

A  
Land March from England  
to  
Ceylon Forty Years Ago  
Vol. I

Edward Ledwich Mitford, F.R.G.S.

1884

FROM  
ENGLAND TO CEYLON.



E. L. M. 1883.

*Photographed by*  
FALL BAKER STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE.

A LAND MARCH  
FROM  
ENGLAND TO CEYLON  
FORTY YEARS AGO,

THROUGH DALMATIA, MONTENEGRO, TURKEY, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, PALESTINE,  
ASSYRIA, PERSIA, AFGHANISTAN, SCINDE, AND INDIA,  
*OF WHICH 7000 MILES ON HORSEBACK.*

*ILLUSTRATED WITH ORIGINAL SKETCHES.*

BY  
EDWARD LEDWICH MITFORD, F.R.G.S.,  
CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

VOL. I.

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1884.

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پاران ایم ایچ پنهور انسٹیٹیوٹ آف سنڌ اسٽڊيز، ڄامشورو.

**HERTFORD:**

**PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.**

TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY MOTHER,

TO WHOM THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK WERE WRITTEN  
IN LETTERS HOME.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 94, line 19. The sentence from "One" to "Syria" will be found in its proper place, p. 170.

Page 331, line 10, *for* "shilling" *read* "penny."

## INTRODUCTION.

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FORTY years ago! What events have crowded into this interval. At that time the Iron Road, which has since made such Giant strides, was in its Infancy, and had only crept with tottering steps from Liverpool to Manchester. The Electric Telegraph did not exist, and Photography was unknown. Since that time what wars and revolutions have come and gone, and more especially have the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars opened up the countries of Asia, at that time little known, except from such enterprising travellers as Fraser, Conolly, and Burnes. My own experience, gained in the years that have elapsed, has necessarily altered or modified many of the views and opinions of my youth; but I prefer leaving the present narrative (with some abridgments and omissions) in its original form, rather than undergo the labour of correcting it to the standard of my present convictions, the facts and observations recorded being of more value than my personal opinions.

The questions were often put to me at the time and since, How many horses did you ride? How did you carry money? What languages did you use? As regards the first query, I must premise that out of the



whole journey of upwards of 9000 miles, only 7000 were on horseback. Many can still remember the horrors of the dusty Diligence and lumbering Eilwagen, which, with the tedious Vetturino, was at that time the only mode of winding slowly through the north of Europe; this was supplemented a little further on by springless carts, but even this mode of conveyance ceased south of Trieste; and there was a necessity of taking to the saddle in Dalmatia, from whence the remaining distance was about equally divided between hired horses, and six horses of my own purchased at intervals. Rapid travelling was only exceptional, slow marching being the rule, so that on account of delays, caused by sickness, by being weather-bound by rains, by detention by the Government in Persia, and various other causes, it took me nineteen months to reach Kurachee, and fifteen more to the end of the journey at Colombo.

As regards money; at that time there was a Bank at Constantinople, and after that, the Consuls and the Resident at Bagdad cashed notes as an act of kindness. The small eastern coins of gold and silver were convenient for carriage and concealment, and, travelling as I usually did with one horse, and without baggage, my wants and expenses were few. At Herat Major D'Arcy Todd, and at Kandahar Sir H. Rawlinson, with open-hearted generosity, took pleasure in supplying the needs of a fellow-countryman; until I reached India, where there was no further difficulty.

The third difficulty of languages was more serious.

Continental languages were useless after Europe, but fortunately I had learnt the Arabic of Morocco during a residence in that country, and could at that time speak it fluently; and although I found it different from the dialects spoken in Syria and Mesopotamia, the root of the language being the same, I found it most useful for ordinary purposes in those countries. On reaching Persia, however, it was useless, so that there was a necessity of making a long delay of six weeks at Bagdad for the purpose of learning Persian; and having when young a gift of learning languages, before reaching Afghanistan, I could carry on a conversation with some facility; and although in this latter country the language is Pushtoo, as most of the people with whom I had to do, spoke Persian, I still found that language useful.

In conclusion, I am aware that some readers consider Travels interesting in proportion to the stirring adventures they contain; but on looking back over the past, the egoism of an old man may perhaps be forgiven in thinking it more creditable to have passed at that period through so many and barbarous countries scatheless and unharmed, than if he had incurred, and could have recorded, hair-breadth escapes and adventures in every page.

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A LAND MARCH FROM  
ENGLAND TO CEYLON  
FORTY YEARS AGO.

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CHAPTER I.

LONDON TO VENICE.

IN the year 1839, after five years' residence and travelling in Morocco, I found myself in the unenviable position of being without occupation, when my attention was directed to the probability of employment in the colony of Ceylon, either in the Government service or in the newly opened enterprise of coffee planting, and thither I resolved to proceed. To reach Ceylon I must either take the long sea voyage round the Cape, or the shorter and inconvenient one by the Mediterranean and Red Sea, with the caravan across the Isthmus of Suez. But moved by a love of travel, after consulting the map, I resolved to undertake the journey entirely by land. By taking a south-east line through Southern Europe, Central Asia, and India, I could reach my destination with no more sea than the Straits of Dover, the ferry of the Bosphorus, and the Strait of Adam's Bridge, through most interesting and little known countries.

At this time a friend introduced to me a relation of his who he thought would accompany me. I was somewhat taken aback by his youthful appearance, he being nearly

a decade younger than myself; however, on explaining my plans, he decided to join me in the journey, and as in case of danger or sickness in the barbarous regions to be traversed, it was a satisfaction to feel that neither would be alone, we were soon agreed.<sup>1</sup> It was impossible to foresee how long this journey would require, but it was clear to me that it must be carried out in the most economical manner; my previous experience among Orientals having taught me that nothing but an appearance of poverty could carry us with any safety through countries where any show of wealth, by exciting the cupidity of the natives, would expose us, if not to the danger of life, to the certainty of being plundered. How to carry the little money required was a matter of difficulty, for although I found paper could be cashed at Constantinople; and by the Consul at Aleppo, and the Resident at Bagdad as a matter of courtesy and kindness; there was still the necessity of carrying a supply on the long tract between Bagdad and India, and that had to be left for future arrangement. I resolved never to resort to disguise, which is both impolitic and useless. It is impolitic because the open profession of an Englishman, accompanied by ordinary prudence, will always be found the greatest safeguard to the traveller in all Eastern countries. It is useless, because in no case have I ever known an Oriental deceived by it: with their keen natural faculties they will detect a Frank in disguise at a distance, even before speaking to him, and his danger is increased in proportion to the suspicion he thus incurs.

It would be necessary to be armed in the East, as the fact of carrying arms usually prevents the necessity for using them; an unarmed man is the most helpless animal in creation, and meets with very little respect among lawless and uncivilized tribes. But I am anticipating my journal.

<sup>1</sup> I may as well mention here that my fellow-traveller accompanied me as far as Hamadan in Persia, when, to my great regret, we parted company, he returning home by Bushire and Bagdad, and I continuing the other half of the journey alone.

All business matters being arranged, it required a master-spirit of enterprise to quell one's own misgivings, and combat the apprehensions and dissuasions of friends, natural under the circumstances of a long and unknown journey; and then came the wrench of parting from those dear to me and whom I might never meet again. Eventually, on the 10th of July, I started from London by the night coach from the Spread Eagle, Regent Circus, in twelve hours to Dover, and crossed to Calais; and thence to Brussels, where my fellow-traveller, who had come by Ostend, joined me. The new railway took us on to Liege, the rapidity of the transit making the contrast more striking between the dirt and discomfort of the manufacturing town, with its dense atmosphere impregnated with smoke from its iron works and gun factories, and the elegance and convenience of Brussels. I visited the factory at Chaudesfontaines to provide myself with a gun. The Belgian guns are furnished with slings and very light, which, foreseeing the weary marches in the East through which I should have to carry it slung to my back, was an important consideration. At Aix-la-Chapelle we found ourselves surrounded by streams of pilgrims, thronging all the thoroughfares converging towards the town, this being the septennial exhibition of the relics. Crowds of people from all quarters resort to the town to witness this periodical deception. From the top of a turret a priest exhibited the different articles to the deluded multitude. Among other things offered to their devotion were a shirt or frock five and a half feet long, said to have been worn by the Virgin Mary! the swaddling-clothes of the Infant made of yellow felt! the bloody cloth on which St. John the Baptist was beheaded! besides Charlemagne's crown and hunting horn, and a variety of other articles, as efficacious in cleansing the souls of their votaries as the black stone of the Kaaba, the tooth of Buddha, or the waterpot of Foh.

*July 19.*—After visiting the exquisite Cathedral of Cologne, we embarked in a steamer on the Rhine. The

scenery of this river has been much exaggerated, and those who believe the imaginary accounts of it would be disappointed. From the water, the Drachenfels and other scattered ruins that crown the heights do not form fine views, having no background. About Bingen and St. Goar, however, the scenery is very fine, and doubtless the river would be more to be appreciated and the country appear more picturesque and to greater advantage if seen from the hills on its banks. At Coblenz the Moselle loses itself in the broad Rhine opposite the palace of Ehrenbreitstein, a large barrack-looking building. The timber rafts floating down the river have the appearance of small islands with wooden villages built on them. There are sweeps at the borders for the purpose of guiding them, which are the more necessary since the placidity of the waters has been greatly disturbed by the paddle-wheels of steamers. At Manheim the banks of the river are flat and marshy, and swarm with mosquitoes. We disembarked here, and meeting another English traveller, the Hon. Mr. Saville, we joined in the hire of a travelling carriage, which was not more expensive, and a more independent and expeditious mode of travelling than by Diligence or Eilwagen. The town is large, but seems to be very thinly peopled, few persons being seen in its solitary streets. Heidelberg, on the beautiful Neckar, is a more lively place, being the seat of a university. The magnificent ruined castle is much finer than anything I saw on the Rhine. The place is full of students, and the women struck me as being generally handsome. Poverty, which with our Collegians is looked on as the greatest reproach, not to say as a crime, is held very lightly by the German students, and as a circumstance to which no idea of shame is attached. A great proportion of these youths are in the habit of begging their way to and from college. They are met with knapsack and stick travelling on the roads leading to it, seldom failing to prefer their respectful solicitations at the traveller's carriage window, but, greatly to the credit of the people, they are housed and fed by

their own fellow-countrymen. Stuttgart was the next large town we came to. This, the capital of Wurtemberg, is named from the Stud attached to the palace, and which I visited. The stables have stalls for 250 horses, and were nearly full. There were many fine horses, which were pointed out as Barbs or Arabs; but from the prevalence of black in their colours, I should say that most of them belonged to a more northern race, as the black is scarce in Barbary, and more so in Arabia, but when procurable are very superior in spirit and endurance, and are highly valued. Like Manheim, this place, although the seat of a Court, appears thinly inhabited, and there are few besides the passing traveller to admire the fine statue of Schiller in bronze, by Thorwaldsen, which ornaments one of its squares. The country traversed is fine, but the only novelty is the extensive cultivation of the poppy.

*July 24.*—Crossing the Danube at Ulm, we entered Bavaria, passing through what was once the Black Forest, now only existing in scattered patches of wood, and reached the fine old city of Augsburg. Here again the place has an appearance of lonely desolation, heightened by the effect of the spacious streets and antique buildings, which still retain many of the fresco paintings with which they were adorned, and force on the mind the present contrast to its former grandeur, when Augsburg was an emporium of the commerce of the East. The churches still give evidence of this having been the chief thoroughfare of the Levantine trade, by the mixture of the Byzantine with the Gothic style of architecture, as evidenced in the brazen doors and melon-shaped domes of the cathedral. Munich, our next halting-place, has quite a modern appearance, having been nearly rebuilt by the present King of Bavaria.

Meeting with other travellers going the same road towards Venice, we continued the joint hire of post carriages. We followed up the valley of the Iser towards the ascent of the Tyrolese Alps, passing several lovely lakes. The Kokelsee has been likened to Loch Katrine. This small

sheet of water has a pretty village on its south shore, while the opposite side is bordered by rugged cliffs. After ascending about 550 feet, by the margin of a small torrent which descends the pass in a succession of cascades, we came suddenly to another most beautiful lake—the Wallersee—embosomed in lofty mountains. It is about three miles across. The colour of this lovely sheet is an intense dark blue, and the dark pine forests rise in majestic sweeps from its edge to the mist-canopied peaks. After halting to admire the solitary grandeur of this retired spot, we followed a narrow road along the margin of the lake, and passed the night at an uncomfortable inn in a little village. The occupation of the inhabitants is fishing in the lake, which abounds in fine trout and a fish peculiar to it called “Rengen,” which would appear to be a species of grayling, and is much prized for its delicacy. The road continues ascending through the most splendid scenery of precipitous rocks and crags; the most striking object being the superb peak of the Mittenwald, shooting clear and grey into the sky above a zone of snowy clouds. As the rocks recede, dark green hills appear crowned with the ruins of feudal castles. The Austrian frontier is crossed at the little fortified post of Mittenwald-on-the-Iser, and the road still ascends to Seefeld. The rocks on this high ridge are composed of a bituminous shale, from which mineral tar is extracted. From here the road rapidly descends through the same grand scenery towards the vale of the Inn, and at a turning near Zirl opens the most glorious view imaginable, combining at once every feature of grandeur and beauty. Below winds the river Inn through bright verdant fields, a lovely valley; from which the wooded slopes rise gracefully, with the picturesque chalets and villages of the Tyrolese peasants hanging on their sides half hidden by foliage, or crowning their tops: above these the dark unbroken pine forest stretches far away, clothing mountain ridge and ravine, up to the limit where vegetation is arrested, from whence the stupendous craggy peaks and rocky cones shoot their aspiring heads into the very clouds,

revealing here and there in their sheltered recesses glittering glaciers and fields of snow. In the foreground are the old castles of Fewsburg and Frangestein; you wind round a ledge on which the road is formed, and above which the tremendous wall of the Lobstein rises nearly perpendicular to the height of 1000 feet. This place is celebrated for the escape of the Emperor Maximilian, who was saved from a descent over this sheer precipice by an outlawed Jager. From some points of the road a wooden cross is just visible (though 20 feet in height) where his fall was arrested.

In the magnificent valley above described lies the fine old town of Innspruck, beautifully situated on the river, and surrounded by towering mountains. Innspruck is full of reminiscences of the patriot Hofer, whose memory is justly revered by his fellow-countrymen. The antique-looking hotel we occupy is the house he lived in, of which the landlady is not a little proud, and has hung his portrait in all the rooms: his battles and exploits fill the shop windows, and in the principal church his tomb lies by the splendid monument of Maximilian I. It was at Innspruck that the deliverer of his country made his triumphant entry after defeating the French invaders, and forcing them to evacuate the Tyrol. Sad reverse! Six months afterwards, Austrian gratitude basely betrayed this heroic patriot to be shot by his coward foes at Mantua.

The present Austrian Government has seen the good policy of treating these mountaineers with indulgence, even granting them the privilege of being protected by their own militia. The troops employed in the town are rifle regiments embodied from their own peasantry. It would be dangerous to push the Tyrolese to resistance by oppression; for, with the natural advantages of their country and union among themselves, this hardy race might defy the strongest nation in Europe. The rifle is their national weapon, and their enemies during the war with France had good proof of their skill with it, as well as of their general bravery, when from 1808

until the murder of Hofer by Napoleon in 1810, they were invariably vanquished, and twice driven out of the country.

The Tyrolese are a very fine race, with an independent bearing, and frank and open countenances. They are honest and courteous to strangers, without obsequiousness, and, living familiar with some of the grandest scenes of Nature, their minds are elevated by a marked spirit of devotion. Their character is equally removed from that of their mercurial Italian neighbours on the South and the heavy apathetic Germans on the North. Their costume nearly resembles the dress of the peasants of Andalusia; trousers reaching only to the knee, with leggings, a jacket and sash, with either a round or conical broad-brimmed hat ornamented with bands of ribands and a few cocks' feathers; they also wear the large Spanish cloak of broad-cloth.

The natural formation of the country not admitting of extensive cultivation, the chief resource of the peasantry consists in their flocks, which remain out grazing for six months of the year in the mountains: the day of their return, which is about Michaelmas, is celebrated like the Italian return from the vintage, or our harvest home. The wild strains of the Tyrol are now familiar to all lovers of melody: they possess the inspiring brilliancy peculiar to all mountain music, whether its echoes reverberate among the hills of Wales, the highlands of Scotland, or these mountains of the Tyrol. Parties of peasants wander about the continent procuring a living by their performances at fairs and country inns; and in the large towns of Germany a group of these nature-taught musicians are often seen playing to a group of delighted dancers or listened to by a party of stolid Germans, whose beer and pipes are almost forgotten in the enjoyment of their wild minstrelsy.

I have omitted to notice all the objects of interest and curiosity in the towns visited, as they are given in full detail in all the guide books; but I cannot pass over the



imposing array of colossal statues that stand round the splendid cenotaph of Maximilian I. in the Hofkirche. These statues (twenty-eight in number) are beautifully executed in bronze—eight of them represent females, and the exquisite finishing of the armour, and the minute and delicate workmanship of the lace on the dresses, and the folds of the drapery are perfectly astonishing. Besides their value as elaborate works of art, they are most interesting as a record of the dresses of the time. They were executed by Tyrolese artists about the year 1530, and each cast in one piece.

Quitting Innsbruck, after lingering to contemplate the magnificent scenery from the ridge of the Schonberg, we entered the gloomy precipitous pass of the Brenner. At Steinach we had a dinner of mountain fare—fine-flavoured trout from the brawling brook, Alpine strawberries and cream, delicious fresh butter and bread, which here, as throughout Germany, are excellent. We slept at the picturesque village of Mitwald on the little foaming Eisach. At these wild retired villages and country inns, a stranger is received more as a friend than a customer, and often meets with the kind sympathies of home among these unsophisticated people. We passed through the Puztherthal by the course of the Rienz. At one part of this, in a barren valley near Nudendorf, are four churches in a row, each with a spire in a different style. The first is covered with round scales and resembles a serpent's tail, the second is Byzantine, the fourth an octagonal dome. These Oriental domes are usually covered with glittering tin.

We then began the descent of the Ampezzo, a pass of wild magnificence, through which a fine road has been constructed by the Austrian Government, completed in 1833. This is a beautiful work of engineering skill: in many places it winds along the face of precipices of several hundred feet, where the rock has been blasted away to leave a ledge for the road, while the beetling crags project threateningly overhead. Much of the road is supported by walls of masonry built up from the gulf. The stupendous

mountain scenery, which is viewed from this road at every turn, is of a grandeur which it were useless to attempt to describe and which actually exhausts admiration. From the depths of the valleys the dark pine forests run up to the base of the crags which spring from them in precipitous and naked majesty, their summits rising in castellated ranks, mass on mass, in ragged points into the far blue ether: in some places the rocky mountains are dashed with broad white glaciers, like frozen cataracts arrested in their descent; in others, striped with long white ravines filled with snow: half-way down, the peaks are festooned with fleecy clouds, and masses of vapour cling suspended to the stony ledges, so immoveable, they seem part of the rock itself; but language fails in such scenes, which can only be contemplated in silence. We passed several lakes, and at the foot of a stupendous mountain-wall, whose head was hid in clouds, the road passes over mounds of rubbish and masses of rock, the evidence of a huge ruin which, about twenty years ago, burst from the summit of the cliffs, and rushing down into the valley carried destruction in its desolating course. It overwhelmed the village at its base; but, heedless of the devastation around them, and the rent and threatening masses above them, the peasants have reared another village on the same spot. Leaving this glorious pass, we entered Italy at Cortina. The marked change in the people within the distance of a few miles on crossing this frontier is strikingly illustrative of the force of national character. I apply the contrast to the Germans generally, not merely to the Tyrolese, who are confined to their own Alps. In the German frontier towns, and more so in the interior, the arrival of a traveller excites neither curiosity nor notice; no one leaves his occupation or allows himself to be moved from his happy state of apathy by what does not concern him. The German post-master or aubergiste takes what you give him with the most stolid nonchalance, and appears to consider the quiescent state of his bilious system of more consequence than the mere loss or gain of the current coin of the realm, nor can

I remember in traversing the whole country having a word of altercation with any one with whom I had dealings: here, on the contrary, we are no sooner in this Italian frontier town, Cortina, than we are assailed by a crowd of noisy boys and beggars, and the post-master, the inn-keepers, the ostlers, and every one we have to deal with are exerting all their powers, mental and physical, to overreach and impose upon us. The change is certainly for the worse! A moonlight drive through hills and lakes brought us to the plains of Conegliano—a flat but beautiful country covered with vineyards. The vineyards of Spain and France are far from pleasing in appearance, they resemble fields of stunted hops, being pruned down and trained on short sticks; here in Italy the vines are allowed to grow in wild luxuriance, trained on high trellis and carried from tree to tree, from which they hang in rich and elegant festoons.

*July 31.*—We hastened on to Venice, passing through Treviso, and embarked in a large boat at Mestre, passing down a canal into the lagunes. The boatmen sang their national airs and chanted the verses of Tasso as they rowed towards the city, which now began to rear its long line of houses and spires from the bosom of the sea. It seemed a “beautiful illusion.” At a Custom House on an island half-way across the water, we were civilly told that for “qualchi fiorini” our baggage would pass without examination or delay. We willingly closed with this frank proposition, the morality of which seemed questionable, but was probably consistent with the customs of this amphibious country. We floated onward towards the Ocean Queen, which now stood forth majestically above the surface of its dark sea waters.

“A little while I stood  
Breathing with such suppression of the heart  
As joy delights in.”

And then we threaded the silent canals between vistas of sombre palaces towering up in architectural grandeur, their inverted ranges mirrored in the placid wave. The silence

of this city is quite startling. No sound of wheels is heard or noise of horse hoofs. I could fancy myself translated to a world of spirits: an impressive sensation of solemnity hung over the city like a shroud, and it seemed to mock the glare of the noonday sun. When we glided out of the liquid lanes into the Grand Canal, the scene was magnificent; this broad street of water being bordered by the noblest palaces; and the elegant domed churches appear to float like enchanted islands on the precarious element, over whose rippling surface flitted hundreds of black funereal gondolas. These gondolas must have presented a very animated appearance in former times, when they were highly ornamented with gold and embroidered hangings, and the curtains of the awnings emblazoned with armorial bearings and cognizances of the Venetian nobility and men of rank. The party animosity and family feuds which were kept alive by these distinctive badges have induced the Austrian Government to forbid this indulgence of luxury, and the gondolas are now all painted black, and the cabins and awnings covered with black velvet and silk fringes. This contributes not a little to the first supernatural impression one experiences in the noiseless city. We landed at the front door of the hotel, the steps of which descend to the water. This is the first town I have visited which of itself overpays the trouble of reaching it: it far surpasses anything I had imagined, and I felt that a journey far longer would have been amply compensated for by such a satisfactory termination.

Venice is not, however, wholly destitute of streets, or rather alleys, these diverge from the Place St. Marc, the lower stories of the houses being occupied as shops: they intersect the canals by numerous elegant white marble bridges, of which there are between three and four hundred. The Rialto is a larger bridge, spanning the Grand Canal, bordered on each side by shops. The Place St. Marc is very superb as a whole, though most incongruous in its details. One side is formed by St. Marc's Church, with its singular mixture of cupolas and spires, a handsome pile,

though without regularity. Over the portico of this Oriental structure stand the fat Chian horses which have acquired such historical importance. The Venetians, however, had no more claim to these statues than the Parisians, except the prior right of plunder, they having carried them off from Byzantium. The church is gorgeous with gilding and mosaic. The Campanile is a lofty square Moorish Minaret, resembling the tower of the Kitibeea, the great Mosque of Morocco. The interior of the Doge's Palace is richly gilded and stuccoed, and the walls moulded into frames, which are panelled with the splendid and invaluable paintings from the pencils of Titian, Tintoretto, Palma, Paul Veronese, and others. The chef-d'œuvre of Tintoretto, called the Glories of Paradise, fills the entire end wall of the great hall, and is a magnificent production. Above the cornice of this hall are the portraits of the line of Doges. The black curtain still covers that of Marino Faliero, who was called a traitor for wishing to alter the established order of things in the state. Under this palace are the dungeon cells, they are below the surface of the water and are without light or ventilation; some of these cells were lined with boards which had been partly burnt by the French under Napoleon, who was jealous of any tyranny but his own. Among the often described objects of interest in this place is a handsome gilded model of the Bucentaur, the elegant galley in which the Doges went in state to wed the Adriatic. Two days was the time I could afford to see Venice, but I cannot quit it without describing the ravishing scene we witnessed on the evening after our arrival. We were sitting at ten o'clock at night on the balcony overlooking the expanse of water at the head of the Grand Canal, enjoying the coolness and stillness of the hour; around rose the elegant domed churches and antique palaces, relieved against the sky and reflected in the water: several vessels lay sleeping on the basin, their motionless masts shooting up into the southern sky, and the gondolas with their twinkling lights and noiseless oar flitting about like dark spirits of evil, the silence scarcely broken by the

occasional swell of some half-heard song. Presently a large illuminated barge was seen approaching; it took up a station close under the window where we were sitting, and a flood of harmony, which burst forth and was wafted over the silent waters, soon showed us the object of the visitors. We ascertained that a general officer had established his quarters in the same hotel, and the Austrian commandant had sent this serenade for his gratification. The Austrian military music is deservedly celebrated, and this barge contained a full band, which remained for two hours playing a variety of overtures and opera music in the most brilliant style. The numerous lights (for each musician was furnished with one) gleamed on the handsome white Austrian uniforms, and flashed and flickered on the surrounding ripple, darkening the distance which before was visible, and the delicious music rose in volumes of melody on the breathless air, attracting a fleet of gondolas from their pursuits of pleasure or occupation. Before the music ended, the scene had changed, the moon, which had some time risen, emerged from a bed of gilded clouds, pouring a sudden flood of radiance over the still waters, and revealed, clear and distinct, the grand vista of palaces on the canal, the noble buildings and churches rising scarcely distinguished from their shadows out of the smooth mirror, and the black gondolas gliding away in all directions, as if alarmed at the sudden blaze of moonlight. It was a scene of enchantment.

To avoid travelling round the head of the Adriatic, we crossed over in a steamer to Trieste. It was a lovely summer evening when I reluctantly left this magnificent city and watched its spires pass away, like a dream, in the ruddy west, whilst I mused on its departed glory. It originally sprang from the ashes of Aquilea. When that place was destroyed by Attila and his Huns, the fugitive inhabitants, who escaped, fled for safety to these rocks, on which eventually rose the Mistress of the Mediterranean. What was it that raised this reef of rocks to its height of opulence and power? Commerce! It is as

necessary to the existence of a nation as the circulation of the blood to the body ; check the vivifying stream, decay begins—stop it, ensues death. Venice was the Mart of the East : the treasures of Asia poured into her harbours : the full tide of traffic washed her shores, and she rose to glory and renown. Venice, whose merchants were princes, ruled the destinies of nations, and the Lion of St. Marc spread its protecting wings over land and sea. By the enterprise of the Western nations of Europe, and consequent discovery of the passage round the Cape, the artery of commerce was diverted from Venice into other channels : she fell, and now “ she sitteth solitary that was great among the nations,” and her wingless lion half-buried among the ruins of her once dependent towns, is all that reveals to the passing stranger from a distant land the wide extent of her former dominion.

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## CHAPTER II.

## DALMATIA.

*August 3.*—We slept in our cloaks on the deck of the steamer, and were aroused by the morning sun rising over the mountains of Illyria. We landed at Trieste, a modern seaport town, with a crowded and bustling population. It presents a strong contrast to Venice, on the ruins of whose commercial prosperity this place has raised itself to its present importance. As the highest range of the tide is only four feet from low to high-water mark, a broad dock or harbour, open to the sea, has been carried into the centre of the town. On either side of this dock are built offices and warehouses, and the ships discharge their cargoes at the merchants' doors. All the merchandise is transported in bullock carts, and the bullocks are shod with iron, which appeared to give them a precarious footing, as the streets are paved all across with smooth flagstones. As we were now on the confines of civilization, we remained here a few days to make enquiries respecting the road through Dalmatia, and to purchase hammocks, saddles, and other articles which we expected very shortly to have occasion for. We put up at a large cheerless inn, but soon found out another kept by a portly Englishman, who presided in old English style at the head of his table. There is an English church, to which I went, and found the service well attended, a proof of the number of English residents. Trieste is subject to high winds, and is very destitute of trees. There is a promenade where all the inhabitants resort in the evenings: it overlooks the Bay, and terminates in an auberge and grounds, called "il Boschetto," in honour of a few stunted and scattered trees,



which are valued in proportion to their rarity. It is, however, a pretty scene, the different parties wandering about or sitting at the tables, eating ices or quaffing beer in the true German fashion, from large crystal mugs. All the women have the head uncovered, and their hair beautifully dressed as if for a ball, and so particular are they in this respect that the poorest servant girl would rather go without a dinner than not be able to employ a coiffeur to dress her hair for the evening promenade. I witnessed a similar vanity, but in the other extreme, at Cadiz, where the graceful Andalusian will deprive herself of every comfort to be able to display her pretty little feet in open-work silk stockings. The inhabitants are a mixed race of Germans, Italians, and Greeks. The country people are Slavonians, and the women who come to town on market days might be taken for nuns: they wear black robes and a large white napkin edged with lace tied round the head and hanging down the back. The intelligence we could obtain respecting the roads through Dalmatia was anything but satisfactory; travelling being represented as attended with great danger both by natives and English, many of whom should have known better, as their reports were without foundation; it was however too early, at the very outset of a protracted journey, to pay any attention to stories of this sort. From hence we sent off our heavier baggage by sea to Constantinople to await our arrival, and took with us only a few clothes, and our guns, and saddles, which latter we expected soon to exchange for the wheel carriages which seemed to become more scarce and ricketty in proportion to the increasing impracticability of the roads.

The road from Trieste to Fiume is through the wild barren mountainous district of Istria: the only perceptible signs of cultivation are in small hollows, where the rain has settled and redeemed small strips of land from the surrounding sterility. Although Trieste is a free port, it is only so from the sea-board, the intercourse with the interior being regulated by Custom Houses placed on the roads communicating with it. At the one we passed

we were put to great inconvenience by the conduct of a blustering Englishman, who travelled in the post phaeton with us. The officials were quite inclined to let us pass unmolested, had they been treated with proper civility ; but the threats of our companion, and his questioning their right to stop us, was the cause of the whole carriage being unpacked, and every article belonging to us undergoing a rigorous search. The numerous peasants we met were tall fine-looking men. They invariably stopped and saluted us by taking off their broad-brimmed hats. They possess in this district a beautiful breed of cattle, which are very large and perfectly white, with black eyes and horns tipped with black, more than three feet long. I can scarcely think these animals indigenous. The historians of Alexander mention that he was so struck with the beauty of the Indian cattle that he sent a number of them to Macedonia, whence the breed has probably been dispersed to the adjoining provinces. The approach to Fiume is very beautiful from the heights. It lies on a noble bay, enclosed by several bold wooded islands, which give it the appearance of an extensive lake, the mountains rising all round abruptly from the water's edge. The town is prettily situated at the foot of the hills ; above it, on the crest of a hill, is a picturesque castle, the property of Count Nugent. We met with much kindness from Mr. Smith, an English merchant, who, knowing we were anxious to obtain information respecting the road before us, introduced us to the officers of a Hungarian regiment that had just marched up from the south of Dalmatia, whither we were going. One of these, Lieut. Klenz, very obligingly furnished us with an itinerary of the road, together with notes of recommendation to the municipal authorities of the different towns and stations. The information and assistance afforded us by this intelligent young officer were of essential service to us. I saw here a specimen of the subterranean reptile, the *Proteus Anguinis*, which inhabits the waters of mines and caverns ; I believe this one was brought from the caves of Adelsberg. It is rather more

than a foot long, resembling an eel, with four slender legs: the front pair, which are close to the gills, having only three toes, and the hind pair two toes each. The body is grey and translucent, the tail being compressed vertically, with a fin along the upper and under edge: the head is flat, with a square muzzle and gills fringed with a row of small branches: the eyes resemble those of the mole or bat. The animal appears to be painfully sensitive to light, endeavouring to avoid it by creeping under the stones at the bottom of the vessel.

*August 10.*—The country from Fiume to Segn is extremely barren: with the exception of orchards of apricot and fig-trees wherever the soil can afford them support. The road is bordered by bare white hills of rock, only relieved by the soft foliage of the fragrant wild sage which springs from every crevice. The broken nature of the coast, forming chains of lagoons, bounded by large rocky islands, which stretch out into the sea, afford ever-changing lake scenery at every turn of the road, which winds along the precipitous margin of the lagoons. At Bucharee, a village on a fine sheet of water indenting the rocks, the people were busily employed at the Tunny fishery, which forms so large a branch of traffic in the Mediterranean. The boats employed are very light, with a long outrigger on each side, terminated by a fork in which the oars work, which gives them a more powerful leverage. Ladders about forty feet long are fixed upright in the rock at the edge of the water, with a slight inclination towards the sea. On the top of these ladders sentinels are constantly on the watch for the fish coming into the lagoons: the sentinels are relieved every two hours. The water being clear as crystal, the Tunny are perceived from these elevations at a great distance. Immediately they appear and enter the lagoons, the watch gives notice to the fishermen, who go out in their boats and cut off their retreat to the sea through the narrow channels, when they are enclosed and captured in large drag nets. At the village of Porto Ré is a turreted castle

of the Frangipani, and at Novi are the ruins of a castle draped with ivy, near an old bridge crossing a stream. Segn is a small town with a square castle on a mound. From this place we struck inland by a good road winding up a mountain gorge through forests of oak, the rocks clothed with wild sage. By the time we had reached a clear spot on the heights, 1500 feet above the level of the sea, the sun was setting like an ardent globe, wrapping in a glow of purple and orange the chains of islands that lay slumbering on the water beneath, and casting a ruddy tinge on the tops of the woods, which rose in verdant swells to our feet. After a pause to contemplate this prospect, we plunged once more into the gloom of the forest, and after descending through a more cultivated country we reached Zuttaloqua at nine in the evening. We found here, to our dismay, that we must resign the ricketty post phaeton and submit to adopt the conveyance of the country. The phaeton, though uncomfortable, at least was on springs, but the conveyance now brought out for us was a long narrow low waggon on four wheels, without cover or springs of any kind, and drawn by two horses. On a smooth road these carts are scarcely endurable, and fortunately for our initiation the road from this was tolerably level: on the rasping roads we had subsequently to travel in Dalmatia, it was absolute torture; besides this, every article not of solid iron is destroyed by this road-mill; cloaks and clothes are cut to pieces by working into the loose joinings of the wood; vessels and gun-barrels are broken and bilged by the concussion, and everything in trunks capable of being ground is pulverized. I am sorry to say our thermometers were broken by this rough usage. We packed our chattels in the cart, and lying down side by side, resigned ourselves to our fate. Notwithstanding the discomfort, we could not help enjoying the magnificent starlight. I do not remember ever having seen so many falling meteors as on this night: it is no exaggeration to say I could not count them: hundreds were falling and shooting in all

directions—a marvellous sight. It was near midnight when we arrived at Ottochaz, where we disturbed the slumbers of the postmaster, who came down in his night-dress with a light, and notwithstanding this untimely intrusion, he kindly provided us with a bed and sofa, and we slept none the less soundly for our dislocating drive.

Ottochaz is on a stream which here spreads out into a small lake. We traversed a thickly-wooded country to the scattered village of Perusick: the people in their gay costumes were all flocking to church, and we had to wait till the service was over before we could procure a change of carts. The country was cultivated and intersected by green lanes, and, but for the dresses of the peasants, it seemed more like a Sunday morning in England.

