our author is to be found in the notice contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography* by the late Mr J. M. Rigg, based largely upon the statements of Herbert's friend, Anthony à Wood (in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* and *Fasti*), and upon a memoir by Robert Davies printed in the *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, vol. i. Mr Rigg's article, which by the way is weakest in the portion dealing with Herbert's travels in the East, is the chief foundation for the biographical part of the following sketch, though a few particulars have been added from the two authorities just mentioned.

The precise date of Herbert's birth is not known; but we may assume that it took place in the late autumn of 1606, seeing that he was baptized on 4 November in that year. He was the eldest son of Christopher Herbert and Jane, daughter of Henry Akroyd of Foggathorpe. The family had been settled at York for some generations; but descent was claimed from the great Welsh family of Herberts and, as will be seen from his book, our author was proud of his Welsh connection and much interested in everything concerning Wales. The boy was educated at the grammar school of St Peter at York, whence in due time he passed on to Oxford. According to Wood, he was admitted commoner of Jesus College in 1621, though elsewhere the same authority speaks of him as "some time of Queen's." Herbert's name, however, is not in the university register, nor does it appear that he ever graduated. Subsequently, Wood tells us, he

went into residence for a short time at Trinity College, Cambridge, where his uncle, Dr Ambrose Akroyd, was a fellow.

Herbert's father died early in 1625, leaving but a small estate; and thereupon the son seems to have proceeded to the metropolis, where he had some uncles in business as merchants. It was probably by their means that he was introduced to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who (to quote Wood) "owning him for his kinsman and intending his advancement, sent him to travel in 1626, with allowance to defray his charges." The journey referred to was of course the one described in the present volume; and the occasion of it was the decision of King Charles to send Sir Dodmore Cotton to Persia as his ambassador.

Cotton's mission was the outcome of the arrival in this country (January, 1624) of Sir Robert Sherley as ambassador from Shāh 'Abbās of Persia.¹ This was his second appearance in that character, and on both occasions his object was the same, viz. to arrange for the diversion of the trade in raw silk (a royal monopoly) from its ancient channel through the dominions of the Turkish Sultan (the perennial foe of Persia) to a new route by sea from some port on the Persian Gulf. As on his first visit, Sherley, who was accompanied by the Circassian lady he had married in Persia, was received with favour at the English court; but (also as before) he found the East India Company hostile to himself and his schemes. The leaders of that body were well aware that he had each time gone first to Madrid, in the hope of inducing the Spanish King to engage in the traffic to the exclusion of the English; they regarded him as ill-

¹ The account here given is based chiefly upon the documents abstracted in Mr W. N. Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1622-24 and 1625-29; but see also my *John Company*, pp. 49-53.

disposed towards the Company and its trade; and they doubted (or pretended to doubt) whether he really had sufficient authority from the Shāh to make a binding contract. In any case they were not prepared to pledge themselves to take the whole of the royal silk, since that would require a larger outlay than their means would warrant, besides burdening themselves with a plethora of that commodity; while a further unavowed reason was that many of their members were interested in the Levant trade and were by no means desirous of seeing the traffic diverted from its wonted route through Asiatic Turkey. Accordingly, to all Sherley's arguments and proposals the Company turned a deaf ear; nor could the support given to his schemes at court effect any change in its attitude. Pressure from Whitehall could only be exercised indirectly, for the merchants were in a resentful mood towards the King and his advisers. Their trade had been drooping for some time, largely, they complained, because of the absence of royal support against the aggressions of the Dutch, who were bending all their efforts towards securing a monopoly of the commerce of the Malay Archipelago. The "massacre" of the English factors at Amboina in 1623 had aroused hopes that King James would at last support his subjects by exacting compensation from Holland and by taking steps to vindicate their right to trade in future unmolested. The King, however, was not prepared to quarrel with the Dutch and, after some preliminary bluster, the dispute was allowed to drag on indeterminate. Utterly disheartened, many of the shareholders urged that the Company should be wound up and the trade abandoned. In these circumstances it was useless to press the directorate to embark upon expensive schemes for commerce in Persia, involving a large supply of fresh capital.

