



St John Simpson - The British Museum

Making their mark: Foreign travellers at Persepolis

The ruins at Persepolis continue to fascinate scholars not least through the perspective of the early European travellers' accounts. Despite being the subject of considerable study, much still remains to be discovered about this early phase of the history of archaeology in Iran. The early published literature has not yet been exhausted; manuscripts, letters, drawings and sculptures continue to emerge from European collections, and a steady trickle of further discoveries can be predicted. One particularly rich avenue lies in further research into the personal histories of individuals who are known to have been resident in or travelling through Iran, particularly during the 18th and 19th centuries. These sources have value not only in what may pertain to the sites or antiquities, but they also add useful insights into the political and socio-economic situation within Iran during this period (Wright 1998; 1999; Simpson in press; forthcoming). The following paper offers some research possibilities by focusing on the evidence of the



Fig. 1: Gate of All Nations

graffiti left by some of these travellers to the site. Some biographical details have been added where considered appropriate but many of these individuals deserve a level of detailed research lying beyond the scope of this preliminary survey.



The graffiti have attracted the attention of many visitors to the site, partly because of their visibility on the first major building to greet visitors to the site (**Fig. 1, Fig. 2**). Following his stopover in June 1818, Sir Robert Ker Porter (1821, vol. I, 587) deplored that “on both [bulls], I am sorry to say, I found a cloud of initials, and names, and dates, of former visitants to the spot, to the no small injury of the fine surface of the stone”. In January 1809 James Morier (1812, 133-34) likewise

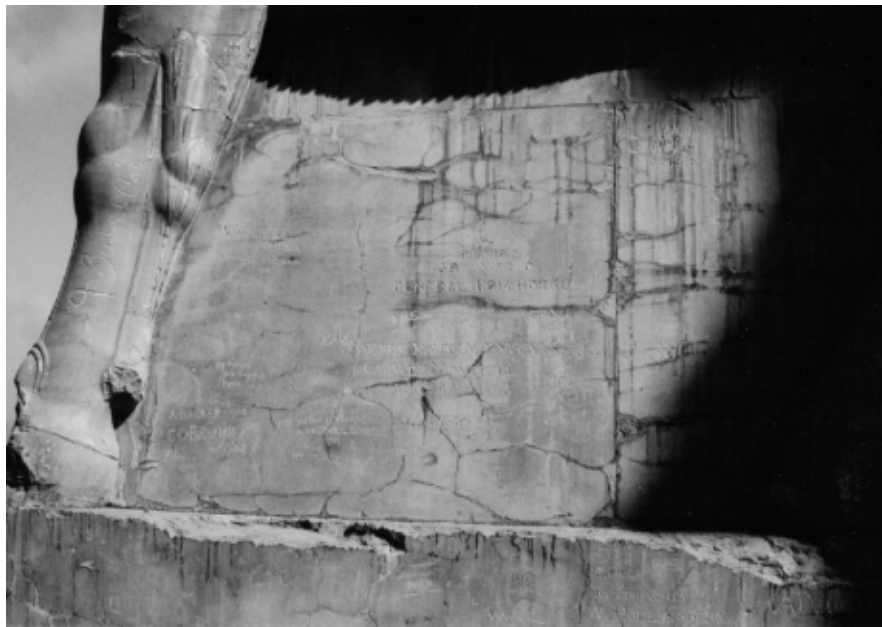


Fig. 2

commented that “Under the carcase of the first sphinx on the right [*sic*], are carved, scratched, and painted the names of many travellers; and amongst others we discovered those of Le Brun, Mandelsloe, and Niebuhr. Niebuhr’s name is written in red chalk, and seems to have been done but yesterday”. The passage of time has led to these names becoming an important



part of the site's history, as George Curzon (1892, vol. II, 156-57) recognised:

From this proud memorial it is, I believe, with affected disgust that most travellers turn to the records of many generations of European visitors, who have either cut or painted their names on the lower surfaces of this gateway, in some cases even on the bodies of the bulls. I confess that I do not share this spurious emotion. A structure so hopelessly ruined is not rendered the less impressive – on the contrary, to my thinking, it becomes the more interesting – by reason of the records graven upon it, in many cases with their own hands, by famous voyagers of the past, with whose names and studies the intelligent visitor to Persepolis is likely to be almost as familiar as he is with the titles of Xerxes, and whose forms seem in fancy once more to people the scene which they have revealed and illumined by their writings to thousands of their fellow-countrymen, who may never have had the chance of setting foot on Persian soil themselves. It was with no irritation therefore, but with keen interest, that I read here in large characters the name of ‘Cap. John Malcolm, Envoy Extraordinary, Pleni-Potentiary’.

Curzon recorded a total of 27 names during his visit to the site in 1889 and indeed added his own to the interior of the Palace of Darius. It is on his record of these graffiti that scholars have since relied, although Ernst Herzfeld meticulously copied many of the graffiti in his Sketchbooks during his first visits to the site between 26 November – 23 December 1923 and 8-15



March 1924.¹ The following survey offers a more systematic inventory of who visited and left their names as mementos as a large number of other names have been added through observations made by the author during two visits in 2000 and 2003.² Excluding Persian, Hebrew and Armenian graffiti, 222 names are listed here, of which 158 occur on the sides of the Gate of All Nations, and 64 on the door and window frames and walls of the Palace of Darius, plus 4 repeated at both locations. In some cases individual names are repeated, usually on the same monument, which implies separate visits although usually only one (presumably the first) is dated. Exceptional visitors are Anna Amaury who dates visits in May 1855 and 1856, and J. Hamilton who records as many as four visits between the years 1864 and 1868. Many of the graffiti belong

¹ My thanks to Ms Colleen Hennessy, formerly Archivist at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, for her assistance in looking at these during my visit to the Smithsonian Institution in 2000, and which was kindly organised by Dr A.C. Gunter. The relevant drawings are in SK-V, VI (1923) and VII (1924).

² Some of these names were read using a camera zoom lens as it was not possible to access physically the upper parts of the Gate of All Nations; some names have also been obscured by later graffiti or through remedial conservation work in the Palace of Darius, and some are now less visible than previous photographs suggest (cf. Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg eds., 1997, 17, fig. 4), but every effort was made to record names when the relevant surfaces were in direct sunlight as otherwise some of the more lightly incised graffiti were difficult to see. I am indebted to Sue Gill for her patient assistance in noting these names at the site. The photographs reproduced here are the author's copyright.



to British diplomats, Residents and Political Envoys (Bruce, Jones, Macdonald, Malcolm, Manesty, Meade, Rich, Stannus) who are usually accompanied by officers of the Indian Army although the names or ranks of other ranks do not appear until the early 20th century (e.g. “Jock”, 1920, and various Indian names in 1912); the names of other European diplomats are rare (de Gobineau, Schulenburg). There are also the names of a limited number of scientists and academics (Belanger, Bornmüller, de Laval, Fraehn, Loftus, Meynard, Romaskevich, Vambéry), travellers and writers (De Backer, De Bruijn, Curzon, Fraser, Wagenvoort), journalists (Stanley), early resident photographers (Pesce, Polak, Sevruguin) and merchants (Hercules). Nevertheless, unlike Egypt or the Levant, Iran did not seriously feature on the “Grand Tour” hence these names mainly represent visits by missions or members of the small expatriate community rather than tourists or travelling artists. As such these names give a valuable window on the political situation in Iran from the 17th to early 20th centuries, and one which would be intriguing to compare with contemporary evidence from monuments such as the temple of Dendera in Egypt.³

³ This phenomenon is of course not restricted to these sites. European graffiti next to the armoured knight’s horse on the Sasanian relief at Taq-e Bustan include the following names: H.C. Rawlinson, A. Hector (both dated 1847); T.G. Lynch; Col. Williams [*see below*]; J. Olguin [*see below*]; H.A. Churchill; W.K. Loftus [*see below*] (all 1850), and J. Malcolm and his delegation [*see below*]. Byron famously left his graffito on the Acropolis, Texier [*see below*] left his name as a graffito on



The foreign graffiti are concentrated in two particular spots at the site, Xerxes' Gate of All Nations and the Palace of Darius. The latter was also the focus of earlier visitors' attention as it contains two Middle Persian inscriptions and incised drawings of the Sasanian period; and after the Arab Conquest the southern porch was adapted to become an open-air mosque with a *mihrab* scratched onto the tallest standing corner of architecture and several Persian and Arabic inscriptions added in the 10th century and later (cf. Herzfeld 1926, 248-49). Later still, a Nine Man's Morris board was painted in red on the inside of a fallen window niche (later restored to an upright position).⁴ By comparison, Sasanian drawings also feature on the lower walls of the so-called "Harem" (Herzfeld 1941, 307-309; de la Fuy e 1928), and two gaming boards were pecked into the top of one of the north-facing window sills of that building (Curtis & Finkel 1999). The latter are not unique as several similar boards are to be seen on the edge of the

the fa ade of the tomb of Amyntas at Fethiye, there are other early graffiti on the walls of the Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek, and Dr Tim Clayden kindly pointed out to me the existence of a graffito left by Charles Masson (1800-1853) on the wall of a cave above the now-destroyed large Buddha at Bamiyan: "If any fool this high *samooch* [cave] explore / Know that Charles Masson has been here before" (quoted by Whitteridge 1986, ix).

- ⁴ The fact that this window niche had previously fallen also helps explain how parts of the cuneiform inscriptions surrounding the niche were physically removed in the 18th or early 19th century.



platform at the top of the Great Staircase (**Fig. 32**), where they occur together with a variety of other gaming boards, including for Nine Men's Morris (**Fig. 33, Fig. 34**). It is therefore likely that all date to the same, very late, period and are probably contemporary with the graffiti described here. Indeed, the author has watched men play Nine Men's Morris using boards chalked on the pavement in Hamadan in 2000, and it is probably no coincidence that the platform at the top of the Great Staircase is not only the area near which some of the early European travellers chose to camp, but the precise position of these scratched gaming boards corresponds to the spot where several servants are shown waiting in a photograph published by Sarre (1923, pl. 5).⁵

There is a rather surprising absence of graffiti recorded from the Achaemenid royal tombs above the site despite the popularity of this point as a picnic spot and artists' viewpoint. The reason for the concentration of the graffiti in the two spots therefore probably reflects a combination of factors: the prominent position of the Gate of All Nations at the top of the processional staircase entrance, and the romantic and partly sheltered viewpoint afforded of the Mahidasht plain below from the Palace of Darius. It is thus no coincidence that Rich pitched his tent next to the Gate of All Nations during his stay at the site in August 1821 (Rich 1836, vol. II, 220). At a

⁵ There may have been many more such gaming boards pecked into the ground in other places but if so these were removed when the terrace was cleared from the 1930s onwards (cf. Schmidt 1953, fig. 22),



deeper and possibly subconscious level, the desire to add inscriptions to a spot already marked with graffiti may have contributed towards the repeated addition of names at these places. This phenomenon is well-known to social anthropologists and modern urban planners, but it is interesting to note that Niebuhr added his own name close to that of von Mandelslo, Francklin deliberately placed his below Niebuhr's, Wagenvoort did the same below the graffiti of his countrymen De Bruijn and De Backer, and McIlrath emulated the style of Stanley's on the equivalent side of the entrance.

Most of the foreign graffiti belong to Englishmen and Scotsmen, occasionally accompanied by their wives. There are also a few Dutch, French, German, Russian, American and (during the 20th century) Indian names, plus a single Hungarian name (Istvan). The earliest dated examples appear in the 17th and 18th centuries: in 1638 (von Mandelslo), 1704 (De Backer, De Bruijn), 1765 (Hercules, Moore, Niebuhr), 1767 (Robbins, Skipp, Slupp) and 1787 (Francklin). It was during this period that De Bruijn, Kaempfer and Niebuhr produced the first reasonably accurate views of the sculptures and copies of the inscriptions. These dates and names attest the changing foreign commercial interests in Iran. From 1623-1708 the Dutch East India Company dominated Gulf trade, largely because of their monopoly over the Far Eastern spice trade, and it is significant that the first graffiti thus reflects a visit by an early European trade mission. This situation began to change during the mid-18th century with the waning of Dutch power and a growth of interest by the British East India Company with the establishment of its first factory and



Residence at Bushehr in 1764. This was followed by an agreement of almost-exclusive trading rights, and the development of the Company's political interests was reinforced by the provision of British naval support to ensure the security of maritime trade with India.

There is a dramatic increase in the number of graffiti during the 19th century with the greatest activity in the first quarter, as the numbers of names in the following years suggest: 1804 (6 names), 1809/10 (39 names), 1821 (10 names) and 1826 (15 names). This was a period during which the British Government in India was concerned not only with checking Napoleon's oriental ambitions and Zaman Shah's designs on India, but also countering Arab piracy within the Persian Gulf. It was during the latter part of this period that Claudius Rich visited the site on a special detour between postings as East India Company Resident in Baghdad and Member of Council in the Bombay Government. His graffito on the Gate of All Nations was his last as he died of cholera while quarantined outside Shiraz six weeks later; Dr Andrew Jukes, another visitor to the site in 1804, died in this same outbreak. The graffiti also serve as a sad memorial to two other young officers of the East India Company, George A. Malcolm and Charles Darnley Stuart who both served under John Macdonald's command on his delegation to the Shah but who died within a day of each other *en route* to Tabriz, and only just over a fortnight after they had camped at Persepolis.