The next stage is across a plain surrounded by mountains, through which runs the river Lika, to the neat little town of Gospich, at the foot of the Velibich mountains, which separate Croatia from Dalmatia proper. The people of these towns speak the Venetian-Italian, although German is known, and there is little to distinguish them from the inhabitants of other towns of South Austria. The mountaineers are entirely a different race: they are called Morlacchi, and inhabit the whole range of mountains which runs through the narrow territory of Dalmatia, and borders on the Turkish frontier. The costume of the Morlacchi is very handsome; the women wear a white skirt with a gaudy plaid apron edged with a broad fringe of coloured worsted, a scarlet boddice and leggings of the same colour, and an embroidered red cap, from which their black hair hangs down in long braids. The dress of the men is a red jacket covered with rows of large silver coins-or buttons; full white trousers to the knee, and coloured sandals; a scarlet cap, from which their hair hangs over their shoulders, and large sandy moustachios. They are allowed by the Austrian Government to continue their custom of always wearing arms on account of their vicinity to the Turkish frontier. In the fourteenth century, under the Venetians, they were a frontier guard; their usual arms are

a long gun, a belt with pistols, and a long silver-sheathed dirk. These mountaineers have a wild appearance, but are civil and obliging to strangers; among themselves, when collisions unfortunately take place, the blood feud is kept up by families with great pertinacity. In all countries without settled, or with corrupt institutions, revenge is the substitute for justice, and is cherished as a virtue. The Morlacchi speak a dialect of Slavonic, similar, I am told, to that spoken in Servia. They number 140,000, and are supposed to have originally left the Turkish dominions to place themselves under the protection of Venice. Whilst our *dislocator* was being made ready, we willingly sat down to the Sunday dinner of the post-mistress of Gospich; this lady wore a slovenly gown sprinkled with ribbons. We ventured to ask why they did not dress in the handsome costume of the country: she answered, with an air of offended dignity, that it was not for ladies and civilized people to adopt the dress of peasants and mountaineers! After our repast we made our acknowledgments to our fashion-trammelled, but kindly hostess, and drove off through gaily dressed groups lounging about in all the indolence of a summer Sunday. We passed an old castle on a rocky eminence at Medai, and changed our waggons at St. Rocco. Here commences the ascent of the Velibich; the Austrian Government has constructed an excellent road over this range at very great expense. The sides of the mountain are clothed with dense and gloomy beech forests, and some of the trees are of enormous girth. These forests give cover to numerous bears and wolves, for the destruction of which a reward of from twenty to thirty florins a head is paid by the Government. Ascending above the range of wood, we came out on a chaos of barren grey mountains, the highest points of which stand 5400 feet above the level of the sea. In a rocky hollow like a crater we found two or three houses: this is the frontier station of Allihallam, perched on the ridge of the pass. The sun having set, we passed the night here, and a finer situation for a bandit scene could not well be imagined, nor were

appropriate characters wanting. In a large room on the ground floor, adjoining the one occupied by us, the door of which was open, were grouped around a table on which stood their drinking cups, as wild a set of demi-savages as ever struck terror to the heart of a helpless captive; they wrangled and drank, and sang songs in their strange harsh dialect: their revelry, however, did not prevent our sleeping soundly. My apprehensions were somewhat aroused the next morning, for, being awoke by a noise in the room before daylight, the first thing I saw on opening my eyes was our wild-looking revellers, by the glimmer of their tin cressets, creeping stealthily about the room, which they were clearing rapidly of all our property, packed and unpacked. I shouted to my companion, and we sprang from our beds to the rescue, when our officious but well-disposed friends explained that they were packing our luggage for the cart, which was nearly ready, but had not thought it necessary to awaken us until the last minute: an instance of consideration, however ill-judged, that I scarcely expected from these mountaineers. The descent was by a zigzag road through picturesque peaks and masses of rock, which appeared to have been rent from the overhanging cliffs, and precipitated down the declivities. We could see the Morlaccos with their long guns slung on their backs, disdaining the high road, climbing through the rocks or springing from crag to crag up the face of the mountain, which on its south side is quite bare of wood. Near the bottom of the descent, a sudden turn revealed a romantic view of the town of Obervazzo, lying in a valley at the foot of a bold mound crowned with the ruins of a Venetian castle: around it winds the deep still Zermagna, in whose stream every feature of the scene is minutely depicted. A long wooden bridge spans the river, over which we passed. No accommodation was to be found in this retired town, and we were compelled to sit with our baggage in a barber's shop until fresh horses were sent for. The ancient name of this place was Argyruntum; we climbed to the

ruined castle, which was of little interest : before proceeding, we were obliged to attend the summons of the Prætor to produce our passports. This official was an exception to his class, from whom we generally experienced the greatest politeness: he could not read, but endeavoured to conceal his ignorance by rudeness and an assumption of importance. After some cross-examination, as follows: *P.* "Siete Militari?" No, Signore. *P.* "Siete Negocianti?" No, Signore. *P.* "Dunque Siete Milordi!" satisfied with which conclusion, he signed or put his mark to our passports, and we set off through a barren country to Smilchich. Here we were told that there was no post-waggon to be obtained. The ragged post-boy who had brought us from Obervazzo could not be induced to proceed with the one we had come in, and we began to think that our journey on horseback was to begin here. At length, however, the discovery was made of an old dilapidated cart, which was dragged to light from the depths of an out-house, where it had long lain in oblivion. The sides of this machine were made of hurdles, and one of the wheels had burst: the wheel being lashed and all made fast with ropes, we were not overgratified to find that the horses put to it were rather better and more spirited than usual, as the chance of safety for our necks was greatly diminished thereby; moreover, the station being off the main road, we had to make a dash across the country to regain it. Away we went over ditch and bank, bush and briar, holding our breath and the bars of the waggon simultaneously; no springs could have stood it: they must have been shattered and shivered at the very first burst. When at last we reached the road, alas! there was no rest; it was like a reversed harrow full of stones, and after a cruel stage we reached the station of Bencovatz. From this place, no less than five ruined castles are visible, crowning the tops of low hills. These castles belonged to the Hungarian nobility, they must have been dreary places of residence, as there is not a tree in the country to intercept the view.

We crossed an open plain to Scardona, on the Kerka,



where half the population of this small town issued forth to witness our arrival in a tumble-down waggon. We found refuge in a sort of Gasthaus; but the people here, like the Germans, have no idea of providing for chance passengers after the regular hours of meals, and it was with difficulty we could obtain any refreshment. We had evidence that we were coming into a warmer latitude by the appearance of a large scorpion on the wall of the apartment. The Prætor of the place, hearing of the arrival of strangers, sent an obliging message and proffer of service; of which we availed ourselves by requesting we might be provided with a boat early in the morning to visit the falls on the river, three miles above the town, which was immediately complied with; and in the morning we found a boat manned by four rowers in blue uniforms in readiness for us at the landing-place. We were rowed up a broad stream, between perpendicular cliffs, to the foot of the falls: the scene is very beautiful, but destitute of grandeur. The Kerka in its descent is divided into two principal falls by a bold ragged pinnacle, studded with bushes and hung with water-creepers: these, again, are separated into shoots and cascades, foaming over the impeding rocks, or plunging from the richly wooded precipices: the caves and rocks, exposed to the water, are covered with the most delicate stalactites. It would have delighted the heart of an angler to see the numbers of large trout that sported in the glassy pools below the falls, for the capture of which we had neither time nor tackle. It was on this stream, the ancient Patius, that stood the town of Arduba, which made so heroic a resistance to Germanicus, and when at length it was destroyed by fire, the women threw themselves into the flames, or precipitated themselves into the river, to avoid becoming Roman slaves. The modern town of Knin is built on the site of this place.

We hired the same boat to take us to Sebenico, at the mouth of the river; we floated down through broad reaches, between high barren white cliffs, and stratified

rocks, and landed at a quay, at which numerous large boats were lying. Sebenico is built on the abrupt declivity of a hill, and descends like steps to the water's edge. It contains 750 houses, and is the residence of a Roman Catholic Bishop. Although we had come from inland, a Custom House myrmidon carried off our chattels to be searched, against all rule; but Custom House officers are the same in all countries, and nowhere more annoying than in our own dominions.

The Cathedral of Sebenico is the finest in Dalmatia: it is built of marble: the walls of the interior are delicately chiselled, and the building, as well as the portico, is supported by elegant spiral columns. This edifice was begun in 1443, and finished in 1555. The town has an antique look; a great many of the doorways of the houses are supported by pilasters, surmounted with coats of arms in the Venetian style. At the summit of the hill is the cemetery; an extraordinary place of sepulture, consisting of a series of vaults built in tiers above ground. The occupied vaults are closed, the new ones are left open at the end to allow of the introduction of the coffin; they are afterwards bricked up. There is a chapel attached to this cemetery, in which the bodies are laid out until they are placed in the vaults: on this occasion one was lying in an open coffin, in a white sheet, and strewed with flowers. This eminence commands an extensive view of the environs; and the small strong fort of St. Nicolo, constructed by the Venetian engineer Samicheli in 1546, commands the entrance of the lagoon on which the town is built.

We found very good accommodation at a kind of inn. The host was a manufacturer of Maraschino, and I certainly never tasted this unique liqueur in greater perfection. It is made from the *Prunus Marasca*, a species of wild cherry or sloe peculiar to this country; at least it is only here that it is turned to such good account, for I believe it is found in the adjoining provinces of Turkey. Maraschino sold in other countries is, of course, spurious, as there is not

enough produced to supply foreign markets, except to a very limited extent.

Dalmatia proper is divided into four circles. Zara, Spalatro, Ragusa, and Cattaro, and subdivided into twenty-six districts. The population is 340,000, of which 68,000 belong to the Greek Church, 500 are Jews, and the rest Roman Catholics. The Dalmatians are tall and muscular, naturally of a fair complexion, but embrowned by climate: they did not escape the decimation of Europe to gratify the ambition of Napoleon, a regiment of Dalmatians having been entirely destroyed in the Russian campaign. The nature of the country is so rocky that out of 3650 square miles, not more than 520 are capable of cultivation. The farmer, after paying a tenth to Government, pays from a sixth to a half of the produce of the soil to the landlord.

Zara, which I did not visit, is a regular fortress. It is the port and capital of this circle, and lies 38 miles north-west of Sebenico.

We waited on the Conte di Natali, the commissary of the circle, with our passports. He is a well-informed aristocratic old gentleman. He spoke French, and was pleased with the opportunity of talking over his campaigns, and very obligingly furnished us with letters for his friends at Spalatro. We did not omit to furnish ourselves with a supply of the nectar of Zara, and having, through the kindness of Sig. Vusio, procured a tolerable covered waggon, we travelled all night across sterile white hills. The early morning brought us to the verge of the descent to the beautiful Campagna di Trau, which spread beneath us, covered with vineyards, olive plantations, and fruit trees.

Trau (Tragurium) was first settled by a colony of Sicilian Greeks. The modern town, situated on a peninsula, is dirty, with narrow streets; it is still surrounded by the old Venetian wall, with square towers ornamented with sculptures, among which the Lion of St. Marc stands conspicuous. The church is an elegant Gothic edifice, completed in 1550. Such is the mildness of the climate that the date palm

grows in the open air. The highest latitude in which I have yet seen this tree thrive is at Almeira, in the south of Spain; the latitude of that place, however, is  $36^{\circ} 40'$ , whereas this is  $43^{\circ} 38'$ —a difference of nearly  $7^{\circ}$ ; but those at Almeira are in lofty groves, while here I saw only two trees of half growth.

South of Trau extends the fertile district of Setti Castelli, which receives its name from seven castles now in ruins. These were built by Venetian nobles, who held grants of their lands from the Senate, on condition of maintaining these strongholds to check the aggressions of the Turks. After the barren hills we had left behind, it was delightful to travel through this beautiful cultivated country, covered with vines and fruit trees, between hedges of the rich glossy foliage and scarlet blossoms of the pomegranate. We stopped at the house of the Prætor in one of the villages, to taste the wine made on his estate; it had much the flavour of, and was scarcely inferior to Madeira. If the vine were more generally cultivated on this coast, the superior quality of the wine produced would render it a valuable article of export: at present the quantity is too inconsiderable.

Three miles before reaching Spalatro we passed the ruins of Salona, at the head of the bay of the same name, into which flows the Hyader. The only remains of this old Roman town are heaps and ridges of shapeless stones, covering an extensive plain to the foot of the mountains. Above, on a rocky eminence, stands the picturesque castle of Clissa commanding the pass between the mountains Cabani and Mossor. This formerly important post is now abandoned.

Salona experienced many vicissitudes before its final destruction. During the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, the latter endeavoured to reduce Salona; but in the night the women habited as furies issued forth, and entering their camp torch in hand, burnt their engines and so terrified the soldiers of Octavius who conducted it, that he was compelled to raise the siege; in 535 it was ruined and

rebuilt by the Goths, and came into the possession of the Avari in 641, but was eventually destroyed by the Romans.

We entered Spalatro through the gloomy mural vaults which formerly served for quarters to the Roman Prætorian guard. The place, which nearly retains its old name Palatium, is built in and among the ruins of the celebrated palace of the Emperor Diocletian. This noble retreat, for which this wise Emperor sacrificed the purple and its perils, was an extensive walled fortress, including within its precincts several temples, baths, theatres, dwellings for his numerous retinue, and accommodation for his guards. The town was first peopled by fugitives from Salona, and has since been greatly enlarged. The walls of the ancient palace now contain what is called the old city, besides which there is the new town and the suburbs. The fortifications of Spalatro, constructed by the Venetians, were destroyed by Marmont, who considered the place untenable. The Commissary of the Circle, from whom we experienced great attention, very obligingly sent his son to show us the various objects of antiquity of this interesting place. We first passed through an avenue, or piazza, between two rows of lofty Corinthian columns of granite, at the end of which is a granite sphynx of immense size, but little remains to prove what was the superstructure of these pillars. This fine ruin is defaced by a glaring inscription recording a visit of the Emperor of Austria. The Temple of Diana is in the most perfect preservation, which may be owing to its having been converted into a church. This edifice is a massive stone-built octagon of twenty-five feet on each face, and surrounded by a corresponding peristyle on Corinthian pillars of granite. The interior is supported by eight granite columns, above which runs a sculptured frieze, representing hunting scenes and beasts of chase. Over the cornice is another tier of eight porphyry pillars of smaller dimensions supporting the dome. This noble relic of antiquity is ill adapted, both from its size and shape, for its present purpose; a most incongruous addition has been made to the building

in the shape of a modern belfry : a vain attempt being made to effect a concord between them by constructing this belfry of columns and fragments from the ruins of Salona ; it possesses some elegance, but is totally out of keeping with the stern grandeur of the ancient edifice. Nearly opposite to this stands a smaller temple of Esculapius, now converted into a chapel of St. John. It is a simple oblong marble building, the interior walls of which are beautifully carved in fretwork. Could the old Romans stand again within the precincts of their forsaken temples, how little difference would they discover between the idols and ceremonies of the modern Romans and those of their superseded mythology, and well might they doubt if these are the successors of the men who suffered martyrdom for protesting against their own idolatry. There was formerly a portico of fifty Doric columns, forming an entrance to Spalatro on the sea-side ; this no longer exists.

The main road from here lies along the sea-coast, but as this road is subject to fevers from the malaria at this season of the year, we took the advice of our kind friends here, and struck into the inland road to Sign. Returning by Salona, we wound up a steep ascent to Clissa ; the road was crowded with the peasantry : on the little plain at the foot of the castle, where we rested, a large party had collected who were amusing themselves with various games : among others, an unfortunate cock was fastened to a peg in the ground and pelted with stones, each thrower paying a trifle to its owner. This was a source of great amusement to the crowd, as the cock did his best by dodging to avoid the missiles : the unsuccessful gamblers were saluted with shouts of laughter and ridicule as they drew forth their reluctant coppers. The view of Spalatro and the coast from this elevation is remarkably fine. Sign, which we reached at night, was crowded with people, a fair having been held there the previous day, and we found great difficulty in obtaining a lodging. The streets were still encumbered with the remains of booths and the scaffoldings of games and fireworks. About six miles east of this place there

is a guarded station on the frontier, where a market is held for the exchange and sale of commodities by the Dalmatian and Turkish traders, under military superintendence. It is difficult to believe that such an extended and intricate frontier can be maintained inviolate for quarantine purposes. The greatest safeguard of the government is in the mutual animosity of the borderers of the frontier.

*August 16.*—From Sign the road passes through a fine country of hill and dale: there is a ferry at Trigl, and the view of the valley of the Cettina River from the hills on the opposite bank is very lovely, with the noble mountain peak of Biakovo in the background rising to a height of 5500 feet. A few miles from this, at Duare, the Cettina forms a waterfall of 100 feet.

At Catuni, a mere post-station, the postmaster had horses, but could furnish nothing on wheels, nor were any to be obtained south of this. Here then was to begin our journey on horseback. I confess it was with more of pleasure than regret that I heard this, and I was not sorry to abandon the rasping carts of the country for the easier though slower conveyance on horseback, even with the long ride to the farther confines of India in perspective. The saddles we had provided ourselves with at Trieste were unpacked and our baggage packed on the back of an extra horse; and with a feeling of joyful independence, we mounted and set off at 5 o'clock A.M. on our onward path. The road lies for a long way between two peculiar parallel rocky ridges, like the roofs of houses, with a scanty vegetation of stunted oak and ash. The villages of the Morlacchi are scarcely to be distinguished from the barren crags among which they nestle. At Zupa, where we dined on fowls, etc., procured from the peasants, the huts were thatched, but the village had an appearance of great misery. Vergoratz is a wretched village among a heap of rocks; we were, however, kindly accommodated in the house of the Syndic. The road from here overlooks an extensive flat in the Turkish territory, with mountains at a distance in the East: it passes by the lake Jesero,

a sheet of water of about five square miles in extent, and of a most desolate appearance. It is studded with rocky islands, and bordered by white and barren shores. The heat in the middle of the day is very intense, and drove us to shelter in an oasis of trees, under which the Morlacchi had constructed their huts, elevated on scaffolds to avoid the vermin. We descended to the delta of the marshy river Narenta at Vidua, the ancient Naronia, little honoured as the birthplace of Nero; on the borders of this village are the remains of ancient walls. Our road was intercepted by an arm of the river, which the horses swam across, and we passed in an old boat. A short ride through fields of Indian corn brought us to Metcovich, but here it was necessary to cross the main stream of the Narenta, which we did in the boat of a trading vessel lying in the river. The extensive alluvial district formed by the mouths of this stream is very fertile, abounding in grain, fruit, wild fowl, and fish. The marshes, however, generate intermittent fevers, which at the present season are especially prevalent. The unhealthiness of the towns and villages is much increased by the dirty habits of the people and the wretched houses they inhabit.

*August 18.*—Metcovich is a small town on the Turkish frontier: it carries on a tolerable trade, and is a great mart for salt, which is taken from hence to the interior of Turkey. The river Narenta is navigable for small vessels. The postmaster, who was also a merchant, gave us a kind welcome to an indifferent house, though several of the family were suffering from fever, and the people generally had a sickly pallid appearance.

In the olden time, the district between the Narenta and the Cettina, including the large islands of Brazza, Lesina, Curzola, Meleda, etc., formed an independent piratical Republic, of such importance, that until 997 A.D. they exacted tribute from the Venetians; the intricacies of the islands affording a secure shelter to their numerous galleys: they themselves eventually fell under the dominion



of Venice. We procured some good mules for the march to Ragusa, but found it was necessary that we should be accompanied by a sanitary officer, to pass a small portion of the Turkish territory, which reaches to the sea between this and Ragusa. It appears that during the power of Venice, the Ragusan Republic was jealous of the vicinity of such dangerous neighbours; the Ragusans therefore, by the treaty of Passerowich, ceded a portion of their territory, both on the north and south of their dominions, to the Turks, under whose protection they acknowledged themselves to be; the Turks retain this to the present day.

The road at first skirted the marshes, which were intersected by sluggish streams, literally black with fish, of which trout were the most numerous: some of these were of great size and were exposing their spotted backs to the sun while basking near the surface of the water. The stagnant pools swarmed with frogs, filling the air with their discordant rattle. We ascended the hills and passed the Turkish ground, seeing only half a dozen miserable-looking peasants. We were much annoyed by our muleteers, whose cattle had been hired to take us to Slano. They detained us at every village, for what purpose we could not divine; but at the small village of Topola, the muleteers having quarrelled with the people, we discovered the cause of their conduct by the assistance of the parish priest, who came to our aid. It seems the price these men were to receive was much higher than the Government tariff, and their object had been to impress cattle from the villagers at the Government rate, pretending we were Austrian officers, when they speculated on securing the difference of the hire and returning home. Their intended fraud cost them a deduction from their pay, besides a lecture from the priest. The Government rate of hire is very low, but as the priest, who spoke Italian, kindly interpreted our wishes to the people, in a very few minutes we had as many cattle as we wished, at the same rate we had previously paid. As the men were willing to travel

by night, we went on after sunset, though pressed by the priest to remain with him till morning. As the night fell, it was extremely cold, and so dark that we had great difficulty in finding the road. At midnight we rested on the hills above Slano and could see the lights of the town twinkling below; we had brought some water with us, and lit a fire here for the purpose of warming ourselves and making some coffee, but just as we had created a cheerful blaze, I stumbled over the coffee pot containing the last of our supply of water, and saw it soaked up by the arid soil. The severity of this trifling loss can only be understood by those who have been placed in similar circumstances. The remainder of this night was passed in that most painful of all struggles, to keep the eyes open in despite of overpowering sleep, whilst momentarily in danger of falling from the saddle. On the morning of the 20th, we were descending through gardens and vineyards, wooded with chestnut, weeping willow, and cedar, to the village of Porto Malfi.

Opposite Slano, which we passed in the night, lies the island of Meleda or Melita, which contends with Malta for the honour of having received the Apostle Paul after his shipwreck. There are good reasons for fixing on this locality, however it may militate against received opinions and offend the prejudices of the Maltese. It is not easy to understand how Malta could be designated as a "barbarous island" so late as the time of the Apostles, when history shows that it had arrived at a high degree of civilization under the Carthaginians, even prior to the rise of the Roman power. Here is the testimony of Diodorus to its flourishing state in his time, "The inhabitants of Malta are very happy in their circumstances, for they have all sorts of artificers for every kind of work; but they excel most in their manufacture of linen, which is beyond anything of the kind, both in the fineness of its texture and in its softness. Their houses are very noble, being elegantly ornamented with pediments projecting forwards, and with the most exquisite stucco work." Again, the "barbarous

Melita" is in the Adriatic, while the civilized Malta is in the Mediterranean, though it has been attempted to apply the name of "Adria" to the Ionian Sea. The island of Melita was probably thickly wooded, for the adjacent island of Curzola bore the name of *Corcyra nigra*, from its thick forests, and such rank vegetation would be more likely to harbour serpents than the barren rocks of Malta. Although the fever of the father of Publius is only a circumstance, it is certainly a coincidence that this coast of Dalmatia is at the present day so subject to fevers that in many places they are scarcely free from them throughout the year.

An inlet of the sea has to be crossed in a boat from Porto Malfi to Gravosa, and as the traveller's horses are left at the former place, there is a walk of two miles more to Ragusa: on this occasion by a hot dusty road. The old fortress is surrounded by walls, and still presents a formidable appearance: within, the streets are narrow and dirty, but the gateways and buildings have an air of great antiquity. Just outside the fort a gloomy grove of spreading plane-trees shelters a promenade but little frequented. The town is such as one would imagine to have existed in England in the time of King John. The people were very courteous and obliging.

Ragusa was founded in 656, by the fugitives from the Roman colony of Epidaurus (*Ragusa vecchia*), which was destroyed by the Servians and Saracens. The republic, like that of Venice, was aristocratic. The Council of State was composed of nobles above the age of 18. The Senate of forty-five *Pregati*, who were not eligible under 40 years of age, and an executive Council consisting of seven members. The Senate submitted their proceedings for the approval of the Council of State and the chief of the republic was styled the Rector. He was elected annually until the time of the rector Damian Juda, who attempted to possess himself of unlimited authority, 1216, after which they were chosen monthly.

Inveterate enemies of the Turks, their gates were always

open to welcome their adversaries. Richard Cœur de Lion was received by the Ragusans with great hospitality on his return from the Crusades; and they gave refuge to Sigismund of Hungary after the battle of Nicopolis. When, however, in 1420, the rest of Dalmatia came under the dominion of Venice, they were reduced to the alternative of placing their country under the protection of their ancient foe the Turk, to whom they paid a tribute, which 200 years after had increased to 12,500 ducats yearly. They remained under the protection of the Porte at the treaty of Passarowitz, but the tribute had long been discontinued. Before the Republic was dissolved by a decree of Napoleon, it possessed 360 decked vessels and 4000 seamen. In 1814 it was incorporated with the Austrian dominions.

Along the summits of the hills above Ragusa are numerous ruins amid plantations of fruit-trees. These the people still sorrowfully pointed out to us as the scorched shells of their former delightful retreats, which have never been restored since their destruction by the ruthless fire of war.

At the peace of Presburg, in 1806, the French garrisoned Ragusa under pretence of expelling the Russians from Cattaro. These latter incited the Montenegrins and the other barbarous mountaineers, by the prospect of plunder, to descend on Ragusa, which they did to the number of 12,000, pillaging and burning all the places on their track, including Ragusa Vecchia, Breno, Gravosa, and destroying the suburbs and country houses of this place before they were repulsed. From hence to Ragusa Vecchia the country is mountainous, the road overlooking a sea sprinkled with numerous islands. A stunted small-leaved myrtle is very abundant among the rocks.

Ragusa Vecchia, where we only stopped for a change of horses, is a small clean walled trading town on the site of Epidaurus. At Pridcovic we took a sanitary officer to pass the second portion of the ceded territory, which caused us some detention, and we reached Castel Nuovo

at midnight and gained admission to a lodging. This was formerly a strong fort commanding the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro. It is still held by an Austrian garrison, although the massive walls and towers with which it is surrounded are rent and torn, and in many places fallen, from the attempts of the Montenegrins to blow them up.

*August 22.*—The rain, which had continued all night, terminated in the morning with a thunderstorm, accompanied by a phenomenon I had never before witnessed. I was standing at a window, overlooking the mouth of the inlet, when I saw a large meteor or ball of fire shoot in from seaward: its course was horizontal, about forty feet from the surface of the water: when it reached the entrance of the bay opposite to where I stood, it exploded like a shell, with a report equal to that of a small field piece. The weather suddenly cleared after this, and the military commandant of the place, hearing of our intention to proceed to Cattaro, sent a very obliging message with the offer of seats in his boat, in which he was going himself, and of which we gladly availed ourselves.

The Bocche di Cattaro are a chain of inlets or lakes winding far inland, and affording a succession of the most beautiful views. The entrance is commanded by the now ruined fort of Castel Nuovo, and the wooded hills on either shore are studded with country houses and gardens, with villages along the margin of the water. Further in, the hills swell into mountains, and on entering the innermost lake the scenery is truly sublime: the mountains which literally wall in this stilly expanse, in which they are minutely reflected, spring abruptly in white and barren magnificence to a height of 2000 feet, and it was strange to see the colossal cliffs of the Montenegro basking in the broad glare of the declining sun, while the western shore, and even the spot over which our boat was gliding, were wrapped in the shadows of evening.

The town of Cattaro, lying on the declivity of a hill at the farthest extremity of the inmost lake, has a pleasing and striking appearance from the water. About 400 feet

above it is the Fört of San Giovanni, connected with the town by zigzag walls down the face of the rocks; and the mountain wall seems to impend over the whole. The town from its land-locked situation is deprived of several hours of sunshine daily. The costumes of the villagers of the Bocche are very picturesque and differ in each village. Cattaro appears to be a busy and populous place. The Montenegrins are known by their long white coats, girdled with the usual supply of arms; some of the women wear an extraordinary helmet of small silver coins overlying each other like fish scales.

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## CHAPTER III.

## MONTENEGRO.

THE territory of Montenegro begins at the very gates of Cattaro. There is a market outside, to which the mountaineers bring their poultry, eggs, game, and fruit to supply the town. A strong Austrian guard is kept here as well as at the gates. The Montenegrins are only allowed to enter the town in very limited numbers, and are compelled to leave their guns at the gate, the greatest fear of their wild and independent neighbours existing in the minds of all classes.

Our curiosity was strongly excited by the accounts we heard of this singular people, and we resolved not only to visit their country, but if possible to penetrate by that route into Turkey; the more especially as we were assured that no Englishman had ever been there before us. It was not easy to overrule the kind scruples of friends, but we found a more serious obstacle to overcome in the opposition of the authorities; the Austrian Government being extremely jealous of strangers holding any communication with these people. We called on the Capitano del Circolo (a sort of military prefect) and found him a very gentlemanly man, but on requesting his advice and assistance with respect to our intended route, he cut us short at once by informing us that he could not possibly allow us to enter the Montenegro, but at the same time offered us every facility in prosecuting our journey to Turkey by the ordinary southern road along the coast by Budua. When, however, we produced our passports, countersigned at the Austrian Embassy in London, and pointed out to him that

we were free to pass by any route we pleased, he discovered that he had no authority to detain us by force. He then endeavoured to alarm our fears, representing that the Montenegrins were a barbarous banditti; that they scrupled at no crime, and were amenable to no laws, and in short that our lives were not worth an hour's purchase among them; "but allowing," said he, "that you should escape a miserable fate at their hands, how would you be able to pass from thence into Turkey, while they are at the present moment engaged in a sanguinary war with the Turks of Albania?" We could not but thank him for his friendly advice, but in proportion to the difficulties and dangers to be encountered was our desire to make the attempt increased, and we determined to proceed at all risks. The information of this official was probably derived from the military who had been employed against the mountaineers; for it is only a very short time since, that the Austrian Government made a foolish attempt to subdue them, which ended in their own defeat and their being driven back with loss and disgrace. The Austrians were consequently disposed to paint their enemies in the blackest colours. His statement as to the difficulty of entering Turkey from Montenegro rested on better grounds, for reports had already reached us of a skirmish having taken place on the borders of the two countries, in which lives had been lost and villages plundered.

In order to ascertain the sort of reception we were likely to meet with, we despatched a letter to the Chief of Montenegro by one of the mountaineers, stating who and what we were, and our wish to visit the country, and requesting that he would send us one of his people as a guide. The next day we had the gratification of receiving an obliging answer from the Chief, who sent down a party of six of his people with three mules to carry us up the mountains, as none of the animals from the plains can travel their rock paths.

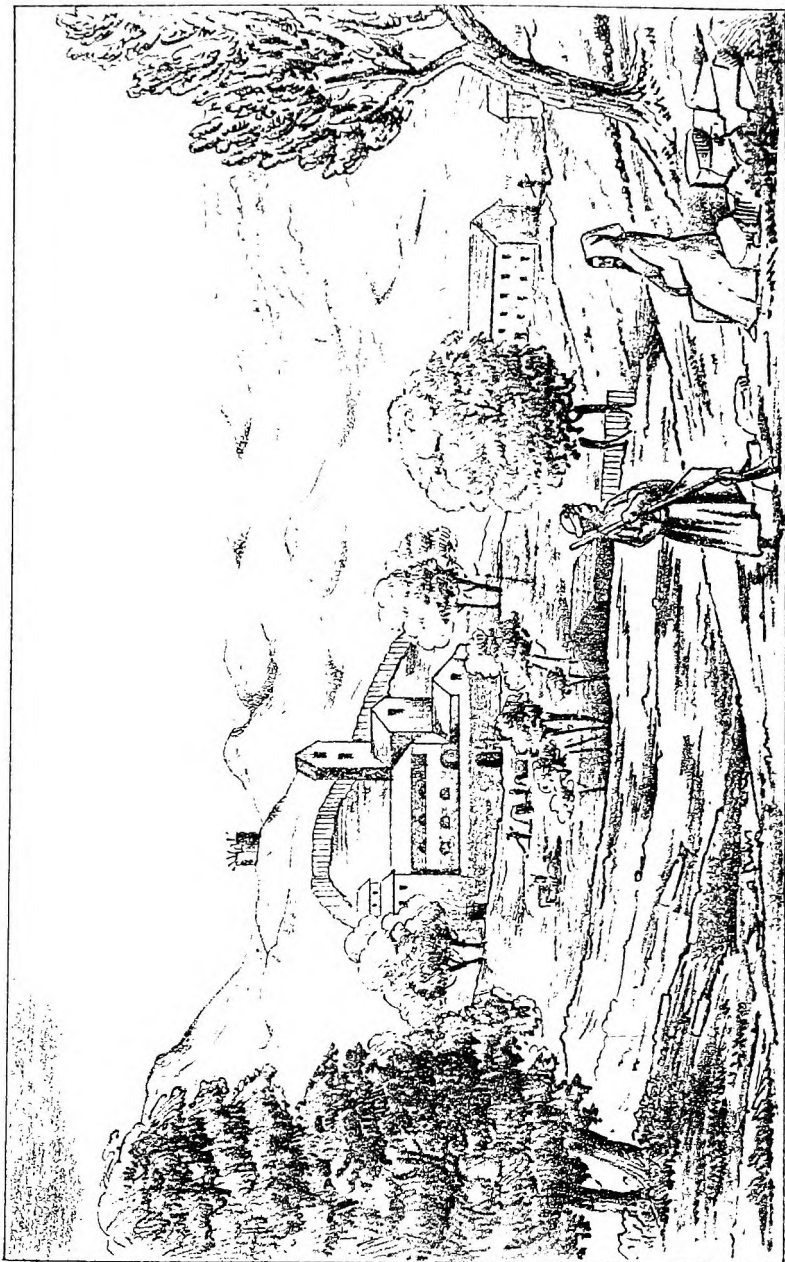
*August 25.*—Early in the morning we mounted two of the mules, with our baggage on the third, and set off in the



best of spirits. The cragsmen marched on foot, armed with long guns, pistols, and yataghans; they wear a red cap with a handkerchief or cloth twisted round it, full trowsers to below the knee, and a white cloth pelisse or frock embroidered in front with silk and confined by a belt; the men are strongly made, and the leader of the party, who was sixty years old, marched in front of us, climbing the steep ascent with the ease and elasticity of a wild goat, amusing us as he went along with stories of his exploits against the French and Austrians, in not the choicest Italian, although quite intelligible. We had early experience of one bad trait in the character of the people in their treatment of their women. Our baggage being considered too heavy for the spare mule, part of it was made into a load and consigned to the wife of one of the guides who had joined the party. This woman marched for twelve hours under the burden, seldom on level ground, and apparently without fatigue, while the men only carried their arms. The ascent of the mountain is steep and perilous, but the mules appeared to have studied the road; they crept and climbed up the precipitous track most admirably, placing their feet with the greatest precision in the hollows and ledges worn in the rock by those who had gone before them. We had no bridles, and it was only from witnessing the sagacity of the animals that we felt any assurance of the safety of our necks, as they took us safely over crags and along precipices where there did not seem to be footing for a chamois. At length we reached a comparative level and travelled through tracts of enormous white rocks, rent, upheaved, and scattered about in chaotic confusion; then we would plunge into dark primeval forests of beech trees, to emerge on similar rocky tracts, alternating with beech forests. From the highest ridges we had an extensive view of the lake of Scutari, and the Albanian mountains stretching far away to the south-east—a glorious prospect. Late in the afternoon we descended into a small fertile basin like an extinct crater, surrounded by rocky hills, which we were informed was the end of our journey.

This place, for it is not a town, nor is it even a village, goes by the name of Cettignè, or Zettigny. The only buildings in it are the convent of St. Basilius, an ill-looking range of buildings of two stories with a sort of belfry ; at a little distance and at right angles to this is the Chief's house, an oblong building of two stories, another similar one, and a stable, with a few huts scattered at a distance about the little valley, is all that forms the capital of Montenegro. The first object which arrested our sight sufficiently confirmed the truth of their hostilities with the Turks. On a low round tower on the summit of a rock was ranged a horrid array of forty-five human heads stuck on lances and blackening in the sun. This revolting exhibition stands a few hundred yards above the monastery, and was rather calculated to damp our spirit of enterprise. We waited on the Chief, who received and welcomed us with great urbanity. He is a remarkably handsome man of very prepossessing manners, is well informed and speaks French fluently ; he is about five-and-twenty years of age and stands seven feet high. He wore a furred pelisse and light turban. His name is Pietro Petrovich, but he is generally known by his title of Vladika which he bears as a Bishop of the Greek Church, and on state occasions he wears the dress of his ecclesiastical rank.

We retired to a homely, though comfortable room, and enjoyed a good dinner, supplied by the Prince's Italian cook, and assisted by some very good wine. In the course of the evening we were waited on by the Vladika's Secretary, an intelligent Italian, who came deputed to ascertain that we wanted for nothing, and from him we learnt the facts of the late tragedy. He informed us that the Albanians had violated the frontier of Montenegro and harried some of their villages, and to avenge this foray, about ten days previously, a party had been sent down to make reprisals across the border. The Turks appeared to have been prepared for this, for they made a determined resistance ; but the Montenegrins eventually gained a victory, although



CETTIGNÉ, MONTENEGRO.

with the loss of thirteen of their party, and, after gleaning a bloody harvest of heads, returned in triumph to their mountains.

*August 26.*—This morning we found the Vladika in his library, which was not very extensive, containing a small assortment of French and Italian books. Our conversation turned chiefly on the subject of European politics, in which he appeared principally interested, for, in consequence of the jealousy of the Austrians, he is almost isolated as to information, and is not allowed to receive a letter or newspaper through the Austrian post office, and can consequently obtain intelligence but seldom and circuitously. He ridiculed the fears of the authorities and people of Cattaro for our safety, and indignantly complained of the calumnious accusations propagated against him by the Austrian Government, and which he had no means of contradicting, as all except chance channels of communication were closed against him. Latterly, on account of a dispute about their frontier, the Austrians had commenced hostilities by sending some troops into the mountains, but they had not penetrated far before they were opposed and driven back with loss. After alluding to his enemies having published an account of this affair as a victory, he exhibited with an air of great satisfaction a quantity of Austrian uniforms and accoutrements taken from them on the occasion, as the best answer to their boasting. "It is not to be supposed," said the Prince, "that my people would be a match for disciplined troops on equal ground; but what chance have these against mountaineers among their own inaccessible crags, where every rock hides a foe, and where, while the soldiers are fully occupied in surmounting the natural obstacles to their progress, their ranks are thinned by invisible but sure marksmen. And allowing that they ever reached more practicable ground, they would derive little satisfaction from the burning of a few straw cabins, which would be reconstructed on their retreat, while their absent owners would be far beyond their reach."

The Vladika has more of the temporal prince than of the spiritual guide in his composition, and possesses ambition and intelligence sufficient to have made a remarkable figure in other and less settled times, when mailed prelates marched to the field at the head of their retainers. He has, however, imbibed some ideas from the spirit of the age, and with the aid of his secretary he is endeavouring to improve the condition of his people, by causing their children to be instructed in schools and encouraging their industry. The Montenegrins are Greek Christians, but the Vladika adduced it as an evidence of their increasing enlightenment, that his people gave themselves little concern for the duties of their religion. As Bishop, his own principles are quite as lax, for, talking of the aggressions of his border enemies and the exploits of his own people, he remarked with the greatest naïveté, "Nous autres: nous aimons la vengeance." He looked on the Albanians as his especial enemies, and longed for the day when he could pay a visit to the Pacha of Scutari with 10,000 of his highlanders at his back.