Towards the close of 1624 King James, whose

interest in the production of silk for the English weavers had already been shown by efforts to acclimatize the silkworm in this country, encouraged a project for sending out shipping to Persia independently of the Company, to bring back silk on freight terms. To this scheme, in which the Duke of Buckingham seems to have taken a leading part, the East India Company offered no objection; and, under pressure from the court, its Governor, Sir Thomas Smythe, consented to participate. The project, however, came to nothing; and Sherley, who had counted upon returning to Persia in the ships proposed to be sent, in November, 1625, begged the new King (Charles I) to order the Company to provide him with a passage in its next fleet. The idea had been mooted, some months before, of sending out a royal ambassador, and Sherley suggested that he and the envoy should go together. Before any decision had been taken in the matter, all concerned were startled to learn that a fresh ambassador had arrived from Persia (February, 1626). This individual, Naqd 'Alī Beg by name, the Company at once began to play off against Sherley. A house was provided for him, provision was made for his maintenance, and steps were taken to obtain an audience from His Majesty. Sherley, judging it fit that he should wait upon the newcomer, proceeded for that purpose to the latter's dwelling, accompanied by the Earl of Cleveland and other friends. Naqd 'Alī Beg received him with great hostility, declared him an impostor, tore up the document which Sherley exhibited as his credentials, and finally struck him—treatment to which Sir Robert submitted with a meekness that surprised his courtier friends. The King was angered by such behaviour towards one whom he had received as an ambassador, and was also mortified by the fact that the letter from Shāh 'Abbās now brought made no allusion to Sherley or his proposals.

Hence, although an audience was granted to Naqd 'Ali Beg on 6 March, 1626, he was slighted during the whole time of his stay.

Sherley continued to press for a passage to Persia; and accordingly the East India Company was notified (March, 1626) that the King expected it to provide accommodation in its next ships both for Sir Robert and his wife and for "Mr Cotton, of His Majesty's Privy Chamber," who was to go out as English ambassador. Dreading that Sherley's resentment would be vented upon its servants in Persia, the Company addressed a petition to the King, imploring him not to send back Sir Robert, or at all events not to give him any authority over its factors or goods. Charles replied that he could not do less than allow Sherley to return to his master "to clear his honour," but promised that he should be precluded from interfering in any way with the Company's concerns. The Company was, however, urged to lend Sir Robert 2,000*l.* to pay his debts, the allowance granted him by the King being hopelessly in arrears. To this a firm refusal was returned, and it was intimated that the Company was resolved to be at no further charge than to carry back Sherley, his wife, and four servants. Naqd 'Ali Beg, having discharged his mission, desired also to return to Persia as speedily as possible; and it was arranged that Cotton and Sherley should embark in the *Blessing*, while the Persian should take his passage in the *Discovery*.

It is time now to say something concerning the ambassador whom King Charles had chosen to represent him at the court of the Shāh. Of Dodmore Cotton's antecedents we know little more than that he came of an old Cambridge family and was the third son of Robert Cotton and Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Dormer, Dadmer, or Dodmore (*Visitation of Cambridge, 1575 and 1619, p. 22*): that he matriculated at Cam-

bridge (King's) in 1607: and that he was admitted at Lincoln's Inn in November, 1608 (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*). As we have seen, he was a gentleman of the King's privy chamber, and was thus well known to his royal master. Cotton himself hoped that the East India Company would be induced to employ him in the same way that they had employed Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to India, with a handsome salary and allowances, and he made overtures to them for that purpose; but they were obstinately determined to have nothing to do with him beyond providing him with a passage, and they declared that the profits of the trade would not bear the cost of such a mission.¹ The King then asked them to supply Cotton with funds while he was in Persia, at the rate of 3*l.* a day, promising that the amount should be repaid to them in London. This request was likewise refused, on the plea that funds would not be available out there, since the Company was recalling its estate. Cotton had thus nothing to depend upon but the allowance made to him by the King, which was fixed at 2*l.* per diem from 2 April, 1626. He seems to have been paid in advance a sum of 1,000*l.* (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1630-34, no. 153), doubtless on account of the expense to which he was put in making suitable provision for himself and his followers. Once arrived in Persia, he would of course become the guest of the

¹ Apparently Cotton had had this scheme in view for some time, since, at a meeting of the directorate on 28 March, 1626, the Governor (Sir Morris Abbot) reported a conversation with Cotton, in the course of which he told the latter that the Company knew "he hath laboured for this employment long, having offered to Mr. Bacon, the Company's late secretary, above a year since 100*l.* to effect the same." Abbot added that Cotton, on learning that the Company had refused to accept his services, "let fall thus much . . . that so long as he had hope to be employed by the Company into Persia as an ambassador, he had a stomach to the journey, but being rejected he is now not so forward to undertake so long and tedious a voyage."

Shāh and be provided with food, lodging, and transport gratis; and further he might hope that the Shāh would make him a handsome present on his departure, though this was necessarily somewhat problematical.