The opening decades of the 19th century are also remarkable as they mark a significant acceleration in the



exploration of the site with more systematic attempts at excavation and, in one case, even the moulding of exposed sculptures for the purpose of making casts. Known excavations include investigations in April/May 1811 by James Morier, in July the same year by Robert Gordon next to the north face of the Apadana (Curtis 1998), and further excavations by Colonel Macdonald in June 1826. Macdonald's excavations are briefly described by James Alexander, a member of his delegation, who also added his own graffito in the Palace of Darius (Simpson in press). The former investigations are briefly mentioned by Ker Porter (1821, vol. I, 607) who states that "some of the gentlemen belonging to one of our late embassies in Persia, set men to work" – they exposed the upper half of the bottom register of the east wing of the north stairway of the Apadana. This was followed by further excavations by Claudius Rich next to the south façade of the Palace of Darius in 1821, where he revealed the three inscriptions: the extent of his clearance is illustrated by Flandin & Coste (1976, vol. III, pl. 115) as these excavations appear to have been left open. In 1825 further investigations were conducted in this general area of the site by Ephraim Gerrish Stannus: the fact that Stannus reburied sculptures which he had previously exposed indicates the degree of disturbance along the façades.

The reason for this minor burst of archaeological and antiquarian activity reflects academic enquiry fuelled by earlier travellers' reports and continuing curiosity over the meaning of the sculpted figures and the accompanying (partly deciphered) cuneiform inscriptions, at a time when more leisure and resources were available particularly to the



Residents and diplomatic envoys delayed at Shiraz. Many of these individuals also added sculptural fragments to their personal collections. It is no coincidence that most of this work was carried out by men in the service of the British government in India and the number of these early collectors is certainly greater than reflected in the recent studies. A good illustration of this is provided by Captain Moritz von Kotzebue (1789-1861), who accompanied a Russian mission to the Qajar Court in 1817 headed by Lieutenant-General Aleksei Petrovich Ermolov (1772-1861), the Russian Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus. *En route* to Sultaniyeh they met two English officers, Lieutenant-Colonel John Johnson and Captain Salter, who describe how

English who wish to proceed overland to England from the East Indies, come by sea into the Persian Gulf ... land at Bendarabas ... proceed to Shiraz ... and take pleasure in visiting the ruins of Persepolis ... Colonel Johnson had brought with him several coins from Persepolis, where they are dug out of the ground without difficulty; and he also showed us some broken pieces of bas reliefs, having inscriptions on them, which nobody can read ... Besides several coins, Colonel Johnson sent to the Ambassador a piece which had been broken off the wing of a sphinx.

[von Kotzebue 1819, 201-202]⁶

⁶ This may represent the missing wing-tip from the left-facing sphinx on the façade of the south stairway on the palace of Darius which has been subsequently restored from fragments (cf. Schmidt 1953, vol. I, pl. 127). The present whereabouts of this fragment is unknown, and an enquiry to the Hermitage in St



Fig. 3

Thereafter there was a steady trickle of dated graffiti continuing throughout the 19th century until the end of the First World War, with 15 additional names being recorded from 1918-1920. New types of name belong to Indian troops of the British army (**Fig. 3**, **Fig. 25**), at least some of whom served in the Central India Horse (Amaralikhani, Baligan, Dalal, Marker, Mulla, Natiman, Patel, Rustom, Singh). The appearance of Russian names in 1892 underlines the growth of Russian commercial and academic interests in Iran from 1880 (Barthold, Batmanov, Melinitskii Semen, Sultanov, Széchenya) (e.g. **Fig. 19**). This was reflected in the growth of

Petersburg ruled out the possibility of it being in that collection (pers. comm. A.B. Nikitin, 10 November 2004).



Russian political interests from 1887 when officers in Persian employment assessed the possibility of developing “warm-water” port facilities at Bushehr, Bandar Abbas and Hormuz. Other late 19th century graffiti include a member of the Indo-European (later Persian) Telegraph Company (Anderson, and possibly Preece) and an English cyclist who used these same telegraph poles as a means of navigation on his travels across Iran (Fraser). The presence of several likely American individuals (e.g. McIlrath) also reflects the growing commercial power of America, its foreign concerns, Bible-inspired interest in the antiquities of the Near East and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Iran in 1883 (Finnie 1967, 210). Truxton Beale (1856-1936), the United States Minister to Persia, visited Persepolis in the spring of 1892 for the officially blessed purpose of acquiring sculptures for the new National Museum (now Smithsonian) in Washington: although unsuccessful, he did return with two papier maché moulds freshly made by Lorenzo Giuntini and presented by Herbert Weld, and from which plaster casts were subsequently made in America (Simpson in press). Otherwise, apart from diplomats, the few Americans to visit Iran were missionaries and rug dealers, and it was in the latter capacity that Arthur Upham Pope first visited Iran in order to collect for the Art Institute of Chicago and other museums in 1925 (Gluck & Siver eds. 1996, 79, 87).

The latest dated foreign graffito is from 1962 (Vic Wall): the fall-off in foreign graffiti from the 1920s must reflect changing sensibilities and attitudes by European visitors to the site although some of the undated names belong to this period



(for instance Jim and Mary Hill, the style of whose graffiti closely resemble that left by Vic Wall). In addition, the removal of the collapsed mudbrick walls and other deposits during the Oriental Institute Chicago excavations of the 1930s transformed the site from a romantic picnic-spot into an archaeological park. A palaeographic study of the graffiti lies well beyond this scope of this note although the great variety of styles, particularly over the centuries, is very striking and is a feature captured beautifully by Herzfeld's selective hand copies. Whereas some are deeply engraved, for instance that of the Central India Horse or Schulenburg (e.g. **Fig. 3**, **Fig. 24**), others have been less carefully incised or very lightly scratched (e.g. **Fig. 4**, **Fig. 7**, **Fig. 10**), and yet others have been pecked (e.g. **Fig. 3**, **Fig. 4**, **Fig. 5**, **Fig. 6**). The manner in which some of the names in this last category were added closely resembles that of the crude silhouettes of animals which are also found on the Gate of All Nations and other monuments in the region (**Fig. 9**). Furthermore, in some instances it may be queried who actually carved the names in question, as the spelling mistakes in the names (e.g. Amaralikhan, Colebrooke, Cormick, Fagergren) suggest that these may have been carved under instructions, perhaps by soldiers, servants or simply hangers-on keen to impress or earn some money and thus these names were intended to be memorials rather than casual graffiti in the modern sense. In addition, some travellers may have simply added their names with coloured pigment: Niebuhr comments that he saw De Bruijn's name marked in red crayon which, given his customary accuracy of observation, implies either that there was a second graffito – perhaps



in the Palace of Darius - which is no longer visible, or that De Bruijn highlighted his incised inscription with red crayon in order to make it more visible. In addition, Morier (1812, 134) comments that “Niebuhr’s name is written in red chalk, and seems to have been done but yesterday”. In either case, these observations underline how graffiti were added in different media, and that some may no longer be visible because of weathering or the addition of later graffiti. The extent and rate of weathering of the façades and the loss of pigment on the sculptures is a matter of continuing attention which requires long-term monitoring and detailed comparison of the exposed sculptures with removed pieces, photographs and casts offer a timeline. However, the cumulative effect of additional graffiti is effectively illustrated by Maurits Wagenvoort’s addition of his own name in 1905 which almost totally obliterated two late 19th century graffiti left by Holst and Tweedy [*see below*]. This process was actually described by Wagenvoort (1926) himself as being rather difficult given the hardness of the stone and because of having to kneel on the back of a Persian professional wrestler while doing it, and thus necessitating several rest-breaks. This admission is particularly ironic given that Wagenvoort’s graffiti is considerably less deeply incised than those of his Dutch predecessors, De Bruijn and De Backer, whom he emulated.⁷ Finally, it might be noted that

⁷ I am indebted to my colleague Martin Royalton-Kisch for kindly translating the relevant passage in Wagenvoort (1926).



the simple addition of a name appears on the whole to be a relatively late development whereas most early visitors ensured that the date was recorded, thus suggesting a transformation of the process from one where the travellers were embedding themselves in what they perceived to be an alien landscape to one where the two key monuments were already so heavily marked that the most important element was the addition of a name.

The following survey is divided into two parts, and firstly lists names in alphabetical order with the dates of the graffito where it was given, its position at the site, an indication of whether it was previously published or copied by Curzon or Herzfeld and, where appropriate, some biographical notes on the individuals concerned. Square brackets indicate additional details not present on the graffiti, such as the full name or rank of the individual. The second part orders the names according to the inscribed dates of the graffiti, ending with those which are undated. Doubtless many further details can be added, particularly to the biographical notes, and the author greatly welcomes any responses the reader might have.

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1 Names in alphabetical order

ALEXANDER, [James Edward], Cornet; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Mrs Macdonald Kinneir, Malcolm, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Willock]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (Fig. 15). Alexander (1803-1885) obtained a cadetship in Madras in 1820 and already served in the Burmese war of 1824 when he left the East India Company to join the 13th light dragoons as a cornet. He was soon afterwards seconded to Macdonald's (1782-1830) expedition and described his superior officer's excavations at the site in June 1826 (Alexander 1827; Simpson in press). This was to mark the beginning of a long and active army service in Persia, the Balkans, Portugal, South Africa, the Crimea, New Zealand and Canada, after which he finally retired with the rank of general. Alexander also led exploratory expeditions in Africa and South America, but is most famous for his role in finally bringing "Cleopatra's Needle" to London, some eighty years after it had been presented by Muhammad Ali (1769-1849) to King George IV (r. 1820-1830) on the occasion of his coronation.

AMAURY, Anna; May 1855; 1856; Gate of All Nations.

AMARALKHAN [= Amaralikhan], J[amadar]; [c. 1912]; Gate of All Nations. The Indian Army rank of Jamadar was a junior commissioned rank in the cavalry and infantry alike and was roughly equivalent to cornet or ensign. This name was repeated on the Gate with the date 1912 next to the inscription "India, Rohtak Dis., Kasbakanor 39. CIH" which is an abbreviated reference to the Rohtak district of the Hissar division of Punjab, from which this detachment of the Central India Horse presumably came. Incidentally, this regiment was formed as a result of merging three regiments raised after the Indian Mutiny with the purpose



of policing the countryside; they were employed in the Afghan War of 1879 (Glover 1973, pl. 12).

ANDERSON, T.[S.]; 1876; Gate of All Nations (Fig. 4). Anderson worked for the Indo-European Telegraph Company in Iran from June 1875 to March 1878; he was based in Shiraz from June-October 1875; then repairing lines from Shiraz-Kazeroon (based in Dashtarjin) until March the following year; Shiraz-Abadeh (Sevund, with leave at Dehbeed and Yazd) March-December 1876; Shiraz from



Fig. 4

January-March 1877; and finally in Tehran, repairing and establishing telegraph lines with iron poles [as the wooden ones were constantly stolen] (Anderson 1880).⁸ He comments on his escorting two US generals in Iran (p. 96). Anderson briefly mentions Persepolis thus while travelling *en route* from Shiraz to Tehran in mid-March 1877: “On reaching the summit, the enraptured gaze of the traveller is

⁸ A fact commented on by Fraser (1982, 77).



met by two enormous and magnificent slabs of marble, on which are sculptured two colossal bulls: this is the entrance to the hall called Justice. Further on is the king's bedchamber – a splendid room of hieroglyphic sculpture, in the same preserved perfection” (Anderson 1880, 151). He also comments on “the names of travellers as far back as 1746, also ‘Une Scientific Expedition a Perse, 1753’, and several other dates equally old” being added as graffiti in the caravanserai at Yezdicast on the Murghab (Anderson 1880, 167).

ANDRE, E., DSP [= Délégation Scientifique en Perse]; 1899; Gate of All Nations. André was the architect on the French expedition to Susa in 1899 and directed by Jacques de Morgan (1857-1924).

AVENT, J.G., Capt[ain]; 1919; Palace of Darius; Gate of All Nations.

AXMEDOV, n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

BADEN, B.; 1924; Gate of All Nations [with Braunagel].

BADHNI, J.; 1927; Gate of All Nations [twice].

BALIGAN, Capt[ain], IMS; 1920; Gate of All Nations.

BALISHIN, M.; 1922; Gate of All Nations.

BAMFORD, W.T.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

BARNHAM, R.; 1908; Palace of Darius.

BARRY; Capt[ain], RAVC; 1920; Gate of All Nations.



BARTHOLD, P.E.; Capt[ain]; 25th.10.19 [19]; Gate of All Nations.