We ventured to call his attention to the ghastly exhibition of heads on the tower, as incompatible with our notions of warfare. He acknowledged that it was a revolting sight, and said he was obliged to allow it, against his own wishes, to comply with the barbarous custom of the people, for fear of alienating the affections of his warriors. The territory of Montenegro comprises an extent of 300 Italian square miles, with a population of 30,000. They are entirely independent, although the Vladika admitted that he received assistance in money from Russia, the Czar being, as he said, his only friend. Such education as he possesses was acquired during a residence in St. Petersburg, from whence he came to assume the government of his own country in 1834. The Montenegrins cultivate every fertile spot that the country affords; such lands are of limited extent, lying in the valleys, along the borders of the streams, and on the banks of the lake of Scutari, a large part of which is within their territory;

but they are all soldiers, and ready for any expedition at an hour's notice. They are a hardy race, and in endurance the women are not much inferior to the men: they are inured to hard work, and it is considered among them a sufficient ground to divorce a wife if she is not at her usual occupation twenty-four hours after her confinement. Their funerals are after the Oriental style, accompanied with howling and scratching their faces; but this is followed by feasting and drinking.

In the afternoon the mountaineers assembled in front of the house and practised leaping, wrestling, and firing at a mark. The target was a small stick planted on the roof of the house. Our old ally, who escorted us from Cattaro, proved himself to be the best shot, severing the twig with his match-lock after three attempts. We afterwards rode with the Chief to the extent of the little plain of Cettigné. He was mounted on a handsome grey charger, a present from the Pacha of Bosnia, and showed himself a good horseman. His stud consists of four horses, which, with the mules that brought us up, are the only animals in the country. On our return, we walked with him by moonlight until a late hour, while his retainers were lounging about, or keeping a careless, and certainly an unnecessary watch. After all the dangers we had been threatened with, it was a satisfaction to find ourselves on such good terms with this redoubted chief and in perfect security surrounded by his wild clansmen. As we proposed leaving in the morning, we enquired of the Vladika whether our crossing the Turkish frontier would be attended with much difficulty since their late collision. He acknowledged it could not be done without danger, but said that his people should escort us to the frontier and if possible procure us a boat to go on to Scutari. He regretted we could not make a longer stay, but gave orders for mules to be in readiness in the morning and a boat to be waiting on the river which flows into the lake, and we took leave of him after an extremely interesting visit.

*August 27.*—At sunrise we left the little amphitheatre

of Cettigné and took the road down the opposite face of the mountains, towards the valley of the Velika Rieca river. We were again obliged to submit to the painful necessity of seeing our baggage carried by women: the feeling of being parties to this degradation was perhaps aggravated in this instance, by one of our carriers being a handsome black-eyed girl. Our remonstrances, however, were only received with unmixed astonishment by the sufferers, and with indifference or ridicule by their masters, although some of the men who had frequented the towns of Dalmatia evinced some symptoms of shame that strangers should witness this unnatural drudgery. The women seemed grateful for our good intentions, but assured us they did not suffer the least fatigue. But while we criticize what we call the barbarous customs of foreign nations, let us look at home and see if there is nothing to blush for. Passing through the streets of London or any other English town in the early morning in our climate, I have been moved with shame and indignation on seeing a number of English girls, many of them delicate and gently nurtured, kneeling on their hands and knees in the cold and wet, scouring stone steps. O the pity of it! It cannot be said that they do not suffer, for their health does suffer in many ways from the exposure, and this drudgery has actually generated a new disease, called "the house-maid's knee." But apart from the sanitary aspect, it is a national reproach that women in England should be subject to such degradation, while we complacently criticize their treatment in foreign countries.<sup>1</sup>

The descent of the mountains, although not so abrupt as on the Dalmatian side, is very precipitous: in many places the only track is over slabs and blocks of stone as polished as ivory; we escaped with no injury beyond a few falls. On the lower levels, we traversed several valleys cultivated with grain, and passed some villages,

<sup>1</sup> After this lapse of time, I find that, although much has been done to alleviate the suffering of our women in mines and factories, this humiliating drudgery is still in practice.

or rather homesteads of two or three houses, surrounded by vines and fruit trees. On this descent I was surprised to hear the familiar call of the bee-eater, and on looking up saw a flight of these lovely birds passing high overhead. After a descent of seven hours we reached the bank of the river near a considerable village: at this point the river emerges from the mountains and suddenly expands to a broad stream. Here we found a very crank boat with a high pointed stem and stern, in which we embarked with a party of six Montenegrins, two of whom were chiefs, and the other four acted as rowers. All were well armed, with rifle, dirk, and pistol, and, with the addition of our own double-barrels, we formed an efficient force in case of a meeting with the Albanians, and felt confident of giving them a warm reception if driven to extremities. In the mean time we commenced hostilities against the water fowl, with which the stream and banks abounded: we shot wild ducks, grebe, and several species of heron. The stream flowed down, between hills, in broad reaches, bordered by marsh and rush; as we reached the enemy's country we had to exercise more caution and resist the temptation of sport. Towards evening the shores gradually receded and we entered the extensive lake of Scutari.

We saw nothing to alarm our suspicions, except one large boat which crossed our track at a distance in front; we passed several rocky islands, and rowed on in silence till ten o'clock at night, when the men ran the boat into a small creek on the Western shore of the lake, within the Albanian territory, where two or three little skiffs were lying concealed. We all landed cautiously on the rocks, and after a short consultation, and seeing their arms in good order, four of the party climbed up the rugged hill in a very mysterious and contraband style, and were soon lost in the darkness; the other two remained with us to await their return. It was a fine warm night, and nothing broke the silence but the rippling of the tideless water as the wavelets dashed against the rocky margin, and, notwith-



standing the precarious nature of our situation on a hostile frontier, we quietly went to sleep on the bare slabs until the return of our emissaries after an hour's absence; they brought with them two mild-looking Albanian Christians, but whether they came by compulsion or were old smuggling acquaintances of the mountaineers we did not ascertain. The boat we had come in was far from seaworthy, but we were soon to learn how much worse we might fare when the new comers began baling out one of the rotten skiffs we had found lying here, and we were told that in it we were to complete the rest of the passage. On examination it did not appear to have been used for years: the planks were black and rotten, and the widened seams had filled with earth, which bore a flourishing crop of green grass. There was no choice, as the gallant fellows who had faithfully performed their trust in bringing us across the frontier had to return in their own boat. We therefore consigned ourselves to the care of the strangers. The moon had by this time risen, and lying down side by side in the bottom of the skiff we pushed off from the land. One of the men rowed with a single oar while the other steered; our course was consequently a festoon or a succession of half-circles. A slight swell set on shore, and the tossing of the lake waves threatened to melt the frail bark to pieces, but as we gained the open lake the water became more smooth.

We were startled from a sound sleep about one in the morning by a concussion, and found the boat alongside of a low marshy islet, teeming with mephitic exhalations, and discovered that we had been lying in water, of which the boat was half full. We were obliged to land our baggage on the sand, and bale out the boat before we could proceed. The same operation had to be performed five or six times in the course of this comfortless night, and it was daylight before we entered the river Boyana, which issues out of the south end of the lake. On this river there is a very curious fishing village elevated above the surface of the water in mid-stream.

The houses are of wood, built on piles sunk in the bed of the river ; each house is furnished with a large quadrangular net at the end of a long pole, which is suspended to the roof of the building inside, and used as a lever to raise and lower the net.<sup>1</sup> Fish is extremely abundant, but it has the reputation of causing fever.

<sup>1</sup> It was some years after this was written that I fell upon the following passage of Herodotus, and the existence of this village proves the accuracy of the historian's information, as well as the unchangeable nature of local customs. — "The dwellers on the Prasian lake beyond Peonia live in dwellings of the following construction :—In this lake, strong piles are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap door opens to the water. The fish is in such abundance that if any one lets down a basket into the water and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish."—*Herodotus, Terps.* xvi. xvii., *Beloe.*

## CHAPTER IV.

## ALBANIA.

ON the morning of the 28th we landed stiff and cramped on the shore at Scutari in Albania, but unmolested and unquestioned and thankful for our safety. We were obligingly directed by some Italian traders, who were busy among their bales, to a house of entertainment kept by an Italian woman. The accommodation is not very good, but the people are obliging. Scodra, as the Turks call this place, is built on the bank of the river which issues from the lake, and at the foot of a steep hill, on the summit of which is a Venetian fortress. In this the Pacha resides with a garrison of 5000 Nizam. The bazaars of the town are spacious and extensive, but the principal inhabitants and shopkeepers live with their families in the numerous houses of the suburbs, where each house is surrounded by trees and a high mud wall, and affords the seclusion which is the first requisite of a Turkish dwelling. The transition from Christian Europe to countries under the pressure of Mohammedan rule is very striking: one becomes conscious of being surrounded by moral stagnation and physical decay. Absolute power renders the security of property precarious, and destroys the energies of the people. Fatalism—the most powerful auxiliary of a conquering race—is a chief cause of its decay by the apathy it engenders. The national spirit of the Turks is nearly extinct, and their towns and public buildings, never being repaired, exhibit everywhere ruins and desolation.

A principal article of trade at this place is the medicinal leech, which is a Government monopoly, and sold by auction

to the highest bidder. The leeches abound in all the streams and waters, and are collected by men who wade in the water and disturb the mud and stones, when the leeches fasten on their legs and are bottled for export.

29.—The intelligence of the removal of Hassan Pacha, the present Governor of Scutari, by the young Sultan had just arrived. The Pachalik had been sold to Achmed Pacha, who already held the extensive province of Roumelia. We experienced the effects of the expected change by the little attention paid by the Menzil Bashi to the teskerai of a declining Pacha. He declared he had no horses, but found us others from private parties at four times the regulation price. Under the circumstances it was useless to appeal, and we put up with the imposition, which could only be for a stage. When we thought we were fairly started, our baggage horse rolled over his load in one of the principal bazaars, to our disgust and the amusement of the people; but at length we got on our road after crossing an arm of the river by a long bridge built on a most unique principle, but a most dangerous one for horses, the roadway forming a sharp angle above each arch. We traversed the fertile valley of the Drino and arrived in the evening at Alessio; this town is smaller than Scutari, but is also commanded by a castle. We found here poor accommodation, and, as a substitute for a lamp, a handful of pine knots were ignited on an iron tripod, throwing a ruddy glare on the group of turbaned Albanians who sat round us as we ate. The commandant of the Nizam, (of which there are 1000 quartered here,) in a dirty blue jacket and trousers, came to examine our teskerai, but was obliged to take it away to a Moolah to have it read to him. He spoke some Arabic, having been in Syria; this is rare among Turks, although it is the language of their Faith. From this place to Tirana is a rich country: the lowlands are covered with crops of rice, and graze herds of buffaloes. The buffalo cream (kaimak) is used in thick cakes, as an accompaniment to fruit or honey: it is very luscious and similar to our Devonshire

cream. The woods are overrun by the wild grape vine: some of the trees are borne down by their massive foliage: the higher trees are hung with luxuriant festoons, which interlace and conquer bough after bough with their insidious coils. We also traversed an extensive and lofty beech forest before coming to the town.

*August 30.*—Tirana is a straggling town in a pretty country, hilly and undulating. The mosque is very elegant, and covered with arabesque fresco painting. The Pacha, Abderahman Bey, received us very hospitably and lodged us in his own house. He wears the new regulation frock-coat, etc., which is required of all who hold official situations under the Sultan. Shortly afterwards the Pacha's brother came in from hawking. He retains his national Arnaout costume, and being a handsome man he looks what an Albanian chief should be, and casts his brother in his hybrid dress completely into the shade. We asked to see his game, which, though not very noble, he displayed with the satisfaction of a sportsman. They were chiefly turtle doves, and golden oriole, and some specimens of the blue thrush (*Turdus cyanus*), a rare bird, seemingly peculiar to the shores of the Adriatic; it is common in Italy, living among rocks and ruins; its colour is a greyish blue, speckled with white. In Dalmatia it is kept in cages for its fine song. In the evening we dined with the Pacha and a party of his friends in a large octagonal Kiosk hung with glass chandeliers. The 30 courses of which our banquet consisted were not too many, where the etiquette only allowed of a mere taste being taken of each dish, for scarcely was the third morsel touched when the dishes were pounced on by the attendants and replaced by others. After the repast the Osmanlis indulged freely in spirits and wine; even champagne was produced, which they drank in saucers. Each of us was then presented with a silver-gilt puzzle ring of four hoops ingeniously interlaced. Music, dancing by boys, and smoking finished the evening, and we slept in our clothes in the same room.

*Sept. 1.*—Al Bassan, the next town we reached, lies

in a district abounding in olive plantations. We found lodgings at a Greek's house, and slept in the verandah. We were away again at five in the morning through a picturesque mountainous country, passing Kukusa, lying under a steep craggy ridge; after resting for two hours, we travelled all night and reached Struga, at the northern extremity of the Lake of Ochrida, early in the morning. This is a very fine expanse of water, but without beauty of scenery, the shores being low. It was a lovely morning and the lake was swarming with wild fowl. As we rode along the shore we met a cavalcade of some hundreds of Turkish horsemen, who were escorting the new Pacha of Scutari, or rather the Deputy Pacha, to his government. Among them was a four-wheeled carriage, which they certainly could not use beyond the shores of the lake by the road we had come.

We merely stopped at Ochrida to change horses. It appears to be an extensive town: the most commanding object is a hill on which is a fortress now in ruins. A very unhealthy plan has been adopted in Turkey of building their towns in hollows and at the foot of hills: it is done for the purpose of having the advantage of the running water from the hills and high grounds, but as no proper channels are provided for carrying it off, the water traverses all the streets, and, mixing with the filth of the town, is converted into streams of liquid mud; this in hot weather is very offensive and causes fevers and other diseases. Posting in this country is extremely moderate; the rate is one piastre per hour for each horse: the hour is a conventional term for four miles, which is the usual distance a horse can walk in that time. The piastre is the fifth part of a shilling. In the plains you may gallop at the rate of twelve miles an hour: in the mountains it is difficult to march more than four; the payment for every four miles does not, however, vary: relays of horses are found at every eight or ten miles. I found the deep Turkish saddle the most convenient for this sort of travelling, adopting the Tartar plan of placing

on it a thick sheep skin with the wool outside, secured by a surcingle. Every traveller, if alone, must take three horses; one for himself, one for his baggage, and one for a Surogee, who takes them back to the post they came from; as we were two, our four horses cost but twopence halfpenny a mile. In mountainous countries like Albania the pace is a walk, but on plains these horses have a long running amble, which is very easy and swift. We had already discovered how little dependence is to be placed on the information obtained, before entering a country, with respect to the dangers to be encountered in it: in Dalmatia we were told that it was impossible to penetrate the Montenegro, and that we could not travel in Albania without a strong escort, whereas we had traversed Albania, without apprehension, with only a Surogee. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Morlaccos appear to be members of the same race: the language of each is a dialect of Slavonic. From Ochrida to Monastir the road crosses the high mountain range which separates Albania from Macedonia: the heights command a fine and extensive prospect of the lake and town: before crossing the highest ridge there is a smaller lake at Resna of no beauty. This night, which we passed in a Khan, was a real "night in the East." In the same room were horses, fowls, goats, and shoals of fleas; these kept up an incessant kicking, grunting, crowing, and biting, added to which the goats climbed over our bodies with their sharp hoofs as we lay, until, half frantic, we rushed out in the middle of the night, and, ordering our horses, galloped on to Monastir, which we entered before daylight, and threaded our way through the silent streets to a new Khan, surrounded by painted trellis, like a bird cage. It was necessary to obtain a fresh order for post horses from the Pacha of Roumelia, who resides there. His Pachalic includes Macedonia and Roumelia proper, to which he has now added Scutari, so that his power extends from Constantinople to the Adriatic. He is too powerful for a subject under a government so essentially weak as the Turkish. In the

course of the day we waited on this great man, Achmed Pacha, a fine-looking man, but with a very severe expression of countenance. He was seated with his secretary and a number of Turkish officials, but received us with the greatest courtesy, and gave the requisite orders for our teskerai. There are no more courteous or affable men to be met with than the Turkish Pachas; they may be wanting in sincerity, but men whose lives are passed in intriguing for power are not more likely to cultivate this quality in Turkey than in England, while their habitual affability of manner, even if originally adopted as a diplomatic engine, is highly beneficial and gratifying to strangers who may be brought in contact with them. I should mention that we found an Italian here to act as interpreter. These solitary adventurers are always to be met with in the towns in Turkey: they are either agents of the merchants residing at the sea-ports, or persons seeking employment, but they are always ready to offer their services in this manner, partly to make acquaintance with the authorities and to hear the news, but chiefly from an obliging disposition, ever ready to perform an act of kindness to a stranger. The Pacha was very particular in his enquiries about the Montenegrins, towards whom he did not appear disposed to be very friendly. As they would now border on his frontier, we strongly advised him to keep on peaceful terms with our late friends, assuring him that he would gain nothing by hostilities against them. Monastir, which is also called Betulia, probably a corruption of Beit Allah, is a large populous town, but very dirty, in consequence of the water from the hills forming black filthy streams through the streets. We made a rapid march of 80 miles from this place to Koprili on the Vardar. A ridge of hills is crossed about half way, on which I saw the Cyclamen in blossom. We also met a Cafilâ of camels, the first of these animals we had met with in Europe. From Koprili to Komanova the road traverses a fine fertile country on the banks of the Vardar: fields of tobacco and cotton extend in all directions, and numerous buffalo



carts lumber along loaded with their produce. At Stretzin, to avoid the fleas which infest the Khans, we this night slung the hammocks we had furnished ourselves with, and slept unmolested after a ride of 57 miles. The road continues up the same fine valley to the source of the Egrideré, a tributary of the Vardar. The water-ouzel is numerous on all these mountain streams. It feeds on leeches and aquatic insects, and becomes extremely fat and heavy. This extraordinary little bird does not dive, but walks into the water: it feeds among the stones at the bottom, and reappears perfectly dry on the rocks higher up the stream, from whence it again enters the water, under which it appears to walk with the same facility as on dry land. When shot at or wounded, it disappears and lies hid among the stones at the bottom or under the banks. After crossing the spur of the Balkan at Simakov, we lost sight of them altogether.

We came to the source of the Vardar by a fine valley, the dark range of Caratova, in which there are silver mines, rising on our right. Before arriving at Guistendil, an incident occurred with a Tartar, which was some relief to the monotony of the road, and in the end proved of service to us. The Tartar, a government post courier, travels night and day: the instant he arrives at a menzil, the three best horses in the stud are furnished him, for himself, his valise, and a Suregee, and they do not spare their horses, especially when nearing a menzil, which they enter at full speed. During the latter part of this stage our Surogee had shown great laziness, and although our horses were good, nothing could induce him to quicken his pace or work them, until within six or eight miles of the town, when a Tartar, whom we had met the day before on his way to Uskup, was seen coming up behind us on his return. This was an opportunity for working on our Surogee's feeling for the reputation of his cattle. We taunted him with comparisons between the different paces of the horses, disparaging the merits of our own, until he was fairly roused. The effect was complete when the Tartar

dashed past us with a contemptuous smile of recognition. The man was transformed: it was the difference between the sleepy apathetic greyhound, and the same animal straining on the leash, with the game afoot. Scarcely had his rival passed when shout upon shout rung from his lips, and our horses were off at the top of their speed close at his heels. The Tartar, divining our intention, determined not to be outdone in the race, and quickened the pace of his lightly encumbered horses by the vigorous application of his long whip. Our Surogee, now all energy, cheered on his horses by shout and whip, and we scudded over the plains with the Tartar just ahead, all galloping like men demented. It was wonderful how our baggage-horse kept his load at the racing pace he was going, urged on in addition by our whips, and by the clattering of a bag of pans and kettles, which hung loose on the top of his burden: sometimes we gained ground on the chase, which we again lost in plunging through a water-course, dashing through a pond or galloping up an ascent, where his light cattle had the advantage; however, we kept him close in view, and soon arrived in the streets of the long ill-paved straggling town of Guistendil, through which meandered streams of muddy water, where we astonished the peaceable inhabitants with the sight of two wild Englishmen, with bag and baggage, spurring away in hot pursuit of a Tartar. Away we all went through the town at racing pace, the mud flying in all directions; the horses' hoofs rattling over the stones; the men shouting; the pots and kettles jingling in unison: the people scattering before our headlong course, and the long-bearded Turks sitting in their shops, ceasing to smoke from amazement. Now and then we caught sight of the Tartar turning a corner, and galloped away with renewed energy, dashing round the corners to the great peril of the Osmanlis, and danger of our own necks, and we did not draw rein till we brought up in the court of the Menzil Khaneh, where the Tartar had arrived a minute before us, having had barely time to dismount. Whilst other horses were being prepared, the Tartar sipped

his coffee and smoked his pipe with an air of quiet satisfaction at having foiled us. We found him a very good sort of man, and we agreed to continue our road in company to Simakov. Independent of the amusement of "catching a Tartar," this adventure was eventually of great use to us, by facilitating our procuring horses; for, seeing the manner of our arrival, the people concluded we were couriers with despatches, and this report being carried from stage to stage by the Surogees, who believed it themselves, our horses were always in readiness at a moment's notice, and we had no difficulty in travelling as fast as we wished. We slept this night at Dubniza, having ridden about seventy-five miles. A traveller has no difficulty whatever in procuring meals on the road at all the Khans, though his fare is limited to about two dishes. If he can wait, a pillaf of rice and fowls is the standard dish: if he is in haste, half a dozen eggs are broken into a frying-pan of melted butter, which is then stirred up, and the mess is ready in five minutes. The people of the Menzils are obliging and never extortionate.

*September 8.*—The next morning's ride brought us to the large town of Simakov, in Bulgaria. It is built in a hollow and lies on the north of the peak of Rila. The town was filthy with mud, and it appeared to be a market-day, for every street was crowded with buffalo-carts and ox-waggons, through which, and the crowds of people, we had some difficulty in making our way. The Bulgarians are Christians. The general dress of the peasantry is a jacket and trousers of coarse brown druggot and a small black sheepskin cap, and they have more the appearance of Russians than subjects of the Porte.

The activity prevailing here in the crowded streets and open places is striking, after the quietude of most of the Turkish towns we passed through. We resumed, however, our rapid march with fresh horses, crossed the Balkan to the west of the Porta Trajani, and after a ride of fifty miles, the greater part of the road being mountainous, we reached Gabra Khan at night. Here we joined the

high road from Vienna and Belgrade to Constantinople. We found excellent accommodation in a good house kept by a Bulgarian Christian, and it was sufficiently cold to make us enjoy a blazing fire, around which his family were collected. I met with an incident or accident here, which well-nigh stopped my galloping for some time. We had alighted in a land of plenty. Our host was Kanji, butcher and storekeeper for the village, and on making our wants known, a large trap-door in the floor of the room was raised and various stores produced from the subterranean recess to compose our supper. The room was only lighted by the fire, and, forgetful of the trap-door, I was walking across the room whilst the cooking was going on, when I was suddenly precipitated down this domestic pitfall, falling among the kegs and jars at the bottom of the hole. The family rescued me from the vault, and appeared really concerned at the accident. I had fortunately escaped with broken knees and a few contusions, and it did not prevent our resuming our journey in the morning. One of my knees was much swollen, but by riding on one stirrup and letting the damaged leg hang loose, I was able to keep on, though at a slower pace. We passed Bazarjic on the Maritza, and slept at Philipopolis on the same river. The plains are covered with rice cultivation, and abound in snipe—and intermittent fevers. The peasants are all furnished with a large wooden ladle at the end of a long handle, for the purpose of bathing their buffaloes to protect them from the heat. Our day's journey was fifty-two miles. I need not stop to describe this beaten and well-known high road, and will pass over it quicker than our horses traversed it, which was at a sufficiently rapid rate.

*September 10.*—From Philipopolis we made a rapid march of 110 miles, travelling all day and all night—by Kialek and Hirmanli—to Heibelu, where we slept for two hours; next day forty-eight miles to Kafsa, through Adrianople, which is a handsome town, with broad streets and bazaars, and elegant domed mosques with graceful minarets. From Adrianople to the Capital the charge for post-horses

is doubled. The next day we galloped to Silivri, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora. It is called 112 miles, but cannot be less than 120, and we must have travelled at the rate of eight miles an hour. These barren downs (for the cultivation is chiefly confined to the valleys, which can command a supply of water from streams) are remarkable for the immense numbers of birds of prey which frequent them. The peregrine falcon, the moor buzzard, common buzzard, the kite, the kestrel, sparrow-hawk, and several other species of hawk, with which I was not familiar, besides eagles and vultures. The reason of this concourse of rapacious birds may be that this is the season for the arrival of the flights of quails, with which every table in Constantinople is furnished while the passage lasts, and I saw a quail hunted by a pair of hawks and struck within twenty yards of us. Hawks themselves are also on passage at this season.

We did not reach Silivri until midnight, having been detained by the fall of our baggage-horse, which had attained too great a velocity in galloping down a steep slope in the dark at Papasli, and rolled over his load. Silivri was the first place at which we experienced incivility. The people of the Menzil positively refused to give us lodging room or sell us food, an instance of inhospitality which I will do the Turks the justice to say was an exception to their usual obliging manner towards strangers. Neither coaxing nor threats made any impression on the brutal post-master. The only thing he would do was to give us fresh horses to go on with; we were, however, scarcely prepared to mount again after so long a ride. It was too late to seek other lodgings or obtain redress, so we were fain to spread our carpets in the verandah, and with our baggage under our heads we went supperless to sleep, and this after a ride of 120 miles!

*September 13.*—The inhospitable villains had the assurance to ask for backsheesh in the morning when we started, and it was now our turn to retaliate by refusal. Refreshed by sleep, if not by food, we made twenty-four miles to

Buyuk Tchekmedje, before stopping to allay our hunger. Before reaching Kutchuk Tchekmedje it began raining, and just as we quickened our pace and galloped over the bridge to reach a place of shelter, we were detained by a most gratuitous piece of annoyance, established by the government at this place by way of a sanitary precaution. By the side of the road stood a large sentry box, into which my companion and myself were introduced in our wet clothes, to undergo fumigation from a handful of sulphur thrown on a brazier of charcoal, and were only liberated when half suffocated. It will hardly be credited that this useless and vexatious infliction is only applied to foreign travellers, whilst their baggage, which might convey infection, did any exist, passes untouched, and the people of the country pass in and out unmolested. Our Surogee waited in the road whilst we underwent this suffocating process, and we then made the best of our way to the Capital.

From Silivri to Constantinople the distance is about fifty miles. The approach to the city by land is not striking: it is like the back of a picture. The old walls of Byzantium, through the ruins of which the town is entered, are still an interesting object, overgrown with bushes and verdant parasites. The walls are high and massive, supported at intervals by square towers. An hour was passed in threading the crowded bazaars and intricate streets of Stamboul, when we crossed the elegant bridge over the Golden Horn and reached Roboli's Hotel at Pera, well pleased at the prospect of a few days of rest and abundance, after the discomfort of our late hard fare and rough riding. In the last four days alone we had ridden 320 miles on every variety of cattle, rough trotters, gallopers, amblers, and some lame; and in nine days 630 miles, averaging seventy a day. It must be remembered that in these countries there is no such thing as a road, but merely a track leading over hill and valley, across hedge and ditch, mountain and river, taking the most direct course from village to village irrespective of obstacles.

## CHAPTER V.

## CONSTANTINOPLE.

*September 14.*—I place Constantinople in a separate chapter, that those who have seen it, or may be satiated with the numerous descriptions of the place already published, may be able to skip over it with the greater facility. I have said that the land approach is like the back of a picture, and a glorious picture it certainly is from the water. It is when skimming the straits in a caique that its superlative beauty arrests the entranced gaze. It has no grandeur; other lands have grander features: it has no sublimity; but I can imagine no scenery combining so many elements of loveliness as that forming the channel of the Bosphorus: it is beautiful! most beautiful!! The length of the channel from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora is about twenty-five miles: on either side of the water it is an ever-changing panorama of the most lovely views: the richly wooded hills and valleys slope down to the margin of the water, where noble palaces reflect their fantastically shaped façades in the dark mirror. Kiosks and spires spring from the trees: villages and houses hang on the declivities of the hills; and at the southern termination of the channel, reposing on the bosom of the deep, rises dome above dome in regal magnificence—the noble pile of the Seraglio Point, shooting its white airy and elegantly chiselled minarets into the sky, mixing with the black cones of the funereal cypress, which relieve the lighter features of the scene by their dark masses and shadows. The water is a scene of life and bustle: winged ships and boats flitting up and down the channel, others

lying at anchor in the stream, whilst here and there tower the tall sides and masts of a ship of war. Ascending the "Golden Horn," we threaded our way through shoals of arrow-like caiques, plying across between Pera and Stamboul: on either side rises, pile on pile, white houses, domes, and minarets: this inner "Golden Horn" harbour terminates in the little river Lycus, called the Sweet Waters: rowing up this, and following the throng, we landed at a beautiful spot, shaded by fine trees and sheltered by hills. On the bank of the stream stands one of the Sultan's palaces, highly adorned with gilding and stucco: the valley is a favourite resort of idlers, and a gay assemblage of Turkish fashionables were scattered over the greensward. There was no want of ladies here, and, in fact, they appeared quite as numerous as the men. The Turkish females are far from being deprived of their liberty to the extent that we suppose, though it is true that of late years they have enjoyed much more than before the time of the present Sultan. In public they wear veils over the lower part of the face and throat; but as they have a predilection for transparent muslin, it is merely a pretence of concealment. They ride in gilded Arabas, a conveyance much resembling the old-fashioned coaches formerly used in England: these are drawn by handsome white oxen, gaily ornamented with tassels, fringes, and coloured streamers, and have a very picturesque appearance. The scene at this spot was altogether very animated and interesting. The sedate Osmanlis, seated on their carpets under the trees, smoking, talking, or dozing: the women in their Arabas, or in groups on the grass, chattering as women always will when they get together: children rolling about and gambolling on the turf: sweetmeat-sellers and water-carriers distributing their refreshments; musicians, tumblers, and story-tellers collecting their circles and amusing the idlers: with numberless caiques arriving and returning with their pleasure-seeking parties; whilst dashing cavaliers and groups of picketed horses in gaudy housings gave a finish to the scene. There



is a place of resort similar to this on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus; but being less retired than this, and lying on the Strait, it is not so much frequented.

Among the most beautiful objects in Constantinople are its gateways and fountains. The latter are extremely elegant: they are circular or octagonal buildings, with broad projecting eaves, richly ornamented with carved wood-work, stucco and gilding, and surmounted by a domed roof. The coloured lithographic drawings of these buildings which have been published are very correct and the style appropriate, and they will probably retain the memorial of these beautiful objects long after the originals—like everything Turkish—have fallen to ruin, to which they are fast approaching.

For a description of the mosques and buildings, I refer the reader to the guide-books. I merely mention the royal tombs domed and gilt at the Mosque of Ayoub, to eulogise the charitable disposition of the Turks in providing on all occasions that essential of warm climates, water, for the thirsty passenger. These buildings, in common with other sanctuaries, are faced with windows of iron grating, on the sills of which stand a row of large metal cups, continually replenished with water for the refreshment of the passers-by.

The Sultan has fine efficient steamers, but since his accession the arsenal has been in a state of inactivity. It is a great advantage to the Porte, in point of economy, to be the weakest state in Europe, as her stronger neighbours and allies take the entire care and expense of her protection on themselves. It would be a humbling consideration to the Turks if they could feel that they only owe their existence in Europe to the mutual jealousy of the Christian powers.

On the mud of the Golden Horn lies the wreck of a small steamer, of which, and of the self-taught engineer who constructed it, we heard the following extraordinary history. It seems that this vessel and her engines were constructed by an Armenian, with no assistance or

instruction, except what he had derived from books on engineering. After ten years of labour and a great expenditure of money, he exultingly imagined that his perseverance and skill had overcome every obstacle to his success. The day of his triumph was come, when the work of his hands was at length launched on the Golden Horn: the vessel was rather inclined to one side, but this could be rectified by stowage. The steam was got up and she ploughed her way through the yielding waters: so far his success was brilliant; but, alas! the very completeness of his present success tended but the more to embitter the eventual destruction of his long-cherished hopes, when he discovered to his dismay that he had provided no means of checking or stopping the machinery: on, on it flew with desperate pertinacity, like the Dutchman's leg, and after various eccentric evolutions, the baffled engineer ran her aground in despair. The poor man took his failure so much to heart that he forsook his business and eventually went out of his mind—a martyr to science.

The houses of Constantinople, being constructed chiefly of wood, fires are frequent and watchmen are constantly stationed in commanding positions to give timely warning of their appearance. About six-weeks ago a great part of Pera was burnt down—700 or 800 houses being destroyed. The people are now living in huts among the scorched ruins of their houses, which covered the summit of the hill, and are daily occupied digging out their buried property. We had nearly been witnesses of one of these conflagrations, the alarm having been given one evening. On reaching a situation affording a view of the town, we could see the flames near the shore of the Bosphorus, and ascertained that they proceeded from one of the Sultan's palaces, which, being isolated, the fire was quickly extinguished. It is certainly an alarming consideration for its inhabitants, that, from being built of such inflammable materials, a single act of negligence or malice may at any moment lay their city in ashes.

The streets of Pera are narrow, dirty, and precipitous,

the shops mean in appearance, and their contents ill assorted: the houses have large projecting windows and balconies in the Spanish style. The people who inhabit this quarter are a heterogeneous mixture of the worst of all nations. Among them the Armenians hold the most respectable position; they are less mixed and a fine-looking race: both men and women are handsome. The men are quiet and industrious; they monopolize the greater part of the interior trade, and compete with the Jews in banking and brokerage: they wear long black and indigo blue robes, and a strange tall black cap swelling out into a round bulb at the top. It is a curious fact that the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, a Christian prelate, is installed in his office by the Mohammedan Sultan.

Below Pera is the quarter of Galata, extending down to the shore of the Golden Horn: the foreign merchants have their offices and stores in this quarter: the streets are wider than those in Pera, but steep: landing places crowded with boats of every description line the shore. At the upper part of the hill stands the tower of Anastasius. It was from the top of this that the panorama of the city, exhibited in London, was taken.

Crossing the bridge to the opposite side, we wandered through a labyrinth of bazaars. These are arched over, airy and clean: the shops are hung with shawls, pelisses, brocades, muslins, and embroidery. The embroidery, I was told, is the work of the ladies in the harems, and many of them are articles of wearing apparel, which they send to the shops to raise money on their own account: as ladies in England dispose of their jewels for the same purpose! The confectioners' shops have a very pretty appearance from the varied colour and form of the different sweetmeats tastefully arranged under glass cases. They are, however, more pleasing to the eye than gratifying to the taste, composed of sugar, scented with otto of rose and other strong essences. The saddlers' bazaar was our object, where we purchased saddles, bridles, saddle

bags, tartar boots, and a few other articles necessary for our onward journey. Emerging from the shade of the bazaars, we rode on towards the Hippodrome, passing the monument known as the burnt Pillar. It rises through the roof of a house, which appears to have been constructed around it. It is about 100 feet high, is formed of blocks of granite, and crowned by a square slab or coping-stone; it has no beauty, and is rendered still more ill-looking by the hoops of metal which encircle it at intervals, seemingly for the purpose of keeping it together, as it is rent and split in several places, probably at the time it was struck by lightning in 1080. This column is recorded to have been raised by Constantine, as a pedestal for the Phidian Apollo.

All that remains of the Hippodrome is a mean oblong space called At Meidan, the greater part of the original square being now occupied by the magnificent mosque of Bayezid. At the upper end of the At Meidan stands a handsome Egyptian obelisk covered with hieroglyphics. It is raised on a pedestal of marble, representing on one of its faces in bas-relief the mechanical operation of elevating the monolith. A remarkable peculiarity in this monument is, that the shaft does not rest on the pedestal,<sup>1</sup> but on four blocks of rough unhewn granite, which support the corners. This gives it a very unfinished appearance, and was probably not an intentional arrangement, but was allowed to continue lest any attempt to rectify it by removing the stones should have caused the destruction and downfall of the pillar.

At a short distance beyond the Obelisk is a spiral brass pillar, about six feet high: this is all that remains of the Tripod of three entwined serpents consecrated at Delphos after the defeat of Xerxes. Further on, and in a line with this and the Obelisk, rises a lofty square column built of stone, which, to judge from its present state, does not promise to remain many years longer an object of curiosity:

<sup>1</sup> Cleopatra's Needle at Alexandria, which I have since seen, is similarly supported on rough stones.

it is sadly dilapidated, and considerably out of the perpendicular: it is supposed to have been originally covered with bronze. It was from this Hippodrome that the Chian horses were removed, to assume the absurd station they now occupy over the portico of the Christian church of St. Marc at Venice. The large Alpine Swift frequents the mosques and towers of the city. I also noticed this bird in the Tyrol.