Besides a chaplain (Dr Gooch), Cotton took with him, as was the fashion, a number of gentleman attendants, Herbert among them. Presumably these would have no salaries; but their maintenance would be provided for, and little would be expected of them beyond figuring in the envoy's suite and rendering such other slight services as he might require. The main inducement to join in such a capacity was that an opportunity was thus afforded of seeing a strange country under certain advantages and at a small cost; but, as will be seen in the course of Herbert's narrative, several of these enterprising spirits paid for their curiosity with their lives.

Copies of Cotton's instructions, dated 15 April, 1626, are preserved among the MSS. in the library of All Souls College (*Owen Wynne*, vol. xii, p. 144 and vol. xxii, p. 84). He was to relate to the Shāh the negotiations with Sherley and their interruption by the arrival of Naqd 'Ali Beg. The latter's behaviour to Sherley was to be reported to his master, and inquiry was to be made as to the powers entrusted to each of the two representatives. Cotton was to find out whether the Shāh was prepared to stand by the proposals Sherley had made, and in that case he might promise that the English king would meet his wishes as far as possible. The envoy was warned not to take upon himself the title or power of a consul, and not to meddle with the East India Company's servants or goods.

Thus instructed, Cotton prepared to be gone on his mission. He was knighted at Whitehall, on 12 April, 1626, which was presumably the date of his farewell audience. Then he and Sherley, followed by the

Persian, posted to the Downs in order to embark in the fleet. But they arrived only to find that the ships—the commanders of which had been ordered by the Company (with the assent of the Secretary of State) not to lose a favourable wind by waiting for these passengers—had already departed. Enraged at this, Cotton and Sherley, with the latter's wife, took up their quarters aboard the *Expedition*, a vessel of the Company's then lying in the roads, but bound for Batavia; while the Persian ambassador, not to be outdone, demanded to be received on board as well. Cotton wrote to the Secretary of State, asking that the King would order the Company to change the destination of the ship to Persia, and to exclude "the black Persian" for fear lest he should do Sherley a mischief. Charles at first gave orders accordingly; but finding the Company resolute against any alteration, forbore to press the point; and Cotton, who had written arrogantly to the Company: "I may not go for Jacatra [i.e. Batavia], but must go directly for Persia," received the reply: "This ship must not go for Persia, but, God willing, shall go for Jacatra, from whence you may be transported." He and his companions had no desire thus to be carried thousands of miles out of their way; while a short experience of the discomforts caused by their forcing themselves aboard an already crowded vessel, fitted with no conveniences for such passengers, convinced both Cotton and Sherley that it would be unwise to persist. They therefore disembarked, doubtless in high dudgeon, and took the road for London, whither Naqd 'Ali Beg had already preceded them.

All three ambassadors had now to wait nearly twelve months for another opportunity of procuring passages. Of the events of their enforced stay we hear little, save of trouble given to the Company by the extravagant demands of Naqd 'Ali Beg and by his quarrels with a

Persian merchant (Khwāja Shāhsawār¹) who had come with him. This person died in August, 1626; but his son carried on the dispute, and the Privy Council was forced to intervene. At the commencement of the new year the preparations for dispatching a fresh fleet to Surat renewed the demand for the provision of passages for the ambassadors. On 26 January, 1627, Sir Dodmore Cotton, accompanied by Endymion Porter, appeared at the East India House with a message from the King that he expected the Company to make the necessary arrangements so far as Cotton and Sherley were concerned. Four days later the Governor and some of his colleagues attended His Majesty at Whitehall with a petition, begging to be excused this burden and pointing out that the Company had already assented to a suggestion made by Sherley that he and his friends should fit out a vessel for that purpose, with leave to trade; but to this plea the King refused to listen, and the Company had to be content with renewed assurances that neither Cotton nor Sherley should have any control over either the ships or the factors in Persia. Arrangements were accordingly made by which Sir Dodmore and Sir Robert, with the latter's wife and a number of attendants (including Herbert), were to be received in the *Star*, while Naqd 'Alī Beg and his party were to be accommodated aboard the *Hart*. The rest of the fleet, which was under the command of Captain John Hall, consisted of a third ship, the *Mary*, and three pinnaces, the *Hopewell*, *Refuge*, and *Scout*.

The Company continued to the last its liberal treatment of Sherley's opponent. On 28 February it was resolved to bestow upon him some silver plate to the value of 50*l.*, as well as his own portrait in oils, painted

¹ Mrs. A. C. Edwards has kindly pointed out that this man was in Venice in 1613 and 1621, having been sent thither by the Shāh (see Berchet's *Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, pp. 48-50, 210-215).

by Richard Greenbury.¹ Seven members of the directorate undertook to escort him to the Downs; and when certain members of Lincoln's Inn proposed to go as well, the Company decided to bear their charges. In a parting letter to Secretary Conway (18 March) Cotton complained that Naqd 'Ali Beg had been amply provided for and had "two butts of Canary for his own mouth," while Sherley and himself had been allotted "kennels" and no wine had been furnished for their use. At Lady Sherley's request, instructions were sent to Captain Hall not to allow the Persian to land during the voyage at any time when Sir Robert was ashore, the lady having declared a fear lest "that barbarous heathen" should make a further assault upon her husband.