BATMANOV, Namii, Terterin; Rossia; 1923; Gate of All Nations (**Fig. 19**).

BATSON, P.; 21[st King George's Own Horse]; 1919; Gate of All Nations [with King and Panther]; [*see below*: Lucas].

BELANGER; 'Naturaliste'; 1826; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24).

BELLASIS, Edw[ar]d H.; Lieut[enant]; 1804; Gate of All Nations [with Manesty, Pasley, Jukes, Tanner and Louis]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 18**). The Bellasis family had a long and distinguished history of involvement with the East India Company; Edward Bellasis (1783-1843) was one of five brothers who served in its army, namely as an engineer. He campaigned in Gujerat soon after he arrived and learnt Persian in preparation for his appointment at the end of 1803 as Confidential Assistant and Officer of the Escort to Samuel Manesty's unofficial mission to the Qajar Court. He briefly succeeded Manesty [*see below*] as Resident in Basra in 1805 and subsequently served as Private Secretary to Mountstuart Elphinstone, the East India Company Governor of Bombay, and eventually rising to the rank of general. He was buried in a family tomb in London at Kensal Green (Bellasis 1952, 227, 241, 256-59; Wright 1986, 156-57).

BERNAY, Émile; 'de Paris'; 1862; Palace of Darius [repeated on a second visit with the date '19 février 1863']; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24).

BLACKER, St John; L[ieutenant]; 1809; Gate of All Nations. Blacker was an officer in the Madras cavalry and a member of Harford Jones' mission (cf. Morier 1812, 2); although Blacker is absent from the list of names of this mission incised



on the Gate of All Nations, he added his name immediately next to that of Jones (Wright 1979, 141).

BONFIELD (?); Maj[or]; July 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Wilson and Tod].

BORNMÜLLER, [Josef Friedrich Nicolaus]; ‘Botaniker’; 1893; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24) who read the date as 1899. Bornmüller (1862-1948) was one of the leading botanists to conduct research in Iran, on which subject he published 65 papers, almost a quarter of his prodigious output. He first visited Iran in 1892/93, when he explored Kerman, the Persian Gulf and Kurdistan; he returned in 1902 to explore parts of the Elburz mountains (Rechinger 1955; Wagenitz 1960).⁹

BOWER, D.; R[oyal] E[ngineers]; n.d.; Palace of Darius.

BRAUNAGEL, W.; 1924; Gate of All Nations [with Baden].

BRIGGS, G.; 1800; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Campbell and Colebrooke]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16). Curzon refers to Briggs as “the translator of Ferishta”.

BRIGGS, J[ohn]; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfield]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16, Fig. 17). Briggs (1785-1875) had a distinguished

⁹ My thanks to Dr Mark Nesbitt (Centre for Economic Botany, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew) for kindly supplying this bibliographical material.



career in India and was the author of a number of books including *The cotton trade of India* (1840), *What are we to do with the Punjab?* (1849) and *India & Europe compared* (1857) (Lambton 1995, 97).

BRUCE, W[illiam]; 1802; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13). Bruce returned in 1810 as part of a delegation headed by Malcolm, adding his name on the Gate of All Nations, with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild], cf. Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**). Mr Bruce originally arrived at Bushehr in 1800, served as Acting Resident from 1804-1807, and was appointed full Resident from 1811-1822 until he was dismissed by Elphinstone for signing the so-called treaty of Shiraz which effectively allowed Husayn Ali, governor of Fars, the power of veto over the British Residency at Bushehr (Ingram 1992, 239-40). According to Sir William Ouseley (1819, vol. I, 209, 213, 217ff.), Bruce facilitated his excavations south of Bushehr in 1811 and acquired on his behalf two Sasanian and several “Kufic” coins, “bits of glass and various beads” and “some engraved agates and carnelions” [*sic*] in the Bushehr bazaar; he found some further torpedo-jar coffins in 1813 (Simpson in press).

CADELL, Paoul; n.d.; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 29**).

CAMPBELL, R.; Cap[tain], Ass[istan]t; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 15**).

CAMPBELL, Will[ia]m; Cap[tain]; 1800; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Colebrooke and Briggs]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 3**).



CHAMOT; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

CHESNEY, Major; 1893; Gate of All Nations; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157).

CLOYNE, M.; 17 L[ight] D[ra]goon[s]; 1810; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 33) (Fig. 5).

COIBBS, H.J.; n.d.; Palace of Darius (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5

COLEBROOKE, J.; Cap[tain]; 1800; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Campbell and Briggs]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37). The “R” was added secondarily to the graffito, presumably on the instruction of Colebrooke himself.

COLHOUN, W.; Esq[ui]re; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16).



CORMICK, John; Esq[uires] [Dr]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16). Cormick's name is mis-spelt as "Cormeck". He served as a doctor with the East India Company and was later appointed principal physician to his Royal Highness Abbas Mirza. He settled in Tabriz where he married an Armenian lady; he died in 1833 and was buried in the Church of Sourp Shoughakat in Tabriz (Wright 1998, 170).

CORRAGON; 1810; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55).

COY, B.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

CRAMPTON, J.; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Marring and Lundt]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (Fig. 4).

CROS, Louis; 1810; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55).

CROSS, J.B.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (Fig. 6).

CURZON, G[eorge] N[athaniel]; 1889; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 33). Curzon (1859-1925) spent four months in Iran during 1889/90, followed by exhaustive reading that culminated in his magisterial *Persia and the Persian Question* (London 1892). He was the first person to record foreign graffiti left by visitors to Persepolis (Curzon 1892, vol. II, 156-57, 169). In 1899 Curzon was appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India, a post he held until 1905; his portrait exists in the Oriental Club in London (Forrest 1968, 227).



Fig. 6

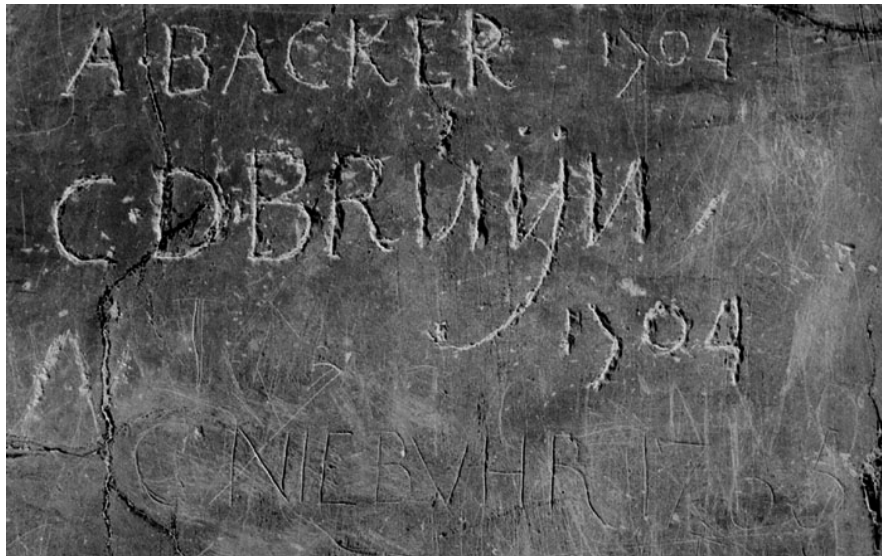


Fig. 7

DALAL; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Marker, Marker and Mulla] (Fig. 25).

D'ARMANDY, Bon; 1821; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24).



DAWSON, W[illiam]; 4th Reg[imen]t; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

[**DE BACKER**, A[driaan]; 1704; Gate of All Nations [with De Bruijn]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) and illustrated by Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds. 1997, 17, 173) [*see below*: Wagenvoort] (**Fig. 7**).

DE BRUIJN, Cornelis; [1704/05]; Gate of all Nations, second time repeated thus: BRUYN, C[ornelius] D[e]; 1704 [with De Backer]; mentioned by Niebuhr (1776/80, vol. II, 130) and James Morier 1812, 133), copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) and illustrated by Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds. 1997, 17, 173) [*see below*: Wagenvoort] (**Fig. 7**). De Bruijn (*c.* 1652-1726/27) was born in Holland but spent most of his life travelling abroad. After studying art in Rome, he spent six years (1678-84) travelling in Turkey, the Aegean, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria before returning to Italy and then Holland. The success of his travel account (De Bruijn 1702) encouraged him to travel again, on this occasion visiting Russia, Iran, India, Sri Lanka and the East Indies between 1701 and 1708 (De Bruijn 1711, 1718). He was the first European traveller to spend more than a day or so at Persepolis, and stayed in a nearby village from 9 November 1704 – 27 January 1705 (Drijvers 1991). Niebuhr (1776/80, vol. II, 130) commented on how he saw several European names, including De Bruijn marked in red crayon, at the site. De Bruijn appears to have been the first European traveller to bring back antiquities from Persepolis, namely a figure from the north face of the Apadana and “a piece from a window covered with cuneiform characters, and some other smaller objects” [the former from the Palace of Darius where many of these inscriptions are damaged] which were “despatched through the agent of the Dutch East India Company to the Burgomaster of Amsterdam”, the latter being none other than his patron Nicolaes Witsen (Pallis 1956, 65).



[DE] GOBINEAU, [Count Joseph Arthur]; n.d.; Gate of All Nations; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 8**). The French diplomat de Gobineau (1816-1882) was posted to Iran in 1854 as first secretary to M. Nicolas Prosper Bourée's (1811-86) mission to re-establish French political relations at the height of the Crimean War. He became chargé d'affaires

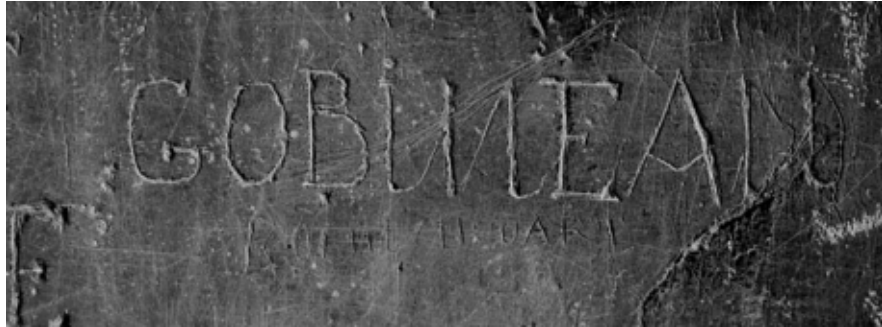


Fig. 8

in Tehran (1856-58) and later returned to serve as minister to Persia (1862-63). Inspired by the works of Lamertine and others, he became a celebrated and prolific writer on theology, racial history and other subjects (Lange 1924; Gail 1951, 56-58); his books include: *Trois Ans en Asie* (Paris 1859), *Lectures des textes cunéiformes* (Paris 1858), *Traité des écritures cunéiformes* (Paris 1864), *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1865), *Histoire des Perses* (Paris 1869); his diplomatic correspondence was also published in a number of volumes, e.g. *Lettres persanes* (reprinted Paris 1957) and *Les dépêches diplomatiques du comte de Gobineau en Perse* (Geneva 1959).

DE LABOURDONNAYE, R.; 1840; Gate of All Nations [once with Texier and the second with Texier and Laguiche]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 29**).

DE LAVAL, Lottin; [1844]; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 9**). Pierre-Victorien Lottin (1810-1903), better known as Lottin de Laval,



began his career as an historical novelist, but then spent four years travelling in the Near East with the purpose of moulding ancient sculptures and inscriptions. He pioneered a new method of making casts using an artificial material he termed



Fig. 9

“lottinoplastique” which he described in his *Manuel complet de Lottinoplastique* (Bernay 1857). He moulded a total of 31 sculptures and inscriptions at Persepolis in 1844 which he describes as coating in sesame oil or sheep fat before the long voyage home, as well as Sasanian rock reliefs, Assyrian and Egyptian sculptures and various West-Semitic inscriptions, which were later exhibited in Paris (Simpson in press).

DE ROSARIO, Antonio Joao; 1821; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37).

DUPRE (?), A.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Trezel].

DUVELL; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.



ELLIS, E.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

ELLIS, Henderson C.H.; 1873 (?); Gate of All Nations [with Mackenzie].

ELLIS, H[enry]; Esq[uires]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfield]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16). Ellis, the illegitimate son of Earl of Buckinghamshire, was appointed first assistant to Nicholas Smith (twice Resident in Bushehr) in 1809 but joined Malcolm's third mission to Persia in 1810. He was knighted and continued to play an influential role in Anglo-Iranian affairs until 1837, and led his own missions to the Qajar Court in 1814 and 1835/36 (Lorimer 1915, 2663; Ingram 1992).

FAGERGREN, Loug (?); 1862 (?); Palace of Darius [twice], repeated incompletely as 'Fageren 18' [*sic*] (Fig. 10). Conrad G.F. Fagergreen was Surgeon-General to H.I.M. the Shah (Wright 1999, 173).