We next went in search of the great reservoir (yeri battan) under the Seraglio Point. After rambling from street to street and many unsuccessful inquiries, we were at length directed to an unoccupied house through which admittance must be gained to the object of our search. Having procured the key of this from an old Turk, who lived on the opposite side of the street, we passed through the deserted house into an old orchard, and came to the mouth of an immense gloomy cavern with a vaulted roof supported on massive columns, rising from the watery floor. The remains of the capitals of the pillars showed them to be Corinthian, but they are very much injured by time and damp. It is not easy to understand why this ornamental style was used in a subterranean work, unless, which is likely, at least one side of it was originally open to view. The present entrance appears to have been formed by the falling in of the soil near the edge of the roof, and the legitimate entrance may have been closed by a similar accident. The water is supplied by springs and percolation, and innumerable pumps convey it from this reservoir to supply the superincumbent houses.<sup>1</sup>

The aspect of this dark cave, through the gloom of which the eye can pierce but to a limited extent, is sombre and mysterious: the columns become less and less distinct, until they fade and disappear in a veil of impenetrable

<sup>1</sup> I find in my MS. notes a notice of a similar subterranean reservoir which exists in the dismantled Portuguese fort of Mazagan, in the Empire of Morocco. The roof of this, forming thirty-six arches, is supported by twenty-five plain stone pillars. This cistern, like that of Constantinople, was probably of Roman construction, and the locality was taken advantage of by the Portuguese when establishing their new settlement.

darkness. The effect is heightened by the unearthly noises with which it abounds, the dripping of water, the startling echoes of some distant pump reverberating in multiplied sounds through the hollow arches, and rousing innumerable bats which brush you as they flit by, with their chilly wings, and fill the void with hissing shrieks as they again vanish into the obscurity. The old Turk could give us no information as to the extent of the reservoir, but told us of a man having gone in a caique to explore it and who had never returned: he also informed us that a fish was found in its waters like an eel with legs. As the *Proteus Anguinis* is a native of subterranean caverns, this is a more credible circumstance than the first, unless, as is possible, the man was drowned or suffocated by the mephitic vapours in some of the recesses of the cavern.

The Cypress Cemeteries form one of the most striking peculiarities of Constantinople and Scutari, as well as one of the finest features in its scenery. Wandering through the gloomy vistas, where the trees meet overhead in pointed arches like the aisles of a Gothic Cathedral, and surrounded on all sides by the moss-grown dwellings of the dead, a reverential feeling steals over the spirit: the mind is abstracted from earth, in the solemn atmosphere of these silent shades, and impressions are stamped on it never to be effaced, but recurring in after-life, like flashes from a forgotten dream. Taken individually, the almost black unfading cypress is a sublime object: standing rich in unearthly grandeur, it presents an emblem of a Christian dweller in a world of trial unshackled by its thrall: it faints not in the summer's heat, nor shrinks under the winter's cold: it laughs not in the sunbeams, nor wantons with the passing zephyrs: the clouds may lower, but cannot further darken it, and even when the tempest raging bows the sapling to the dust, or rives the gnarled oak, trusting its sure foundation in the tomb, the towering cypress, unsubdued, defies the blast; and when the storm has past, its dark evergreen mantle resumes its sculptured stillness and its summit still points heavenward.

The prisons here are not divided into cells, but the prisoners are chained to the wall at intervals, in long corridors: numbers of haggard-looking wretches lay coiled up like wild beasts, or moved about to the extent of their chains. The stench from these horrible dens was quite intolerable. If Mr. Churchill was confined in such a prison, he well deserved the £3000 indemnity he received for his three days' imprisonment.

The Turkish soldiery, in their new regulation dress, are a most absurd caricature of European troops: they are generally ill-made short men with bow legs. It is possible that this malformation has become confirmed in the Turkish race, from the national habit of sitting cross-legged from time immemorial. Their dress would seem to have been supplied by contract without any regard to size or measure, the waistband of the trousers being usually close under the arms. The rich dress of the Janissary, or the flowing robe of the Osmanli, helped to conceal their defects, but in this dress they look ridiculous. The officers, of course, dress a little better, in a blue frock coat, full plaited, and a scarlet fez stiffened to resemble a hat without a brim, with a tassel of blue floss silk spread over the crown and falling behind. Every person in Government pay or employ is required to wear this dress; the exceptions therefore are the priests, some shopkeepers, and the very poor.

The cavalry are rather superior to the infantry: their horses are small and insignificant in appearance, but if they possess the stamina of the post-horses, they may probably do their work better than their appearance would promise, especially with light riders lightly accoutred.

I was surprised to find how scarce fine horses were in the capital of Turkey, where I had expected to see the best horses of the Empire collected, as the whole southern frontier of Turkey in Asia borders the Arabian plains. I apprehend that the breeders find a better market on the Persian Gulf to supply the Indian demand, and the few that find their way to the capital are merely as presents

to Pashas and Governors. These officials keep fat well-fed animals for state occasions, but it is extremely rare to meet with a good Barb or Arab in Constantinople.

To revert to the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud. When we consider the importance attached to dress by the Orientals, either as a badge of rank or a mark of degradation, but especially as a religious distinction,<sup>1</sup> changing the costume of the Turks for that of the hated unbeliever was a bold proceeding. It was a well-judged measure for the purpose of breaking down the barrier which had so long estranged these Asiatics from Christian Europe, and it was calculated to eradicate their prejudices, and thus bring them more within the influence of the improvement of the age. It has been adduced as one motive, but it seems a very questionable one, that the Sultan was desirous to accustom the Turks to the sight of the European array, that they might not be daunted when they met Europeans on the field of battle. To foreigners, whom business or pleasure brings to the East, the change has been one of great advantage and relief. An Englishman may now traverse the bazaars and streets unmolested, where formerly, and that not many years ago, he was liable to abuse and insult. Now, the desecration of the Mosques, by the visits of Christians to indulge their curiosity, is an event of daily occurrence; formerly, it would have been effected only at the peril of life: even the dogs of Stamboul, famed as the terror and pest of strangers, have become so familiar with the dress of the Giaour that they now seldom bark at or annoy Europeans,<sup>2</sup> and for this we praise the measure: and for the same reason superficial observers praise the boasted

<sup>1</sup> It is a well-known fact that, during the hostilities between the Sultan and Mohammed Ali, many of the Turkish troops deserted to the Egyptian army merely to escape what they considered the degradation of wearing the Christian dress. Others, when taken prisoners, stripped off their clothes and trampled them under foot, offering to submit to anything rather than be compelled to resume them. Ibrahim Pacha enlisted all these as irregulars. The Egyptian ruler had the good policy, when he incorporated his regular army, to avoid shocking national prejudices: he dressed his troops uniformly, but in a modification of their national costume.

<sup>2</sup> In contradistinction to the Turks, who are really Asiatics.



civilization of Syria and Egypt by Mohammed Ali, because they can travel in all safety from Damascus to Tarsus or from Dan to Beersheba, whilst all accounts testify that the country is ruined and despoiled by his unsparing oppression. Doubtless, in as far as we are concerned, these things, taken by themselves, are worthy of our approval: we must not, however, forget how much our judgment is liable to be warped when self-interest is allowed to narrow the view. But, when we consider the subject in relation to Turkey, this innovation has gone further than the Sultan ever calculated upon, and it proved a withering blow to the stability of his Empire: it struck deeply and effectually at the root of their religious fanaticism, which is the only bond of union among the Turks. They have no patriotism; considering themselves as interlopers in the land they possess, they only hold together by the bond of a common faith. The higher classes are mostly at enmity with each other, their interests constantly clashing in the negotiations for the purchase of pachalics and places under an intriguing and mercenary government, while the lower classes are too apathetic and indifferent to be aroused or acted on by anything short of immediate personal danger or religious enthusiasm. Formerly the standard of their prophet was a rallying-point, and the war-cry of their faith was a motive sufficiently powerful to rouse the latent energies of Mohammedanism, and to unite every Asiatic and follower of Islam against the unbeliever: but this feeling no longer exists; what at first they felt as a degradation, has now become habitual, and they feel that they are identified with Europeans and Christians. New recruits and inhabitants of retired districts visiting the towns still express their indignation at the sacrilegious change; but wherever it has extended, it has destroyed the nationality of the Turks, and will contribute to their ultimate fall. Of course other causes have been and are now at work; but when we look on these things as directed by Him who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, we see how the weakest instruments are made to effect the mightiest purposes.

The politicians of Pera are speculating on the probability of war and commotions before the settlement of affairs in the East in general, and the quarrel between the Sultan and the Pacha of Egypt in particular. Whatever may be the event, no one acquainted with their character will expect the Turks to take more than a passive part in any projected undertaking, unless compelled to act as auxiliaries to any of the contending Powers.<sup>1</sup> Look at their conduct on former occasions. When the Russians were at Adrianople on the North and at Erzeroum on the South, the Turks were utterly helpless, and their country might have been swept from the map, had not the Czar been deterred by dread of the other powers of Europe; and but yesterday, when they lost their whole fleet, their armies were dispersed in Syria, their Sultan died and the Government fell into the hands of rapacious and intriguing Pachas. What effect had this on the Turks as a people? They ejaculated a few additional "Mashallahs," and retreated deeper into the caverns of fatalism; but there was no spirit in the nation. Ask them the reason. They answer, "It is decreed!" The Turkish empire is gradually breaking up, and will go on declining until it sinks into oblivion, though the division of the spoil may be attended with European wars and commotions. It is worthy of note, that the Turks consider themselves strangers in Europe, and expect to leave it; and every Turk who can afford it has his remains taken over to the Asiatic side and buried at Scutari, in order that when they are driven out of Europe, their graves may not be trampled by the unbelievers. They are a nomad race; they brought nothing with them but their arms, their sleeping carpets, and their cooking-pots; and so will they go as they came, leaving scarcely a memorial of their sojourn.

There is an English Chapel at Pera, in which service is performed by the Chaplain to the Embassy, but the attendance is extremely small, although so many English merchants

<sup>1</sup> This has since been verified on occasion of the expulsion of Mohammed Ali from Syria by the British.

reside here. There are also an English and two American missionaries stationed here, I suppose, for form's sake.

We spent a fortnight most pleasantly at Roboli's, where the accommodation and fare were both good. A constant succession of English visitors rendered our sojourn interesting and agreeable. Among others, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Rokeby, Mr. H. Longworth, author of "Travels in Circassia," and usually a party of officers on leave from the fleet outside the Dardanelles. One day Mr. Waghorn dined with us, and I was pleased to know the man whose energy and enterprise originated and established our steam communication with India by the Isthmus of Suez. It was, however, time to make preparations for our onward pilgrimage, the first step to which was the purchase of horses. Post-horses can only be procured on the two main roads through Asia Minor, the Eastern road to Bagdad and the Southern road to Syria; but even on these there is great difficulty in procuring relays, the horses not being kept in readiness in consequence of the infrequency of the passage of travellers, who are detained, sometimes for days, until horses are pressed from the villagers. Besides this, they will never consent to go a mile off the high road; the better plan, therefore, is to ride your own horses, when you are independent of these annoyances and free to travel in any direction that curiosity or objects of interest may suggest. The horse bazaar is a large inclosure, surrounded by stables: the horse-dealers have all the tricks and cunning peculiar to their trade, usually accepting a third of their first price. I thought it the wiser plan to engage the assistance of one of the most active of these fellows, who was a Damascus Arab with a very sinister look. A retaining fee having opened the Shami's eyes to the blemishes and faults of half the horses in the market, which, without this timely precaution, he would have pronounced perfectly sound, I selected three strong horses, for which I paid £23. The prices vary from £5 to £15, high-priced horses, as before observed, being remarkably scarce.

We engaged the services of a Cyprian Greek, Giorgio by name, who spoke Turkish, Arabic and the hybrid Italian called *Lingua Franca* ; he was to perform the offices of interpreter and cook and take care of the horses. We divested ourselves of all our superfluous baggage, reducing our wardrobes to the smallest possible list of necessaries, no more than would fill a pair of saddle-bags, to be carried by the third horse, on which Giorgio was to ride ; and, furnished with a firman of the Sultan Abdel Mejid, we were ready to start, when my companion was laid up with an attack of intermittent fever, which delayed us for a time.

This is the season for fevers on these coasts, and until my companion could be released from the clutches of the fever and Dr. Millingen, I amused myself seeing everything worth notice in and about Constantinople, but chiefly visiting the bazaars and studying the people at their usual occupations. Apart from their fatalism, a quality derived from their subjugation to the yoke of the false Prophet, there is much to be admired in the Turkish character : they have their faults, but possess more virtues and fewer vices than nations which imagine themselves more civilized. They are courteous without servility ; urbane and obliging without ostentation : their hospitality is unbounded, and uninfluenced by interested motives. I have ever found them strictly honest, and they seem to be free from the vice of envy. If you go to the shop of a Turk, whose goods do not suit you in price or quality, and ask him to direct you to another shop for the same articles, he will do so immediately with the greatest civility, or will send his servant to conduct you to his rival's store, and this without a feeling of annoyance. Their beneficence is evidenced by the numerous fountains and wells constructed on all the roads in Turkey, providing that invaluable blessing, water, in the wilderness, for the fainting wayfarer : these are generally the result of private charity. The Turks are an aristocratic race : their greatest faults are overweening pride, slothfulness and its offspring,

luxury and apathy. Their cruelty and want of respect for human life are, however, proverbial.

It is an ordinary, though a short-sighted remark, that no correct judgment can be formed of countries and nations from a mere cursory visit. This is partially true with respect to the minor details and internal economy of society: but the broad characteristics of a nation are more salient, and strike a stranger the more vividly from being novel and unfamiliar, at the same time that they contrast with foregone impressions of the character of other nations. There is a prominent physiognomy in nations as well as in individuals, and a reflecting observer can rarely be deceived, especially when his first impressions have been modified and adjusted by the experience of one or two months' acquaintance.

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## CHAPTER VI.

## ASIA MINOR.

ON the 30th Sept., as my friend was still on the sick list, I went on an excursion to Mount Olympus. I crossed over in a ferry boat with the horses and Giorgio, and landed at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, ascending through the steep streets, through the magnificent cypress cemetery which extends for several miles over the top of the hill. The road is remarkably good, and is the only one in Turkey on which there is a wheel conveyance for the mail, and this only extends to Izmid, at the head of the Gulf of Nicomedia. I met the post phaeton flying along at furious speed, drawn by four horses. This, being the only drivable road, is the fashionable promenade of an afternoon, and was crowded with gilded Arabas full of ladies.

I slept, or rather endeavoured to sleep, at Kartal, for the room in which I lay was furnished with large and loosely hung sash windows, and the night being stormy they rattled like thunder, and as soon as it was dark the barking of the troops of dogs that thronged the streets was something unimaginable: sometimes a whole pack swept under the windows in full cry: then would a universal and stunning uproar burst from all parts of the village at once: then their noise would cease simultaneously for half a minute in the strangest manner, while they seemed to be listening for something to bark at, when they again broke out in full and deafening chorus. I lay awake listening to the din of this dog kennel until the moon was high enough to enlighten the road, when I mounted,

and, after a chilly night-ride, passed through Gebse just as the reddening dawn was colouring the summits and revealing the forms of the distant mountains, which still screened the rising sun. The country is undulating and fertile, the hills wooded with *Arbutus* and stunted *Ilex*.

Across a narrow part of the Gulf of Nicomedia, between Dilbash and Ersek, I was conveyed in a large ferry boat with two sails in an hour and a half. The village of Ersek is situated among marshes, and the people were nearly all suffering from intermittent fever. As we rode our own horses, I applied at the post-house for a surogee to act as a guide, but was met by the common excuse, "O, Aga, a Pacha hath passed by, and he hath taken all the horses from the menzil, and, by Allah, the surogeess are gone with the horses, and there is not one left." The usual expedients of persuasion and menace were exhausted in vain with the menzil aga, and none of the sickly creatures who surrounded us could be bribed to take the office of guide. After entering a formal protest against the menzil aga, on whose head we laid the responsibility of allowing the bearer of the Sultan's firman to depart without a guide, I turned and rode out of the village, following a beaten track through the fields, followed by Giorgio, who, having travelled with Englishmen on previous occasions, seemed to be instinctively convinced that I could find my way as well without a guide as with. We travelled merrily on through the hills, correcting our road by inquiry of passing peasants, many of whom we met driving clumsy buffalo carts made of wicker with solid wooden wheels. In the afternoon I dismounted at a village called Dowshana, prettily situated amid bowring trees and dashing streamlets. Here again the villagers were just recovering from the visitation of fever, September being the season of its periodical attacks. In the room allotted to strangers two patients were lying ill. A young Turk, however, came forward, and with well-timed hospitality, offered the accommodation of his house, which I found neat and clean. My entertainer, who called

himself Mustapha, provided for all my wants, and taught me further to value the practical virtues of his race.

*October 2.*—The next morning I traversed a lovely country, studded with villages, some surrounded by mulberry plantations, others embosomed in verdant nooks and half concealed by the luxuriant foliage of fruit and forest trees. The road is rugged, crossing hills and numerous streams. I passed a large party of Armenians, men, women and children mounted on horseback: the women carried large green boughs to screen themselves from the heat of the sun, and the children were stowed away in panniers, out of which their red-capped heads protruded. This country produces a great deal of cotton, but its principal staple is silk. Each village cultivates an extent of mulberry plantations for feeding silkworms. The trees are not allowed to grow at will, but kept pruned low to force the young shoots which produce the largest leaves. The worms are reared in the houses and each village produces from 500 lbs. to 600 lbs. of silk annually. The fat-tailed sheep are also numerous. From the heights near the village of Cheugler, a fine view is obtained of the lake of Nicea, with villages perched on the low hills on its banks. Descending into the plain, I rested at Bazar Kiui, at the west end of the lake, on the stream which flows from it into the Gulf of Moudania. Iznic, on the ruins of Nicea, is on the eastern shore of the lake. Bazar Kiui is a pretty little town with cafés under over-spreading trees and two elegant Mosques. The surrounding plain is extremely rich and fertile, producing the finest grapes and olives I have ever seen; the grapes are like large pigeons' eggs, and of delicious flavour.—Some I measured were  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length. The fine Smyrna raisins are made from these grapes, and the walls of the houses in the villages are festooned with chains of bunches drying in the sun. I rode on through plantations and vineyards: the peasants driving in horses and donkeys, with panniers overflowing with beautiful grapes and piled with blooming olives. I left the plain where the dark



wooded peak of Toosladaund rose high on the left and reached the summit of the hills, commanding a prospect of the lake, with its river winding through steep picturesque cliffs to the Gulf of Moudania, where the town of Kemlek lay on the beach at the mouth of the river. I stopped at the small dirty village of Omerbey after ten hours' riding, and found shelter in a café, sending Giorgio with the horses to a khan, the cafés having no stables. Climbing a ricketty stair, I reached an upper room, round which, but distant from the wall, ran a circular colonnade of wooden pillars; the space between this and the wall was divided into stalls by a railing two feet high. The roof and woodwork of this den were blackened with smoke, and the only light in it was a dim lamp suspended from the ceiling, and the glow of a dull charcoal fire, at which the Cafji was preparing his black potions. As my eyes became familiarized with the gloom, I perceived that most of these stalls were occupied by parties of Turks, all wearing large blue turbans, the smoke from whose pipes contributed to the density of the atmosphere. I took possession of a vacant stall, and afforded some amusement to the circle by suspending my hammock to the wooden pillars, and lay down and contemplated the chiaro-oscuro picture before me, which I longed for the power to commit to canvas, until I fell asleep.

At the Khans and Cafés in towns the traveller is provided with nothing but shelter and coffee, and he must procure and cook his own provisions or send out to the cooks' shops, which are usually to be found in towns of any size, and where they prepare roast meat, fried fish, and kabob. This is a great convenience for a hungry traveller, who, after a very short Eastern experience, is not apt to be over-nice in his feeding.

In every village throughout Asia Minor, there is a house set apart as a traveller's rest, which their name, "Oda Musaffer," literally means. These odas consist of one or two rooms on a raised floor with a fire-place and chimney

at one end. Here the stranger is provided with carpets, food, fire and bedding, and his horses are fed and sheltered.

The Odas are established on a system of mutual accommodation, and are supported by the voluntary contributions of the villagers. They are intended for the use of their own people trading from village to village, who, of course, enjoy the accommodation they afford, gratuitously. A rich Turk may perhaps exercise his generosity in the bestowal of a "guerdon" on the Oda-bashi; but the Oda is generally vacated for an English traveller, who they are aware will pay the value of whatever he may require, as well as remunerate them for their trouble and civility. This institution is of the very essence of hospitality, and is doubtless a relic of their nomadic origin, but it affords a very favourable illustration of the Turkish character. I found in the morning that Mount Olympus was visible S.W. from Omerbey, and I left the village just as the rising sun glanced on its summits. This classic mountain has not the striking aspect I had pictured to my imagination from its selection as the throne of the Pagan gods. Viewed from this side, it presents a level ridge, with undulations, but with no distinguishing peak. A track up the course of a stream brought me to Bashi, a village on a hill, and in another half hour Brusa lay before me in a beautiful fertile plain, backed by the Olympic range, which rose abrupt and massive from the opposite border of the plain. I passed through the village, Chabejik, where I saw a long Greek inscription above a fountain; the symbol of the Cross between a sun and moon showed this to be a comparatively modern record. After descending into the plain, the Oulfer river is crossed, and the road leads through the extensive mulberry plantations which surround the town. These are interspersed with other and larger trees and traversed by avenues of fine chestnut and walnut trees. On reaching the town, I established myself in a Khan. I had a letter for our Vice-Consul, but was informed that he was residing at a country-house. This was of the less consequence, as

Consular hospitality does not rank very high in the Levant. My room, at first, promised some degree of comfort, but on further examination I found the walls overspread with black clusters of the genus *Cimex*: the walls were literally covered with these insects in patches of from ten to twenty, all ready to descend at nightfall and unite their attacks against the unfortunate tenant of the room. I shuddered at the thought of what I had escaped, and immediately slung my hammock, taking the precaution of oiling the hooks to which it was suspended, by which means I avoided the night attack of this sanguinary host. I was thus also out of reach of the swarms of rats which took possession of the room throughout the night.

Brusa is one of the chief towns of Asia Minor, and was always a place of importance. It was the residence of Pliny, the Prefect of Bythinia, and in later times was the seat of the first six Sultans of the race of Osman, who also lie buried here. It possesses spacious arched bazaars and large Mosques. The surrounding country is very beautiful and productive, and besides the silk produced on the spot, Brusa is a depôt for all the silk of the adjacent districts, part of which is manufactured into a variety of ornamental fabrics, and the rest exported.

*October 4.*—I had engaged a guide to ascend the Olympus, a dashing fellow in a large blue turban and a jacket embroidered with gold lace, who professed to know the names of every place within a hundred miles, and we were on horseback at an early hour: the ascent began close behind the town, where the scenery is very romantic. Bursting through a craggy barrier, a mountain torrent rushes down a precipitous ravine through luxuriant underwood, and overshadowed by magnificent chestnut trees. It passes under an ancient bridge, and traversing the town discharges its waters into the Oulfer; the path was steep and abrupt, and extremely trying for horses. The mountain side is finely wooded, and the different plateaux we reached commanded extensive views, and I was much gratified at meeting with an old acquaintance, the Medlar tree growing

wild. The guide had led me to expect that we should find some ruins on the summit, but on reaching a broad plateau, where a great number of rounded black stones were scattered about, I discovered that it was to these boulders he had alluded; these stones were some of them of great size, some resting on the tops of others, but had nothing artificial about them, nor was there any appearance of ruined buildings in the vicinity. I have been informed that a monastery did exist on the mountain, the present name of which is Tsheshish Dagh, the sacred mountain, a word derived from the Syriac *Kashish* "holy." The name most probably originated in the Pagan sanctity of the spot, but to the present day a festival is held on this mountain for several days in August, which is said to be in honour of a Greek Saint, Iyuritico, but Greeks, Turks and Armenians indiscriminately join in the fête, which consists of eating, drinking and music. It is remarkable to find Mohammedans joining in these festivities with Christians, for which they can adduce no reason, but that it is an ancient custom. It certainly throws a doubt on the assertion that this is a Christian festival, and would seem to point to a remoter period for its origin.

At a short distance to our right a bare peak rises from this plateau: patches of brown snow lay in the ravines which furrowed its sides, and which were protected from the sun's heat. The guide conducted me by a path to the left, to reach a point on the northern face of the range, from whence the finest view is obtained. It was hard work climbing the rugged paths, leading the horses through the dark pine forests, the drooping boughs of which swept their saddles. Wherever we came on a flat piece of ground, it was torn up in all directions by wild hogs. At length, about four hours after leaving the town, I reached the summit, and to a most favourable spot my conductor had brought me. It was one of the highest spurs of the mountain, and seemed to project over the lower wooded peaks, whilst it fell away on either side in precipitous curtains of rich foliage to the ravines below. The view

from this point is glorious and imposing! The country, from the base of Olympus to the visible horizon, appearing like a panoramic map. Brusa, with its castle and mosques, and its innumerable domed roofs, lies at my feet in the midst of an unbroken field of verdure; escaping from this, the tortuous Oulfer winds through a plain studded with villages; further to the north-west is spread the lake of Appolonia, with its numerous islands, and more westerly the eye commands the peak which marks the mouth of the Rhyndacus and the mountains at Mualitch. Many of the lesser mountain tops and ranges are only distinguishable from the undulating plain by the crowns of cloud which hang over them; while the chains of clouds that float away from them, stretching across the Sea of Marmora, appear like promontories and islands on the water, until they are compared with the real islands which line its shores, or break its expanse with their ragged outlines and darker masses. Due east rises a conical peak in the vicinity of Sabanja. The eagle soars and poises himself above the frowning cliffs, still maintaining his sovereignty on the throne of Olympian Jove, whose "oracles are dumb." The air at this elevation was balmy and exhilarating, and my soul drank in with enthusiasm the magnificence of God's works. It was with regret I turned my back on the scene, to descend again to the lower world. Constantinople can be seen from here in clear weather, but this day the atmosphere on the horizon was hazy. The descent to Brusa only occupied three hours.

The next morning I visited the hot springs, about a mile from the town gates on the west. Extensive Turkish baths have been constructed at the spot, into which the water is conducted. The principal spring gushes from a low bank, forming an accumulation of greasy-looking deposit of a dirty white colour, emitting a strong sulphurous odour: the water was scalding, and on immersing a thermometer, the mercury rose to 188° Fahr. The source of this heat must be very near the surface of the earth; for if so small a stream came from a great depth, it would

cool before reaching the open air. The interior arrangements of the building are very complete; the cool entrance room is surrounded by stalls, while the centre is occupied by a basin and fountain of cold water. This water is strongly impregnated with earthy salts; for the broad and shallow marble vase, through which it rose and overflowed into the basin, was encrusted with a thick calcareous sediment, which hung in several places from its edges like a stony curtain. Passing through an intermediate domed room, I entered the inner room, in which was the tank of hot water under a large cupola. A dense steam was diffused through the room, and the marble floor was covered with Turks lying about, under the various operations of kneading, shampooing, etc. The polluted atmosphere, from the infusion of a hundred Turks in water, charged with sulphuretted hydrogen, did not induce me to try the virtues of the bath, and having satisfied my curiosity, I rode on to Moudania, without returning to Brusa. I crossed two stone bridges over a bend of the Oulfer, and reached that place in four hours.

I found here my fellow-traveller, who had recovered from his fever, and had crossed over by sea from Constantinople. Moudania is a dirty little trading town of one street, running parallel and close to the water's edge; it is mostly built of loose stones without cement.

We had now to arrange our future route and plan of proceeding. In the first place we resolved, as a general rule, to take no guides, but to "wander at our own sweet will," finding our way by map and compass, with the assistance of inquiry as opportunity offered. In the next place, to avoid as much as possible the main post-roads, as being devoid of novelty, while the people of the villages removed from the beaten track are more unsophisticated and less demoralized by contact with travellers: we laid down a course to the west of the Olympus range, following the valley of the Rhyndacus to Azana; from thence to Konia, and so to Tarsus by Seleucia.

We further divested ourselves of all superfluous baggage.

Our own horses carried a small valise, and a cloak behind their saddles, with guns and ammunition slung on our backs or to the high pommel. The baggage horse carried a pair of saddle bags, containing our clothes and a few necessary articles; our only luxury being a little tea. Our beverage was to be the pure spring, and for provisions we calculated that wherever we found man, we should find food. Our bedding consisted of a small cotton quilt fastened over the saddle by a surcingle.

*October 6.*—With Giorgio mounted on the baggage horse, we left Moudania in light marching order on the morning of the 6th. The road led over hills through vineyards and olive woods, with occasional glimpses of the sea, between the slopes. The Olympus chain has an imposing appearance from this direction, a heavy belt of clouds hanging half way down its sides. Beyond the village of Chabena we came in sight of the lake of Appolonia, and about twelve miles from Moudania, forded the Oulfer. There is a ferry over the river at this place during flood time, but at present the boat was lying high and dry, and the boatman's hut was tenantless. The country we traversed was undulating, studded with villages and clothed with woods of the (*Quercus ilex*) evergreen oak. From the verge of the hills forming the basin of the lake the prospect is extremely fine. The expanse of water sprinkled with islands, on the largest of which is the town of Abulionté (the modern corruption of the name), connected with the mainland by a wooden bridge, numerous sailing boats going and coming, the opposite shore rising boldly in a range of picturesque wooded peaks. The town is adjacent to the north shore of the lake, and appears a place of some consequence. We reached the Eastern extremity of the lake at Achala, and skirted along its south shore, through the most luxuriant vegetation, above which some gigantic plane-trees towered conspicuous like islands. After a march of 30 miles, as the evening began to close in, we thought it time to look for shelter for the night, and took the direction of a small village, which appeared on the

declivity of the hills. This place we reached after a rugged ascent, and found it to consist of 6 or 8 hovels among the trees, with the common name of Tchabona, which means a pouch, and seems to be applied to any village in a nook or hollow. We procured food and shelter with a Greek, but the room was so loosely put together that the strong north-east wind from the sea rushed in at floor, roof and windows and after a cold night, we were well pleased to resume at sunrise.

*October 7.*—The track continued through trees and under-wood along the shore of this fine expanse. The quantity of drift wood and tangled dry weeds, suspended among the lower branches of the trees and shrubs, gave evidence of the water having risen to a great height above its present level, and at Caraiola, a village to which we soon after came, which is now at a distance from the lake, we were told that after the winter rains the water reached that place. Finding provisions abundant here, we breakfasted, and diverged from the shore of the lake southward. The water line here runs nearly east and west. After crowning some hills, the valley of the Rhyndacus opened before us: from the height we could trace the winding of the river: it first flows westward from the hills, and then sweeps round and enters the south of the lake. The river is called here Casaba Deresi (Casaba Water), from the name of the nearest town. To this town we bent our course through the broad dry sandy bed of a stream which joined the river at Casaba, and probably during floods forms one of its embouchures. The town is situated where the river emerges from the hills, and is built on both banks, which are connected by a long wooden bridge. It counts six or seven hundred houses. The Rhyndacus is here a fine clear stream and at this season fordable. Riding across the bridge, we alighted at a neat khan with comfortable rooms, and while dinner was being prepared, walked out to shoot some pheasants, which we were told were numerous in the valley of the river. I succeeded in shooting a hen, which appeared identical



with the English pheasant. Their habits are also similar: we found them in small troops in the old grain fields, from whence they made for the cover of thick bramble and grass, into which they dropped, and where they were quite safe, as the tangled thorn brake was quite impenetrable. The natives describe the cock bird as having a ring round the neck, and those I saw flying appeared to be so marked.

*October 8.*—Leaving Casaba on the morning of the 8th, we followed the course of the Rhyndacus, being desirous of tracing it to its source, which object was early frustrated by the nature of the country. The vale was very beautiful, becoming more hilly as we advanced. At Melkui we forded the river with the water up to the girths, and traversed some wooded hills to cut off a bend of the stream, and forded again at Kestelek. On the opposite bank, stood a rather picturesque ruin on a hill, which we climbed to explore. It was an old native fort; the portions of wall which were standing being built of unhewn stones and mortar: it was near the village of Hajekui. The river here takes an abrupt bend to the left round a bluff hill. We had to ford it twice more during the day's march, at Yenikui, and at Curajela, where we stopped for the night.

These villages, which are numerous near the river, are built of logs, and the people are most hospitable and obliging. Our course is here stopped by a range of wooded mountains, highest on this bank, and the people assure us that it would be impossible to follow the river except on foot, as it passes through a wilderness of forest and mountain, without villages or inhabitants, and where there is no track. It was to this place that Hamilton came, and I believe it is from his information that the river is called Edrenos, a name which the people had never heard of. The vine is very productive; but their law not permitting them to make wine, the juice is extracted by a rude press, and then boiled to the consistence of honey, and forms an article of extensive traffic.

We diverged from the banks of the river by an E.S.E. course over the mountains, through forests of oak and fir.

mixed with the light green of the larch, and passed through a lovely Alpine pass, at the head of which was a water-mill turned by a brawling stream. After five hours' march we crossed a broad beaten track, and a cafila of mules laden with bales and boxes, passing at the time, the drivers informed us that they came from Kutaya; this is probably a high road to Galipoli. In another half hour we emerged from the pine forest and entered woods of dwarf oak (*Ilex*), Mount Olympus rising on the left, and several conical mountains far off on the right. As evening fell, the oak woods became more dense, and as we had been in the saddle for upwards of ten hours, we were not sorry to discover a village in a sandy basin off the road on our left. This village, Hasan Kiui, is an open cultivated clearing on the borders of the forest, at the foot of an abrupt mound crowned with a clump of firs. The people seemed poor and miserable, and the only fare we could procure was fried eggs and grape syrup. They had a handsome breed of Persian greyhounds, and these were carefully covered up in body clothes to protect them from the cold. They are used to hunt deer, which are found in the hills, and hares, which are abundant. These *oda musafir*, though a great convenience, are attended with counterbalancing discomforts. They are the lounge of the village and the arrival of a stranger is the signal for the attendance of the whole village, who range themselves in a row round the walls and light their pipes. As long as one has information to obtain respecting the country and the roads, this is all very well, but it takes time to reconcile you to endure their smoke and stupidity, while you dress, wash, eat, and write, until they have seen you fairly into bed; after which they drop off one by one to their own homes. If you are fortunate in having an impertinent audience, it gives a pretext for their summary expulsion: but in general they are so provokingly polite and willing to oblige that one is fain to put up with the annoyance. A greater bodily discomfort are the swarms of fleas with which these houses abound.

*October 10.*—Taking an easterly course, we crossed an elevated plateau strewn with boulders of black rock, similar to those on the summit of Mount Olympus, passed through the village Demijekui, at the foot of a conical mound, and entered mountains of bright red soil, contrasting with the bright green foliage of the firs which clothed them. We hastened on through a storm of thunder and rain, and after passing a tract of oak wood, stopped at Yavoshkui, a village built of logs and stone. We took possession of the oda, and might have plundered the village, as there was not a man to be found in the place, all being out at work. By the time we were settled in the oda, they all returned, and we had the usual evening, with a cheerful blazing fire on the hearth.

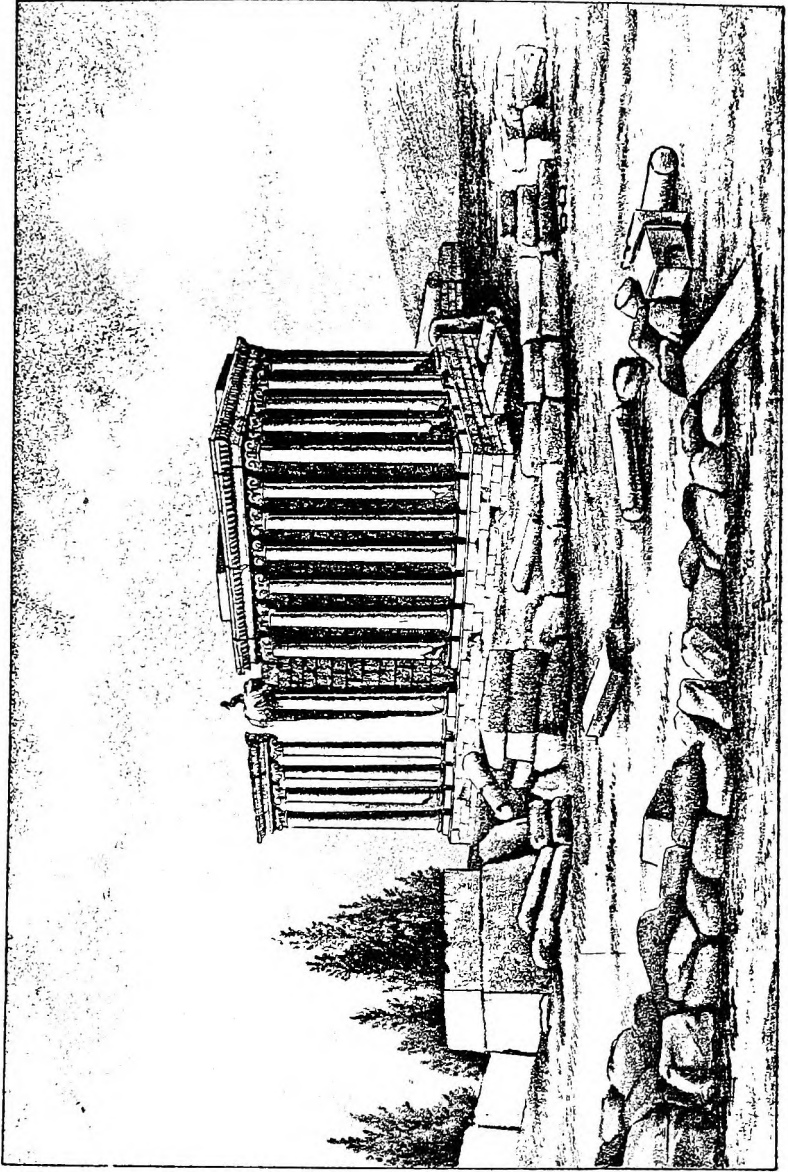
*October 11.*—The country was now more open, with scattered trees and hanging woods on the hill-sides. After three hours' riding S. and S.E., the path followed the bank of a stream, running due west for two hours, to pass through a range of mountains, and then resumed a S.E. course. We then passed some tall isolated rocks; on the east face of one of these was an excavated tomb with a sculptured door, the only opening in which was a round hole about a foot and a half in diameter, the original aperture being under the pediment: the interior was a square chamber, with an oval well in the floor. It is situated about two miles north of the village Kuprujik, which was visible from it. The hills now become more isolated, rising in abrupt cones, the country well cultivated and abounding in red-legged partridge. We again struck on the Rhyn-dacus, winding through plains: forded it below a wooden bridge, and passed through the small town Maimon, which can boast of two mosques. Two or three miles further brought us in sight of the Minarets of Toushanlu, lying on the right bank of the stream. We quartered in an upstairs Khan inside the town, which was very dirty and uncomfortable, half of the rooms being full of fancy pigeons; some of them very handsome; and this being the Khanji's hobby, he certainly sacrificed to it the

comfort of his guests. Our horses required rest, the baggage horse being saddle-galled, and we hired a donkey to relieve him of part of his load.