The fleet sailed on 23 March, 1627. Of the outward voyage little need be added to Herbert's account. There are four journals of it at the India Office (*Marine Records*, nos. xlvi-xlix), which have been summarized in *The English Factories in India*, 1624-29, pp. 183-6; and some discrepancies between these and the text of the present volume are mentioned in the notes. The ships called at the Cape and at the Comoro Islands; and after a long voyage, during which many men were lost from disease, they anchored on 30 November in the road of Swally, near Surat. Just before their arrival Naqd 'Ali Beg, fearing that his royal master would sacrifice him to the resentment of Sherley and Cotton, committed suicide by taking an overdose of opium.

Without much loss of time (18 December) four ships—the *William*, *Exchange*, *Hart*, and *Star*—were dispatched to Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās) in Persia, Cotton and his followers being aboard the first-named vessel (which was commanded by Captain Christopher Brown), while Sherley remained in the *Star*. Writing

¹ A replica of this painting was retained at the East India House, and it may now be seen in the India Office.

to the Company on 4 January, 1628, Kerridge (the President at Surat) and his Council said: "Our King's Majesty's ambassador came safely hither, in company of Sir Robert Sherley and his lady; but the Persian ambassador died a day before their anchoring at Sualy [Swally], and the merchant's son few days after their coming from Mohelia. The latter made a will, and the former had little to give; what either had is gone for Gombroon, to be disposed by your Agent and Council. The late coming of your fleet prevented the Lord Ambassador from going to Surratt; whom for his better accommodation we removed into the *William* and left Sir Robert Sherley in the *Star*. His Lordship had due reverence here, and went, we believe, very well pleased from hence; whose accommodation with tents, etc., for his travel not being to be had on the sudden, we presented him one in your name from the Marine" (*English Factories*, 1624-29, p. 207).

Gombroon was reached without incident on 6 January, 1628, and a few days later Cotton landed in state. The fleet which had brought him sailed again on 7 February, carrying a letter in which William Burt, the Company's Agent, and his colleagues told the Surat Council that "the Nadgebeag's decease hath caused a great deal of trouble unto us; for, by the Persians' persuasion here unto his son, he will not meddle with anything of his father's until he know the King's pleasure; so that I am left to give an account, even to his old shoes. . . .¹ Our King's ambassador hath not wanted of all due respect we have been able to afford him; concerning whom and My Lord Sherley² you may please to be referred for more particular relations from Mr. Benthall; which for some respects we have omitted in this general letter. There shall

¹ From a translation of a *farmān* in the India Office records (*Persia*, vol. i, pp. 320, 354) it appears that Burt carried the goods to the court and there handed them over to the royal treasury.

² This title is given to Sherley as being an ambassador.

be no means wanting (unprejudicial to our masters) to win their favour. Their professions are fair; which shall be still encouraged by our dutiful proceed towards them " (India Office Records: *Surat*, vol. 102, p. 538). John Benthall (Burt's chief assistant) was proceeding to Surat in the fleet, and evidently his associates thought it wise to leave all details to be reported orally by him.

Cotton was received with due ceremony by the Governor of Gombroon, and was provided with the necessary transport for his journey. On 24 January, 1628, the cavalcade started for Isfahān, travelling by the usual route through Lār and Shīrāz. A stay of nine days was made at Lār, and a still longer halt at Shīrāz, where the Imām-Qulī Khān held his state as Governor of Southern Persia. This haughty personage had purposely absented himself, to show his own importance; and even when he returned, he delayed a couple of days before inviting the ambassador to pay him a visit. Cotton, who had doubtless studied Sir Thomas Roe's narrative of his experiences in India, declined to make the first call; whereupon the Khān waived the point and promised to visit the envoy. Instead of doing so, he sent his son to represent him. Cotton, not to be outdone, announced his intention of calling in return upon the son; but when he reached the Khān's palace, he found himself ushered into the presence of the father instead, who entertained him with a magnificent banquet. Two days later the Khān arrived at the ambassador's dwelling without previous notice. Cotton had received secret intelligence of the honour intended, and he entertained his guest so sumptuously that the latter departed full of liquor and with the warmest appreciation of the Englishman's hospitality. As a result, he presented Cotton with a dozen horses, well accoutred, and furnished him handsomely with transport for his journey.