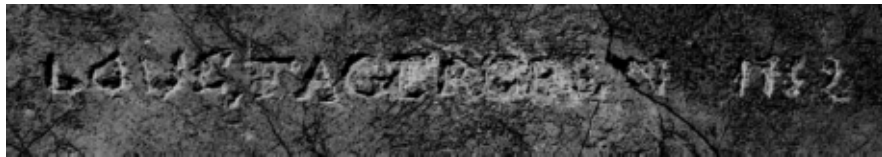


Fig. 10

FERGUSSON; May 1824; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37).

FITTER, K.A.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Patel, Natiman and Fran (?)](Fig. 25).

FRAEHN [Christian Martin]; 1846; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923,



SK-V, 12). The Orientalist Fraehn (1818-1842) was the author of a number of major works on Islamic history.

FRAN (?), F.P.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Fitter, Patel and Natiman] (**Fig. 25**).

FRANCKLIN, W[illiam]; 1787; Gate of All Nations; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157), copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37, SK-VI, 55) and illustrated by Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds. 1997, 17). Francklin (1763-1839) visited Iran in 1786-87 as an officer of the East India Company and spent some eight months in Shiraz. He visited Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam on 1-3 September in the company of Mr Jones, Manesty's deputy in the East India Company factory at Basra, and published a description of the different buildings and reliefs at these sites although in deference to Niebuhr he "refrained from entering into a diffusive account of this celebrated palace" (Francklin 1790, 201-38), and immediately below whose name he added his own graffito. He subsequently visited the suspected area of Troy in June 1799 and was the author of six books, including two histories of India.

FRASER, John Foster; 'Cycling Round the World'; 1897; Gate of All Nations. Following the popularity of Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1872), Thomas Cook launched the first personally directed world tour. However this relied heavily on travel by steamer and continental travel was only facilitated with the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1904 (Withey 1997, 271). Nevertheless the author and two friends (F. H. Lowe and S. Edward Lunn) set out from London in the summer of 1896 to cross the world by bicycle, a journey that took them through Iran via Tabriz, Qazvin, Tehran (where they spent the New Year), Qom, Kashan, Isfahan, Shiraz and Bushehr (Fraser 1982, 57-111). Pasargadae failed to impress them – "an archaeologist can make a little ruin go a long way" -



yet at Persepolis the “ruins were wonderful. They were majestic; they were bewildering. There was a tremendous platform built of massive blocks of stone, fixed Jemsheed only knows how. There were imposing bulls, one much the worse for wear ... All is lordly and forlorn, and no misty, sorrowful-countenanced, ghostly monarch disturbed our barbarian act as we scribbled our names on the marble slabs” (Fraser 1982, 102-103).

FREDERICK, E.; 1810; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55).

GEORGE; 1898; Gate of All Nations.

GOUGH, H.; 1904; Palace of Darius.

GRAND LOUIS; 23-10-1929; Palace of Darius.

GRUENWALDT; 1936; Gate of All Nations.

HALLSWORTH, W.H.; n.d.; 1920; Palace of Darius; Gate of All Nations.

HAMILTON, J.; 1864; 1866; 1867; 1868; Palace of Darius [four times]; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24).

HARRATT, J.S.; n.d.; Palace of Darius.

HAROLITOLITH TEDJERAN; 1926; Palace of Darius.

HARVEY-KELLY, C.; Maj[or]; 124th [Battalion Infantry]; Feb[ruary] 24 1919; Gate of All Nations [with Holbrooke, Teague, and Honeyball].



HAUSSKNECHT, D.C.; 1868; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13). This may be the same botanist whose research was continued by Bornmüller [*see above*].

HENDERSON, F.; R[oyal] N[avy]; 1873; Palace of Darius.

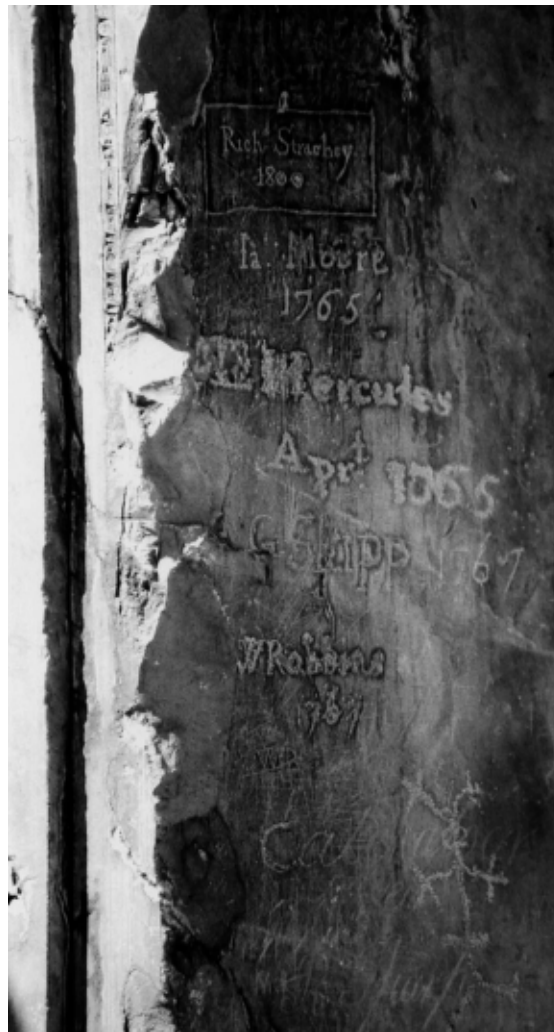


Fig. 11

HERCULES, D.E.; Apr[i]l 1765; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13); repeated ‘H. [= Hercules], E.; 1765’ (?); Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 33) (**Fig. 11**, **Fig. 12**). Hercules was an English merchant who proved a generous host to the explorer Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) when he arrived in Shiraz on 4 March 1764 and whom Niebuhr (1776/80, vol. II, 91) described as “un jeune Négotiant, d’une tres bonne famille d’Angleterre, qui prenoit icy foin des Affaires particulieres de Mr. Jervis”, the English merchant at Bushehr. Hercules joined Niebuhr for several days in his village



lodgings, arriving on 3 April before Niebuhr acknowledged his deteriorating eyesight and left for Shiraz on 7 April. Hercules appears to have copied Niebuhr's



Fig. 12

field plan of the site but also produced a number of pencil drawings showing reliefs at the site as well as rock reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam and Naqsh-e Rajab.

HIGGS, Geo[rge]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice] (**Fig. 4**). Higgs was part of a group visiting the site headed by Crampton and also including Marrige, Lundt and Webb.

HILL, Jim and Mary; n.d.; Gate of All Nations (**Fig. 25**).

HOLBROOKE, B.F.R.; Col[onel]; 124th [Battalion Infantry]; Feb[ruary] 24 1919; Gate of All Nations [with Harvey-Kelly, Teague and Honeyball].

HOLLINGBERY, W[illiam]; 1800; Gate of All Nations [with Pasley and Strachey]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (**Fig. 23**). Hollingbery visited the Qajar Court three times between 1799 and 1801 (Hollingbery 1814) and published *A History of Nizam Alee Khaun, Soobah of the Dekhan* (Calcutta 1805).

HOLST, H.; 1870; Gate of All Nations; illustrated by Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds. 1997, 17); [*see below*: Wagenvoort].



HONEYBALL, F(?) .R.; 124th [Battalion Infantry]; Feb[ruary] 24 1919; Gate of All Nations [with Holbrooke, Harvey-Kelly and Teague].

HORNE, Charles; 1810; Palace of Darius [twice]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 33) (Fig. 27).

HYDE, John; 1821; Gate of All Nations [twice]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37, 42). Mr Hyde met Rich during their stay in Shiraz (Rich 1836, vol. II, 234).

ISAACSON, J.; R[oyal] E[ngineers]; 1862 (or 1863?); Palace of Darius.

ISON (?); 1803 (?); Palace of Darius.

ISTVAN, Marothy; 1839; Palace of Darius.

JACOB, G.A.; 1920; Gate of All Nations.

JACKSON, Sir Keith; Bart.; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (Fig. 15).

JAROLDMEK, E.; n.d.; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld 1924, SK-VII, 24).

JERVIS; Cap[tain]; 3[r]d Cav[alry]; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (Fig. 15). Formerly the 3rd Queen's Own, this regiment was taken into the Company's service as the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry during the same year and consisted of ten squadrons of five hundred men apiece (Glover 1973, pl. 11).



JOCK; 1920; Gate of All Nations.

JOHNSON, Cha[rle]s; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**).

JONES [BRYDGES]; Sir Harford; K.C. Bart.; January 1809; Gate of All Nations [twice with Morier, Willock, Sheridan and Sutherland]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 13**). This inscription dates from an important historical episode in Anglo-Persian relations



Fig. 13

when Harford Jones (1764-1847) became the first diplomatic envoy sent by London to the Qajar Court, thereby creating tensions within the Government of India as his mission coincided with that of Sir John Malcolm who visited Persepolis in 1810. Jones had previously been the British East India Company's Resident in Basra, during which time he formed a small collection of Babylonian antiquities (Pallis 1956, 67; cf. also Wright 1986, 153). He took the surname



Brydges in 1826 and later wrote a book entitled *The Dynasty of the Kajars* (London 1833) and *An Account of the Transactions of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1807-1811* (London 1834).

JOYCE, A.A.; 1870; Gate of All Nations.

JUKES, Andrew; Esq[uires] [Dr]; 1804; Gate of All Nations [with Manesty, Pasley, Bellasis and Tanner]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 18**). Jukes (d. 1821)¹⁰ was the East India Company surgeon at the Bushehr Residency in 1804 and in this capacity served on Malcolm's second and third missions to Persia in 1808 and 1810. He accompanied the traveller and writer James Baillie-Fraser on a journey from Bombay to Bushehr in 1821 when he had been selected by Elphinstone as his envoy to negotiate over the stationing of British troops at Kishm island (Ingram 1992, 234-35). However he died in Shiraz on 10 November that year from the same cholera epidemic as Rich, the Company's brilliant young Resident in Baghdad [*see below*]. Jukes was buried in All Saviours Cathedral in Isfahan (Wright 1986, 156-57; 1994, 126-27; 1998, 166).

KACHEV, T.; 27 [= 1927?]; Gate of All Nations.

KING, A.F.; 21[st King George's Own Horse]; 1919; Gate of All Nations [with Panther and Batson]; [*see below*: Lucas]. This regiment was part of the Central India Horse.

LAGUICHE, Ph[ilippe]; 1840; Gate of All Nations [once with Texier and de Labourdonnaye]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157); copied by Herzfeld (1923,

¹⁰ Referred to in error as Dr Dukes by Lloyd (1980, 72).



SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 29**).

LAHER, J.E.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

LANGLAIS, P.; 1926 (?); Gate of All Nations.

LEE, S.; 1810; Palace of Darius.

LINDSAY, [Henry]; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**). The extraordinarily tall Lindsay-Bethune (1787-1851) was appointed commander of the Persian infantry regiments and received the Imperial Order of the Lion and the Sun from Fath 'Ali Shah in 1816; he later rose to the rank of Major-General and was knighted.

LITCHFEILD; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass and Pottinger]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**).

LITCHFIELD; Major; July 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Wilson and Tod]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55). Major Litchfield was mentioned by Rich (1836, vol. II, 235) as having “been uncommonly kind” to him during his prolonged stay in Shiraz in 1821.

LITTLE, I.; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923,



SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**). Little joined Malcolm's mission as a Lieutenant in the Madras Native Infantry but was left behind in Shiraz in order to maintain negotiations with Mohammed Ali Mirza, Governor of Shiraz, while Malcolm continued onto the Persian Court (Pottinger 1816, 240).

LOCKETT, A[braham]; L[ieutenan]t; 'Hoc Templum Fatalis In pulverem', 5 July 1810; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37). Lockett revisited the following year adding his name thus: Lockett; L[ieutenan]t; 1811; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13). Lockett was an employee of the East India Company and was posted to Baghdad from 1810-1812, whence he obtained a number of cylinder seals and inscribed bricks; during this time he redrew Rich's sketch plan of the ruins at Babylon for Rich's (1813) first memoir on the site. He published an edition of a treatise by al-Jurjani (1814) and was later posted to Calcutta (Pallis 1956, 69).

LOFTUS, W[illiam] K[ennett]; [1850]; Palace of Darius (**Fig. 14**). Loftus (1820-1858) was attached as a geologist to the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission in



Fig. 14

1849; he visited Susa with Colonel Williams [*see below*], Joseph Olguin [*see below*] and the artist Henry A. Churchill in May 1850 and saw Persepolis during a trip later that summer, during which time he added his name within the grotto at Taq-e Bustan; Loftus returned to Susa during the following year to conduct the first excavations at that site (Curtis 1993, 2) [*see below*: Williams]. He had already



conducted an initial season of excavations at Warka from January-February 1850 (returning in 1854) and was later to excavate at Nineveh in 1873, 1874 and 1876.

LORD, J.W.; Capt[ain]; 124th Batt[allion] Inf[an]try; [1918/19]; Palace of Darius.