*October 12.*—Passed the day here: it being market day, the place was crowded with country people, who were astonished to see us Giaours walking about their streets. The shops were stocked with European goods, and even English shot was exposed for sale. It is a place of some importance under the Pashalic of Kutaya; from whence a new governor had just arrived. We left at 12 next day, fording the river near a wooden bridge, passed Gourachai, and travelled south through hills which gradually swelled to mountains. To-day we passed the first Turcoman tent: they are usually made of felt, but this was of black hair cloth, like the Arabs' tents: but, whatever the material, hospitality is always to be found under a tent, whether of Arab, Turcoman, or Khoord. The owner was absent with his flocks, but his wife, a dark-eyed wandéer, brought us delicious milk, and begged us to remain until a more substantial repast was prepared: this we were forced to decline, as we were pressed for time, having started late. From this mountain ridge we had a last view of Olympus, rising clear in the north. After a six hours' ride we stopped for the night at Koswoja, on a brook flowing to the river and surrounded by chalky hills. We found the oda already occupied, and as the travellers were respectable Turks, we shared the room with them. Here we heard from the villagers most exciting descriptions of the ruins of Azana, about twenty miles south of this, and we were up and off long before daylight, in order to have time to examine them.

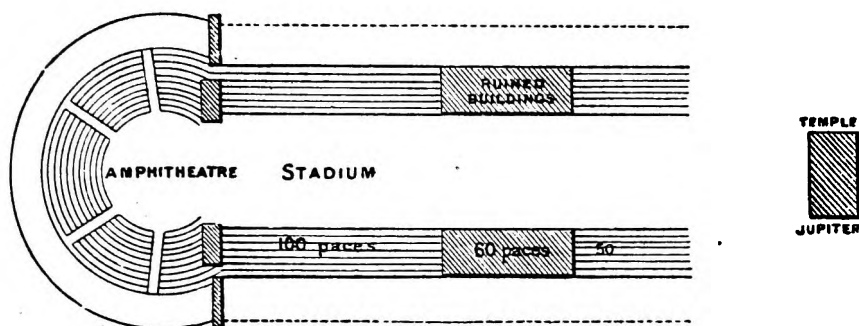
*October 14.*—The road continued mountainous until we passed Charta on the right and a black peak on the left, when we found ourselves on the main table-land of Asia Minor, to which we had been gradually ascending. These plains, varied only by abrupt ridges and solitary peaks, which rise so suddenly from the plateau that you may define within twenty yards where the plain ends and the

mountain begins, reach to the Taurus range overlooking the Mediterranean. Here they are studded with villages. The Rhyndacus, which we crossed and recrossed, is now dwindled to a small stream. At Toushanlu it is called the beautiful water (Khoja Soo); it flows through the ruins of Azana, and has its source about ten miles south of this place. The village of Tchader rears its humble roofs among the imposing ruins of Azana, and as soon as we had housed our horses and baggage, we spent the rest of the day in exploring the ruins. The mound nearest to the village is crowned by the ruins of the temple of Æzanensian Jove. It is a parallelogram 18 paces by 30. The entablature which remains is supported by fluted Ionic columns 24 feet in height; 18 of these are standing, and one which stands alone is crowned with a stork's nest. The ground is strewn with the broken columns and fragments that have fallen, and the remains of this beautiful temple will probably before long be laid equally low, for the work of destruction is fast going on, the peasants having chiselled away the lower part of the shafts of the columns above the bases to arrive at the small square cavity at the axis, where they find, or expect to find coins: the columns now standing are only supported on half of their diameters. Great devastation has also been committed in the solid walls for the same purpose of discovering coins or antiques between the stones; and we Europeans unavoidably encourage the work of destruction by our eager pursuit after and purchase of these antiquities. We groped our way through a breach in the ruined basement into a dark, damp, but well-built vault extending the whole length of the building. The temple is surrounded by an inclosure of massive blocks of stone, and is supposed to be of the time of the Antonines. Due north, and exactly facing it, is the theatre, in good preservation: the seats on the east side are perfect. There are sixteen rows of stone benches, supported at the alleys by lions' feet. The circumference of the upper row measured 180 paces: between the front



TEMPLE OF JOVE, AZANA

of the circus and the temple, extended a stadium 220 paces in length. The ground sloped up from both sides



of this, and was also lined with rows of stone seats: it was terminated by the remains of two large square buildings, formed of immense blocks of stone, and supported on massive arches. The buildings which had formed the front of the theatre, and which separated it from the stadium, had fallen, except some of the more massive walls, while the interior area was encumbered with an indiscriminate pile of blocks, sculptured arches, friezes and fluted columns: one sculptured stone measured ten feet by five; others were six feet square.

On the slopes of the hill, above the theatre, are many massive tombs 9 feet long, some angular and others rounded or hog-backed, with a head of Medusa sculptured at each end. A paved masonry quay and the remains of an aqueduct formed the left bank of the stream, across which were the ruins of two stone bridges of four arches. The banks of the stream and the gardens of the village of Tchader were encumbered with ruins, while the plain for miles around gave evidence of their vicinity, every fountain being ornamented with an ancient sculptured niche, or having a sarcophagus for a watering trough. The cemeteries of this, and also of adjacent villages are

full of columns and beautiful marble fragments from this depot, which are used as headstones for Turkish graves : many of these have Greek sepulchral inscriptions. There are the remains of two other temples or large buildings, one of which is a row of smooth truncated columns raised on arches above ground. Scattered about I counted eight perfect altars or pedestals. It is only surprising that so much of these remains still exist, as they form a quarry for building materials for the natives, who carry the columns away to the towns and use the stones and marbles for the walls of their houses and hovels.

From a truncated column in the cemetery I copied the following inscription :

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙ ΠΙΑ  
ΜΙΩΣΕΥΗΡΩΠΣΕΡΤ ΜΑ

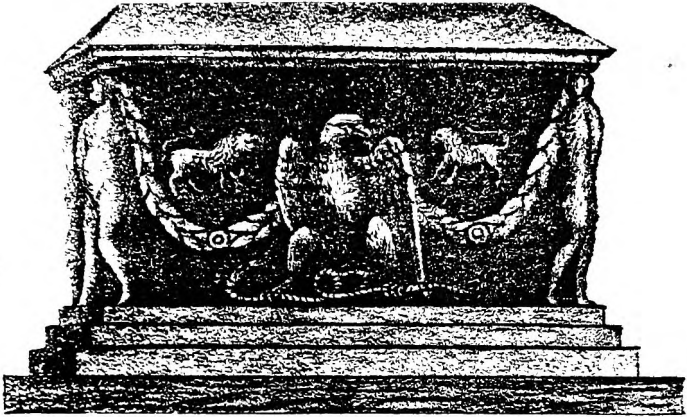
and on a marble fragment,

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΕΝ

We procured several brass and copper coins, both Greek and Roman. One of the former, which is not common, has a turreted head, and on the reverse is a Mercury with a Greek legend of Corycus Cilicia ; another, Antiochus VI. King of Syria.

We employed the evening and next morning in exploring and making drawings of the different objects of interest, and then struck across the plains to the east. A small stream which we passed had six stepping-stones for pedestrians, all of which were architectural remains, brought from the ruins. These were a Corinthian capital, part of a fluted pillar and two smooth ones, a small altar and part of a pilaster. We passed the several villages of Hajekui, Hajemonikui with a large Mosque, Chamki Guevetch, Ouchar and Tauslére.





**SARCOPH: ELEUSA. CILICIA.**  
*(See p. 133.)*



**RUINS AT AZANA.**

At a distance we saw an eagle struggling to rise from the plain with something too heavy for him: and on riding up, he proved to be a noble golden eagle, measuring seven feet across the wings. He was caught in a large iron gin, without teeth, with a heavy log attached, which he was vainly endeavouring to drag along. He lay quite still, not attempting to strike, whilst I opened the trap, seeming to understand my good intention, and as soon as he felt himself free, he soared slowly away into the sky. I had to consider the disappointment of the trapper, but his clear beseeching eye and great beauty carried it in his favour. Following a small stream flowing E.S.E., we reached the village of Giochelar in seven hours from Azana. We were very well treated by the people at the Oda, and our visit to Azana having excited our spirit of antiquarian research, we made numerous inquiries of the villagers with respect to any more ruins on our road. We were told that there were remains at a place called Almala, in a direction due east, and thither we determined to direct our march. Leaving early in the morning, we passed Eucheuk and Yalansera, crossed a marshy stream by a stone bridge, which had also taken its tribute from the ruins of former cities. A pedestal and other fragments were built into it, and on the bank at the other side stood a marble pillar. Passed Kujak. The cemeteries of these villages are very conspicuous, forming groves of upright stones, principally columns, etc., brought from the nearest ruins. These cemeteries cover vast areas, there is so much waste land in proportion to the population, that they do not pile up the dead as in England, but each new comer has a separate resting-place. - After marching five hours, we struck on the high road from Kutaya to Konia, at a fountain shaded by a circle of fine willows, the only trees which were visible on the plain which spread around.

The only living thing here was a blackbird, which was quite tame. He appeared to be the good genius of the spot, and hopped round us unharmed. It would

have been almost sacrilege to have molested this solitary dweller in the oasis. How often, when tediously pacing hour after hour in solitude and silence these Eastern tracks, will a bird or a flower conjure up, as by enchantment, associations of bygone times, past scenes and forms of absent friends, when present, perhaps unappreciated, but absent we feel how strong the cord that bound us to them. "To me the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears." And then again to think with what pleasure we shall hereafter look back on our wanderings, unalloyed even by the thoughts of their forgotten discomforts, the night bivouac or glorious sunset scene; the morning march or midday rest under some spreading tree or massive "rock, casting its grateful shadow in a weary land," together with the inspiration from the beauties of nature and the health of body and exhilaration of mind which we enjoy! This is some compensation for the hardships and deprivations necessarily encountered in rough travel.

We continued our route eastwards to a ruined village under a hill near a few high trees. The fountain was built with fragments of pillars and sculpture. Crossing over the hill, we reached the village of Chorse in an undulating park-like country, with groups of trees. The villages here are differently built from those we left behind; the roofs of the houses are all flat, instead of being sloped; the natives say that the latter fall down during the winter rains. In half an hour more we reached Almala, situated in a semicircle of steep hills. It had a curious appearance, the flat roofs being all crowned with haystacks. As it was at this village we had been told we should find ruins, as soon as the usual circle in the Oda was collected, we began to make inquiries, but no one had seen them. At length an old man told us that there was a kala (castle) on the top of a mountain, close behind the village, to which he offered to conduct us. We also learnt that there were ruins at Doaslan, about five miles further east.

-The next morning we ascended the steep rugged mountain, through a heavy fog, in search of the Kalah, but on reaching the summit, we found little to reward our pains, nothing in fact but the appearance of a Cyclopean wall of rough stones, surrounding the flat space at the top, beside large masses of natural rock. The view from this point must be very extensive, but we only caught glimpses of the surrounding country through the ragged masses of fog that hung over the plains, or slowly climbed up from the valleys at our feet. Nothing baffled, we went on to Dooaslan, which must evidently have been near the ruin of some large town. The cemetery was crowded with columns and sculptures, and fragments were also built into the walls of the houses. Supporting the corner of one hovel we saw a white marble pedestal, to which the sandalled feet and drapery were still attached. There was a long Greek inscription on the pedestal. The villagers directed us to a plain about a mile to the north, which, there is no doubt, was the site of some large city: the ground was intersected by lines of ruined walls, with a mound in the centre, on which probably stood the Acropolis, though it was now ploughed over. Near a small stream, that ran through the plain, were the remains of stone drains still perfect: fragments of red brick are very abundant, as well as large massive slabs blackened by time. This place would appear to be much more ancient than Azana, from its almost total disappearance, and yet the only part we found standing was the doorway of a Christian church, so I assume from the Cross and the slovenly ornaments of the lower Empire. There were some sculptured fragments, but all of stone. This place is near the site of Pelta. To the north of it we found some high chalk cliffs, cut into conical pinnacles and excavated in all directions with catacombs and isolated tombs; most of these were galleries into which the small narrow cells opened. There were also some large caverns, which, from their blackened roofs, appeared to have been used by the herdsmen as dwellings. I was wandering alone and about to enter and explore one of these caverns,

when I thought I distinctly saw inside, in the gloom, the figure of a lion standing sideways and looking at me. Being unprepared with arms to cope with such a foe, I retreated cautiously with my shot gun ready, and returned to my companion, whom I found in another part of the plain. I mentioned this to him, which he of course did not believe, and I myself, notwithstanding my remarkably good sight, persuaded myself that I was deceived. We did not, however, venture to return to verify our opinions. The maneless lion is common in Mesopotamia on the Euphrates, and the name "*Do Aslan*" is suggestive, but the peasants had not heard of lions in these parts. I had intended suppressing this notice until I met with the annexed extract from Fellowes' *Lycia*, p. 157: "At Lydima on the Zanthus, we were told that the country was full of wild animals of the fiercest kind. I was extremely cautious and particular in my inquiries as to their nature, and have no doubt of the truth of the account, which I heard from many of the people of the surrounding districts, and each unknown to the other. In this village alone four or five lions, called *Aslan* by the Turks, and other animals called *Caplan* (leopards), are killed every year. The man who first told me had himself taken the skins to the Aga, to present to different Pashas, and these presentations had been rewarded by one to two hundred piastres, which he himself received. The lions, he said, were timid, unless surprised or attacked, and I could not hear that they did much injury to the flocks." This is strong evidence of the existence of lions further west in Asia Minor, and subsequent to my visit. By the time we had explored this interesting locality, the sun had set, and we rode back by moonlight to the village.

We left next day for Douaire, a small village, to the east of which is a rocky valley, full of tombs and cells, the most remarkable object being a high branching crag pierced with chambers and galleries. At the village was a massive ancient stone building, vaulted with flat tiles and roofed with flat stones; it had several chimneys and upper

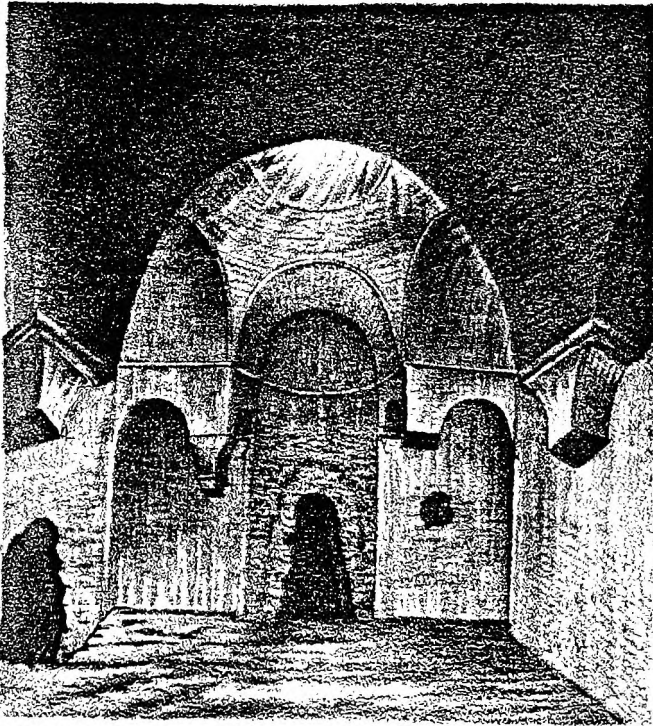
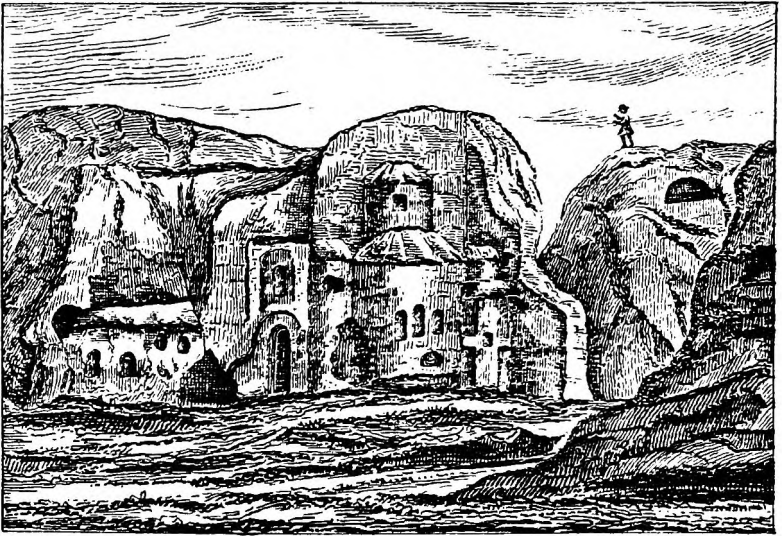
rooms, and is now used as a Khan. The earth round the village gave forth a strange rumbling sound as we rode over it, as though it were hollow or vaulted underneath. Resuming our march, we passed some tombs in the hill side on the right; and several large rocks, jutting out from the plain, had been completely hollowed out, leaving a sort of stone house. Into one of these I rode on horseback with facility. Another had three troughs round the interior. We passed a number of these rocks scattered about, till we reached Ilian. This village is built in one of these ancient catacombs, which is a labyrinth of crags and overhanging rocks full of excavations. Some of them had been transformed into dwellings; others were crammed with their stores of straw, hay or fuel, and presented on the whole a strange and extraordinary scene. Between this and Baykiui was a fine spring, which had been inclosed in a quadrangular building now in ruins.

At Baykiui, among other tombs, were some round excavations sunk in the rock with narrow necks like bottles. I have seen cisterns of the same shape in Barbary, used for containing rain-water or grain. Here a man offered to conduct us to some ruins a short distance from the road: we accordingly made a detour to the eastward, through rocky hills, where we found more catacombs cut in the scarp of the sandstone rock. We climbed up these, ascending by stairs in the interior from cell to cell. One of the chambers was very large, with six troughs, or sarcophagi: at the upper end was a low seat, where the judge of the ancient mythology sat to pass sentence on the dead, or it might have been an altar for devotional offerings. A stone screen with three doors ran across the chamber, between the first and second troughs, which was partially broken down. Our guide then led us to the ruins of a common Turkish fort, on the summit of a rocky eminence, and was surprised that we did not appear gratified by what we saw, he not being able to distinguish between one heap of old stones and another. After a detour of four hours through

a rocky wilderness, we came to a goat-herd's hut : a comfortable-looking dwelling, of an oblong shape, formed of arched trellis work, covered with thick white felt, after the manner of the Turcomans. These poor people were very civil ; they brought us milk and cakes baked on the hearth, and seemed pleased that we should enjoy their hospitality. This man grazed several thousand sheep and goats, whether his own property or belonging to a tribe I cannot say. He told us that during the cold season he removed his abode to one of the large caves, which are numerous in these hills, feeding his goats and sheep on oak leaves collected during the summer.

Dismissing our guide, we resumed our course in the direction of Iasin, where we had been informed we should find some interesting remains, traversed a fertile country by two villages, Tekeh Irambol and Cairā, standing close together, and, turning to the eastward, arrived at Iasin in the afternoon.

The first object which attracted our notice before entering the village was an excavated rock about thirty-five feet high, which had been scarped and cut away, leaving the appearance of a rude house with roofs, doors, and windows projecting from its face. As an imperfect drawing always gives a clearer idea of a subject than a minute description, I made an outline of this curious object from my horse. Our surprise was increased on entering to find ourselves in a large chapel hollowed out of the solid rock : the roof was vaulted : the pillars, which had stood under it, though not necessary for its support, had been broken away : above the roof rose a circular dome, corresponding with the form of the outside : at the back of the chapel, communicating with it by a doorway in the centre, was another arched room, with rude stone seats : on the left, also communicating with the chapel by a door in the stone partition, was a long passage with troughs on either side for coffins : the broken doorway was large enough to allow our riding in on horseback. We searched everywhere for inscriptions, but could only discover the



ROCK CHURCH. LASIN.



following figure sculptured in relief over a side arch in the long passage :



A sculptured cross had been chipped off from the face of the wall. Turning down the valley to the left, a most extraordinary scene presented itself to our view: the whole of a long range of sandstone cliffs was cut into pinnacles and cones and pierced with innumerable tombs with sculptured façades. Those at Ilian were merely caves and chambers, but many of these had columns supporting a pediment, and merit a more detailed description.

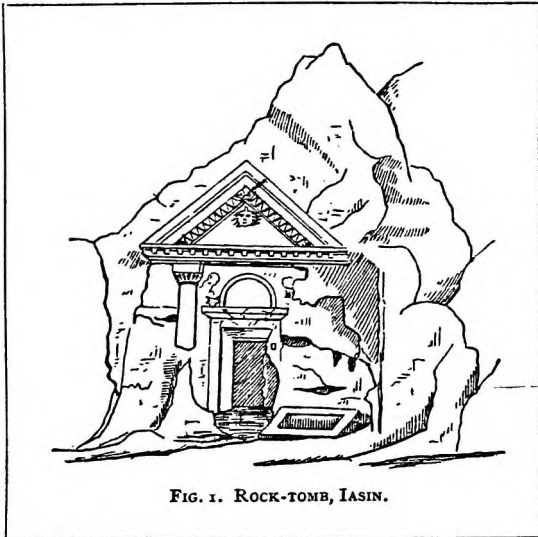


FIG. 1. ROCK-TOMB, IASIN.

FIG. 1.—Above this tomb was a pointed pediment, in the centre of which was sculptured a sun in relief; over an

entablature ornamented with dentils. The upper half of one of the pillars that supported it was perfect, a rough Doric column with a fluted ovolo. On either side above the cornice of the door, which receded from the outer face, were two lions sejant in alt-relief: the one on the left rested his paw on a bull's head. The interior chamber was divided into five troughs, four across and one at the back: two more lions were sculptured on the back wall; a half-length figure on either side of the door and a sun above it. Above this was another arched chamber, the ceiling of which had been covered with fresco paintings of figures on a white cement: several of these had glories round their heads and one held a book in his hand. The colour had entirely faded, leaving nothing but brown and white. These paintings had probably been superadded by later tenants than the excavators of the rocks.

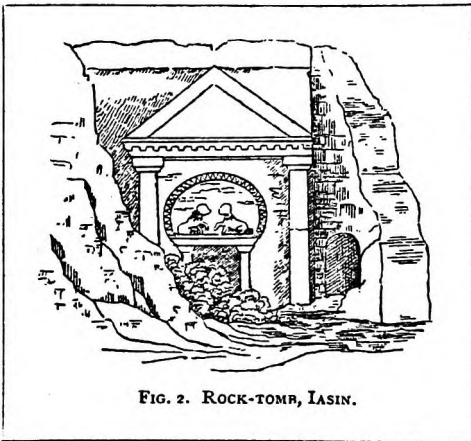


FIG. 2. ROCK-TOMB, IASIN.

FIG. 2.—A pointed pediment supported by plain Doric columns. Above the doorway of this were two lions within a semicircle: the entrance to this was very small as well as the interior chamber.

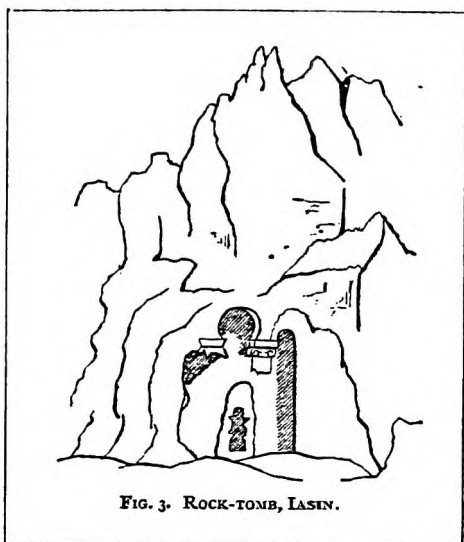


FIG. 3. ROCK-TOMB, IASIN.

FIG. 3.—A tomb with Ionic pillars, the tops of which remained attached to the rock.

Altogether this locality has the strangest appearance I ever witnessed. The village of Iasin was partly built; and partly composed of the excavations which had been walled up. Many of the large tombs were used for storing grain and straw, being furnished with wooden doors for the purpose. In our walk round the village we could discover no remains of buildings or fragments, but returning to the Oda we purchased a number of Christian copper coins with a head surrounded by a glory on one side, the reverse with the words, "Christus Basilius Basili."'

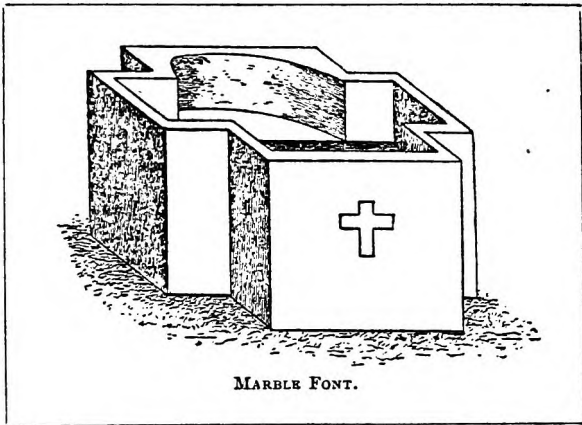
One old man, who had lived all his life in this village, told us we were the first Franks he had ever seen, which would lead one to suppose that this remarkable spot has seldom, if ever, been visited of late years. These catacombs and tombs serve to indicate the sites of ancient cities, and from their extent and style there can be little doubt that some large place stood somewhere in the vicinity, and I regretted extremely that we had not time to make more extended researches.

From the existence of the chapel in the rock, it would appear that this place had given refuge to colonies of Christians during the persecutions of the early church. Had they been the retreat of the Iconoclasts, at a later date, it does not seem probable that this sect would have countenanced paintings of saints, considering the horror they entertained of images.

Iasin is about fifty miles south of Doaslan and thirty north of Eskikarahissar. We crossed the head of the valley in which the village is situated, which is surrounded on the north-east by a circle of rocky hills: passed over these hills to Bojeuk and went on to Cosooga. At this village we found a man in the oda musafir, who was collecting the revenues from the peasantry; he informed us that these small villages, averaging fifteen families, paid about 5000 piastres (£50) per annum to the Government. They have here a substitute for rice, called Burgool, which is generally used in this country as well as in Syria; it is made of wheat in the following manner: the grain is first boiled and exposed to the sun to dry, which causes the skin to peel off; when dry, it hardens and is partially broken by a handmill. This preparation softens quickly by boiling and forms a nutritious food either as a pillaf or boiled in milk. A great deal of grain is cultivated in the district. There was nothing else remarkable but the clouds of starlings and sparrows that infested the village.

The next morning's march was over hills clothed with dry grass, passing near a village called Karagatch, lying in a valley to the left, above which were more excavated cliffs, and we soon after reached Eskikarahissar (The old black castle). This village is built on the site of an extensive city, which appears to have been almost wholly built of white marble, from the great profusion of that material which lies scattered over the ground in all directions. The Turkish houses were curiously variegated with the white fragments that were built into them. None of the ancient buildings were standing, all of them having been destroyed for their materials; this place serving as a

magazine or quarry for the country round. The people informed us that whenever pillars were wanted for building a Mosque or Kiosk, they were sent for from this depôt, though latterly they were compelled to dig for them. The fragments of sculptured foliage and architectural ornaments were in beautiful preservation and appeared fresh from the chisel and the angles as sharp as when cut, of a dead white, without even the polish of time and wear. I consider this a proof of the purity of the air



in this climate. The only object that was at all perfect was a handsome font or bath, cut out of a single block of white marble. It was in the form of a cross 6 ft. long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  broad, and 3 deep, with steps inside at both ends, and a plain cross sculptured on each side, a very handsome object, and quite entire. I wished it had been portable. A small stream flows by here to Bulwaden, over which is thrown a good bridge of one arch built of blocks of stone taken from the ruins: some of these had the sculptures and mouldings still on them. The villagers had a story relative to this bridge, that it was built by a Greek papa, who died here and was embalmed and carried to Roum. This name of Roum has an indefinite signification: it is applied indiscriminately to Byzantium in Roumelia, the

province of Roum, including the north of Asia Minor, a Sultany in the time of the Greek Emperors, and Rome in Italy.

A number of inscriptions are to be seen in different places, one of which is entire and built into the wall of a house. The cemetery is full of sculptures mixed with the rude modern tombs of the Turks, on which are figured the emblems of their trades. Eskikarahissar is supposed to be on the site of Synnada, which was celebrated for its quarries of marble. It is twenty-five miles north-west of Bulwaden. From here we traversed plains and were overtaken by a thunderstorm before reaching Fallalé. These plains abound in flights of sand grouse (*Pterocles arenarius*). At a fountain on the road to Bulwaden we met with some long Greek inscriptions which we had not time to copy.

Bulwaden is a large town supposed by some to be on the site of Philomelium: by others the locality of that place is given to Akshekr. It has several Mosques and Khans; at the door of one of the former we found a fine Corinthian capital, and fragments of stone pillars were lying about the street.

We had made many inquiries respecting the country to the eastward of this, for the purpose of visiting a place called Tuzla, in the vicinity of which are salt lakes. However, there appeared very little inducement for diverging so far from the road, as the country was represented to be entirely desert, only frequented by Cafilas who brought salt from a station at these lakes. After procuring some refreshment, we left the town, crossed a bridge over the river, and followed a long causeway through a tract of marshy land that extends to the foot of the Sultan-dagh, an abrupt range of wooded mountains that rose on our right. This causeway had several bridges and culverts over the different streams, and in rainy seasons is the only passable track. The lakes (which appear in the map) of Eber and Aksher are only marshes, which are overflowed after long-continued rains; part of them are now under

cultivation. We saw several sculptured slabs and inscriptions inserted in the bridges and fountains on the road. Passing the villages of Chai and Chillik, at some distance from our path, we reached Eber, a large straggling dirty village, where we had great difficulty in procuring a lodging, and when we did so, we had to share it with some of the natives and myriads of fleas. These insects are one of the greatest pests of the Levant, and I have no doubt, from the irritation they occasion, they are the cause of many of the fevers from which strangers suffer in these countries. We had provided ourselves with the bed invented by Fellowes, consisting of a pair of sheets sewn together with muslin continuations, to hang above the head, expanded by a cane hoop, and this saved our lives. I was surprised at seeing flocks of the common rook round this place, and they are probably migratory. We followed a level road through a fine country; the range of Sultan-dagh rose abruptly on the right: along its foot were numerous villages surrounded by orchards. The mountains were clothed with dwarf oak, the rising waves of which were tinted with the brown hues of autumn. An old woman on the road, as we rode along in the rain, mistook us for Turkish recruits and cried out, "Go, with the blessing of God, my children, your mothers are weeping at home for you, and you are braving the weather on the Sultan's business." Part of this was not far from the truth, alas! We stopped at the small town of Casaba, where we sat in a shop and ate a luncheon of Kimak, bread, and dried fruit, and in seven hours' march arrived at Aksler.

This is a large straggling place running up a steep valley of the Sultan-dagh. There were some remains of ancient walls along the streets. The Khans being all occupied, we waited on the Pacha, who sent us to the Armenian quarter, the highest part of the town. Streams of black muddy water were flowing down through the streets. We were quartered in a very nice house, belonging to an Armenian, who entertained us remarkably well.

The Armenians are a fine-looking race. They are

scattered all over this country, and are the principal traders, collecting the produce of the villages, which they forward to the seaports. On this account they are wealthy and are protected by the Turkish Government, acting as bankers to the Pachas, and having the character of being honest and straightforward in their dealings. Their cast of physiognomy strongly resembles the Dalmatian. Surrounded by trees outside the town gates, stands an elegant domed Mosque, called the Mausoleum of Nour-ed-Din, a Turkish saint. On inquiry of our host, he informed us that there were two roads to Konia, one the regular post road, the other more westerly, winding through the lower ranges of the Sultan-dagh, joins the road from Yalobatch (Antioch in Pisidia) to Iconium. Yalobatch is S.W. of Aksher at the back of this range of mountains. In some maps the situation of Aksher itself is assumed as the site of Antioch in Pisidia. Aksher was a capital of the Seljucks till their conquest by Holaku in 1258. Choosing the westerly and least frequented route, we left Aksher the next morning; the weather was unfavourable, being cold and rainy; we passed the villages of Aghreet, Aris and Casaba, surrounded by fruit trees, through a fertile country with abundance of water. From Casaba the road was easterly and hilly to Croos, at which place we arrived after eight hours' march and experienced much hospitality from the natives.

*October 25.*—Our course continued east over the mountains, when we entered a beautiful cultivated valley, inclosed between fir-clad hills. A stream ran through this valley from south to north, which we followed to Chegel.

There is a remarkable breed of goats in these hills: they are small and of a brown colour, and are clothed with a fleece of short curled hair as soft as silk.<sup>1</sup> At these villages are large flocks of these goats, and as I have never seen them beyond its limits, I suppose they are peculiar to this chain of Sultan-dagh.

<sup>1</sup> I subsequently saw cloaks (Pushtin) in Afghanistan made of the skins of the same animal.



We rested at this village for half an hour, and then struck into a good road, winding through the hills towards Konia. If Yalobatch is on the site of Antioch, then, considering the unchangeable nature of Eastern roads, this was probably the path followed by St. Paul the Missionary, in his journeyings between that place and Iconium. We slept at the village of Deverent, where the people were not so accommodating as usual, and refused to furnish us with anything until payment was first made.

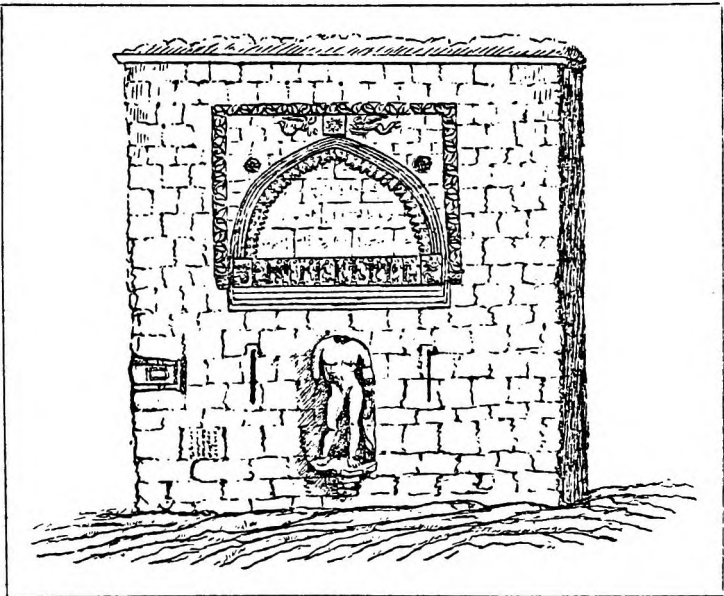
The next morning was cold and frosty. We followed the same stream to its source, and crossing over a ridge of hills came to the source of another, flowing in an opposite direction. The road was parallel with this stream to Awoklik, and at sunset we had reached the verge of the hills overlooking the plain of Konia, the mountains in the distance wearing a deep crimson tinge. One often sees scenes in nature, the colouring of which is so vivid and extraordinary, that were they put on canvas the artist would be accused of exaggeration. The following is a description of a lark common on these plains: Forehead, chin and ears, yellow-white, a line of black feathers round the crown terminates in a pencil or horn over each eye; throat, black; head and neck, stone-colour; back, light-brown; wings and middle tail feathers, slate; tail, 12 feathers black, outer web of outer two, white. It is larger than the common lark.

By the time we had reached the plain, the night had set in very dark, and we endeavoured to find some village by following lights, which appeared in different directions; these we found proceeded from the gardeners' huts, erected in all the orchards that supply the town. We had now fairly lost our road, and expected at every step to fall into some pit or well in our blind search, as we had got entangled among the gardens, and after a weary scramble through trenches, ditches, and hedges, it was nearly midnight before we found the village of Ochachan, within half an hour's ride of Konia. From the lateness of the hour, we had some difficulty in procuring a lodging, and at

length were compelled to put up with a small room which we shared with our horses.

*Sunday, October 27.*—Leaving this early, in half an hour we came to Konia. We found the town full of Turkish troops, and all the Khans occupied. We were therefore obliged to apply to the Pacha, who inspected our firman, and sent us to be billeted in the Armenian quarter. As our horses required rest, we remained here the next day, which gave us an opportunity of seeing the town.