Shīrāz was quitted on 25 March, and a visit was paid to the famous ruins of Persepolis, which Herbert describes at some length. On the 10th of the following month, attended by the Company's Agent (who had arrived a few days before) and by the Christians resident in the city, Sir Dodmore entered Isfahān in state and was escorted to a house belonging to the Shāh. The monarch, however, was not at his capital, but at his favourite summer retreat at Ashraf, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, whither it was necessary to follow him. So at the beginning of May Cotton and Sherley set out on their toilsome journey northwards, followed a few days later by Burt, who seems to have been careful to avoid travelling in the company of the ambassador, perhaps in order to emphasize the fact that the mission was no concern of the Company's. Ashraf was reached on 21 May; and four days later Sir Dodmore was received by the Shāh with little ceremony but to all appearance with considerable cordiality. He delivered to the monarch the letter and message he had brought from King Charles, and in reply the Shāh declared his willingness to make an agreement for the barter of silk against broadcloth. As for Sherley, 'Abbās disavowed the aspersions cast upon him by Naqd 'Alī Beg and promised to give him satisfaction. He expressed his pleasure at receiving an embassy from England; and he concluded by drinking bare-headed the health of King Charles.

There, however, the Shāh's civilities ended, and for the rest of his stay at Ashraf he ignored the English envoy. Herbert assigns as the reason the hostility of the monarch's favourite, Muhammad 'Alī Beg, who "was by bribery made our enemy." The innuendo seems to be that Burt was the person who had given the bribe; but this hypothesis may be rejected without hesitation. The East India Company was not in the least likely to spend money

for such a purpose, even if it had dared to incur the displeasure of King Charles by such an action. The hostility of Muhammad 'Alī Beg is easily explained by jealousy at the reappearance of Sherley, and fear lest he should be supported in regaining the favour of the Shāh by the influence of the ambassador, in whose company he had come. But it would be wrong to attach too much importance to the attitude of the favourite, powerful though he may have been. 'Abbās was his own prime minister and carried out his own policy. That he was disappointed when he discovered the limited scope of the mission can scarcely be doubted. For years he had been fed by Sherley with hopes of foreign aid against his dreaded enemy the Turk; and when he heard of the return of Sir Robert, accompanied by an ambassador from England, he may reasonably have concluded that his envoy had at last succeeded in procuring the desired support, if only by providing him with the sinews of war on a commercial basis. His annoyance when he learnt that Cotton's errand was only one of tentative inquiry may be imagined. Though he made no sign at the moment, he seems to have resolved to have nothing more to do with Sherley, whose two missions to Europe had both ended in failure; and Cotton was naturally involved in his companion's disgrace. A further reason for the slighting treatment accorded to the ambassador may have been the omission to bring suitable presents (at least we hear of none). These were always expected at an Oriental court, and their absence could not fail to be resented, not only by the Shāh himself but also by his chief officials, who looked to be conciliated in the same way, though in a minor degree.

However, the ambassador was not at once dismissed, but was merely desired to meet the Shāh again at Qazvīn, whither the latter was proceeding. He was not invited to accompany the royal cortège, but was

sent round by another route. He set out accordingly on 2 June and, travelling by way of Farāhābād, Damāvand, and Tehrān, reached his destination about the end of the month. For some days he waited, in the hope of being summoned to an audience; but no sign of this appearing, he judged it advisable to make a move by visiting Muhammad 'Alī Beg and requesting a reply to the letter he had brought from King Charles. The sequel may be told in the words of Herbert's first edition (p. 123), which is rather fuller than the account given in the text: "The pagan in short told him, if he had any more to possess the King, he should first acquaint him, and consequently have an answer; to which our ambassador replied little, though discontented much, perceiving by this he should have no further access unto the King. But, willing to be gone and loth the favourite should see him daunted, he trusted him with his business—some part the continuance of amity between their masters, with some words of the merchants' traffic, and an acknowledgment from the King that Sir Robert Sherley was his true ambassador into Europe. To the two first Mahomet Ally Beg, undesired, bolted out that he knew his master, the King of Persia or Potshaw, stood more affected to no one prince of the world than to our King, and that the trade and exchange betwixt their merchants was both pleasing and profitable to his King. And for Sir Robert Sherley (whose enemy Mahomet ever was) he knew and had heard the King himself say he cared not for him, and that his embassies and messages to the princes of Christendom were frivolous and forged. Tis true, quoth he, the King gave him (as an argument of favour) at the Caspian Sea a horse and garment; but it was more to satisfy the other ambassador himself than out of any respect the King had unto him. And when our Lord Ambassador told him Sir Robert Sherley had the King's letter of credence or firman to