LOT (?), J.; [1810]; Palace of Darius.

LOUIS, Corragon; CMOS; 1804; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42).

LOUISA; 29.4.[18]98; Palace of Darius.

LUCAS; S[er]g[ean]t 21st Lancers; 1917; Palace of Darius.

LUNDT, W[illia]m; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Crampton and Marrige]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (**Fig. 4**).

LYON [possibly **LYONS**], W[illia]m; Ass[istan]t Doctor; 1810; Palace of Darius.

MACDONALD [KINNEIR], John; Cap[tain]; 1808; 1810; Gate of All Nations; his name [spelt “McDonald”] was added to the Gate of All Nations in 1810 as part of the delegation headed by Malcolm with Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild); copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**). He returned sixteen years later: ‘L[ieutenan]t Col[onel] J. Macdonald, Envoy 1826’ [Gate of All Nations], and repeated as Macdonald, J.M.; Col[onel] Envoy; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir] (**Fig. 15**); both listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157, 169) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13).

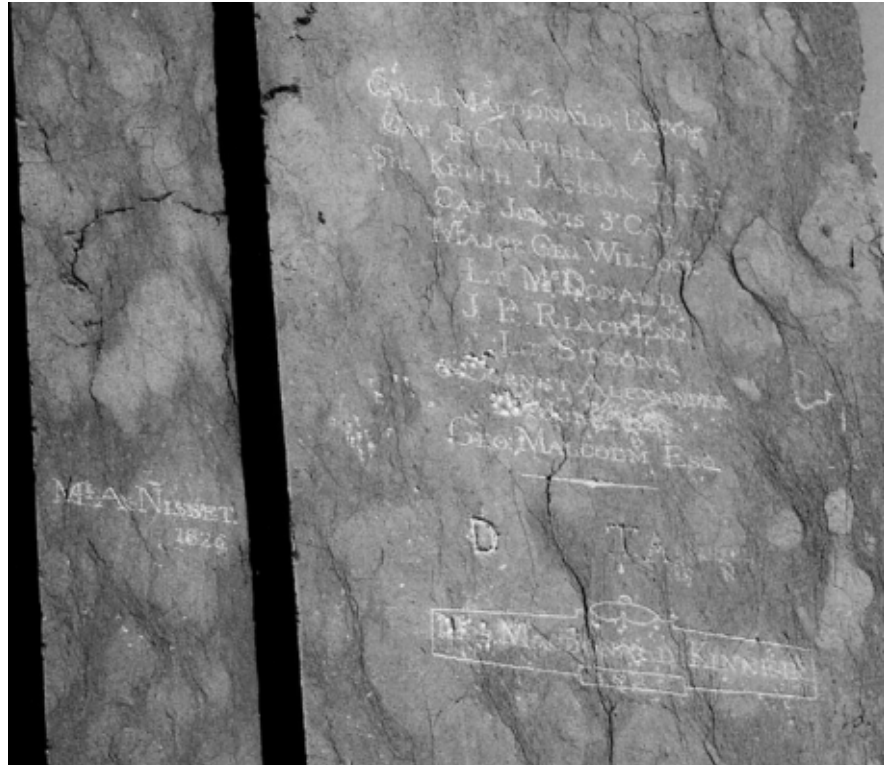


Fig. 15

Macdonald (1782-1830) was commissioned in the 24th Madras Native Infantry, accompanied Malcolm's second and third Persian missions in 1808 and 1810 as political assistant (Macdonald 1813). He reconnoitred overland routes to India via Turkey, Syria and Mesopotamia in 1813-14 (Macdonald 1818). He subsequently rose to become East India Company's envoy to Persia (1826-30), hence his repeated visit to the site in 1826, during which time he excavated at the site (Simpson in press). Author of *Geographical Memoir of Persia* (1813).

MACDONALD KINNEIR, Mrs; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with her husband Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander and Malcolm]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13).



MACGREGOR, Wilson; 1891; Gate of All Nations.

MACKENZIE, G.S.; 1873; Palace of Darius [with Ellis].

MACNAGHTEN, E.C.; n.d.; Palace of Darius; Gate of All Nations.

MALCOLM, Geo[rge A.]; Esq.; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 15**). Malcolm (1805-1826) was a nephew of Sir John Malcolm, a member of the Bombay Civil Service and died on 15 July 1826, a day after Stuart [*see below*], *en route* for Tehran. He was buried in All Saviours Cathedral in Isfahan (Wright 1998, 166).

MALCOLM, John; Cap[tain], Envoy &c. &c. [etc]; 1800; Gate of All Nations [with Campbell, Colebrooke and Briggs]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 3**). Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833) served most of his career in India, where he rose to become Governor of Bombay (Kaye 1883, 187-334). In 1799 he headed a mission to Iran with the purpose of checking the growing power of Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, and to expel French agents from Persia. These aims were not realised and the British authorities in Calcutta were horrified to hear news of a visit to Tehran by Claude Mathieu de Gardane, one of Napoleon's generals, and the subsequent Treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander, with the implied threat to India (Pottinger 1997, 10-12). The same delegation listed in this graffito also added their names behind the mounted horseman in the grotto at Taq-e Bustan. He evidently greatly enjoyed his time in Iran as he later wrote to Edmonstone, then Persian Secretary to Government, that "I employ every leisure hour in researches into the history of this extraordinary country, with which we are but little acquainted" (quoted by Kaye 1883, 210). Malcolm headed two further East India Company missions to



entitled thus: 'Malcolm, John; Brig[adier] Gen[e]r[al], Envoy Extr[ordinary]'; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16). This final trip of Malcolm's, on behalf of the Government in India, coincided with Harford Jones' independent mission [see above].

MANDELSLO, Johann Albrecht von; 'Anno 1638'; Gate of All Nations; noted by Morier (1812, 133) (Fig. 17). Von Mandelslo travelled with Adam Olearius (c. 1599/1600-1671) as part of a delegation sent to Russia and Iran by Frederick Duke



Fig. 17

of Holstein to explore commercial prospects in those countries; he visited Persepolis on 27 January 1638 (Morier 1812, 136). Following his premature death, his work was later published by Olearius under the title: *Beschryvingh van de gedenkwaerdige zee-en landt-reyze, deur Persien naar Oost-Indien* (1658) and *Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung* (1658).

MANESTY, Samuel; Esq[ui]re, Envoy, &c. [etc]; [March/April] 1804; Gate of All Nations [twice with Pasley, Jukes, Bellasis and Tanner]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (Fig. 18). Manesty (1758-1812) was appointed to the position of writer on the Bombay Establishment of the East India Company in December 1778 and was posted to Basra three years later to serve as assistant to Harford Jones; he became Basra Resident in 1784, a



Fig. 18

post intended as a counterpart within the Ottoman empire to Bushehr and which gained importance in 1798 with the creation of a monthly desert Overland Mail Service to Aleppo. Owing to a dispute with the governor, Manesty transferred the East India Company Factory to Kuwait in 1793 but returned to Basra in August 1795; Keppel (1827, 25) refers to the factory-residency as “the best house in town” after the palace. Manesty became well-known for his lavish shooting parties and horse dealing while his open relationship with a local woman scandalised some circles (Bellasis 1952, 227). The graffiti at Persepolis date from a six-week stay in Shiraz as he travelled *en route* with “truly respectable British gentlemen” [*see above*] on an unauthorised visit to Fath Ali Shah’s Court in 1804 where he delivered a letter from Lord Wellesley on behalf of Jonathan Lovett, the ailing Resident in Bushehr, as part of a scheme to curtail French and Russian interests (Wright 1986, 156-57). Following this trip Manesty recommended that one of his party, the young Edward Bellasis [*see above*], was made his successor when he retired but this was not to be (Bellasis 1952, 227-28); indeed, prior to his eventual dismissal in 1810, Manesty’s last years in office must have been rather awkward as three years previously the much younger and more linguistically able Claudius James Rich [*see below*] had been appointed to a newly created Residency post in Baghdad.



MARCHANT, C.F.; 1822; Gate of All Nations.

MARKER, K.A.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Dalal, Marker and Mulla] (**Fig. 25**).

MARKER, P.D.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Dalal, Marker and Mulla] (**Fig. 25**).

MARRIGE, J.B.; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Crampton and Higgs]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (**Fig. 4**).

MARTIN, J.; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**).

McDONALD; L[ieutenant]; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, Riach, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 15**).

McILRATH; 'Chicago Inter Ocean'; 1897; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (**Fig. 19**).

McIVER, M.M.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

MEADE; L[ieutenant] Col[onel] Malcolm J.; 1898; Gate of All Nations [with Mrs Meade] (**Fig. 20**). Meade served as the British Political Resident in Bushehr from 1897-1900 (Lorimer 1915, 2675).



Fig. 19

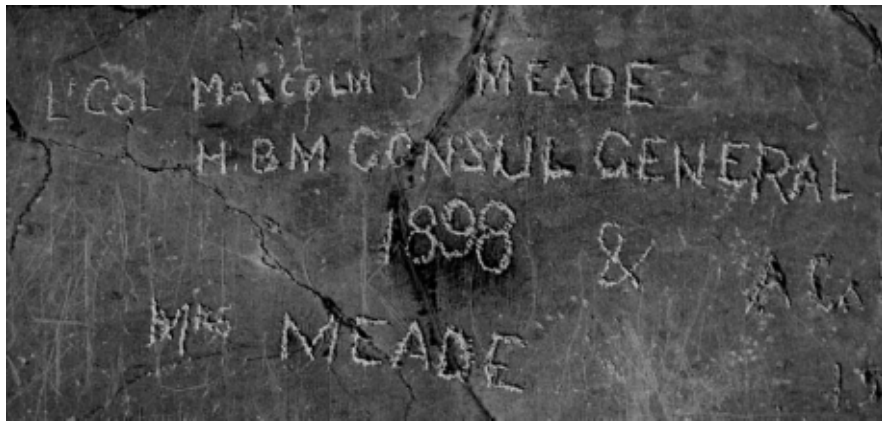


Fig. 20

MEADE; Mrs; 1898; Gate of All Nations [with her husband Lieutenant-Colonel Meade] (**Fig. 20**).



MEAKIN, [James Edward] Budgett; n.d.; Gate of All Nations. Meakin was a well-known late Victorian travel writer and author of four books on North Africa published between 1899 and 1905.

MEDEM; 1846; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 12).

MELINITSKII SEMEN, X.; 1925; Gate of All Nations.

MEYNARD; n.d.; Gate of All Nations. This is probably the French Orientalist scholar Charles Adrien Casimir Barbier de Meynard (1826-1908) whose published works included editions of Yaqut's *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (1861) and Mas'udi's *Les Prairies d'Or* (Paris 1861-77).

MICHEL, G.L.; 1920; 28.4.24; Palace of Darius.

MOORE, Ia.; 1765; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 11**).

MONTEITH; Lieut[enant] [William], Eng[ineer]; 1810; Gate of All Nations, [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfield]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**). Monteith was a Scottish engineer employed by the Persian Boundary Commission to fix the line of its frontiers. He later rose through the ranks of Colonel, Major and finally General, and visited Susa where he recorded the carved stone socle which also attracted the attention of later travellers including Ker Porter (1821, vol. II, 417), Layard and Loftus (Curtis 1993, 14, pl. 12).

MORAD, 'Bushehr'; n. d.; Gate of All Nations.



MORIER, James [Justinian]; January 1809; Gate of All Nations [twice with Harford Jones, Willock, Sheridan and Sutherland]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 13**). This graffito dates from Morier's (c. 1780-1849) first visit to Persia in 1808/9 when he was part of Harford Jones' mission (Wright 1979, 141); his next visits to the site were in April/May and July 1811 in the capacity of secretary to Sir Gore Ouseley's Embassy to the Shah. It was during these later visits that he described the early excavations made by Robert Gordon along the north façade of the Apadana (Curtis 1998). Between April 1814 and October 1815 he returned once again to Iran as Minister Plenipotentiary. Morier published two accounts of his travels (Morier 1812, 1818) but is best-known for his satirical book *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (London 1895).

MULLA, M.F.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Dalal, Marker and Marker] (**Fig. 25**).

NATIMAN, C.K.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Fitter, Patel and Fran (?)] (**Fig. 25**).

NIEBUHR, C[arsten]; 1765; Gate of All Nations; noted by Morier (1812, 133-34) and listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) (**Fig. 7, Fig. 21**). Niebuhr (1733-1815)



Fig. 21



spent almost a month at the site in 1765 during which time he made accurate copies of all the visible cuneiform inscriptions and detailed drawings of the standing remains, and published the first measured plan of the ruins on the terrace (Niebuhr 1776/80).

NISBET, A[lexander]; Mr; 1826; Palace of Darius. Nisbet commanded the stores of the British Military Mission at Tabriz: his daughter Isabella died aged one year on 3.9.1834 and was buried in St. Mary's Church in Tabriz (Wright 1998, 170; 1999, 174, pl. XXXIVa) (**Fig. 15**).