The space this place covers is very extensive, including cemeteries, squares and ruins, besides bazaars, and numerous streets. It is surrounded by massive stone walls, with square towers. In these walls, composed of the remains of the old Greek city of Iconium, are inserted an immense number of slabs and sepulchral stones, with long Greek inscriptions, as well as various sculptures. The square



tower, in the side of which is the north gate, forms a most incongruous mixture of ancient and comparatively modern

materials. An ornamental arched frame, of Turkish workmanship, surrounds a long Arabic inscription: the base of this frame is a tablet of ten elaborately sculptured Greek figures in bas-relief, separated from each other by small pillars supporting a fretted roof. Above the arch is a sun between two flying angels, and beneath, near the base, is an unfinished colossal statue of Hercules, standing out from the wall, and supported by the pedestal which is built into the masonry: the left arm of this statue is unfinished, while the head and the right arm from the elbow are missing. The interior area of the north part of the town is occupied by numerous small mosques and mausoleums of Turkish saints, built of sun-dried bricks and surrounded by heaps of rubbish. There are no buildings of any great antiquity; at least we discovered none in the short time we remained in the place, although we made minute inquiries of the Armenians and others on this point. Considering the wars that have desolated these regions through successive generations, it is only astonishing to find remains standing anywhere.

The walls, which were built by the Sultans of Iconium, are objects of the greatest interest, and have served to preserve the few historical relics of the former city, which would otherwise have disappeared with the wreck of empires in the vortex of ages. The long inscriptions in these walls if collected would form a volume, as there are hundreds of them, and they would take weeks to copy.

There was an Armenian wedding in the evening, which was little remarkable except for a torchlight procession, and a variety of superstitious ceremonies to ward off the influence of the evil eye. The Armenians are extremely ignorant: many of them believe the grossest fables of the papal system, and this in the very cradle of Christianity. But where are the Churches of Cilicia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, and the other provinces of Asia Minor? They are all ruins, literally and morally. The splendid temples of heathenism fell before the plain edifices of Christianity, and these, relapsing into polytheism and idolatry under

a different form, have bowed to the tent of the Turcoman. "He that hath an ear to hear, let<sup>s</sup> him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

After leaving Konia we intended visiting the ruins of Lystra, situated in a group of mountains called Karadagh, rising from the plain of Konia. These plains give pasture to large flocks of goats and broad-tailed sheep, and being high table-land on a level with the general elevation of the Taurus range, they are covered with snow in winter, and subject to inundations: they are now frequented by flights of the common peewit, larks and wheatears. We had applied to the Pacha for a teskeré for his Government, which he told us we had no occasion for, as we carried a firman of the Sultan. In this, however, he was mistaken, as we afterwards experienced inconvenience from the want of it.

*October 30.*—We quitted Konia at noon, and being deceived by our maps, as well as by the directions of the people, we took a southerly course across the plains, which brought us at dark, after seven hours' march, to the village of Chumra. Here we were hospitably entertained, and having acquired more correct information respecting our route, diverged the next morning to the eastward across the plains. In the middle of the day we came to the broad deep bed of a stream with steep banks; in this vicinity we saw large flocks of little bustard, and black-banded sand grouse, and we shot some of the latter, it is a species of ptarmigan,<sup>1</sup> with feathered legs; the upper part of the body dashed with pale gold-coloured spots, the under part jet black: it has no bare space round the eye; the wings are extremely long, and its flights far and swift. We could not succeed in taking any of the bustard, but I afterwards killed one in the ruins of Pompeopolis. It was the *Otis tetrao*, the size of a common fowl, a fine large eye of a clear yellow, the back and wings were mottled-brown, the under parts white.

<sup>1</sup> This bird is common from the Atlantic to the Indus. I have shot them in Morocco and Afghanistan. (*Pterocles arenarius*.)

We now directed our course towards an isolated peak which rose in the east, and soon afterwards came to some large encampments of Turcomans. Their huts, which are circular and disposed in rows, have a very curious appearance at a distance, giving one the idea of being the bases of a colonnade of large pillars, and it was not till a near approach that we could distinguish what these new objects were. They were formed of a light trellis, covered with white felt, and are exactly the form of a large wedding cake, with a door at one side. These Turcomans, who are known by the name of Yurook (wanderers), frequent these plains until the cold weather sets in, when they descend to the towns on the coast; this is nearly the season for their migration; they have numerous flocks, some pretty good horses and camels, and pay taxes to the Turkish Government. Near this camp were many large mounds of earth, surrounded by trenches, in which their straw and forage are stored. These people had a prepossessing appearance, which was not belied by their civility. They brought us milk, and directed us on our way, which however was now unnecessary, as the mountain range in which were the ruins of Lystra, near the village of Sulimanjé, rose abruptly in front of us.

On approaching its foot, we were informed by some wayfarers that a marsh extended round its northern side, and we accordingly wound round the south and over some of the lower hills, arriving in ten hours at the large village of Sulimanjé, by the side of a small lake surrounded by high reeds and covered with water-fowl. These reeds were the resort of myriads of starlings, whose clamour as they came to roost in the evening was quite deafening. We had been warned of the danger of visiting this place, and our reception was quite different from what we commonly experienced, and a contrast to the general hospitality of the Turks. There were two odas, but no one came forward to assist the strangers or greet them with the usual "Khosh Gelden": however, being quite independent of their regard, we chose the best of the odas,

where we established our quarters, and sent Giorgio to look for the oda bashi, who at length unwillingly appeared, and procured us what we were in need of.

It appears that these fastnesses were formerly the retreat of a band of robbers and plunderers, who infested all the roads in the neighbourhood and despoiled every one they could venture to attack with impunity. From the dread they occasioned, their resort was named Karadagh or "the black mountain." Their depredations were put a stop to by the Turkish Government, but the people still retain their inhospitable character, and till lately it was not safe for Englishmen to venture among them so unprotected. The best plan in these suspicious cases is to act as if you felt the greatest security, and accordingly, although the people wished to persuade us that we ought to be "horribly afraid," and that they had a prescriptive right to plunder our property, we went out shooting round the lake, returning late in the evening.

On inquiring for the ruins, we were told that they lay in the hills about two hours to the east, and the spot was called Madanshére (The City of Treasures) and Bin bir Killissay (Thousand and one churches). Having engaged a guide, who tried to impose on us by representing the distance to be much greater than it really was, our horses were ready saddled and on the point of starting on the morning of the 31st, when we were sent for by the Aga, an infirm old man with a long white beard, who asked if we had a teskerai from the governor of Konia. We explained to him that the Pacha had not furnished us with one, considering the Sultan's firman sufficient and of more weight. This the old fellow could not understand, and said that he should not allow us to proceed, but should send us back to Konia with an escort. Finding persuasion was of no use, and suspecting this to be a conspiracy to levy a bribe or blackmail, we produced the Sultan's firman (of which, by-the-bye, he could not read a word! but which was nevertheless an imposing-looking document), and coolly told him that we intended starting immediately under the

Sultan's protection: that we were well armed, and that whoever attempted to molest or detain us would do so at their own peril, while he would be answerable for any consequences that might result from his disregard of the Sultan's authority with his head. As this took place in the presence of all his divan, it effectually changed his tone, and he at length consented to our proceeding without further hindrance, and something like an amicable feeling was established, as we had hinted that we should still complain to the Pacha of the neglect we had been subject to, independent of this detention. On going to the door, where a number of the villagers were assembled, we detected some of them in the act of purloining from the saddle-bags of our horses, which we had left standing unguarded without. One man, who had a shot-belt in his hand, which he was in the act of emptying of its contents, we marched into the Aga for punishment. As the old Aga was not in a very pleasant frame of mind after his failure, he ordered the thief to be thrashed, accusing him of throwing dirt on his head in the eyes of the Pacha, and, impatient at the delay of his people, he staggered to his feet, and belaboured the culprit with his shoe, till we were all in fits of laughter. This saved the thief a more severe infliction, and ended an affair which might have resulted in great inconvenience to us.

Quitting the village in an easterly direction through the hills, in an hour we passed the slope at the foot of a mountain covered with lines and inclosures of ruined walls, and half an hour afterwards descended into a basin in which were an immense number of ruins. This was the site of Lystra, of which we were in search. The situation of the place is very beautiful, embosomed in an amphitheatre of hills clothed with brushwood, and rising on all sides in picturesque peaks, except to the north, where it opened on the plain. There is nothing striking or fine about the ruins, which consist principally of churches, of which we counted twenty-three standing, justifying the exaggeration of "The thousand and one churches." The

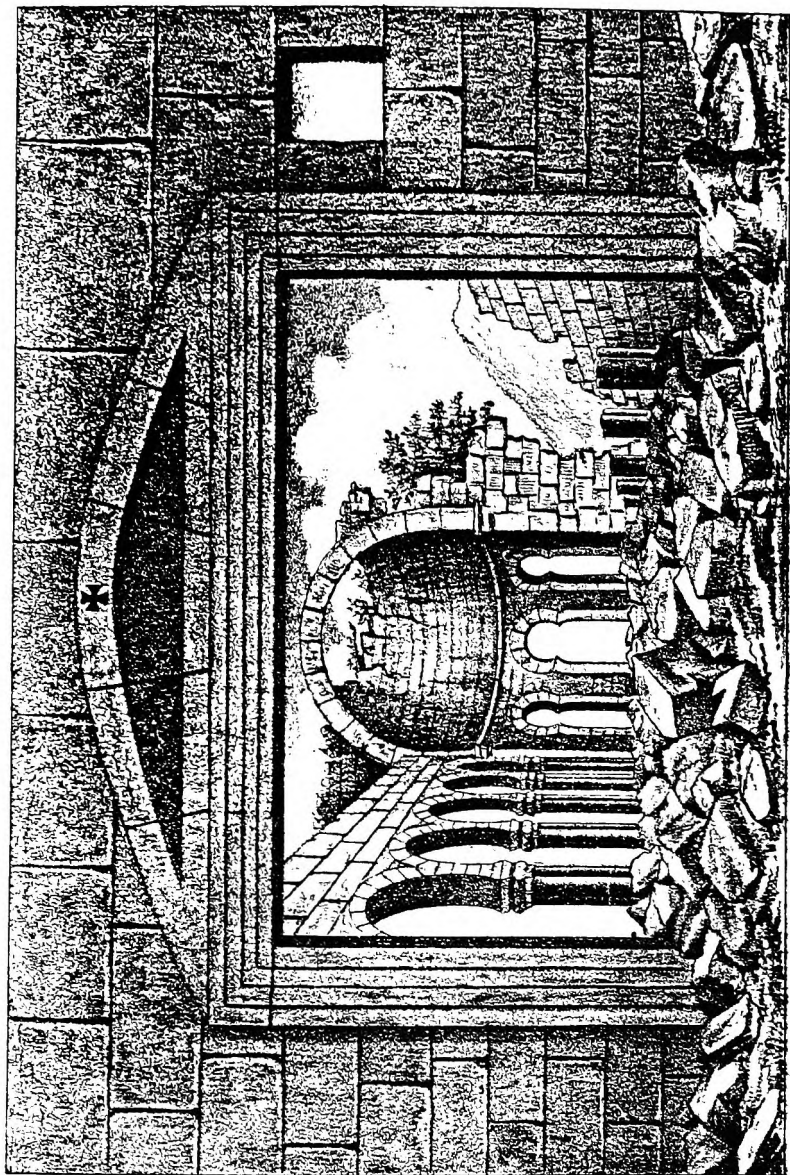
only inhabitants we found here were two old women, who emerged from one of the numerous vaults with which the ruins abounded; the men, being shepherds, were grazing their flocks in the hills. Leaving our horses in the care of these people, we occupied several hours examining the ruins. The churches were mostly built on one plan, with irregular stones, without cement. The figure of the building is an oblong nave and aisles; the roof, which was low, supported by two rows of flattened pillars, forming side aisles; and at the end towards the east was an alcove or half-dome: the transverse section of these pillars was thus



There were some specimens of finer workmanship, of a much earlier period: the principal of these is a high octagonal stone building, which had been erected with much more skill and neatness. It was probably a Temple of the winds, but had been transformed into a church. Another large square building of two stories was also of the same date: the arches of the upper floor were supported by two white marble columns, which either did not originally belong to it, or showed the bad taste of the architect. These edifices had been stuccoed within, and ornamented with fresco paintings of saints of large size, the colours of many were well preserved: one was drawn with a spear and shield: among them were several female figures, most of them with a circle round the head. Many of these old pictures had been wilfully effaced. They appear to be of the same date as those of Iasin.

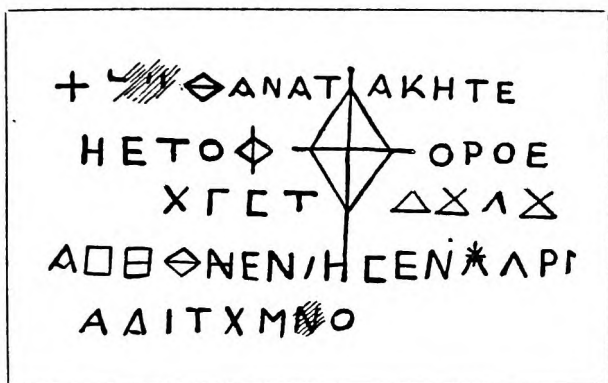
Among the ruins was a low neat Greek tomb, of hewn stone, resembling the tomb of Cyrus at Persepolis, and on the right side of the entrance of the town, stood a lofty half-dome of hewn stone, probably belonging to the ancient gate of the city in which sat the guards who kept the gate. If so, it may have witnessed the sufferings of St. Paul when stoned and left for dead without the city, at the same place where he had been so lately worshipped as a God by the fickle populace. It is a beautiful situation for a city in an amphitheatre of hills, and six months ago I had little





ОИДРОН, ЛУТРА.

anticipation of passing my birthday among the ruins of Lystra. In the southern part of the town was a walled inclosure, in the corner of which was another large church, a sketch of the interior of which I made, and then visited others on the heights to the south. They were all built in the same plain style. I copied the following inscriptions, which may perhaps determine the date of their erection from the formation of the letters. This first is on a stone in the front wall of a church.



The second on the keystone of an arch in the same.



Under the hills to the west was the quarry which had furnished the materials for these buildings. There was no

marble to be seen, except the two white pillars above mentioned. Most of the dwelling-houses seem to have been built on vaults into which there are descents by steps. Having examined everything worthy of notice in this remarkable locality, we breakfasted on cakes of meal, and milk brought from underground by the old woman of the vaults, and continued an easterly course to extricate ourselves from the mountains, and in four hours again descended into the plain and stopped at Chorlou, from whence the higher peaks of the Taurus in the East were beginning to put on their white capes.

The people at this village were extremely obliging, and quite a contrast to our last-night's friends on the other side of the mountain. It was quite cold enough for the enjoyment of a blazing fire, and, as usual, we had a circle of visitors with the Aga at their head. He requested, as a favour, to be allowed to see the firman of the young Sultan, and when it was produced, the whole party immediately rose, and it was passed round, each man reverentially kissing the autograph and putting it to his forehead. This respect must doubtless be shown to the Sultan as a religious chief; for the people of these parts of Asia Minor are wishing for the government of Ibrahim Pacha, imagining that their imposts will be diminished, little thinking that if the Turks chastise them with whips, the Egyptians will chastise them with scorpions. The manner in which the Turks in building their villages adapt themselves to the means and materials afforded by the actual locality is worthy of observation. Do they fix their abode in a rocky district? they build of rough stones or close up caves to serve as dwellings. Do they settle on the plains? their huts are raised of earth. In marshy land they use mud-bricks dried in the sun and wattled reeds. Among ruins their homes are formed of debris—old stones, fragments of marble, sculptures and broken pillars are built in without order or discrimination; and in the woods they live in oblong log houses; nothing comes amiss to them as long as they have not the fatigue and trouble of going out

of their way for it. Their wells are also on the principle of the economy of labour. A bucket is suspended to the end of a long pole, which is supported at about a third of its length in the fork of an upright post. The short end of this lever is loaded with large stones, till the ends are nearly balanced, when it requires very little exertion to raise and lower the bucket from the well.

It is a mistaken notion which is often advanced that the hospitality of the Turks and their willingness to oblige is an effect of the liberality of travellers, and the English in particular, whereas the exact contrary is the case: for nothing is more demoralizing than ill-judged liberality, and it will generally be found that in proportion as they have come in contact with Europeans, in the same ratio will they be comparatively extortionate, disobliging or cheats: but this rarely happens on bye roads, or in out-of-the-way villages, in some of which they may never have seen a Frank. Often, after being entertained, and treated with the greatest attention by these usophisticated people, they appeared surprised at receiving payment on our quitting them in the morning, which being unexpected showed that they were little influenced by the love of gain. The best plan is to give them the full value of whatever you may have been furnished with, besides a reasonable gratuity for services; but where a man gives twenty times the value of everything, to gratify his vanity and love of display, he not only injures the morality of the people, and throws impediments in the way of future travellers, but he exposes himself to be tormented by further exactions and increased demands, as the natives naturally suppose they have a fool to deal with. Extravagance begets extortion, or in other words fools make knaves; and yet nothing is more common than to hear people complain of the impositions to which they are subjected in travelling, for which as a rule they have to thank themselves. On an average it cost us about four shillings a day for board and lodging for three men and three horses, and the people were always content.

*November 1.*—We marched S.W. across the plain, leaving Karadagh on the right, to Karaman. The ground was full of burrows inhabited by a small animal, like a guinea-pig without tail, with a soft grey fur. A dog belonging to some natives caught one of them; but I could not extricate it from his jaws for the purpose of examination. The plains feed large herds of sheep and goats. In five hours we reached Karaman, the ancient Laranda. The place has a pretty appearance on approaching it, being embowered in fine trees and backed by an old Saracen or Norman castle in ruins on a mound. The scene in the market-place was very lively. It was crowded with people in a variety of gay-coloured costumes, blue and red pelisses lined with fur, embroidered jackets and green turbans, contrasting with the staid appearance of the saturnine Armenians, in their dark robes and black turbans.

On inquiry we were informed that there were three different routes across the Taurus into Cilicia: the most frequented of which was the Keulek boghaz or Cilician Gates, a fortified post of the advanced guard of the Egyptian army. This is the only road practicable for artillery; another route, but little known, to the westward of this, near Sarikavak, was followed by some of the troops of Mohammed Ali before the battle of Konia. This is not passable with artillery, and the same may be said of the Pass to the South of Karaman, which we determined to traverse, although warned of the dangers and badness of the tracks.

Our baggage horse being much galled, we hired a pony of an old man to relieve him of his load, and went on the same evening by a hilly road to Isandeh, one hour south of Karaman. As this was the last village we should find to the north of the Taurus range, we were desirous of shortening our next day's march, which we were told was sixteen hours. Isandeh is a village in a rocky hollow, through which runs a stream. It has a mosque with a square belfry, which the Aga said was built for a Christian church. The next morning we started on our march

across the Taurus. The air was cold and frosty and the brooks glazed with ice. We first traversed some rocky hills, where the numerous fossil bivalves that strewed the path and surrounding ground was quite extraordinary: they appeared to be the principal component part of the soil. Further on, in a ravine where the sandy earth had been dislodged, I discovered a deposit or bed of the most beautiful fossils, principally univalves; they looked as if they had been carved in white chalk, and were quite perfect but very fragile. I collected seven or eight different sorts, amongst which were *Murex*, *Turbo*, *Strombus*, *Conus* and *Cyprea*. I managed to carry these in preservation to Syria, but finding them an incumbrance, and to prevent their destruction, I gave them away to different friends who were interested in making a collection. This spot must be at a great elevation, nearly on a level with the summit of the Taurus range, there being no perceptible ascent by this road from the plains of Konia on the tableland. We now entered a wilderness of rocky cliffs and barren tabled hills formed of successive terraces of horizontal rocky strata, which have a most peculiar and artificial appearance. After marching about eight hours, we began gradually to descend the southern declivity, and on emerging from the confined hills, one of the most magnificent and indescribable scenes I ever beheld suddenly burst in view. We stood on the verge of a dark vast sombre abyss, to the utmost depths of which the eye in vain strove to penetrate. The declining sun shot its beams over a massive ridge across the plane of this blue gulf, gilding the tops of the mountains that rose up from the almost visible surface of the atmospheric sea, and the stupendous perpendicular precipices that jutted out against the sky on the right and served as colossal abutments to the high table-lands of Asia Minor. Down far beneath, faintly seen through the blue haze, lay the hoar shaggy sides of the giant mountains and the gloomy windings of the darker valleys, whilst beyond rose a succession of chains and peaks till they were lost in the distance,

forming altogether a scene of grandeur and sublimity of which I can give but a very faint idea.

The air rose in hot gusts from the lower level as we began the abrupt descent of the mountains, the road winding by cliffs around precipices and through enormous masses of rock piled one above the other, which had rolled down from the impending peaks to block our path. After dark the descent was rather perilous, the rolling stones affording a very precarious footing. The stars, however, were extremely bright, and shed sufficient light to enable us to distinguish the path, which was flanked by stunted wood. The country beneath was glittering with lights, proceeding from Turcoman camps, and travellers' bivouacs. A turn in the road brought us suddenly on a party who had taken possession of some excavated tombs, at the mouth of which they had made a large fire to warm them for the night. The overhanging boughs were flooded with light, which leapt from rock to rock, illuminating the canopy of vapour that hung above this retreat and deepening the gloom of the woods and recesses of the mountains around. Rapidly descending, we at length reached the foot of the frowning range and arrived at the village of Yaponde, having marched fourteen hours, the old man of whom we had hired the baggage-horse, and who was upwards of sixty years of age, having walked the whole of the distance on foot.

This village had not more than half a dozen houses, and the oda was full of snoring Turks; however, we found another room full of Indian corn in the husk: on this, after feeding our horses, we lay down and slept soundly till eight in the morning, when we started for Mout, arrived there in an hour, passing through numerous cotton plantations, and crossing a bridge over a stream close to the village. This was formerly *Claudiopolis*, and must have been a very large city, judging from the quantity of ruins that strew its environs. Near a large domed Mosque a fine body of water gushes from a mass of rocks, where apparently a temple once stood, numerous



Mount (Claudiopolis).



columns lying scattered about the banks. In other parts there are rows of truncated pillars and ruins of temples and other buildings. On a rocky mound stand the walls of a large Crusader's castle, which has a picturesque appearance: a small stream winds through the valley, and the view is backed by bold bluff mountains. I here saw the bearded vulture<sup>1</sup> (the Swiss lammergeyer). The common vulture and the black vulture are very numerous in Asia Minor and of enormous size; at a distance, when gathered round a carcase, vultures have the appearance of a party of Arabs sitting on the plain; they are very heavy in rising and are obliged to assist themselves with their feet, running along the ground till they get their immense vanes fairly expanded, when they soar away in concentric circles. There has been a controversy as to how the vulture discovers a carcase, and a vulgar error has been propagated, giving the bird the property of scent at miles distant. An observation of facts places the matter in a simple light. In the early morning the vultures are seen soaring upwards until they are mere specks in the blue vault; from this height they can survey twenty or thirty miles of desert with their telescopic eyes, and as soon as one of them catches sight of a camel or other animal fallen and abandoned by the caravan, he begins to descend, and others, seeing his direction, follow from all quarters, and in a very short time a number of them have descended on their prey, when none were seen before.

We went to the mutsellim of the village to procure another horse, and while it was being sent for, we stayed and drank his coffee. He had an old French percussion gun, for which we gave him some caps. The day was insufferably hot, although the region we left above the mountains was frosty and the temperature becoming very cold. Being unsuccessful in procuring a horse, we were forced to be content with a donkey to carry our baggage,

<sup>1</sup> The bearded vulture I have seen from Morocco to Afghanistan.

and leaving Mout, we passed various massive ruins retaining no form or beauty, and traversing some low rocky mounds in a south-westerly direction we reached the banks of the Gioksoo (Blue water), where there are remains of two arches of an old bridge on the right bank. This river has its name from the extraordinary colour of the water, which is of a fine French green, caused by some mineral deposit held in solution. The valley was full of the camps of the Yurooks, who had descended from their summer pastures on the table-lands. The views of the river were very fine: we followed its left bank to Karetcan, a village half in ruins, but the people were very hospitable.

On the morning of the 4th, after crossing a small bridge over a brook, the road led through sandy hills covered with the broad-leaved arbutus, which here flourished in great luxuriance, loaded with its waxen scarlet berries. We stopped at a small village to procure a fresh donkey. The peasants were reaping their crop of rice; they brought us milk, bread and fruit, but we only succeeded in procuring a wretched animal, which, from its age, appeared to have been an heirloom in its owner's family. With some difficulty, we managed to march with this to Chifik in three hours. This village was a perfect little paradise embosomed in a hollow, the roofs of the houses peeping through the rich foliage of the fruit and olive trees, with which they were surrounded. As it was getting late, and we were assured we should not reach any other village before night, and as there was a dangerous descent further on, we remained here for the night. It was more like a Swiss than an Eastern village, and the accommodation of a clean broad-roofed cottage with verandahs was too tempting to be abandoned for the chance of a bivouac on the hill-side. We fortunately found here a Greek, who had a horse which he was willing to hire to Selefkeh, and which we accordingly engaged; and went on the next morning by a mountainous road S.E., and in four hours came in sight of the Mediterranean, through an opening

in the mountains, and soon after came to the verge of a tremendous cliff, nearly perpendicular, in the face of which there was a most perilous descent, at least for horses. Advantage had been taken of the support of the gnarled roots of trees, and the masses of fallen rock, to pick out a path down this precipice. The horses slid down this rugged path on their hind legs in a sitting posture, encouraged by the shouts of the Greek, who kept up an incessant vociferous invocation of the assistance of Allah. On reaching a slight landing place, we stopped to rest. We had followed this road against the advice of all the natives, and the difficulties of it we found had not been exaggerated: of this we had afterwards more cause to be convinced. Before reaching Tarsus, however, we were well repaid by the grandeur of the scenery through which we passed.

From our present resting place the view was most magnificent. On the right, the Gioksoo burst from a bold gorge in the mountains, flanked by precipitous cliffs, and wound—a broad blue vein—through the valley at our feet, bordered by villages surrounded with trees and cultivation. The mountains which rise all around are richly wooded with firs of various tints, amongst which the pale green of a species of larch gives a relieving light to the darker features of the view. Continuing our descent, we plunged into a wood of wild pomegranate, olive and other trees. The pomegranate grows here to a large size. We rode under the boughs, which overshadowed us with a canopy of verdure. We followed the valley of the river, through the most beautiful and ever-changing mountain scenery, and fell in with a party of migrating Turcomans. They told us that the road was quite impassable after dark, and that we should have to camp out. They had a string of camels, carrying all their property, their women and children accompanying them; and as we were unprovided with provisions, we thought it best to pass the night in the vicinity of their camping place. The banks of the river soon became very precipitous, the path winding over

the swell of the hills that confined its bed; and the Turcomans, towards evening, having pitched on a convenient retired spot for camping, we also dismounted and made arrangements for passing the night.

The place chosen for our bivouac was a ravine, backed by impending rocks and shrubs, and surrounded by trees; a brawling rivulet passing by tumbled down the little glen to join the river which flowed round the foot of a stupendous mountain pile, which rose in gloomy grandeur in front of us.

We tethered our horses in the grassy hollows, and collected a pile of firewood from the large branches of the prostrate fir trees which lay around. We procured some barley for our horses, and a little black bread, a few eggs, and some dried figs from the Turcomans: they could not give us a tent, as they were all packed in loads for travelling, but we did not feel the want of it, as the temperature was delightful in this romantic situation, and at such times we lose all sense of discomfort, in the mere intense enjoyment of existence. A blazing fire in the middle of the glen cast a ruddy glow on the draped forms of the Yurooks, and flickered on the bold outlines of rock and woodland, partially revealing the more retired objects from the surrounding darkness; whilst the complaining murmurs of the river floated up on the balmy air, that sighed through the fringed tops of the fir trees: the outlines of the dark mountains were traced against the clear overarching vault,

“ And the roof we slept below  
Was the broad expanse of blue, where dance  
The stars in their vivid glow.”

*November 6.*—We were up with the light, and followed the same road along the precipitous margin of the river, at one time winding along the brink of the cliffs, and then descending to the valley of the stream, and again climbing up and following narrow ledges of rock, where a false step would have plunged us into the immeasurable abyss, which

sometimes we nearly overhung, while the cliffs rose in fearful abruptness on the left of the slippery path. The scenery is so very magnificent, that any terror or alarm which might be anticipated in such a locality is entirely absorbed in the sense of the sublime, which we experience in these glorious and beautiful scenes.

The goats, the only fit frequenters of such paths, looked up at us with their large yellow eyes, seemingly in astonishment at our intruding on their haunts. About half-way to Selefkeh, we came to a copious spring, which formerly supplied that place (Seleucia Trachea) with water. An aqueduct on massive stone arches, which still exist, crossed the valley and the river at this place, and was carried along the right bank of the stream, in many places through excavations in the cliffs that abutted on the river, and left no other passage for the canal. We stopped to breakfast at some Turcoman huts. The honesty of the people, and the consequent security of their property, is scarcely credible in such a wild country. In several places where camps had been, we saw heaps of property, merely covered over with black felt, to shelter it from the weather; and on enquiry, were told that it belonged to the Yurooks who had migrated, but not having sufficient carriage, had left it there until they could send for it; and they assured us that it would remain in perfect security till the owners found it convenient to return and remove their goods. They possess large flocks of sheep. The shepherd never drives them, but walks at the head of the flock, now and then whistling a few notes, "the sheep know his voice," and follow him to the pastures, whilst he is employed either spinning the wool or knitting. The sheep are curiously sheared in cross stripes, leaving ridges between them. I opine that this is done with the object of taking the wool as it is required for use.

A few miles from the embouchure of the river the mountains terminate abruptly in a small plain, on which are the ruins of Seleucia Trachea. The modern village, which is scattered in mud hovels amongst the ruins, retains

the name of Selefkeh. This place possesses many very interesting remains of its former greatness. Below a handsome bridge over the river are the ruins of a large edifice, erected on a stone terrace projecting into the bed of the river, but now encumbering its course with a mingled pile of blocks of hewn stone, capitals, and broken shafts and pillars. About the centre of the area of the town stand some remarkably picturesque remains of a temple with Corinthian columns, and the circular end wall is ornamented with handsome arched windows, separated by columns. Raised aqueducts appear to have traversed the town in various directions. In the Khan where we put up, there were a great number of pillars strewn about; many had been used to form raised seats in the open air: three of them being disposed in a quadrangle, of which the wall formed the fourth side, and the interior filled with earth: amongst these were some of fine rose-coloured granite. There is a high mound, crowned with the walls of a citadel, on the west of the town. This building is of a more modern date, probably Turkish. South of the town are the ancient catacombs: these places of sepulture are always found near the old Greek cities. Those of Seleucia are very curious: some low rocky hills are entirely excavated into tombs or sarcophagi, with low façades one above another, cut out of and undetached from the solid rock, no block that could be made available remaining in its natural state: some of these sepulchres have merely a name sculptured on them.

Near this, on the declivity of the hill or mound, is a very remarkable work of art: this is an oblong vault sunk in the solid rock, in dimension about 50 feet long by 25 broad and 25 deep. The sides of this excavation were cut into tall arched recesses, in which on either side were projecting buttresses or supports throughout the whole height. These were probably for the support of sarcophagi; although some of them now remained, the interior area was full of broken stones and rubbish, the ruins of the fallen roof. The entrance to this vault was

by a circular well stair sunk in the rock to the level of the floor, where it was connected with the vault by a door. There are doubtless many more objects of interest to an antiquary among these extensive ruins, which our limited time would not allow us to explore.

Returning to the Khan, we found that there was no farrier to be procured in the place, which was rather a serious difficulty, as our horses had lost shoes, in the descent of the Taurus, and the road through Cilicia was described to be extremely rocky. At length, after much trouble, we discovered a man who had some horse-shoes in his possession, and who, in consideration of our necessity, made us pay five times their value ; however, we were glad to obtain them on any terms ; and they were then put on in a slovenly manner, and did not promise to last very long. The Armenian Khanji had a large collection of copper coins to dispose of, some of which were real, but of little value. I was told at Antioch that they could be bought by weight, they were so common : those of any value are suspicious from the number of forgeries : they are cast in a mould made from a good coin and then buried, and corroded with chemical agents to give them the appearance of antiquity, and it requires some practice to detect those that are spurious : the heads of Alexander with the rams' horns are very commonly imitated. Besides the badness of the roads through Cilicia, we were told that they were infested with robbers, several parties having been lately plundered by them. If we had had any choice, it would have been rather too severe an alternative to have reascended the Taurus. The people of these mountain districts appear to have inherited the bad name of the Isaurians who formerly dwelt here. However, we set off on the 7th in good spirits, and determined to brave every danger, taking an easterly course, with a range of rocky hills on the left, and an extensive marsh on the right, beyond which was the open sea. The weather was delightful, the swallows sporting about above the reeds : these were the Alpine swift seen at Constantinople, with

a white belly and black collar: there were also a few of the common swallow. The bushes and reeds were covered with the small tree frog, of a beautiful light green, and surrounded by flights of large hornets. The Italians make use of this frog as a weather gauge, keeping them in a glass basin of water, in the centre of which an upright stick is fixed: this the frog climbs or descends, according to the state of the atmosphere.

We soon became convinced of the correctness of our information respecting the roads: there was no visible track, but we made our way over polished slabs, and through rocks and crags piled in horrible confusion. Our horses' shoes, which had been badly put on, soon gave way, came off, or were dashed to pieces: and we had to look forward to twelve hours of the same work, which could not be done in less than two days. We passed a village call Japeh on the left, a few broken sarcophagi lying by the roadside; near Pershendy we saw some tombs cut in the rock, and a reservoir of water. Through this rocky district the remains of a made road are discoverable in various places, composed of large irregular slabs, which, after facts that came under our observation, would prove to have been laid at a very early date. Turning the horn of a small bay, and overgrown with luxuriant myrtle bushes, we found the ruins of a large Greek town. The rocky hills were covered with the remains of temples, aqueducts, and other buildings, which we rambled over and explored, but could not discover a single inscription, and from the rocky nature of the locality the buildings were much crowded, and we were forced to work our way through thickets of myrtle by which they were overrun. This is the site of Pecile Petra; but as there were no inhabitants, we could not learn its modern name. The sea stretched away in rippling calmness on our right, and we went on by the same desperate craggy path over a succession of rocky headlands, forming small bays. The only living thing visible was the large grey kingfisher, sitting motionless on the points of rock, or hovering watch-

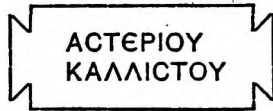


ful over the sunny deep. In seven hours we reached Ayash, the ruins of the ancient Corycus. Here we found two or three temporary tents, but no shelter except amongst the ruins, and accordingly took possession of a large deep vault, in which we lighted a fire to expel the damp. The people we found here were a wild-looking set; they called themselves Turcomans, but had more the appearance of Syrian mountaineers. They collected round us in the evening, and were much amused and astonished at our percussion guns, lucifer matches, etc., and I have no doubt that this exhibition contributed in some measure to our safety, by impressing them with an idea of our power. It appears that we were among suspicious characters, of which we were unconscious till the next day, when, on meeting a man, apparently a courier, of whom we enquired if the road was safe, or any marauders to be apprehended, he told us the road was all clear to Tarsus, and that we had already passed the dangerous part. On hearing that we had slept the night before at Ayash with these people, he said, "If that is the case, you have nothing more to fear, and you have been fortunate in escaping them, as they are the very men that are so much dreaded on this road." The vault being oppressive, I slept outside; but neither of us took any precaution in watching or otherwise, and we might easily have been disposed of had not the eye of Providence watched for our protection. In the morning we walked over the ruins: there were the remains of an extensive castle, built of stone, on the shore: another, built on a rock a mile at sea, forms a picturesque object: these were Saracenic. As usual, there were numerous tombs and excavations in the rocks: on one scarp was cut in relief a rude full-length figure of a man with a sword by his side. There were steps cut in the stone, ascending to the various chambers. The following inscription was on the side of a low façade:

†HPOEION  
NONNOY  
MECCIKA  
IMATIOΡPS

†

The next label is taken from the side of a sarcophagus.

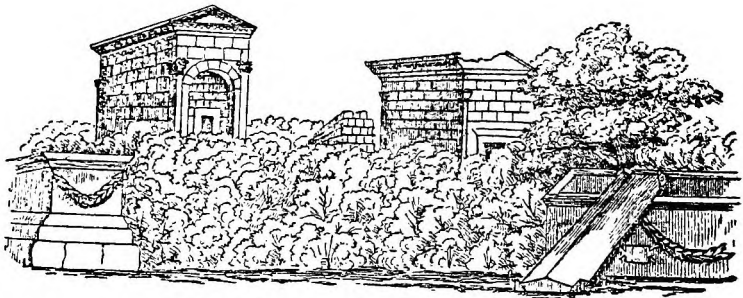


Further to the eastward stood the ruins of a large church of the same description as those of Lystra, but of superior workmanship. The plain Maltese cross was the only sculpture discoverable. It is difficult to imagine what could have induced a people to build large towns in such barren and desolate situations, without an acre of pasture or arable land redeemable from the surrounding rocks, and only approachable by a break-neck road, with no water, but what was brought from a great distance by aqueducts. They must have chosen these sites for security, trusting for support either to piracy or commerce.

*November 8.*—Our course traversed the same rocky coast-line, which was most severe for the poor horses. They were continually locking their hoofs in the fissures, or between the large blocks, and having lost their shoes, it is wonderful how we got through this stony region. We were rewarded to-day by the sight of a magnificent aqueduct, which crosses all the valleys to the vicinity of Lamas, from whence it formerly conducted the water to supply Eleusa, Corycus, and Pecile Petra. This aqueduct is a splendid remnant of Grecian antiquity, and although within fifty miles of Tarsus, the Europeans at that place were not aware of its existence. Across one valley there were two ranges of arches, the one above the other—the upper consisting of fourteen, and the lower of nine or ten; several in the centre of the latter having fallen or been carried away by the descent of the winter torrents. It was built of stone-masonry and coated with cement, now mostly scaled off; this canal could be traced in many places leading over the hills. After leaving Ayash, we passed several large ruined buildings, and amongst others one extensive ruin, through which the paved road,

before mentioned, runs in its whole extent, with a high wall rising on the left, and emerges through the remains of an arched gateway. This shows it to be of the same date as the buildings: it is in good preservation and well paved. The walls are built of hewn stone, closely fitted, with very little cement. Continuing our route, we came to Eleusa. This place seems to have been only a place of sepulture, as there is no appearance of any town having existed in the vicinity. The rocks over a large area have been cut into sarcophagi, ornamented with sculptures and wreaths: one was very elegant, with an eagle trampling a serpent, and supporting the ends of two wreaths or festoons, in the curve of which were two lions, the corners supported by small statues.