testify the truth of it, and that, if he were an impostor he were the veriest fool living to undertake a journey of that length and danger, knowing withal the King's severity; to which the pagan answered not, but told him at their next meeting he would give him ampler satisfaction, entreating him for a sight of Sir Robert's testimonial letter and a copy of what Sir Robert Sherley had treated about in England or other places. Two days after, attended by some gentlemen, he visited Mahomet Ally Beg again, and gave him the copy of what he last desired, and withal showed him Sir Robert's letter of credence, signed by his King, Shaw Abbas, in Isfahān. He bid him look upon it and tell him if it had the image of a counterfeit. The malicious favourite thought it had; but, being uncertain, craved it to show the King; which accordingly he did (if we may give credit to an enemy and infidel) unto the King three days after; who (as he told Sir Dodmore Cotton) viewed them, denied them to be true, and in rage had burnt them, wishing Sir Robert Sherley to depart his kingdom, as old and troublesome. He was amazed at it, but knew no remedy. For my own part, I am verily persuaded the King's seals and phirman were true; and that either Mahomet Ally Beg juggled with him (for we had but his word for all we knew, and nevermore came in presence of the King). He might forge other letters to show the King; else, why kept he them two days without delivery? Or he might have slandered the King to say he burnt them; being an act not worthy so just a prince as Abbas was reputed for."

The shock of finding himself thus disgraced and thrown penniless upon the world proved too much for Sherley; he expired on 13 July, and was hastily buried under the threshold of his house. Ten days later Cotton followed him to the grave. The trials of the journey, and mortification at its fruitless result, doubtless contributed; but the immediate cause of

death was exhaustion from dysentery. With as much ceremony as they could muster, his disheartened followers interred him in the Armenian cemetery at Qazvin.

The ambassador being dead, nothing remained for his suite but to make their way homewards as soon as possible. On application to Muhammad 'Alī Beg an answer from the Shāh to the royal letter brought by the embassy was obtained, together with a *farmān* to facilitate their journey to Gombroon. Cotton's chaplain, Dr Gooch, as the only official member of the party, took upon himself the leadership; and his vain attempt to obtain funds for the purpose from the Company's servants is narrated in the following extract from a much damaged letter, dated at Isfahān 22 October, 1628, from Burt and his colleagues (India Office Records: O.C. 1282): "Our sovereign's ambassador, Sir Dodmer Cotton, perished the 23rd [July] in the city of Casbinn, where the King intended the same [month ?] to give him his dispatch, having but once seen him since his arrival in Persia (at which also myself was present); so that more than the delivery of our sovereign's letter unto the Emperor (unto which he hath returned answer) was not treated of between them. His Lordship's extreme wants in those things which exteriorly befitted the person of so high a minister caused him much disrespect from this nation; of which himself was very sensible, blaming Sir Robert Sherley and his own unadvisedness. His Majesty gave present order for the dispatch of his followers towards port; who, by reason of his chaplain's uncivil rash demeanour, the King sending each of them a vest, the doctor, not liking his, cast it at the feet of the bringers; whereof the King was not long without intelligence, and they immediately very meanly dispatched thence, to wit, with a firmand for camels for their carriages unto port Gombroone, with

an exhibition of four abases [i.e. 5s. 4d.] a day for the diets of their whole company, unto whom the King formerly had allowed 25 per day. These passages hath given us inexpressible discontents; and questionless, had not your servants the better demeaned themselves, our nation would have been much slighted in these parts. God hath given us patience. On His Lordship's departure from Bunder [i.e. Gombroon] towards court, having often moved us to furnish [him ?] at return with 150*l.*, we assented unto the loan, pretended to furnish himself with some curiosities of these parts. His chaplain, after His Lordship's decease, demanded very peremptorily of us the sum of 200 or 250*l.* (for less, he said, would not serve his turn); assuming ridiculously and unbecomingly to himself, as appears by a letter (by way of petition) unto me by all the rest of his company. We answered him [that], His Lordship being deceased, that eminency of embassy was laid aside and that a provident comporture best befitted his demeanour; that we well understood that he was sufficiently possessed both of plate and moneys, provided with carriages, and assisted by the weak exhibition the King gave him for diet; all which we knew splendidous enough for all needful defrays until their arrival to your ships. Notwithstanding, if himself thought not these things sufficient, we offered to furnish him with competency for such needful expense; which he refused, unless he might have 200*l.* He privately repaired to the Dutch whom [*sic*] hath furnished him with 100*l.* out of the means they basely and inhumanly seized from the disconsolate widow of Sir Robert Sherley, deceased; whose breath was no sooner out of his mouth but they, by virtue of a [*farmān* from ?] that King on behalf of a creditor of Sir Robert Sherley's for 5,000 crowns, obtained leave to seize her estate, which to the utmost their knowledge could attain they basely and un-