NOBLE, A.; Capt[ain]; IMS; n.d.; Palace of Darius.

NORMAN, W.; R[oyal] E[ngineers]; 1863; Palace of Darius.

OLGUIN, J[oseph]; [1850]; Gate of All Nations (**Fig. 22**). Olguin left his name in the grotto at Taq-e Bustan in summer 1850 when he visited the site as part of a group headed by Colonel Williams [*see below*] and including Loftus [*see above*].



Fig. 22

PANTHER, J.J.; 21st King George's Own Horse; 1919; Gate of All Nations [with King and Batson] [*see above*: Lucas].



PARSONS, G.S.; 1825 (?); Gate of All Nations.

PASLEY, C[harles]; [Lieutenant]; [1800]; Gate of All Nations [with Strachey and Hollingbery]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (**Fig. 23**). Pasley was cousin of Sir John Malcolm; he served as assistant to Lovett, the East India Company

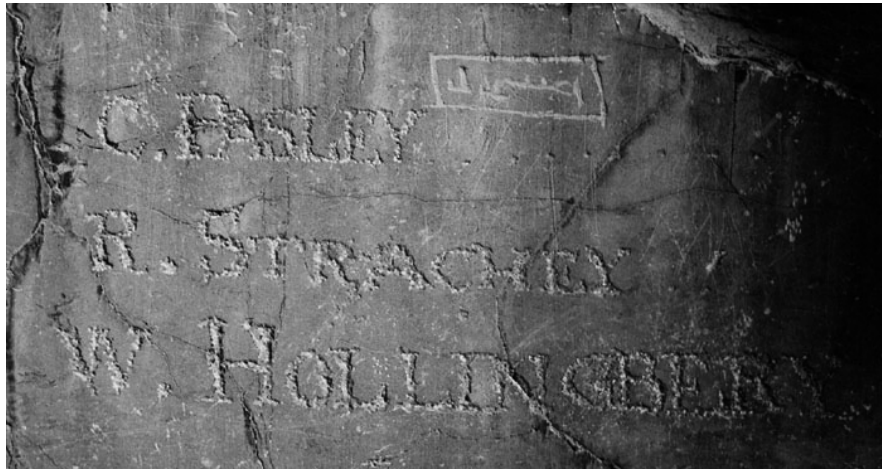


Fig. 23

Resident in Bushehr from 1803 to 1804 but who had retired on grounds of ill health by the time of Manesty's unofficial mission to the Qajar Court (Wright 1986, 156). It was during this occasion that Pasley returned to Persepolis, recording his visit thus: Pasley, Charles; Capt[ain]; 1804; Gate of All Nations [with Manesty, Jukes, Bellasis and Tanner]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 18**). In 1808, Pasley served briefly as the British Political Representative in Bushehr and during the time of Malcolm's second Persian mission, he offered British troops to Fath Ali Shah in order to outbid ongoing French negotiations.

PATEL, J.R.; Dr; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Fitter, Natiman and Fran (?)] (**Fig. 25**).

PAYNE, Dr.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations (**Fig. 6**).



PERRGAU; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

PESCE, [Colonel] L[ui]gi; 1858; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24). Pesce was a Neapolitan colonel who emigrated to Iran in 1848 and for a while commanded the Iranian infantry and served as a military attaché (1848-1861); he was also a keen early photographer and a master of the calotype process. He undertook at his own expense the earliest-known photographs of the ruins at Persepolis, a number of which were exhibited in London in 1862 (Bohrer ed. 1999, 20-21).

PETREZ; 1934; Gate of All Nations.

POLAK, [J.E.]; Dr; n.d.; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 12). Polak was an Austrian Jewish doctor employed by Nasir al-din Shah as Professor at the Teheran Medical College, and the Shah's personal medical adviser (1851-56). Polak appears to have encouraged Anton Sevruguin's photographic career (Bohrer ed. 1999, 24-25) and published an autobiographical account of his experiences in Iran, *Die Osterreichischen Lehrer in Persien* (Vienna 1876).

POTTINGER, [Henry]; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass and Litchfield]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**). Henry Pottinger (1789-1856) joined the navy as a midshipman but on arriving at Bombay enrolled in the East India Company college where he learnt local languages and rapidly rose through the ranks of cadet (1805), ensign (1806) and lieutenant in the Bombay Native Infantry (1809). Soon afterwards he became a celebrated figure following his successful 1500 mile reconnaissance of routes across Baluchistan in 1810, which he undertook on behalf of Sir John Malcolm when the



latter was charged with leading an embassy to the Shah's court, and whose mission he joined directly from Kerman (Pottinger 1816). In June 1810, *en route* from Shiraz to Tabriz, he mentions that the mission stopped in "a garden within one mile of the far-famed ruins of Persepolis, where we halted two days to admire them" (Pottinger 1816, 242). Pottinger subsequently served during the Mahratta War, became political officer of Sind (1836-40) and baronet (1840). In the same year he was appointed as Plenipotentiary and Chief Superintendent to China and brought about an end to the Opium War. Following this he created the British colonial base at Hong Kong which he administered as its first Governor and Commander-in-Chief (1843); he later became Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and later of Madras (1847-54). He became a member of the Oriental Club in 1830, which had been founded as a haven for employees of the East India Company in 1824, and was subsequently buried in St George's Church in Belfast (Forrest 1968, 231; Pottinger 1997).

PREECE, J.R.; 26/11/19 (?); Gate of All Nations. This may be the same individual as one Mr Preece, a station superintendent of the Persian Telegraph who continued to supply Islamic art to the South Kensington [later V&A] Museum after the departure of Sir Robert Murdoch Smith (cf. Scarce 1986, 137).

RIACH, J.P.; Esq[uires]; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 15**). Dr Riach was serving as medical officer in the residency when Mignan (1829, 37) stayed in Bushehr in August 1831. The British Museum acquired the famous seal of the Sasanian governor "Vehdin-Shapur, chief-storekeeper of Iran" from Riach in November 1863 (cf. Bivar 1969, 4, 49, pl. 3: AD1).

RICH, C[laudius] J[ames]; 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Taylor, Sturmy and



Tod]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (Fig. 28). Rich (1786-1821) was appointed East India Company Resident in Baghdad at the age of twenty-one. During this time he built up an important collection of manuscripts and published the first measured surveys of Babylon and Nineveh (Rich 1813/15; 1818); the names of Rich and his wife were added as graffiti to the monastery of Rabban Hormuzd and a spring on the edge of Nineveh which they christened “Thisbe’s Well” (Rich 1836, vol. II, 51; Bell 1924, 282). Rich arrived at Persepolis on 22 August 1821 and pitched his tent close to the Gate of All Nations. He spent six days here, wandering over the ruins in the moonlight and copying all but one of the visible Old Persian inscriptions for which he commended the use of “Grotefend’s system”. He also cleared the lower part of the south façade of the palace of Darius “as there are three inscriptions on it, and a row of figures very perfectly preserved, from their having been under the rubbish”. He condemned the destruction of reliefs, specifically the removal of “bits of inscriptions” and an unsuccessful chiselling of “a very fine head” resulting in its wilful smashing, owing to “the passion for possessing curiosities” (Rich 1836, vol. II, 222) and returned to Shiraz on 30 August, where he was obliged to stay because of a cholera outbreak that had spread from Bushehr; he used this time to make fair copies of the inscriptions which were used by his widow in her edition of his *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (Rich 1836). Rich died of cholera in Shiraz on 5 October in the presence of Dr Tod and the traveller James Baillie Fraser, “the Himmalaya traveller ... a great resource” (Rich 1836, vol. II, 235); he was buried on a hillside outside the town but, following vandalism of the cemetery, his body was transferred to All Saviours Cathedral at Isfahan where it was re-interred on 17 July 1826 at a joint ceremony for those of George A. Malcolm [see above], Charles Darnley Stuart [see above] and Dr John Taylor (Wright 1998, 166).

ROBBINS, W.; 1767; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (Fig. 11).



ROCKLE, K.; 1924; Gate of All Nations.

ROMASKEVICH, A[leksandr Aleksandrovich]; n.d.; Gate of All Nations. Romaskevich (1885-1942) was a Russian scholar of Oriental studies and published a Persian-Russian dictionary in Leningrad in 1931.

ROSSIA; 1900; Gate of All Nations.

ROSTON, T.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

RUSTOM, K.; n.d.; Palace of Darius.

SAXANSKII, V.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

SCHULENBURG, Graf [Count] F[riedrich] W[erner]; 1926.19 - Gesandter - 30.1931; Gate of All Nations (**Fig. 24**). Schulenburg was Herzfeld's host in Tehran when he first visited Iran in 1923/24 (cf. Herzfeld 1926, 231).



Fig. 24



SEVRUGUINE [*sic*], A[nnton]; 1920; Gate of All Nations. Sevruguin (late 1830s-1933) was a leading photographer of Iran in the late 19th century. He was an Armenian Christian born in Tehran where his father, Vassil de Sevruguin, was posted to the Russian embassy; Sevruguin spent most of his life in Tehran and where he operated a commercial studio from the 1870s onwards. His photographs of the Qajar Court, daily life and scenery are amongst the earliest and most important in the history of Iran: many were bequeathed by him to the American Presbyterian Mission to Tehran and are now held by the Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Sevruguin spelt his name in several different ways, either in a more French form as this graffito exemplifies or otherwise in a form closer to his Armenian roots, thus Serunian or Segruvian. He was commissioned by the German Orientalist Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945) to record the ruins at Persepolis and his photographs were used by Sarre and Herzfeld in their book *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Berlin 1910); cf. also Bohrer ed. (1999, 14, 34, 89).

SHARP, R[alph Norman]; n.d.; Palace of Darius. Reverend Sharp (23/5/1896-11/9/1995) was an Anglican missionary in Yazd and Shiraz for 36 years and lectured on ancient languages at the University of Shiraz; he built the Church of St Simon the Zealot in 1938, where he incorporated cuneiform inscriptions in its decoration, and published a very useful guide book on *The Inscriptions in Old Persian Cuneiform* (1966; translated into Persian in 1971); he also helped edit Muhammad Taqi Mustafavi's privately published work *The Land of Pars* (1978), and translated Persian poetry into English.

SHEPHERD, Tho[mas]; [29] June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Stuart]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 12), repeated 20 (?) June 1826; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 25**). Shepherd was a member of Macdonald's delegation.



Fig. 25



SHEPHERD, W.; 1765; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24).

SHERIDAN, T[homas Henry]; January 1809; Gate of All Nations [twice with Harford Jones, Morier, Willock and Sutherland]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37). Sheridan (1786-1812) enrolled with the East India Company's Bombay Civil Establishment and was a junior member of Harford Jones' 1808 mission; he died at the age of 26 in Shiraz on 6 September 1812 and was interred in the Armenian church of St. Mary (Wright 1979, 141; 1998, 168; 1999, 173, pl. XXXIc).

SIKH; 1943; Gate of All Nations.

SINGH, D.B.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations (Fig. 3).

SINGH, J.; Bhaga T.; 39th CIH [= Central India Horse]; 1912; Gate of All Nations.

SINGH, S.V.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations (Fig. 3).

SKIPP, G.; 1767; Palace of Darius (Fig. 11).

SLISEVSKII, A.; 1922; Gate of All Nations.

SLUPP, G.; 1767; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13).

SMITH, J.C.; 1893; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55).

SNODGRASS; Lieut[enant]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs,



Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Pottinger and Litchfeild]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 16).

SOMERS COCKS, C.; November 1906; Gate of All Nations.

STANLEY, [Henry Morton]; 'New York Herald'; 1870; Gate of All Nations; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (Fig. 26). Stanley (1841-1904) was born at Denbigh in North Wales but ran away to sea in 1857 after which he led a roving life in America. At the close of the Civil War,

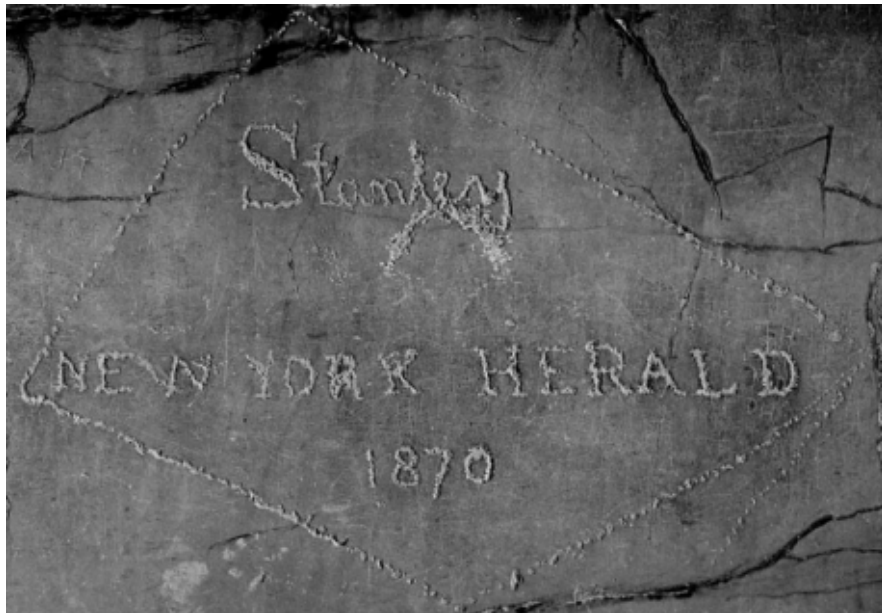


Fig. 26

Stanley went to Palestine, the Crimea and Iran as a newspaper correspondent for the *New York Herald*. He started his expedition to East Africa in 1871 where he famously located Dr Livingstone near Lake Tanganyika in Ujiji on November 10, 1871. Together they explored the northern end of Lake Tanganyika but after Livingstone's death he decided to follow his hero's researches with further exploration in Central Africa (Anstruther 1988).