Some of these tombs were undetached from the rock, others raised on a platform with steps; sometimes two were placed side by side, and some had an arch of solid masonry built over them. They were all furnished with covers, which had been either forced aside or thrown down, and the tombs had been explored by successive plunderers in hopes of finding treasure; they measured between eight and nine feet in length. There were also here several handsome mausoleums of hewn stone, square, with a pointed pediment and sloped roof, ornamented with



GREEK TOMBS, CILICIA.

lions' heads and dentils, and supported at the angles by pillars. The interiors were furnished with troughs and

shelves, and in some of the tombs the Turcoman shepherds had taken up their abode. The women in their filthy dresses were spinning by the narrow doorways, and the children rolling about on the raised platforms on which they were built, unconscious that they were occupying the dwellings of the dead. The sarcophagi here, as well as the excavated tombs we passed in other parts of Asia Minor, are cut out of sandstone rock. I afterwards heard from persons resident in the Levant that some of these tombs, which had been discovered untouched in the north of Syria, on being opened, were found to contain nothing but alternate layers of earth and ashes, or else were entirely filled up with earth, with the exception of a small earthenware urn containing the ashes of the dead at the head of the tomb. In taking so much trouble to provide a full-sized coffin, the ancients must have believed that an invisible spirit used it for a habitation, or that the body would be restored from its ashes for judgment. We at length arrived at the village of Lamas, on an eminence on the right bank of a rapid stream. A wide marsh extends on the left, cultivated with rice and pumpkins. The village was nearly deserted, but possessed a good reception house of two stories, in which we put up and dined on some wild fowl we had killed. This was formerly the capital of the province or district of Lamotis, but at present exhibits no remains of antiquity.

*November 9.*—We crossed the stream by a bridge, and on the other side entered on an entirely different and fertile soil, this brook appearing to be the limit of the appropriately named "Rugged Cilicia." We now traversed shrubberies of myrtle, covered with blossom, by a greatly improved road, passing several streams from the Taurus, the mountains of Syria rising across the sea in the south-east.

Eight miles from Lamas there was, till very lately, a quarantine, this being the boundary between the dominions of the Sultan and Mohammed Ali; this interruption no longer exists. After passing the frontier, we met a cafila of Yurooks, and on inquiring whence they came, we

learned that they had migrated across the frontier to try the mild rule of Ibrahim Pacha, the Governor of Syria; but finding they were more severely squeezed than by their Turkish masters, they were on their return to their old haunts.

We passed several castles in ruins on either side of the road. In the marshes we saw some natives making use of a curious deception for shooting water-fowl. They carried a large cloth spread on a cross-stick before them, in the middle of which was a small hole for the purpose of descrying the game, which were not alarmed by its appearance: when near enough, the apparatus was stuck into the ground, and the birds fired on from behind it. Beyond this the country was barren, and we arrived at Mezetlu in nine hours. This is a large village under the Egyptian Government: we found good quarters, and the people loud in their complaints of the amount of taxes drawn from them. Early in the morning we went down to the sea-side, to visit the ruins of Soli or Pompeopolis. Of this large place, from the gate of which to the harbour formerly extended an avenue of 200 columns, and where Alexander celebrated games in honour of his subjugation of Asia Minor and his recovery after bathing in the Cydnus, little now remains, but forty-five of these Corinthian pillars, the shafts of which measure ten feet in circumference, rearing their heads above the myrtle and tangled brushwood, with which the ruins are overgrown. To the east of these are the remains of an amphitheatre, fast disappearing. There are also several buildings of masonry, similar to those over the sarcophagi at Eleusa.

It would appear that the sea has retreated from this coast, for the ruins of the stone quays at the extremity of the piazza are now far above high water, with fields and brushwood extending between them and the sea. After examining these ruins, we made a three hours' march to Mersin, the sea-port for the trade of Tarsus, which is eighteen or twenty miles inland. The principal

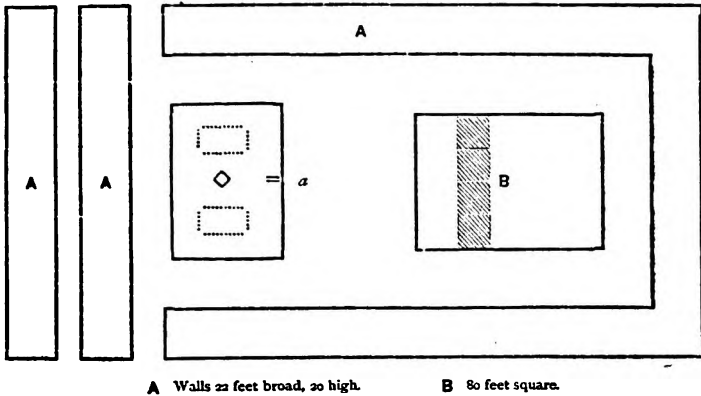
article of commerce of this country is cotton, for which four small vessels were waiting, anchored in the bay. From the coast the road turned nearly N.E. to Tarsus. About two miles before reaching the town, we passed an old Turk and his wife, who had dismounted by the road-side, awaiting the dark to enter the place, to avoid the public gaze: for this he had not to wait long, for we had not gone another mile before it fell suddenly dark, and we entered Tarsus in one of the most tremendous thunderstorms I ever experienced. The rain came down in masses, and in a few minutes the roads were like mill sluices, and we only kept the track by the glare of the sheets of lightning that streamed and hissed around us, causing our horses to stand and tremble with terror, whilst overhead, at intervals,

“Out-burst a thunder-peal of such magnificence,  
The howling storm seemed silence.”

We waded through the flooded streets to the house of the English Consul, who, we found, had been dead about three months, and had not been replaced. We then made our way to the French Consulate, and were hospitably received by the Consul, Mons. Gillet, in whose house we remained for two days.

Tarsus or Tersoos is now rather a well-built Turkish town, with little evidence of antiquity. It is subject to fatal fevers, few Europeans being able to survive the malignity of the climate. The celebrated Cydnus flows by it, forming a cascade close to the town, where it falls over a cliff of conglomerate of no great height. At this season the stream is much diminished, but after the winter rains, I have no doubt it forms a pretty object. I saw a great deal of tessellated pavement on the sides of the road outside the town. The environs are wooded with fine trees, and the orange grows here to great perfection. But the most extraordinary object of curiosity, and for the purpose or utility of which no probable hypothesis has been started, is a large building of solid masonry, composed of two square

masses surrounded by a wall of the same, the whole being about 200 feet in length, and 20 feet in height.



This fabric is entirely composed of round stones and mortar, which has become hardened by age to the solidity of free-stone. Mr. Gillet, under the impression that these masses contained sarcophagi, endeavoured to cut through one, which was a work of some labour, from the compactness of the material, as it resisted gunpowder, the bores going off like cannon, and after reaching the centre without success, he removed his operations to the side at (a), sinking downwards, after excavating to the centre; but after digging sixteen feet the workmen arrived at water. If these buildings contain coffins, they would probably be laid across at either end, as marked, so that penetrating the centre of the mass would leave them on either side and give no result. We know that the tomb of the Emperor Julian ought to be found at Tarsus, his body having been brought there for interment by his successor Jovian from the banks of the Tigris, south of Samarra, where he died; and supposing this to be a burying-place, it would only be that of a person of equal consequence, seeing the greatness of the work; but if these walls are solid, and are not the foundation of some Saracenic structure, I would hazard a conjecture that the interior masses, formerly coated with stone, served as

pedestals to colossal idols of the Eastern Mythology under the Assyrian Empire.

The people of Tarsus speak a corrupt dialect of Arabic, and begin to assume the Arab physiognomy. From its situation at the foot of the grand pass into lesser Asia called the Keulek boghas or Cilician gates, Tarsus must always have been a place of importance or "no mean city." It is well supplied with water, and the extensive gardens abound in a variety of fruit trees; but the environs being neglected, the surrounding country is overgrown with rank vegetation. Large marshes have formed, and the place has become remarkably unhealthy, and for European constitutions quite uninhabitable. The pass of the Taurus is fortified, and held by the Egyptian troops under Ibrahim Pacha, this being the limit of the usurped dominion of Mohammed Ali. Our road to India passing the north of Syria, we propose making a diversion through that country and Palestine, and, if possible, crossing the Palmyrene wilderness to Bagdad.

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## CHAPTER VII.

## SYRIA.

IT is not easy to define the northern limits of Syria, but it is usually counted to extend to the pass of the Taurus, called the Cilician Gates, and thus far it is now held by the army of Mohammed Ali under Ibrahim Pacha, whose advanced guard is between Tersoos and Adana. The difference in passing from one jurisdiction to the other is not apparent, and travellers are unmolested and treated with equal consideration.

After visiting the falls of the Cydnus, we slept at the house of Mr. William Barker, who accompanied us the next morning (13th) part of the way to Adana, Goshawk on fist, to show us some falconry. We crossed the Aleian plain, the Taurus rising on the left, the higher parts crowned with snow. The Francolin (*Perdix francolinus*), a handsome game bird, the upper part of the plumage being spotted with round white spots on a black ground, is abundant here, and is found in all the intermediate warm districts between this and India, where it is known by the name of the "black partridge." The Goshawk is a short-winged hawk of heavy flight; it never takes its quarry at the first attempt, but alights on the bush where the partridge has sheltered, from which neither will move till the game is once more sprung, when, either from the hawk being more excited, or the partridge weaker from fear, it is taken at the second flight.

Adana is a good-sized town, and has a pretty appearance from the east, with the river Syhoon or Sarus flowing by it through scattered palms, and backed by the bold sweeps

of the Taurus, covered with snow. In the plain was the camp of Ibrahim Pacha's army, which is strong in artillery, keeping watch on the Turkish frontier. The Egyptian soldiers have a much neater appearance than the Turkish; instead of the slovenly European dress, their uniform is only a modification of the Eastern costume of full trousers to the knee, continued with light leggings to the foot, with a dark cloth or linen jacket and red cap. They are armed with sword, musket and bayonet. They are better-made men than the Turks; but, owing to the great mortality from bad and scanty food and exposure, the ranks have been filled up by a large proportion of mere boys, who are torn from their homes and families to gratify the Pacha's love of playing at soldiers, many being brought from the warm plains of Egypt, to brave the bitter cold of Syrian winters. At Antioch, where the troops amounted to upwards of 7000, the mortality among them was eight per day on an average at this time: more than 40 per cent. It was the sickly season, so I do not suppose that it is always in the same proportion; but the medical practitioners in the Pacha's service assured us that a large majority died of nostalgia or home sickness. In Syria the villages are swept of their inhabitants to supply recruits for the army; and only women and a few old men are left, who are compelled to cultivate sufficient grain round their ruined villages to supply the wants of the troops. It was even expected that the Christian population would have been included in the conscription.

We lodged with Signor Nani and party, Italian instructors, attached to the troops: they are well paid, but always from twelve to twenty months in arrear, to prevent their leaving the service at their option; so they are compelled to run in debt. We had marched nine hours to Adana, and the next day we made seven hours to Messis, a village built on the ruins of a larger place on the top of a mound, on the right bank of the Pyramus. The Sheik of this place was rather unaccommodating, and we had some difficulty in procuring shelter, and were at length obliged

to be satisfied with a small stable, which we shared with our horses, at the risk of being trampled on during the night. The plain we passed was flat, with a few palms scattered over it, and abounding in gazelles, that were grazing in herds on either side of our path. In the morning we crossed the Pyramus by a long bridge, and passed a range of low mountains, which brought us in six hours to Kurtolak. Here were the remains of a substantial khan and an old mosque, with a few huts occupied by soldiers. We remained here till twelve at night, and then continued our march round the head of the bay of Scanderoon, and at an early hour the next morning we crossed the Pinarus, which still flows quietly through the field where the fate of Asia was decided; and it is difficult to conceive a more inconvenient situation for marshalling the vast hosts of Darius and Alexander than the battle plain of Issus, where the mountains run down towards the coast, leaving an irregular strip between them and the sea; this strip gradually narrows, till before coming to Bayas there is only a precipitous path winding over the hills that bound the coast, and this road now passes under a tall stone arch of some antiquity. There are also some ruined walls on the cliffs, on the right of the road.

At Bayas there is an old Saracen castle, with its mosque and khan, and an arched stone bazaar, which is very broad, but nearly deserted, and we had difficulty in procuring barley for our horses. This place was some time back the stronghold of an independent freebooter, called Kutchuk Ali, whose deeds are still remembered: he commanded all the tribes in the neighbouring mountains, and levied contributions on passengers. When the Dutch traded to Aleppo, their Consul, who was on his way to that place, was seized by this bandit and kept in prison for a long period to extort a ransom. The spot was well chosen for the haunt of a robber chief, commanding as it did the Syrian gates; and in case of siege, he had a retreat to the mountains.

Leaving Bayas at midday of the 16th, we passed a bridge over a mountain stream close to the gates, and crossed a small plain covered with large myrtle bushes, the picturesque verdant slopes of Mount Amanus rising on the left. Nearer to Alexandretta extensive morasses spread out to the foot of the mountains, to which lines of wild geese and ducks were winging their evening flight. The town had a pretty appearance across the calm bay, glowing in a red sunset, with two or three tall palms towering above it in the declining light. We alighted at the house of the Austrian Consul, Signor Jonas, the British Consul being absent.

The present Alexandretta, or Scanderoon, is now merely a village. It was formerly the port of Aleppo, when the commerce of this part of the Levant was in the hands of the Company of Aleppo Merchants: the high walls of their ruined factory are now the principal object in the village. The climate exceeds in insalubrity that of Tersoos, from the same cause, viz. the marshy nature of the surrounding country. Its deadly nature has always been notorious, even when a place of more importance, for on reference to the old registers of correspondence of the merchants of Aleppo, who appointed their own consuls, it appears that an application was made nearly every three months by their factors at the port for the appointment of a new Consul, in consequence of the former having fallen a victim to the fever of the country. Alexandretta is now of so little consequence that it is scarcely necessary to maintain a consulate in such an unhealthy locality, while places of more importance, as Tripoli, Acre, Jaffa and others, have merely native agents, entrusted with our national interests.

We were detained the 17th by rain, but left early on the morning of the 18th, ascending the steep pass of Beilan over Mount Amanus, the wind blowing half a gale; this wind must have been quite local, either following the north-western side of Mount Arsus from the south-west, or descending the mountains vertically from the upper

strata of the atmosphere ; for as soon as we had turned the ridge of the mountain to the opposite descent, it was quite and suddenly calm.

At the summit of this pass, we came on the large village of Bylan, romantically situated in a basin surrounded by peaks and crags, from which streams of water were rushing down through the streets. There are numerous aqueducts carried across the ravines on arches to conduct the water to the different mills and baths, while the waste water precipitates itself from ledge to ledge, finding its way down the ravine which intersects the place. From the height of the Alma Dagh you look down on the plains of Syria, a broad marshy lake lying to the east and the Orontes winding by the town of Antioch, backed by the Anzeiry mountains.

We descended the mountain by a rapid declivity, and crossing the plain, entered Antakia at dusk by a bridge over the river. The minarets of the mosques rose above the trees, glittering with lamps in honour of a Moham-medan festival, and the plaintive moaning of the large water-wheels, which supply the town from the river, added by their melancholy sound to the novelty of the sensations I experienced on approaching this celebrated locality.

We found a hospitable reception at the house of our native consular agent, Georgio Adeeb. The modern Antakia is a large Turkish town, with long streets of shops. The houses are mean, and the town extremely dirty, from the accumulation of mud in the kennels, in consequence of which intermittent fever is very prevalent, and the people are wishing for rain to cleanse the town from filth and sickness at the same time. The place is crowded with soldiers, who, as before mentioned, suffer much from the unhealthy season.

Ibrahim Pacha has built a handsome large barrack here, the materials for which were taken from the fine old walls of Antioch, a most splendid remnant of antiquity, which this Egyptian destroyer has partly pulled down for the purpose. The masonry, however, was so compact, that

he was compelled to blast the wall with gunpowder, and then the workmen being unable to detach the stone from the cement, the masses were hewn into blocks as they were, and used in the building. These walls run up and crown the heights behind the town, crossing ravines, and, descending the other side, enclosing double the area occupied by the modern town. The eastern entrance is through the massive ancient gateway. The banks of the Orontes are lined with extensive gardens and orchards of fruit trees, irrigated from the river, and affording a fine cover for woodcock, which arrive here in great numbers about the 1st of December. The Persian wheels used on the river banks to supply the baths and houses are very high, and made to work with the force of the current, paddles being attached to the outer circumference on which the stream acts, its power being increased by the base of the wall built in the river, and on which the axle rests, forming a canal for the concentration of its force. The wheel itself is made hollow, and divided into compartments or boxes with an opening at one of their upper angles. These fill on their immersion, and empty themselves on turning over at the top into a trough, from whence the water is conveyed by canals or pipes to its destination. In the gardens the wheels are turned by oxen, the water being raised from canals cut from the river.

Everything here is sold by weight: wood, oils, grain, and even in a shop, if you have occasion for an ivory comb, it is weighed and delivered to you at so much per ounce.

Having been kindly furnished with letters by Mr. W. Barker, of Tersoos, we made an excursion to his father's residence at the mouth of the Orontes, near Suadea. We rode down the valley, which is very fertile and full of mulberry plantations, and arrived in the evening at Mr. Barker's villa, where we experienced a most friendly and cordial welcome from himself and his amiable family.

Mr. Barker, who was formerly Consul-General in Egypt, has resided for upwards of twenty years, since his retirement, on his estates in this beautiful vale, where he has occupied

his time with scientific and horticultural pursuits, and surrounded himself with a paradise of fruits and flowers of all countries, which equally thrive in this fine climate. The orange and the citron grow beside the China medlar, or loquat, peaches, and the fruits of Northern climes, and all arrive at the same perfection.

The situation of this spot is very picturesque, being near the ruins of the old port of Seleucia Pieria (from whence St. Paul sailed on his first mission to the Gentiles), and backed by a spur of Amanus; whilst in front rises the high conical peak of Mount Casius, reflected in the blue waters of the bay. This peak is called by the Arabs Jibel Akraa, "The bald mountain." There are few remains of the ancient city, except some fragments of Hellenic masonry, and the port, which is now far above the sea-level, and partly occupied by a marsh, with some massive ruins of jetties or piers which run out into the sea. This is an additional evidence of the fact remarked at Pompeopolis that the sea has receded from this coast. North of the ruins is an extraordinary Roman work, consisting of a canal sunk in the rock to the depth of thirty feet, and extending a quarter of a mile, for the purpose of conducting a mountain torrent into the sea, which would otherwise have filled the port with debris and alluvium. At the upper end of this canal is a massive wall of large stones, which conducted the water into the tunnel as it descended from the heights.

In the same direction (north) are the catacombs of the city, consisting of a number of tombs excavated in some high cliffs, on some of which are defaced inscriptions. There is one large arched columbarium over a central tomb with troughs at the sides for others.

*November 22.*—We made an excursion with our host to one of his estates, about five hours' ride in the mountains, where he has a summer villa. The village is called Beityass, and is inhabited entirely by Armenian Christians. From this beautiful spot you look down on the plain of Antioch, while precipitous naked crags rise up in the foreground,

and overhead the grapes hang from the trellises in tempting luxuriance, bedewed by the mist of a fountain which casts its sparkling flakes into the sunshine. The lower valleys and sides of the mountains are clothed with myrtle trees covered with snowy blossoms. The ravines are frequented by panthers as formerly, "Look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." The lions now found in the valley of the Tigris must have formerly been common here, but so many panthers were taken from Cilicia to supply the Roman games that Cicero complains of their rarity in his time.

About ten minutes' walk from the house is a wild romantic glen, overshadowed by thick spreading trees, down which flow numerous streams gushing through and over the rocks hung with water plants and creepers. This spot was supposed by a late author to be the site of Daphne, and not without some reason, as it answers to the descriptions of history much more nearly than the spot assigned to it on the opposite mountain, on the left bank of the Orontes. We are informed that the temple of Apollo at Daphne was embowered in groves of cyprus and laurel<sup>1</sup> to the exclusion of the sun's rays: now the present situation given to Daphne is remarkable for being entirely bare of trees on the open side of the mountain, and has no ruins standing to fix its locality. The temple was burnt in the time of Julian, about 362 A.D. There is an interesting ruin here which gives some probability to the above-noticed hypothesis. This is apparently the remains of a church of the era of the Christian emperors: but on examination it is evident that this has been built of the materials of a former and more ancient temple, parts of which, consisting of walls and broken arches, of an entirely different and superior style of architecture, still survive the fall of the two successive superstructures. The ground around is also strewn with mixed ruins.

<sup>1</sup> This may probably mean the Bay tree, as the laurel is not found in this country.



Close to the base of this building is a copious spring of the purest water, issuing from a deep artificial tunnel sunk in the rock, and strongly arched over. The principal cultivation of these districts is silk, the greater part of the land being laid out in mulberry plantations. Mr. Barker has conferred a great benefit on the peasantry by importing supplies of the silk-worms' eggs from Piedmont, from time to time, as the indigenous breed is found to deteriorate and become of little value. The inhabitants, with few exceptions, are Armenians, and a hardy race of peasantry. Mr. Barker instanced a case of a woman going down to the river with her washing, and being confined, and bringing home her baby on the top of the clothes on her head.

We visited the ruins of a church about twelve miles off, on the opposite mountain, which had been dedicated to Simon Stylites. In the centre of the ruins stand the remains of the pillar, on the top of which this man imagined he could atone for his own sins: the pedestal and a portion of the pillar in one block is undetached from the rock of which it forms a part. The first is nine feet square and the pillar six feet in diameter, so I have no doubt, if he did not exceed the common stature, that he had plenty of room to sleep at his ease. The ruins of the church consist of massive blocks of hewn stone, and would appear to have been overthrown by one of the earthquakes which are so common in this country. We were extremely fortunate in having fine weather during our stay in this lovely valley. On account of the near approach of the rainy season, sufficient vapours were accumulated to produce the most glorious sunsets, which heightened the beauty of the scenery, tinting the broad expanse and the mountain peaks with gold, purple and crimson.

At this late season the trees were clothed with verdure, and the fragrant myrtles in full bloom, and growing in the wildest exuberance. Wandering amidst these scenes seemed like the realization of a poet's dream, and this, with delightful society, open-hearted kindness, and intel-

lectual enjoyment, combined to form one of the brightest spots on the dark stream of my wandering existence, and to which I shall ever look back with renewed pleasure.

“ I may not see thee more ; yet aftertimes  
 Will rise upon my weary path thy scenes  
 Of trancing loveliness ; thy bowering vines,  
 And glens of leafy shade ; whose verdant screens,  
 Echo the wild bee’s hum, and warbled note  
 Waft in cadence low, from the bulbul’s heav’n-tuned throat.  
 And when oppress’d by thirst the lurid air  
 Mocks suffering with show of succour near,  
 Stamping the mirage with the landscape fair  
 Amidst the phantoms of the desert drear ;—  
 Thy diamond streams on my parched eye will flash,  
 And memory’s tortured ear, hear thy bright waters dash.”

*November 26.*—We reluctantly left Suadea, to resume our pilgrimage. We were accompanied by Mr. Barker, who was going to Antakia ; he conducted us back by a different and much more interesting route by the banks of the Orontes, the views on which are very picturesque as it winds its way to the sea through the opening mountains. We crossed the river in a boat, and stopped to take some refreshment at a country-house belonging to the Mutselim of Antioch, well situated for enjoying the beauties of the surrounding scenery. In this valley I first saw the Cornubia tree, or Karub ; this tree, with its dark green foliage, resembles the evergreen oak ; it bears a broad pod, full of saccharine matter, which when dry forms a nutritious condiment ; it is called St. John’s bread,<sup>1</sup> and forms a large article of trade, being sold in all the shops in Turkey and Syria. There is a great variety of the oak in the mountains of Amanus, but they do not grow to any size, and it would be worth the experiment to transplant some of these to more northern climates. The peasants in these hills use a small rock plant, which grows on their cliffs, as a substitute for

<sup>1</sup> It is called *Locusta*, and is reputed to be the locust on which St. John fed. I was often reduced to this myself when unable to procure other food, carrying it in my saddle-bags. The true locust is also an article of food in these Eastern countries, but only comes at uncertain times.

quinine in cases of intermittent fever ; it is a creeping plant of a dusty-white appearance, possessing a fine aromatic bitter, and has been used with great success.

Continuing our route, we came to the spot which has been fixed on as the site of Daphne. Here a great number of copious springs gush from the declivity of a rocky hill ; these have been conducted by small canals to a number of water-mills, which supply Antioch with flour, and then, released from their work, rush down in innumerable shoots and miniature falls, entering a gully that conducts their free waters to the Orontes. We were shown a raised ground-plan of a building, said to be that of the temple, and a man brought us a small marble head of a lion, which he stated he had found here. But where are the groves so celebrated ? If they were destroyed wilfully, some few would have escaped to tell the tale, or others would have sprung from the seed or roots of their precursors ; but now not a tree spreads its shade to shelter the wayfarer or guide the antiquary.

Near the town we passed the large massive barracks built from the walls of Antioch. This, however, is incapable of holding all the troops collected here, and which are daily arriving ; and their miserable encampments cover all the open spots round the town, the officers alone having small tents, and the men's shelter consisting of cloths or felts supported on staves or poles. When the workmen were excavating the walls, they discovered a marble statue or bust, with a Latin inscription on the pilaster, which formed the continuation of the bust. This is now in the possession of Mr. E. Barker, to whom Ibrahim Pacha, who was on the spot at the time, presented it, remarking that "we English set a value on these things." The head of this statue is well executed and very perfect, with large Roman features and very little hair. The vaunting inscription informs us that this was "A man of men, whose celebrity was so great that it was not necessary to mention his name for him to be known," etc. So much for fame !

We marched from Antakia on the 29th, through the ruins of the old gates, the mountains rising in rocky crags on the right. These are full of excavations, amongst which my companion discovered a colossal sphinx, though much effaced.

We had a pleasant fellow-traveller in a French officer in the Pacha's service, a nephew of Arago, the French savant. Travelling easterly over the plains we came to Kerim, at the foot of the mountains, which form the high land on which Aleppo is situated. Kerim is an artificial mound coated with stone, on the top of which are the ruins of a Saracen fortress: it is completely commanded by the adjacent hills, in a gorge of which it lies. We found here only ruined houses, and one or two peasants, who remained for the sake of the water-mills, of which there were several here. They informed us that the people had all left for a village on the top of the hills, where they remained the winter. There was abundance of water here in springs, and at the foot of the mound was a warm spring, with a temperature of 80°. It took us an hour to climb to the top of the mountain, by a precipitous breakneck road, guided by one of the millers. Here we found a large village, apparently in a prosperous state and full of people; a rather extraordinary circumstance in this country under its present rulers!

Arago's Egyptian uniform insured us good accommodation in the Sheik's house, where we made ourselves at home, although we had to keep up a blood feud with the fleas, who pleaded numbers and the right of prior occupation. From here there are two roads to Aleppo, one direct, but very bad, continuing across these hills; the other, the road we had left in the plain the previous evening, is longer, but not so rugged. Preferring the latter, we descended by the way we came, and resumed our journey through the plains, gradually ascending as we entered the hills. These hills have a brown barren appearance, and many of them are crowned with ugly ruins of walls and doorways; in the gorges were patches

of trees, which relieve the sterility of the country. We reached Dana, a large village with some cultivation, in six hours, where we ought to have stopped; but having rested and refreshed our horses, we pushed on for Tukaat, five hours further. This place (also called Engeel, from its abounding in figs) we reached at nightfall by bad and rocky roads. We entered the streets of this large village to find rest after our long march, but all was silent; we explored some of the houses by the receding twilight, but they presented nothing but bare walls. The village was abandoned. The silence of the desert is grand and elevating, the silence of the grave in the solitary cemetery is impressive, but the silence of the deserted dwellings of man is gloomy and painful. A stray cow, which had sought shelter in the village, was a relief to the feeling of desolation which pervaded the place, and we at once determined to go on in search of more comfortable quarters. The night was very dark, and the road rocky, and we had some difficulty in keeping the track; we kept a sharp look-out for distant lights, and a sharp ear for the barking of some shepherd's dog, by means of which to find a refuge for the night: several times we made long excursions in pursuit of lights which proved to be some rising star; or the imaginary barking of dogs, which was only the pulsation of our own overstrained hearing: in these cases, as it was not safe to abandon the track, which we should never have recovered, one of the party was detached on these wild-goose chases, while the rest remained on the spot till his return, which was guided by the note of a bugle horn, which we blew at intervals, when we again resumed our weary march. At length, after several hours, we heard the baying of dogs: this time we were certain, and we struck off the road in the direction of the welcome sound, sometimes lost by an intervening hill, and again rising full on the night air, on surmounting the obstacle, until it conducted us to a large ruined village on a rising ground. We first came to some large sheep folds guarded by the dogs that had betrayed

their retreat to us; and while we interrogated the shepherd, we could see a number of dark figures against the clear western sky making their escape in different directions. We gave chase, but should probably not have succeeded in obtaining a parley had we not been guided to an inhabited hovel by the light gleaming through the door, on assailing which, some fine strapping fellows emerged from their concealment to protest against our violating their harim, which was confirmed by the alarmed voices of the women within. It seems they took us for a party of Ibrahim Pacha's soldiers pressing men for the conscription, or plundering them of their property, and this accounted for the ruined and deserted villages so common in Syria, the people abandoning their homes and flying to the wilds and deserts from the oppression of this raiser of taxes. Ibrahim Pacha has the reputation of being of a very sordid and miserly disposition, descending to the most degrading methods of making money. Amongst other things he speculated in pigs!! but as this was an abomination enough to raise the Seven Sleepers and shock Mussulman prejudices, he billeted his herds of swine on the Christian ryots of the districts of Antioch, to be fed and returned to him in full tale when required, compelling them to make good any deficiency by death or accident. In like manner he forces the peasants to take so many yoke of his oxen for their agriculture, whether they require them or not, exacting his share of the produce as a remuneration, besides having his cattle fed and returned after the season.<sup>1</sup> However, as our emergency was pressing, partly by assurances and partly by threats, we induced our friends to show us some place of accommodation. They first tried to lodge us in caves and ruins, but fearing we should take forcible possession of the harim, they at length conducted us to a large ruined building with a

<sup>1</sup> Commynes has a similar story, Ch. II.—“Le Roy Ferrand de Naples faisait tout train de marchandise en son Royaume, jusqu'à bailler les pourceaux a garder son peuple, et les faisait engraisser pour mieux les vendre. S'ils mouraient falait qu'ils les payassent,” etc.

strong door in the lower part of it: after a conference with the inmates, some heavy bolts and bars were withdrawn, and we found ourselves in a comfortable room, surrounded by large jars of grain, butter, oil, etc., and occupied by a respectable old Mussulman and his daughter. As soon as the old man's alarm had subsided, he set about satisfying our craving appetites, whilst his daughter made bread on the hearth, and we fared much better than we had expected. Our host the next morning did not object, any more than the Sheik at Kerim, to being well paid for his hospitality.

*November 30.*—In three hours we came in sight of Aleppo, which has a very fine aspect on approaching it, from its numerous stone-built mosques and minarets, and a high artificial mound in the centre, surmounted by the walls and gateways of the citadel. It is situated amongst barren rocky slopes, except in the immediate vicinity of the town, where tracts of gardens and fruit orchards have been rescued by the copious supply of water for irrigation from the otherwise barren country. The olive and fig are cultivated here as well as the pistachio, and I am assured this is the only place in Syria where the latter grows. It has the appearance and size of a small-leaved apple tree.

We always experienced much more difficulty in procuring lodgings in the towns, than in villages, which was here again exemplified. We first proceeded to the house of the British Consular agent, Mr. Werry, a spacious and handsome building, with reservoirs of water shaded by trees in the central court. On applying to this functionary for assistance, he sent one of his servants to conduct us to a khan; this was bad enough, but after traversing the streets and bazaars of the town through its whole length, we discovered that we had not been sent to an over-respectable lodging, and it was fortunate we did not remain there, as we afterwards found out that this khan was a gambling-house, frequented by all the low and disreputable Franks and Levantines in the place. Remanding Mr. Werry's servant to his master, we proceeded

to the house of Mr. Charles Barker, another son of Mr. Barker of Suadea, who resides in a suburb of the town, which we passed on our entrance. This quarter is called the Katab, and is composed of wooden houses, with rooms on the ground floor only, for fear of earthquakes. It is inhabited by Europeans and Levantine Christians, who abandoned the city in consequence of an earthquake which happened three years previously and ruined a great part of Aleppo. Mr. Barker, with the same kindness and hospitality we experienced from the rest of his family, received us into his house and entertained us during our stay.

The city of Aleppo is the best built of any in the Turkish dominions, the numerous elegant mosques, houses, and arched bazaars being all built of hewn stone beautifully put together. One house I visited was remarkably handsome, the sides of the square surrounding the courtyard being ornamented with projecting Gothic roofs, which, as well as the ceilings of the rooms, were covered with arabesque painting and gilding, that in the rooms being executed with much taste. Under this house we descended three stories of vaults, cut from the solid rock, the materials from which we were told had been used in the building.

The bazaars are crowded with people, and have a very gay appearance, the Aleppines being celebrated for their finery in dress. This place, unlike Stamboul, is essentially an Eastern city, our costume being seen only on Europeans: the Mussulmans are partial to gaudy colours, wearing green, white, or striped turbans. The Syrian Christians, of whom there are 15,000 here, wear flowing dresses and large grey turbans, and mixing with these are the Arabs in their broad-striped Abbaes and bright yellow Kefiehs with long scarlet fringe, besides a number of Persians in their uncouth attire. These latter formed part of a caravan of pilgrims on its way to Mecca and Kerbela.

Passing through the long bazaars, the shops of which are hung with shawls and scarves, shoes of all colours, swords, arms, etc., you come to an open space surrounded by ruins,



with the exception of some elegant mosques. In this place the horse market is held, which is a lively scene and worth witnessing. The horse "dellals," or brokers, are a shrewd set of fellows, equally expert at fleecing both buyers and sellers: they wear scarlet cloaks lined with fur, large coloured turbans, long boots, swords and pistols. Wherever there is a smooth spot, they are galloping the horses entrusted to them to dispose of, and thereby endangering the limbs of the sedentary and apathetic Turks, whilst apart from the crowds, groups are collected on the different mounds discussing the merits or value of mules, pack-horses or camels, with here and there a wary Arab, leading a blood-looking horse ornamented with coloured worsted tassels and fringes: to the left stretch a number of booths, where the country people are selling tobacco and other produce, fruit, flowers and poultry. On the right rises the mound, on the summit of which is the citadel, a gateway and bridge crossing the moat, and an ascent of steps leading up to the walls. The Christians of Aleppo were in great consternation lest they should be included in the conscription, the Egyptian Government having contemplated embodying them as a Militia, to which they have an utter aversion. If they were employed merely on the spot, it would be of great advantage to them to be armed, even for their own protection, as the hatred of the Turks, or mixed population of Aleppo, towards the Christians, is so strong that it was confidently believed that had Ibrahim Pacha been vanquished at the battle of Nezib, there would have been a general massacre of all the Christians in the city. If they were armed, they might protect themselves—that is, if they had the spirit to defend their own, which is doubtful.

I was told here by a Greek priest that the Scriptures as possessed by the Armenians, Catholics, Greeks and Maronites were all alike, but their differences arose from their following the commentaries of the chiefs of their several sects. This is much the case nearer home! The Frank society of Aleppo is composed of Consular Agents,

merchants, and European instructors in the Egyptian service. I had an opportunity of attending some of their evening reunions, which were interesting from their novelty. The ladies, some of whom are very handsome, all wore the Syrian costume, silk trousers under a frock in three pieces, that is, split vertically, a long embroidered jacket of coloured cloth or velvet, and a rich shawl sash. The head-dress is a small coloured turban festooned with seed pearl, the hair plaited in long braids and hung with gold coins, necklaces of which ornament the neck. This dress is handsome and luxurious, but requires a fine person to make it look graceful. They all sat cross-legged or reclined on the divans round the walls, never moving except to dance, after which they resumed their places. Conversation was out of the question, except among themselves: however, the gentlemen indemnified themselves on their side for their taciturnity by smoking long cherry stick pipes and narghilehs, till the room was so clouded with smoke that it was difficult to see across it, while one of the host's family was going round with a bag of prime Latakia to replenish the exhausted pipes of the smokers. This was rendered more absurd by the gentlemen wearing the European dress, with the exception of a red fez, and sitting on chairs. Some of the elderly ladies smoked narghilehs, and the younger ones would have had no objection, but were fearful it might deduct from their youthful status. The narghileh, or water pipe, used here, is made of the cocoa-nut shell, dyed black and cased in filagree silver; the bowl, also of silver, is ornamented with chains and coral; the tube is a common reed, for the convenience of changing them oftener; no mouthpiece is used; when presented, a small embroidered cushion is placed on the divan on which the pointed end is rested. The tobacco, a species grown in Persia, and thence called Shirazee, is first damped, so that it is necessary to keep a lighted coal continually upon it. A scented pastille, prepared at Damascus, is used by the epicures in smoking. Every house you enter is furnished with several of these pipes, or the common Turkish one with a crystal

bowl and long snake, called here a narbeech, besides a rack against the wall supporting a stand of long pipes, the ornamenting of which is a matter of fashion. At Constantinople there is a large bazaar appropriated to the manufacture of amber mouthpieces for pipes, some of which sell as high as £10 each, if large and of white clouded amber.