worthily seized. Before the decease of our sovereign's ambassador, he sent two of his followers, on the behalf of satisfaction unto our sovereign, unto the favourite to know whether Sir Robert Sherley were the King of Persia's ambassador, yea or no; as [also ?] whether he had order to treat about ships and galleys for his service; unto all which he made flat denial, advising the King's letters were graciously given him to favour and credit him with other princes; admiring [i.e. wondering] to what purpose he should solicit the bringing of ships and galleys for these parts, where they are altogether unfurnished of the managers of sea affairs."

The return journey was made by way of Qum, Kāshān, Isfahān, and Shīrāz. Herbert gives few dates, and (doubtless owing to the illness that incapacitated him) drops his itinerary just short of the capital; but the chance survival (India Office Records: *Persia*, vol. i, p. 297) of some petty accounts enables us to add a few details. Burt and Herbert (who is mentioned as being ill) left Isfahān on 23 October and reached Shīrāz on the 4th of the following month. After staying there thirteen days, the party set out again, and arrived at Gombroon on 18 December. The Company's fleet from Surat reached the port on 27 January, 1629, and departed on 21 February, the survivors of the embassy being doubtless on board, though the fact is not stated (*English Factories*, 1624-29, pp. 312, 313). The letter which the factors at Gombroon sent to Surat by the fleet (India Office Records: O.C. 1288) enclosed a bill given by Dr Gooch for a sum of money lent to him, which he had promised to repay at Surat. This, by the way, he evidently failed to do, for the Surat factors forwarded the bill to the Company for realization (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. i, p. 134).

Swally was reached on 12 March, 1629, and Herbert

and his companions were able to enjoy a short rest amid the comparative luxuries of the English factory at Surat. Three ships had already gone home at the end of 1628; but it was settled that three more—the *Hart*, *Expedition*, and *Hopewell*—should now follow them, laden largely with the goods brought from Persia. The letter carried to England by this fleet has survived only in the form of an abstract (*English Factories*, 1624-29, p. 325), and in this no mention is made of the members of the mission; but we know from his own testimony that Herbert was on board the *Hart*.

The ships got out of Swally Hole on 13 April, 1629, and two days later departed on their homeward way, accompanied by another trio of ships bound for Bantam. Three logs of the voyage will be found summarized in *English Factories*, 1624-29, pp. 331-3. Passing down the coast of India, the two fleets kept company (for fear of Portuguese attacks) until 1 May, when the time came for separation. The *Hart* and her consorts made some stay (13 June to 25 July) at Mauritius (of which Herbert gives an interesting account, including a description of the dodo); and a call was made at Réunion. Table Bay was reached on 7 September and quitted a fortnight later. From the 8th to the 14th of the next month the ships refreshed again at St Helena. The Lizard was sighted on 13 December, and five days later the fleet anchored at Plymouth. Bad weather detained them there until 7 January, 1630; but on the 10th the Downs were reached in safety and two days later the voyage ended at Gravesend.

If Herbert entertained any hopes of preferment at court, these were dashed by the sudden death of his patron, the Earl of Pembroke. Wood tells us that our author "did at his return wait on the said noble count, who, inviting him to dinner the next day at

Baynard's Castle in London, died suddenly that night " (10 April, 1630). The Earl's successor in the title was his brother Philip, Earl of Montgomery, to whom Herbert dedicated his volume when it appeared; but this nobleman does not seem to have shown any sign of exerting his influence on behalf of his young kinsman. However, the latter had apparently sufficient means to permit of his leading a life of leisure; and, after a tour on the Continent, he married (April, 1632) Lucia, daughter of Sir Walter Alexander, and settled down in London. The publication, two years later, of his description of his Persian travels has already been detailed; also the issue of a second edition in 1638.

Of his subsequent history a short summary must suffice. On the outbreak of the Civil War Herbert took the side of the Parliament, and was appointed a commissioner with the army of his relative, Lord Fairfax. In May, 1646, he was one of those deputed to arrange the terms of the surrender of Oxford. When, in January, 1647, the Scots made over King Charles to the Parliament, Herbert was appointed to attend upon him. He quickly became much attached to the unhappy captive, who was at his best during those last sad years; and having been appointed a groom of the bedchamber, he served him faithfully to the end. During the last few months of Charles's life Herbert was his sole attendant; he was with him on the scaffold, and afterwards assisted to bury him at Windsor. The silver watch which the King gave Herbert on his way to execution, together with other relics that came into the latter's possession, were long preserved in the family.