STANNUS, [Ephraim Gerrish]; L[ieutenant] Col[onel]; n.d.; Palace of Darius [twice]; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24) (**Fig. 27**). Stannus (1784-1850) was East India Company Resident in Bushehr from 1824-1826 before retiring to England on grounds of ill health; he was subsequently appointed Lieutenant-

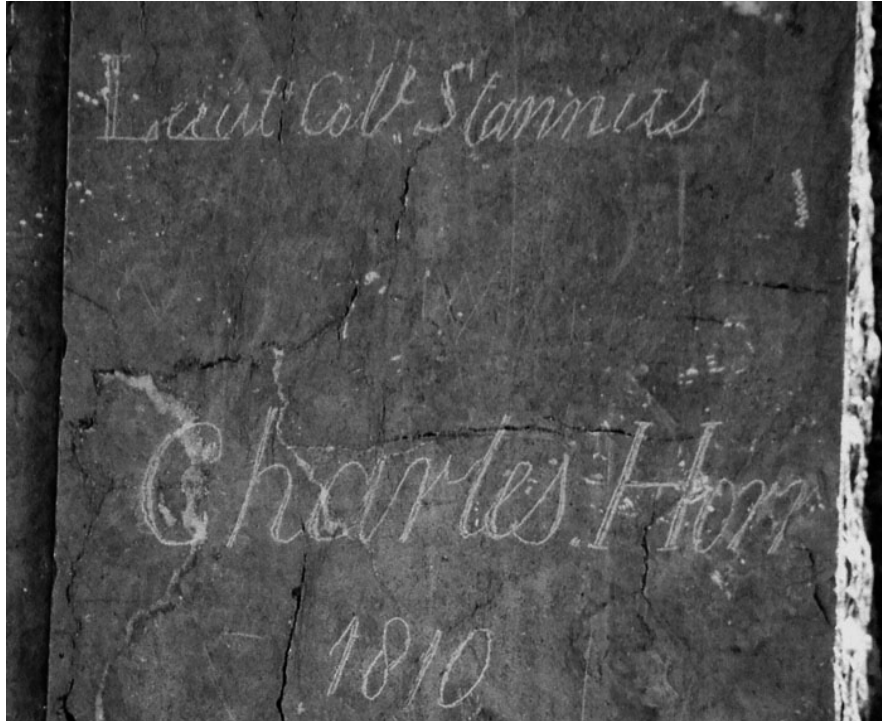


Fig. 27

Governor of the East India Company Military Seminary in Addiscombe where he remained until his death. Stannus excavated briefly at Persepolis in 1825 and was the first person to make moulds of sculptures at this site, namely along the north staircase of the Apadana, eastern and southern staircases of the Palace of Darius and within one of the southern doorways into the Hall of a Hundred Columns (Simpson 2000; in press). A selection of Stannus' casts were placed on permanent display in 2003 as part of the "Enlightenment" gallery in the refurbished King's Library in The British Museum (Simpson 2003, 195-96, fig. 183).



STEWART, A.E.; Major; 124th [Battalion Infantry]; 1918; Palace of Darius; Gate of All Nations.

STEWART, J.; Capt[ain]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Malcolm, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Williams, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfeild] (**Fig. 16**).

STRACHEY, Rich[ard]; 1800; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 11**). Strachey also added his name to the Gate of All Nations during a visit with Pasley and Hollingbery in the same year, and again copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) (**Fig. 23**).

STRONG; L[ieutenant]; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, Willock, McDonald, Riach, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 15**).

STUART, C[harles] D[arnley]; 29 June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Shepherd]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 12). Stuart (1805-1826) was a member of Macdonald's delegation who died at Yezdicast, *en route* for Tabriz, on 14 July that year; he was interred in All Saviours Cathedral at Isfahan in a joint ceremony with Malcolm [*see above*] who had passed away the following day, Rich [*see above*] and Dr John Taylor (Wright 1998, 166).

STURMY, E.; 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Rich, Taylor and Tod]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 28**). Mr Sturme[y] [*sic*] is mentioned in Rich's (1836, vol. II, 217) account of his stay in Shiraz in the same year.

SULTANOV, A.; 1900; Gate of All Nations.



Fig. 28

SUNDT, Will[iam]; 1810; Palace of Darius; copied by Herzfeld (1924, SK-VII, 24).

SUTHERLAND, J[ames]; January 1809; Gate of All Nations [twice with Harford Jones, Morier, Willock and Sheridan]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37). Sutherland was a member of Harford Jones' mission (Wright 1979, 141).

SZECHENYA, Andor; Count; 3/XII 1892; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-VI, 55) ([Fig. 6](#)).



TANNER, John; Esq[uires]; 1804; Gate of All Nations [with Manesty, Pasley, Jukes and Bellasis]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 18**). Tanner was a member of Manesty's unofficial mission to the Qajar Court in this year (Wright 1986, 156-57).

TAYLOR, A.; 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Rich, Sturmy and Tod]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42) (**Fig. 28**). Sir William Ouseley (1819, vol. I, 183) refers to a Mr Taylor commanding the East India Company's Resident's guard of Indian sepoy at Bushehr. A Mr Taylor (d. 6.12.1821) is also mentioned in Rich's (1836, vol. II, 217) account of his stay in Shiraz in this year but this may refer to Dr John Taylor of the Bombay Medical Establishment who died in Shiraz on 6 December 1821 (Wright 1998, 166).

TEAGUE, J.; Capt[ain]; 124th [Battalion Infantry]; Feb[ruary] 24 1919; Gate of All Nations [with Harvey-Kelly, Holbrooke and Honeyball].

TEXIER, C[har]les [Félix Marie]; 1840; Gate of All Nations [twice, once with de

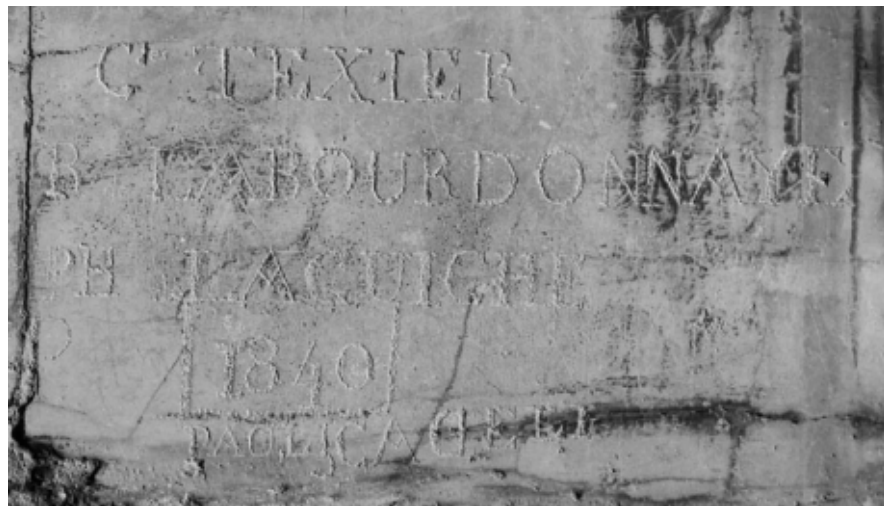


Fig. 29



Labourdonnaye and the second time with de Labourdonnaye and Laguiche]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (Fig. 29). In the summer of 1834 Texier (1802-1871) was the first foreign traveller to visit the ruins of the Hittite capital of Hattusha at Boghazköy and the nearby sanctuary at Yazilikaya, publishing his ambitious *Description de l'Asie Mineure* in 1839. In 1842 he published his further travels as the *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie: géographie, géologie, monuments, mœurs* (Paris, 1842/52). Texier also left his name as a graffito on the façade of the tomb of Amyntas at Fethiye in south-west Turkey.

THOMAS, A.; 1926; Gate of All Nations.

TOD, I.; 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Rich, Taylor and Sturmy]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 42); repeated July 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Litchfield and Wilson] (Fig. 28). Dr Tod is mentioned in Rich's (1836, vol. II, 217) account of his stay in Shiraz and described as "a very pleasant companion" on a trip to Qasr-e Abu Nasr ["the famous and much-disputed ruin of Meshed-i Mader-i Suliman"] in August of that year. Tod was present at Rich's death-bed when he passed away in Shiraz later that year.

TREZEL, A.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations [with Dupré (?)].

TURNER, A.J.; 1907; Gate of All Nations.

TWEEDY, H.I. (?); 1880 (?), 1890 (?); Gate of All Nations; illustrated by Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds. 1997, 17, fig. 4); [see below: Wagenvoort].

VAMBERY, A[rmin]; 1862; Palace of Darius; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 169) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13). The Orientalist and Central Asian



traveller Vambéry (1832-1913) travelled from Persia to Samarkand during 1863 (Vambéry 1864); he became director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1894.

VANMALI, P.; ‘Bombay’; 10-9-1926; Gate of All Nations.

WAGENVOORT, M[aurits]; 1905; Gate of All Nations; illustrated by Wagenvoort himself (Wagenvoort 1926) and Drijvers, De Hond & Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds. 1997, 173). Wagenvoort added his own graffito immediately below that of De Bruijn and his travelling companion De Backer, partly out of admiration for De Bruijn and partly arising from nationalistic feelings and regret that these were the only Dutch names he could find. His own published photograph was retouched to render these three names more clearly visible but it might be noted that the addition of his name heavily obscured two earlier graffiti left by Holst and Tweedy [*see above*].

WALL, Vic; 1962; Gate of All Nations.

WANEHOPE; Capt[ain]; 1840; Palace of Darius.

WEBB, M.W.; 1810; Gate of All Nations [with Crampton, Higgs, Lundt and Marrige].

WEBB, W.; 1800; 1810; Gate of All Nations.

Webb’s second graffito is signed “& Co”.

WILLIAMS, [William Fenwick]; Col[onel]; R[oyal] A[rtilillery]; 1850; Gate of All Nations (**Fig. 30**). During this time Williams (1800-1883) was commissioner of the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission to which Layard had been assigned as

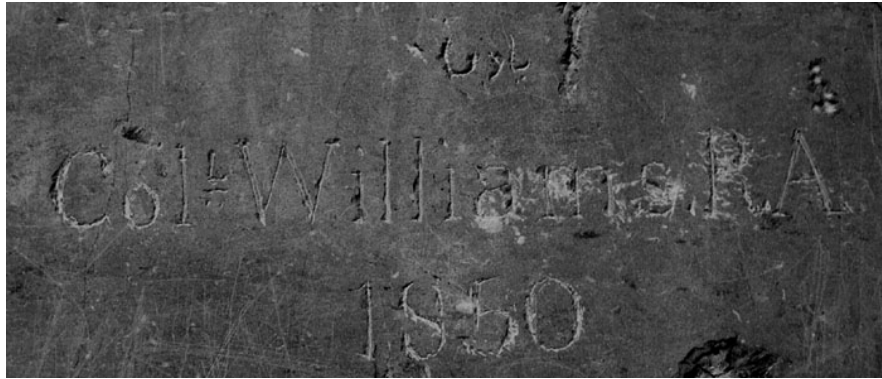


Fig. 30

private secretary to Williams in 1848 before resigning and continuing his earlier excavations in Assyria. Williams later continued Layard's work at Nineveh by overseeing excavations of part of rooms VI, XII-XIV and XLVIII of Sennacherib's palace on Kuyunjik during March-April 1849 (Turner 2001); his subsequent career saw distinction during the siege of Kars in 1855, for which he was knighted and awarded a baronetcy. A group led by Williams and also consisting of Olguin [*see above*], Henry A. Churchill and Loftus [*see above*] toured sites in western and southern Iran in the summer of 1850, including Bisitun and the Sasanian grotto at Taq-e Bustan at which site they carved their names between the rear legs of the horse, but later returning to excavate at Susa in January 1851 (Curtis 1993).

WILLIAMS, J.; Esq[uires]; 1810; Gate of All Nations [twice with Malcolm, Stewart, Ellis, Bruce, McDonald, Little, Johnson, Martin, Monteith, Briggs, Cormick, Colhoun, Lindsay, Snodgrass, Pottinger and Litchfield]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 16**).

WILLOCK, [Cornet Henry]; January 1809; Gate of All Nations [with Harford Jones, Morier, Sheridan and Sutherland]; listed by Curzon (1892, vol. II, 157) and copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37). Cornet Willock of the Madras Cavalry served with Harford Jones' mission as commander of his bodyguard (Morier 1812, 1).



WILLOCK, Geo[rge]; Major; [Madras Cavalry]; June 1826; Palace of Darius [with Macdonald, Campbell, Jackson, Jervis, McDonald, Riach, Strong, Alexander, Malcolm and Mrs Macdonald Kinneir]; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 13) (**Fig. 15**). Willock was part of this delegation which also included his brothers Sir Henry Willock (who was accompanied by his wife and who was appointed as Chargé d’Affaires to the Shah’s Court), Captain Willock of the Royal Navy, Captain Chalon, Surgeon McNeill and his wife (Mignan 1839, 142-43).

WILLOCK, R.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

WILLOCK; St. Rt. [*sic*]; 17th L[ight]t D[ragoons]; ‘Or Glory’; 1810; Gate of All Nations; copied by Herzfeld (1923, SK-V, 37) (**Fig. 31**).



Fig. 31

WILSON, R.; July 1821; Gate of All Nations [with Litchfield and Tod]. A Col. Wilson was resident in Bushehr in 1831 (Mignan 1839, 137).

WOOD, A.O.; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.

WOOLLATT; n.d.; Gate of All Nations.



2 Names in chronological order

- 1638 **MANDELSLO**, Johann Albrecht von
- 1704 **DE BACKER**, Adriaan; **DE BRUIJN**, Cornelis
- 1765 **HERCULES**, D.E.; **MOORE**, Ia.; **NIEBUHR**, Carsten; **SHEPHERD**, W.
- 1767 **ROBBINS**, W.; **SKIPP**, G.; **SLUPP**, G.
- 1787 **FRANCKLIN**, William
- 1800 **BRIGGS**, G.; **CAMPBELL**, Captain William; **COLEBROOKE**, Captain J.;
HOLLINGBERY, William; **MALCOLM**, Captain John; **PASLEY**, Lieutenant
Charles; **STRACHEY**, Richard; **WEBB**, W.
- 1802 **BRUCE**, W.
- 1803 **ISON** (?)
- 1804 **BELLASIS**, Lieutenant Edward H.; **JUKES**, Dr Andrew; **LOUIS**, Corragon;
MANESTY, Samuel, Envoy; **PASLEY**, Charles; **TANNER**, John
- 1808 **MACDONALD KINNEIR**, Captain John
- 1809 **BLACKER**, Lieutenant St John; **JONES** Brydges K.C. Bart., Sir Harford;
MORIER, James Justinian; **SHERIDAN**, Thomas Henry; **SUTHERLAND**,
James; **WILLOCK**, J.C.
- 1810 **BRIGGS**, Lieutenant John; **BRUCE**, W.; **CLOYNE**, M.; **COLHOUN**, W.;
CORMICK, Dr John; **CORRAGON**; **CRAMPTON**, J.; **CROS**, Louis;
ELLIS, Henry; **FREDERICK**, E.; **HIGGS**, George; **HORNE**, Charles;
JOHNSON, Lieutenant Charles; **LEE**, S.; **LINDSAY-BETHUNE**, Lieutenant
Henry; **LITCHFEILD**; **LITTLE**, Lieutenant I.; **LOCKETT** Lieutenant
Abraham; **LOT** (?), J.; **LUNDT**, William; **LYON**, William, Assistant Doctor;
MACDONALD KINNEIR, Captain John; **MALCOLM**, Brigadier General
John; **MARRIGE**, J.B.; **MARTIN**, Lieutenant J.; **MONTEITH**, Lieutenant
William; **POTTINGER**, Lieutenant Henry; **SNODGRASS**, Lieutenant;



- STEWART**, Captain J.; **SUNDT**, William; **WEBB**, M.W.; **WEBB**, W.;
WILLIAMS, J.; **WILLOCK**, St. Rt.
- 1811 **LOCKETT**, Lieutenant Abraham
- 1821 **BONFIELD** (?), Major; **D'ARMANDY**, Bon; **DE ROSARIO**, Antonio Joao;
HYDE, John; **LITCHFEILD**, Major; **RICH**, Claudius James; **STURMY**, E.;
TAYLOR, A.; **TOD**, I.; **WILSON**, R.
- 1822 **MARCHANT**, C.F.
- 1824 **FERGUSON**
- 1825 (?) **PARSONS**, G.S.
- 1826 **ALEXANDER**, Cornet James Edward; **BELANGER**; **CAMPBELL**, Captain
R.; **JACKSON**, Sir Keith, Bart.; **JERVIS**, Captain; **MACDONALD**
KINNEIR, Colonel John; **MACDONALD KINNEIR**, Mrs; **McDONALD**,
Lieutenant; **MALCOLM**, George A.; **NISBET**, Alexander; **RIACH**, J.P.;
SHEPHERD, Thomas; **STRONG**, Lieutenant; **STUART**, Charles Darnley;
WILLOCK, Major George
- 1839 **ISTVAN**, Marothy
- 1840 **De LABOURDONNAYE**, R.; **LAGUICHE**, Philippe; **TEXIER**, Charles Félix
Marie; **WANEHOPE**, Captain
- [1844] **DE LAVAL**, Lottin
- 1846 **FRAEHN**; **MEDEM**
- 1850 **LOFTUS**, William Kennett; **OLGUIN**, Joseph; **WILLIAMS**, Colonel William
Fenwick
- 1855 **AMAURY**, Anna
- 1856 **AMAURY**, Anna
- 1858 **PESCE**, Colonel Luigi
- 1862 **BERNAY**, Emile; **FAGERGREN**; **VAMBERY**, Armin
- 1862 (?) **ISAACSON**, J.
- 1863 **BERNAY**, Emile; **NORMAN**, W.
- 1864 **HAMILTON**, J.



- 1866 **HAMILTON**, J.
- 1867 **HAMILTON**, J.
- 1868 **HAMILTON**, J.; **HAUSSKNECHT**, D.C.
- 1870 **HOLST**, H.; **JOYCE**, A.A.; **STANLEY**, Henry Morton
- 1873 **ELLIS**, Henderson C.H.; **HENDERSON**, F.; **MACKENZIE**, G.S.
- 1876 **ANDERSON**, T.S.
- 1880 (?) **TWEEDY**, H.I. (?)
- 1889 **CURZON**, George Nathaniel
- 1890 (?) **TWEEDY**, H.I. (?)
- 1891 **MACGREGOR**, Wilson
- 1892 **SZECHENYA**, Count Andor
- 1893 **CHESNEY**, Major; **SMITH**, J.C.
- 1897 **FRASER**, John Foster; **McILRATH**
- 1898 **GEORGE**; **LOUISA**; **MEADE**, Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm J., HBM Consul-General; **MEADE**, Mrs.
- 1899 **ANDRE**, E.; **BORNMULLER**, Joseph Friedrich Nicolaus
- 1900 **ROSSIA**; **SULTANOV**, A.
- 1904 **GOUGH**, H.
- 1905 **WAGENVOORT**, Maurits
- 1906 **SOMERS COCKS**, C.
- 1907 **TURNER**, A.J.
- 1908 **BARNHAM**, R.
- 1912 **AMARAL**[I]**KHAN**, Jamadar; **SINGH**, J.
- 1917 **LUCAS**, Sergeant
- 1918 **STEWART**, Major A.E.
- [1918/9] **LORD**, Captain J.W.
- 1919 **AVENT**, Captain J.G.; **BARTHOLD**, Captain P.E.; **BATSON**, P.; **HARVEY-KELLY**, Major C.; **K I N G**, A. F.; **HOLBROOKE**, Colonel B.F.R.; **HONEYBALL**, F.(?)R.; **PANTHER**, J.J.; **TEAGUE**, Captain J.



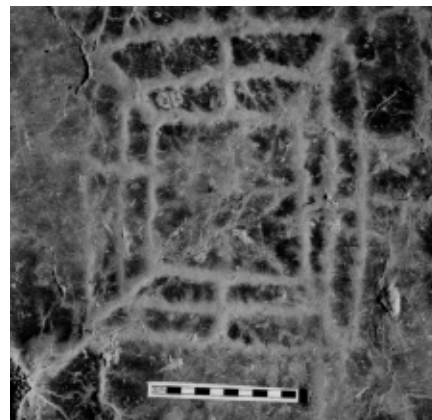
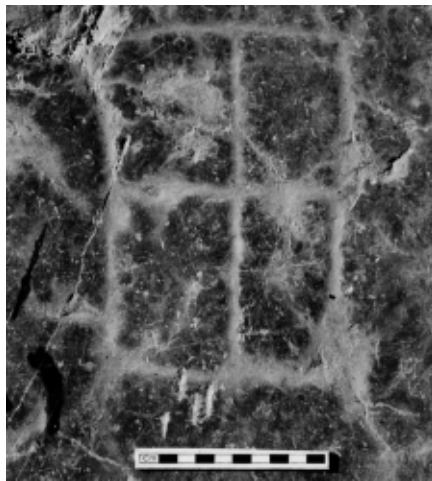
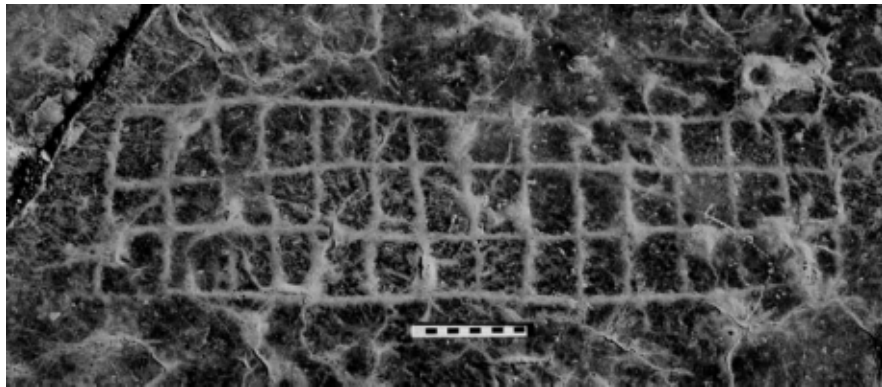
- 1919(?) **PREECE**, J. R.
- 1920 **BALIGAN**, Captain; **BARRY**, Captain; **HALLSWORTH**, W.H.; **JACOB**, G.A.; **JOCK**; **MICHEL**, G.L.; **SEVRUGUIN**, Anton
- 1922 **BALISHIN**, M.; **SLISEVSKII**, A.
- 1923 **BATMANOV**, Namii, Terterykh
- 1924 **BADEN**, B.; **BRAUNAGEL**, W.; **MICHEL**, G.L.; **ROCKLE**, K.
- 1925 **MELINITSKII SEMEN**, X.
- 1926 **SCHULENBURG**, Count Friedrich Werner von; **HAROLITOLITH TEDJERAN**; **THOMAS**, A.; **VANMALI**, P.
- 1926 (?) **LANGLAIS**, P.
- 1927 **BADHNI**, J.
- 1927 (?) **KACHEV**, T.
- 1929 **GRAND LOUIS**
- 1934 **PETREZ**
- 1936 **GRUENWALDT**
- 1943 **SIKH**
- 1962 **WALL**, Vic

3 Undated visitors

AXMEDOV; **BAMFORD**, W.T.; **BOWER**, D.; **CADELL**, Paoul;
CHAMOT; **COIBBS**, H.J.; **COY**, B.; **CROSS**, J.B; **DALAL**; **DAWSON**,
 William; **DE GOBINEAU**, Count Joseph Arthur; **DUPRE** (?), A.; **DUVELL**;
ELLIS, E.; **FITTER**, K.A.; **FRAN** (?), F.P.; **HARRATT**, J.S.; **HILL**, Jim and
 Mary; **JAROLDMEK**, E.; **LAHER**, J.E.; **MACNAGHTEN**, E.C.;
MARKER, K.A.; **MARKER**, P.D.; **McIVER**, M.M.; **MEADE**, Lieutenant-



Colonel; **MEAKIN**, James Edward Budgett; **MEYNARD**; **MORAD**;
MULLA, M.F.; **NATIMAN**, C.K.; **NOBLE**, Captain A.; **PATEL**, Dr J.R.;
PAYNE, Dr; **PERRGAU**; **POLAK**, Dr J.E.; **ROMASKEVICH**, Aleksandr
Aleksandrovich; **ROSTON**, T.; **RUSTOM**, K.; **SAXANSKII**, V.; **SHARP**,
Ralph Norman; **SINGH**, D.B.; **SINGH**, S.V.; **STANNUS**, Lieutenant Colonel
Ephraim Gerrish; **TREZEL**, A.; **WAGENVOORT**, M.; **WILLOCK**, R.;
WOOD, A.O.; **WOOLLATT**



Figs. 32-4: gaming boards



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