At the Restoration Herbert's services to the previous monarch were rewarded with a baronetcy (July, 1660). The rest of his life was devoted mainly to antiquarian and literary pursuits. In 1665 he published (as already mentioned) a third, and twelve years later a

fourth, edition of his book on Persia. In 1678 he recorded, in a volume entitled *Threnodia Carolina*, which at once became popular, his reminiscences of the last days of Charles I; while he also collaborated with Dugdale in that scholar's well-known antiquarian works. Of his private life there remains little to be said. His first wife died in 1671, and in November of the following year he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gervase Cutler. He seems to have divided his time between his Welsh estate at Tintern (in Monmouthshire), his town house in Petty France, Westminster, and his residence in York. At the last named place he died on 1 March, 1682, and was buried in the church of St Crux in that city.

From what has already been said it will be evident that Herbert's narrative is of considerable importance from an historical point of view, as giving us the only detailed account available of the first English embassy to Persia, to say nothing of the information afforded concerning the redoubtable Shāh 'Abbās and his chief servants. But it has another and no less valuable side in the graphic picture it provides of Persia and the Persians in the early part of the seventeenth century. Our traveller spent over thirteen months in the country and traversed it from south to north and back again, making also an extensive detour on the return journey; while the list of places he visited includes Bandar 'Abbās, Lār, Shīrāz, Persepolis, Isfahān, Ashraf, Tehrān, Qazvīn, Qum, and Kāshān. Of these and other towns, as well as of the intervening country, he gives vivid descriptions, together with much that is of interest about the inhabitants. Evidently he liked both Persia and its people; and as regards Shīrāz in particular he grows quite lyrical in his praises (p. 70). That his observations were often superficial and that his conclusions were sometimes inaccurate will cause

no surprise when we remember that he was an inexperienced youth of twenty-two, travelling amid many difficulties and discomforts in a land of which the language was unknown to him; and when we consider the drawbacks under which the materials were gathered, we rather marvel that he was able to paint so convincing a picture. Possibly the effect is aided to some extent by the style of the narrative. At first sight turgid and affected, it proves in the main wonderfully suitable for portraying the gorgeous East; while when describing incidents, such as the reception of the mission by the Imām-Qulī Khān at Shīrāz or the interview with Shāh ‘Abbās at Ashraf, the language ceases to be grandiloquent and becomes appropriately terse and rapid. Throughout the story our sympathies go with the high-spirited and good-humoured narrator, who makes so little of the hardships he encountered and never has anything but good to say of his companions; and the modest hope—“that these relations (the issue of youth and haste) might find acceptance”—with which (in the second edition) he concludes his story will find as ready a response from those who peruse the present reprint as it did from the readers of his own generation.

W. F.

FULLER TITLES OF THE CHIEF AUTHORITIES QUOTED

- Barbaro (Josafa) and Contarini (Ambrosio)—see *Travels of Venetians in Persia*. Hakluyt Society, 1873.
- Bernier (François), *The Travels of*. Translated by Archibald Constable, 1891.
- Binning (R. B. M.): *Journal of Two Years' Travel in Persia, etc.* 2 vols. W. H. Allen, 1857.
- Contarini—see Barbaro.
- Curzon (Lord): *Persia and the Persian Question*. 2 vols. Longmans, 1892.
- Daulier-Deslandes (A.): *The Beauties of Persia (1673)*. Translation issued by the Persia Society, 1926.
- De Laet (J.): *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*. Leyden, 1631.
- De Laet (J.): *Persia*. Leyden, 1633.
- Della Valle (Pietro), *Les Fameux Voyages de*. 4 vols. Paris, 1662-4.
- Della Valle (Pietro), *The Travels of, in India*. Translated and edited by Edward Grey. 2 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1892.
- Don Juan of Persia*. Edited by Guy le Strange (The Broadway Travellers). Routledge, 1926.
- Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*. Edited by Sir William Foster. Oxford University Press, 1921.
- English Factories in India, 1618-69*. Calendared by Sir William Foster. 13 vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906-27.
- Fryer (John): *A New Account of East India and Persia*. Edited by William Crooke. 3 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1909-15.
- Hakluyt (Richard): *The Principal Navigations*. 12 vols. MacLehose, Glasgow, 1903-05.
- Hawkins' Voyages (The)*. Edited by Sir Clements Markham. Hakluyt Society, 1878.
- Kaempfer (E.): *Amœnitates Exoticæ*. Lemgovix, 1712.
- Lancaſter (Sir James), The Voyages of*. Edited by Sir Clements Markham. Hakluyt Society, 1877.