The weather is becoming daily colder, and we are threatened with a rainy and unpleasant excursion through Syria, besides hearing reports of the roads being unsafe; but I believe the country is nearly cleared of petty plunderers by the wholesale Egyptian bandits. I heard a good story of an English original who was walking with a friend in Aleppo, when he was saluted by an Italian, who congratulated him on his safe arrival. The Englishman, instead of returning his salutation, abused him in no measured terms, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the man, who, thinking him gone in the upper works, quickly made his exit. On his friend inquiring how the man had deserved this treatment, "Why," said he, "the rascal was the cause of my being robbed: I met him at Latakia, when he advised me to come round by Antioch here, as the direct road was unsafe, and as it is a rule I always follow to travel exactly the opposite road from what I am recommended, I came by the direct route and was plundered and stript"!! However, the principle was not bad: where there is a government in the country, a road on which one robbery has been committed may generally be considered safe, as the perpetrators in fear of being arrested will have made their escape, or gone to another part of the country.

I was informed here that between Aleppo and Palmyra there is a tribe of Arabs living amongst the Anazee, who subsist entirely by hunting the gazelle. They are called Sleibe.<sup>1</sup> They live on the flesh of these animals, and their clothes and tents are made from the skins. Their mode of taking the gazelle is peculiar: when they have found a place frequented by them, an extensive tunnel wall is

<sup>1</sup> I afterwards heard at Damascus that these wanderers were gypsies.

constructed, gradually narrowing to an angle, at which point it is partially broken down, and a deep fosse dug on the other side ; the herd is then surrounded, and naturally presses to the widest opening to escape, when the Arabs close in and pursue them down the tunnel, where, finding no other outlet, they leap the broken wall and fall into the pit prepared on the other side. The natives of Aleppo are a handsome race, and even to the lowest classes are polite and obliging. I had little opportunity of seeing their females, but should suppose they were equally so. I cannot say much for the beauty of the Levantine ladies, who have sharp unmeaning faces, with some few exceptions, and these were very lovely. I saw one beautiful woman here, but she was a Jewess. When a stranger calls at their houses, it is the ladies' duty to present him with coffee, and they pride themselves on being good cooks, notwithstanding their affectation of European refinement. The servants are generally poor relations of the family, who of course do not feel it a degradation, as the wife is little more than a head servant. It is a system of mutual accommodation, and a remnant of patriarchal customs. The belief in the power of the evil eye is very strong here among Mohammedans and Christians, and their dread of it commensurate ; for this cause they purposely avoid ornamenting their children, and even washing them, for fear of the envy or evil eye of their neighbours, imagining it can create illness and other bad effects, and they are never at a loss for a variety of instances of persons who have been thus smitten, entirely overlooking the majority who have remained unharmed, but whose mishaps, if they had happened, would have been attributed to this cause. If you enquire what ails a sick person, he replies, " Oh, it is only people's eyes !" And it is very remarkable how extended this superstition has always been, so that it gives grounds to imagine that it has some foundation in truth. As it is stronger in Ireland than England, it may have been introduced into that country by the Carthaginians,

and come to England from thence, or else it may have been introduced direct by the Phœnicians, if, indeed, it was not indigenous. In England, if you offer a man a price for a horse, he expects it will fall lame, or something else will happen to it; amongst the Arabs this feeling is so strong that a man will seldom venture to keep a horse that has been put a price on, and he has been pressed to part with. In Ireland, it is the custom on entering a place where any occupation is going on to say, "God bless the work!" and you cannot offend a mother more than by praising her child without saying, "God bless it!" In the same way, amongst the Moors, it is considered a great insult to admire a horse or anything belonging to them, and not add this qualification; and amongst the Barbary Jews nothing gives more offence to a pretty girl than to extol her beauty without praising God for it, or to commend their children without blessing them; in fact, it is looked on as a piece of gratuitous malice, and is generally met with some exclamation equivalent to "May the omen be averted!" and to counteract the effects of this dreaded evil eye, their children's dresses are embroidered with figures of hands, and five fingers are painted on their door-posts and furniture, the number five being considered a powerful charm against its influence. Virgil has, "Nescio quis teneros oculos mihi fascinat agnos," and the remarks of the great Lord Bacon are so pertinent and extraordinary, that I cannot help inserting some of them here: "There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes: they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions, and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be . . . . so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in the act of envy an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when

the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph: for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow."

The people of Aleppo and Aintab are subject to a most afflicting disease, called here "the Aleppo boil." It is not peculiar to the natives; as strangers are said invariably to be attacked with it after a week's residence; however, it appears there are exceptions, as I was there a month without the visitation. It generally attacks the face, but often the arms, feet, and other parts of the body, beginning with a red swelling, which increases and spreads till it often penetrates to the bone, sometimes carrying away the nose, and always leaving most ungainly cicatrices: infants are not exempted from this scourge, and I have seen ladies' faces quite seamed with the marks of it. I should advise no lady, who has any regard for her beauty, to visit Aleppo. No remedy has been found to check the progress of this afflicting disease by the medical practitioners of the Pacha's troops, who themselves suffer much from it, but cauterization, which also leaves a scar, besides the danger attending it. No origin has been found for it except that attributed to most local maladies, that it is caused by the water.<sup>1</sup>

The Aleppines are fond of hunting: they have two sorts of greyhounds,—the common Persian black, with feathered tail, and a stronger greyhound with smooth hair, fawn-coloured, with black muzzle. They take the gazelle with the assistance of the goshawk, which confuses the animal by striking at its head. I saw a greyhound stolen in a very clever way in the open street. A well-dressed horseman was riding in, leading a favourite dog by a string,

<sup>1</sup> I afterwards found this complaint at Bagdad, where I was told it was caused by eating dates, and consequently called the "Date-mark." It had the same features as at Aleppo, and was as common. Although they consume dates at the latter place, they do not grow there; but I have no doubt, if inquiry were made, this peculiar complaint would be found to extend over the whole course of the Euphrates, and may arise from some mineralogical impregnation of the water, or some minute insect which inhabits it.

when a boy ran behind him, unfastened the cord from the greyhound's collar, and tied it to the horse's tail. He never took his eyes off the man till he had secured his prize, and the horseman jogged on, string in hand, quite innocent of his loss, which, however, he discovered at the end of the street, and, I believe, recovered his dog. It was a remarkably clever trick, and showed as much ingenuity as rascality.

The river of Aleppo produces two species of fish, which are much esteemed; the one is like a minnow, but flatter; the other a short greenish-black mud fish, which does not look tempting. This stream is lost in a marshy lake, about forty miles south of the town; and I am told that a village at the spot, called Kinesrin, the site of Chalcis, is inhabited by fire-worshippers, and I hear of others to the north. Woodcocks abound in the gardens by the river.

The Jebel Anzeyry, a range of mountains running N. and S. through Syria to join the Antilebanon, is inhabited by an extraordinary race of people, of whom little is known: they are swarthy, with a downcast suspicious look, and are supposed to be idolaters. They say that they are prohibited from eating pork, and are bound to stab any Christian that may walk before them: however, at present they dare not follow this precept. I should think a visit to their country would be interesting. They may be a remnant of the ancient idolaters of Syria. The large transit commerce, which formerly came from the East through Aleppo, is now extinct. There is at present a good trade carried on in raw silk, as also in European goods, printed cotton shawls, handkerchiefs, etc., and a large caravan arrives now and then from Bagdad with Shiraz tobacco, called Tumbuk, for which the traders take in return the striped silk fabrics of Aleppo.

This fine city was very much damaged by the last earthquake, which destroyed many of the houses and mosques, and some of the minarets at present standing are very much out of the perpendicular. It is very common

to see these leaning towers in other parts of Turkey, particularly in Roumelia, either from this cause or from the foundations having given way.

Our direct route now lay through Mesopotamia to Persia; but being so near to Syria and Palestine, the temptation to visit these countries was too great to be resisted, and we accordingly diverged from our course for that purpose. Yet, writing after its accomplishment, of all the imaginable wretched and miserable undertakings which experience has realized or imagination pictured, nothing can equal in discomfort a winter journey in Syria, combining rain, or rather water en masse, mud up to the girths, intense cold, nothing to eat, no shelter at night except to be devoured by fleas, altogether such a concatenation of horrors as could only have been experienced by Baillie Fraser,<sup>1</sup> or dreamt of by those who never underwent the ordeal. After seeing the localities, I can well understand why the disciples were told to pray that their flight might not be in the winter. Sometimes the roads are quite impassable, at least to emigrants with families, but, thank God, we at length safely reached the spot where the Holy City *once* stood!

We quitted Aleppo on the 8th of December, going south and west over rocky undulating plains, remarkable for nothing but large flocks of bustards and gazelles feeding by the road-side. The weather was cold. We passed the village of Kan Tuman, and arrived at Sermein in nine hours. Here our accommodation was very bad. We lodged in a room without doors, and were not sorry to leave at an early hour, travelling south over the same plains, which became less stony as we advanced. At the village of Khaneh Sibil we met a squadron of lancers of the Egyptian army, marching north. They were about 2000. The men were lightly but neatly armed and accoutred, and the horses were very superior and in excellent condition. This is the only object for which

<sup>1</sup> Winter Journey in Persia, by Fraser.

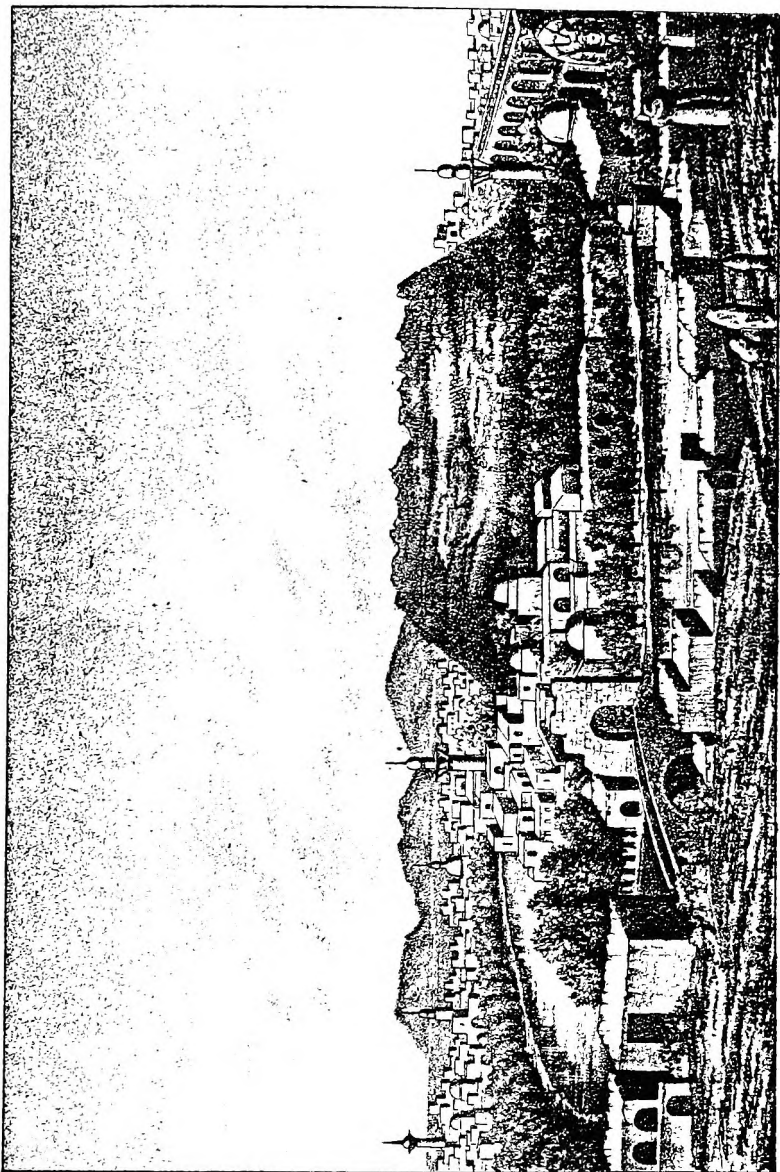


Ibrahim Pacha will go to any expense: and although he may compel the natives to sell their horses, he always gives them their full value. At this village we wished to water our horses; but some of the soldiers being near, the villagers told us that there was no water to be had, what they used being brought from a long distance; however, they presently gave us a hint that if we waited till the troops were past, we might be served, and, accordingly, when they had filed off, we were taken to a well of good water, which had been concealed by brambles on the approach of the troops.

The weather is showery, which is a prelude to the winter rains. We passed several ruins of mud walls, which had been villages, and reached Marrah in seven hours' march. We did not enter this place. It looked large and ruinous, and contains a new cavalry barrack. A great many of the troopers were drawing water at a well outside the gates by means of a long rope over a pulley drawn by a donkey down an inclined plane: the men were civil. As there was no village on the road between this and Shokune, we diverged to the eastward, and about five miles further, came to the abode of a community who were living in caves underground, probably inhabitants of some of the deserted villages. In two hours we came to the village of Kiffoor-bashi, where we took possession of the Sheik's house, after first expelling thence three camels; in their places we stabled our horses, which were divided from us by a low wall. We found our system of not carrying provisions very near akin to starvation in this wretched country; at times we could not even procure burgool. At a village further on I had an illustration of Scripture history. I asked for milk, and was told they had none. I said I had seen a herd of cattle coming in as I arrived. "O," said the man, "you would not drink cows' milk, and we have no sheep." "Butter of kine, and *milk of sheep*, and bulls of the fatlings of Basan." Sheep are regularly milked in these countries, and cows' milk is never used except sour.

*December 10.*—From here we marched to Khan Shokune in four hours, across plains of fine red earth, on which, from the few days' rain, the grass was fast springing up. This is a large village at the foot of an artificial mound. It has a stone-built mosque and khan furnished with baths; in front of it are two large square reservoirs of water: it has a peculiar appearance on approaching it, from the houses all being formed like sugar loaves of light-coloured mud. We continued our route across the plains without a break, except the distant ridge of Jebel Anzirie in the west, and varied with flights of lapwings and jack-daws, and immense numbers of larks. This country, which extends to Palmyra, if one may credit the report of the natives, is very fertile, and capable of great cultivation: that it formerly supported a large population may be gathered from the numerous artificial mounds spread over its level surface, each of which indicates the site of a town.

We passed a village on the left on a mound called Taiba, and another a little further on, both of them built in the same conical style; descending by winding gullies to the valley of the Orontes, we came to Hamah in five hours. The view of Hamah is fine; it is nearly as large as Aleppo, and backed by high cliffs, full of excavations, which are now inhabited. The Orontes flows through the centre of the town, bordered with trees, and washing the foot of a high artificial mound which rises from amongst the houses on its banks: it is covered with grass, from the moisture rising from the river, and is about 200 yards in length. This place must be very beautiful in summer, the houses being interspersed with trees and groves lining the banks of the Orontes: the houses are roofed with domes and arches, on account of the scarcity of timber for building. The water-wheels for supplying the town are, I suppose, the largest known: these enormous wheels are worked entirely by the current, and discharge their water into aqueducts, supported on two or more tiers of arches. These aqueducts and dripping wheels



HAMAT, OF THE ORONTES

are very picturesque, as well as the houses which run up in groups, or range above range, half-way up the cliffs.

We crossed the river, and entering the town through crowded, dirty, and uncovered bazaars, made our way to the Mutsellim's house, who sent a man to find us quarters, in which he did not succeed until we had explored the whole town, and at last were billeted in a miserable house in the upper town, already occupied by a man and his wife, and full of stores, part of which were dislodged to make room for us. We were too tired to return and complain of our treatment, or find a better lodging, so we submitted with resignation, and as the owners seemed inclined to please us, we lay down on our carpets, and were compelled to witness that never-ought-to-be-seen process of cooking, which went far towards blunting our keen appetites. The unlucky casserole, containing our anticipated mess, was most precariously situated between a litter of half-naked children, as black and dirty as young buffaloes, and a woman very little cleaner, who was alternately employed superintending the cookery and feeding these bantlings according to their ages. At night we were devoured by fleas, besides being haunted by cats, who seemed to think our heads capital landing-places on which to alight when jumping down from the bags and boxes above us.

The natives of Hamah have a very Jewish physiognomy, and are extremely bigoted and fanatical. Ibrahim Pacha finds it difficult to keep them quiet, and a troop of artillery arrived here to-day to check their unruliness.

There are no Jews at Hamah, and the hatred of the Mussulmans for the race is accounted for by the following account, which is well authenticated. About ten years ago the Jews of Hamah, having a dispute with the native Christians, devised a plan of revenge, which, however, recoiled on themselves. They employed an Arab to shoot a wild hog, the head of which was conveyed at night and thrown into the basin of the fountain in the court of the principal mosque, where

the Turks performed their ablutions before the Namaz ; the next morning, of course, there was a general consternation amongst the true believers, who were horrified at discovering the head of the unclean beast in their very sanctuary : they issued forth, vowing vengeance against the perpetrators of this sacrilege, and there were not wanting Jews, stationed for the purpose, who suggested that no suspicion could fall on their race, who held the animal in the same detestation as themselves, when immediately the public rage was directed towards the Christian population, and the fermentation was on the point of ending in a general massacre of the professors of that faith : fortunately, at this critical moment, the Arab who had supplied the pork, not having left the town, and hearing the cause of the tumult, came forward and offered to point out the man to whom he had sold it. He proved to be a Jew, and on being brought before the Cazi, and bastinadoed, a full confession was extorted ; he was then executed, and the fury of the mob being allayed, the rest of the tribe were banished the place, where they dare not return on peril of their lives. I was even advised to cut my hair, lest I should be taken for a Jew, as they all have the sides of their heads unshorn, while the Mussulmans shave the whole head.

The women of Hamah are muffled up in a large wrapper, concealing every part of the face but their eyes ; over the nose is suspended a small gold cylinder, from which hang several gold coins of different sizes : their earrings are very heavy, and suspended over the upper part of the ear.

Hamah was called by the Greeks Epiphania. If this be the Hamath of Scripture, it would seem that the Hebrews never occupied the whole of the promised land. After the partition there remained yet very much land to be possessed, amongst which is enumerated "All Lebanon toward the sunrising from Baal Gad under Mount Hermon, to the entering in of Hamath" (Joshua xiii. 5). This does not militate against the former prophecies, for in the prospective prophecy of Ezekiel (xlvi. 20) the same is repeated

in defining the boundaries of the land. "The west side shall be the great sea from the border till a man come over against Hamath." This line would reach the sea between Tortosa and Aradus, and include the whole of Lebanon, a very small portion of which was within the ancient limits of Palestine.

Although in the time of David the whole of Syria was subdued, it was only rendered tributary, and not incorporated in the possessions of the tribes: and Solomon's dominion, in like manner, extended to the Euphrates, as was promised to Abraham.

*December 11.*—We mounted and went on across the plains, which were becoming heavy, the rain having commenced. This road seems to be much frequented by traders between Damascus and Aleppo, but the principal people we met were Arabs, with black striped cloaks, carrying long guns or spears, from the tops of which hung tufts of black ostrich feathers: they generally rode mares, not remarkable for beauty; there were a few, however, which would have brought a high price anywhere.

In four hours we came to Rostan, a large walled village of 400 houses, on the precipitous hills forming the bank of the Orontes. This place has a very picturesque appearance: it is surrounded by black stone walls, and the river is crossed by a handsome bridge of black and white stone of eleven arches. Just below this bridge the water falls in cascades over the bed of the river, where it is conducted to mills: the Lebanon is on the west, capped with snow. A roomy khan stands on the opposite side. The Orontes traverses these plains in a deep narrow gully, and is never seen till you come to the verge of the descent. Ascending a ravine full of artificial-looking conical rocks and peaks of sandstone, we came in sight of the snow caps of Lebanon, and passing the village of Tellé on a verdant mound, reached Homs in five hours from Rostan.

The horses we had brought from Constantinople here gave in, and we were obliged to send them to the market

and dispose of them for what they would bring, as their backs were much galled, from the heavy Turkish saddles, which were not off their backs for eight, ten, and sometimes twelve hours a day, but principally from our neglecting the advice of the Arabs, never to unsaddle our horses at night on a journey: the weather had become so cold that immediately their backs were uncovered they rose in swellings wherever the saddles had pressed, even after allowing them an hour to cool, and these swellings were rubbed into sores when the saddles were replaced. I afterwards profited by this advice, and found that after keeping the saddle on for thirty days my horse's back was sound. Our horses sold for less than half their cost, but they had done us good service, and we were told we could always procure hired cattle to the south, which is preferable in bad weather to the risk and trouble of our own; although in fine weather it is by far the most advantageous plan to ride your own horses.

We were quartered in the house of the Sheik of the Christians, who is the responsible head of the denomination for the time his office lasts: he has to settle the market prices, collect their contributions and assessments, and billet travellers, fleecing his people as much as possible, knowing that he is to be squeezed by the Mutsellim. According to Eastern rules he may be a gainer, but he holds no sinecure.

The house, each room of which contained a family, was full of women and children all dressed in dirty blue rags, and squalling and screaming from morning till night. Some of them had fevers, and I am only astonished they are not oftener visited with plague, from the filthy state of the town and their uncleanly habits. This house has a large pool of stagnant water in the centre of the courtyard. It is very trying being detained in such places, but as the weather is very rainy, we consider ourselves fortunate in having a shelter of any sort.

Homs, formerly Hemessa (probably a Greek corruption) is an extensive town, built of stone, with an immense artificial

mound of white earth on its south side. Of the Acropolis which crowned this hill little now remains, and the hill itself is decaying and being washed away by the action of the rains. This place is in a fine situation, commanding a prospect of the mountains in the east; on that side also lies an extensive lake, called by the natives Eskeli. The town contains some covered bazaars and several large khans and one of Ibrahim Pacha's new barracks, where a corps of artillery are stationed, consisting of 36 pieces and 2300 men. The number of families that pay the poll-tax or ferdi at Homs is 5800, of which 4500 are Turks and 1300 Christians; which, reckoning five persons to each family on an average, would give a population of 29,000. There are no Jews here.

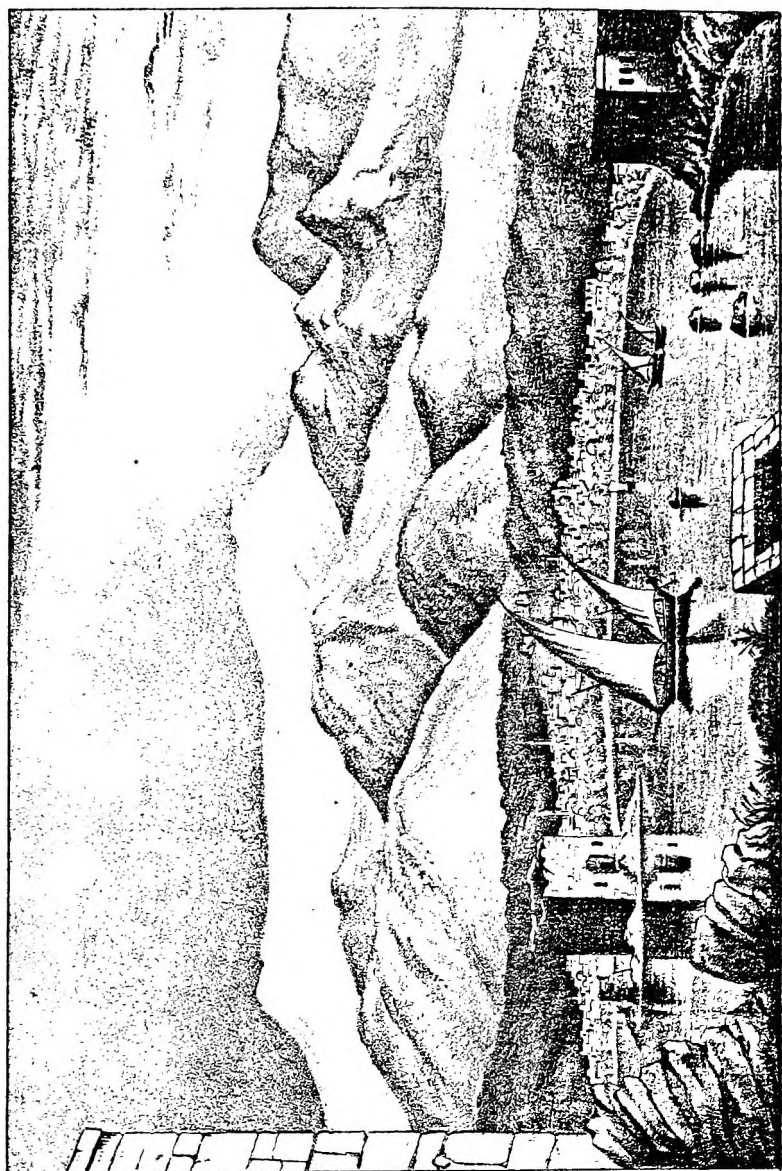
The people of the whole of the towns and villages of Syria and Palestine have been deprived of their arms by the Egyptian Government, either voluntarily or by compulsion. This is a very politic measure with a turbulent people, as long as it is not made to minister to oppression.

In these towns are to be found a great many coins and antique intaglios which are brought from Balbec, Palmyra and other mines of antiquity. The best places to procure them are the shops in the jewellers' bazaars, where the Arabs dispose of the silver and gold coins for their weight to be melted down, but the goldsmiths, knowing their value, generally preserve them and purchase the antiques for a trifle, awaiting an opportunity of disposing of them again to Europeans, which on this line of road does not often occur. We used to amuse ourselves at these shops by turning out and examining the curious medley contained in the little cabinets in which they kept the materials of their trade, consisting of a great variety of cut-glass jewels of all colours, sets of stones, agates and coloured beads, and a few amethysts, turquoises and garnets of little value; and amongst these are generally found copper and silver coins, intaglios, cameos and engraved stones; many spoilt by the friction of years in such hard company,



some broken, and but few perfect. The antique intaglios are commonly executed on white or red cornelian. We procured a few of these, and I might have bought many more; but, with such a long and precarious journey before me, did not like to encumber myself with anything worth losing. The inscribed stones were very numerous, most of them with Cufic inscriptions. Very good Greek and Roman silver and copper coins can be obtained here. We saw a few of gold of some of the Roman Emperors. One of these was a rare copper coin of Corycus in Cilicia, with turreted head, and, on the reverse, a Mercury. Another, Antiochus, King of Syria, B.C. 145. Besides coins of Antoninus, Gallienus, Faustina, and many Christian coins, with figures with sceptre and halo, and inscribed Christus Basilius Basili. They are very expert at making false coins, and it requires a great deal of discrimination to avoid being imposed on, for the mould is taken from a good coin. An Armenian, who was much inclined, but not clever enough, to be a rogue, brought us a very fine Alexander for sale, but, fortunately, before striking the bargain, seeing we were pleased with it, he said he had several more which he would dispose of on the same terms. He went away, and shortly returned with seven or eight more, all evidently cast in the same die, which, on further examination, proved to be spurious, and of no value except as fac-similes. They were not even made with pure silver.

The variety of dialects of the Arabic language in use in the Levant is very remarkable, and, though I had acquired the dialect spoken in West Barbary, I found this of very little use in Syria, until I became accustomed to the language of the different places we came to, and for this I had little time. At Damascus, Homs, Hamah, Aleppo, and Jerusalem, Arabic is spoken; but each place has its peculiar dialect, as also have Bagdad, Egypt, and the several Barbary States; but the Arabic of the Koran is a dead language, and has the same relation to the others as Latin has to Italian, French, and Spanish. Even the Maltese is an Arab dialect.



TRIPOLI, SYRIA

I heard of a Professor of Arabic from Denmark (Prof. Vonhaven) going on a scientific mission to Egypt, and not being able to understand a word of the language spoken by the natives.

This road not being much travelled, we experienced more difficulty than we had anticipated in procuring horses or mules for hire, and were compelled to apply to the Governor of the place for assistance, who very ungraciously refused to help us, from which disobliging behaviour, coupled with the meanness of his appearance, he certainly could not have been an Osmanli. In the meantime we were in a dilemma, as we could only procure donkeys or camels, and the owners refused to go any other road than to Tripoli or Damascus, and we began to regret parting with our horses. We were assured that the road to Beirout was impassable, from mud and snow on the mountains; so we at last decided on making the trip, on donkeys, to Tripoli, as camels are a very dangerous mount in wet roads, where they cannot keep their footing.

*December 14.*—When the donkeys were brought, they proved much better than we had expected, being large and powerful, and the size of ponies. Dividing our baggage among the three, we marched out of the town, taking an easterly course, through oceans of mud, into which, as we were not yet accustomed to riding these new inflictions, we every now and then slipped off, although we had loops of rope to serve the office of stirrups. These only encumbered our falls, and, notwithstanding our vexation, we could not help laughing at the ludicrous scenes and the ungainly appearance we exhibited before we had travelled many miles.

Our road led over a stony plain passing north of the Lake of Homs, the shores of which are not higher than the surrounding level, and soon after we ascended the hills. This is a very gradual and easy pass to Tripoli, between what would seem the southern termination of the Jebel Ansiri and the north of the Lebanon. Crossing over this ridge, we opened the valley of Lebanon on our left, rising in wooded acclivities on either side till they met in the

distant perspective: their tops already whitening under the hand of December. We passed a village called Heddedee, composed of black stone hovels, the materials for which seemed to have been gathered from a neighbouring mound of ruins. Further on we reached a similar group of huts, called Nasee, and as there was no other shelter within a reasonable distance, we stopped here for the night, after 8 hours' slow marching. To the north rose a commanding bluff mountain-spur, covered with the picturesque fortress of Kalat el Hosn, flooded with light from the setting sun, and relieved by a back-ground of black stormy clouds, the contents of which were not long in descending in torrents to the earth. Our lodging was most miserable: a large fire in the middle of the hovel filled it with a dense smoke, to avoid suffocation from which we were obliged to lie on the ground, to be within the draught of the fire. This, of course, exposed us all the more to the attacks of our *enemies*, but, listening to the rain and storm without, we made ourselves happy by comparison. Even here we found some Regulars impressing recruits for the army!

*December 15.*—The morning broke clear and cloudless. We ascended the mountains, leaving Kalat el Hosn on the right, mingling its outline with the wooded crags. This castle was garrisoned by the Crusaders during their occupation. The water had run off the slopes, leaving the track more passable than we could have anticipated. We passed through a small valley with a few huts called Ain el Haramia (The well of Robbers), and continued over the mountains, which were covered with verdure, through woods of Ilex. Here we roused a huge wild boar, who cantered off unscathed, as we did not expect such large game, and soon after three wolves crossed our path, pursued by a number of shepherds' dogs. We stopped to speak to these shepherds, and obtained some milk, which they readily gave us, but refused to be remunerated, a very remarkable trait to meet with in Syria.

In the afternoon the weather becoming threatening, we were forced to look about for an asylum; but all the

villages we came to were deserted. At length, descending from the mountains towards the coast, we made for a village about two miles off the road on the declivity of the hills. On reaching this (by name Telabbas) we found more evidence of Egyptian civilization. There were no men in the place, and the women informed us that the day before, the Governor of Tripoli, with a party of horse, had been here on a plundering excursion, on hearing of whose approach the men all ran away to the mountains, to avoid paying their contributions, which are often levied several times from the same persons. Enraged at their disappointment, the Governor ordered the women to be beaten, and then plundered the village of whatever he could find, so that we with difficulty obtained some eggs and sour milk. It took us eight hours to reach this place, where we slept, and left the next morning (16th) across the plain of Tripoli, feeling our way through the water with which it was submerged, and the track destroyed by the numerous streams from the mountains. Before we had proceeded five miles, the rain again came down in sheets, accompanied by a beating south-wester, against which it was with great difficulty we could make our unfortunate donkeys bear up. After some hard labour, we at length reached an old ruined khan. Here we found shelter, but could not succeed in making a fire for want of dry fuel. About twelve o'clock the weather cleared, and we once more started, wading through the mud, passing several villages at the foot of the mountains, going round a projecting ridge of which we found an atrocious road of water and stones, which took us to the gates of Tripoli, a large and ancient-looking town, strongly built of stone, with numerous streets and bazaars. It is celebrated for its oranges and lemons, caravans of which are sent from here to Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem, as well as to the other towns in Syria. We proceeded to the house of our native Consular Agent, and were ushered into a handsome hall, in the form of a cross paved with marble, with a lofty dome over the

centre. We amused ourselves, while waiting the owner's arrival, examining the names carved on the walls, and I was much affected at finding amongst these the name of that talented and intrepid traveller, Davidson, who fell a victim to his spirit of enterprise when crossing the Sahara, in an attempt to reach Timbuctoo. About this time four years ago I met him at Mogadore in Morocco, and was one of the last persons to shake hands with him when he left the coast on his perilous and eventually fatal expedition. He had travelled in Egypt and Syria, where there was a settled Government, with tents, baggage, etc., and he thought he could do the same in this wilderness, where every man is his own master. From the account we received of his fate, it would appear that he was the victim of the jealousy of two chiefs. Poor Davidson had paid a large sum in dollars to a Sheik of the Woled Abo-Sebah, who lived to the south of the river Noon, bordering the African desert, for protection through his country, and a promise to forward him across the desert through his friends. But the Sheik of El Harib, a tribe who have a bad reputation even amongst the Arabs, and the same that endangered Caillie on his return, wishing to injure his rival, and blacken his name as not able to protect his guest for whose safety he was pledged, sent a party to intercept him, who treacherously shot him from behind, when he suspected no danger. A Jew servant and a freed negro, whom he had brought from Jamaica, were spared; but his effects were all carried off.

I think it much more probable that the cupidity of the roving tribes was excited by the report of Davidson's wealth, from his spending lavishly whilst travelling in Morocco, and paying so high for a safe conduct; and, imagining that he had much property with him, the Sheik of El Harib attacked him for the sake of the plunder, probably with the connivance of the Sheik of Wed Noon, who would share the spoil, although it might have endangered his interests to have taken any active part in the affair. The Sheik of Wed Noon is more within reach of the

power of the Sultan, from the extensive commercial dealings of his tribesmen in the seaports of Morocco. However this is only an hypothesis, as the Sheik bore a good character, but an Arab is like a tamed leopard, you never know how far you can trust him ; particularly with the certainty of impunity in a country where I myself was present, whilst two respectable men were joking and laughing whilst settling, without any concealment, the share each should contribute of a sum of money (about thirty dollars), to be paid for having another man assassinated for a blood feud.

There are two ways of reaching the Niger from Morocco ; one as a mendicant, which Caillie accomplished ; the other by accompanying the regular caravan across the great desert as a merchant, when you are only exposed to the same risks from heat, etc., as others. I am convinced I could have visited Timbuctoo in this manner with the greatest ease : but from the accounts of the natives who had returned from it, there would appear little to repay the hardship and fatigues of the journey, except the satisfaction of being able to say, "I was there!" They describe it as a large extent of huts of wattle and mud, the only houses in the place belonging to the Moorish merchants, who have settled there, for the sake of trade, and built houses for themselves.

After this digression to the centre of Africa, retournons à Tripoli, where we remained three days, until the rain had a little abated, enjoying the hospitality of the Consul, who was a Levantine. The ladies wore the same dress as at Aleppo, but more overloaded with ornaments, the braided hair behind being matted with gold coins ; some could not have had on less than £50 worth, besides pearls, etc.

The orchards in which the oranges are cultivated are outside the town, but not perceivable till you come close to them, being sunk as it were in pits, so that the tops of the trees are level with the surrounding ground. There are numerous other gardens, and a long walk brings you to the harbour, where there is a small town called the Marina,

composed of store houses, counting houses, timber yards and a few shops. There were a great many large fishing boats lying up on the beach, and others building, and numerous stone pillars were lying about, giving evidence of the fall of some place of greater antiquity. The promontory on which this échelle is built has been walled off, and fortified on the land side, and there are a great many ruins of walls and towers bordering the beach. From the Marina the view of Tripoli is very fine, seen across a fine placid sheet of water forming an inner bay, on the opposite side of which is a ruined castle on an island: a margin of reeds and trees lines the shore beyond, above which rises the town, surmounted by a castle and the minarets of seven or eight mosques: behind this rises the high straight ridge of Mount Lebanon, striated horizontally with snow. The situation of the town is very beautiful. A considerable trade is carried on here with Marseilles and other Mediterranean ports.

*December 19.*—The myrmidons of the Consulate tried hard to victimize us in procuring horses, but they had not beginners to deal with, and after some trouble we succeeded in getting pretty well mounted. We had not been two hours on the road, however, before the storms again commenced, and as the road wound along the coast, we had the benefit of an unimpeded gale, the rain beating horizontally. We passed Callimone on the coast, and Shik a Shika and several other villages on the heights to the left, which are inhabited by Maronites. At sunset, we crossed an abrupt rugged pass over a mountainous headland, the hills on either side rising in rocky terraces. After descending the opposite declivity, whilst plunging through a slough of water and marsh, the moon suddenly emerged from a mass of black clouds, and revealed a most romantic scene. In the centre, between the jaws of a steep mountain gorge, rose abruptly a tall craggy pinnacle of rock crowned with a ruined castle; this picturesque building seemed to be a continuation of the rock on which it was built; round its foot boiled a mountain torrent



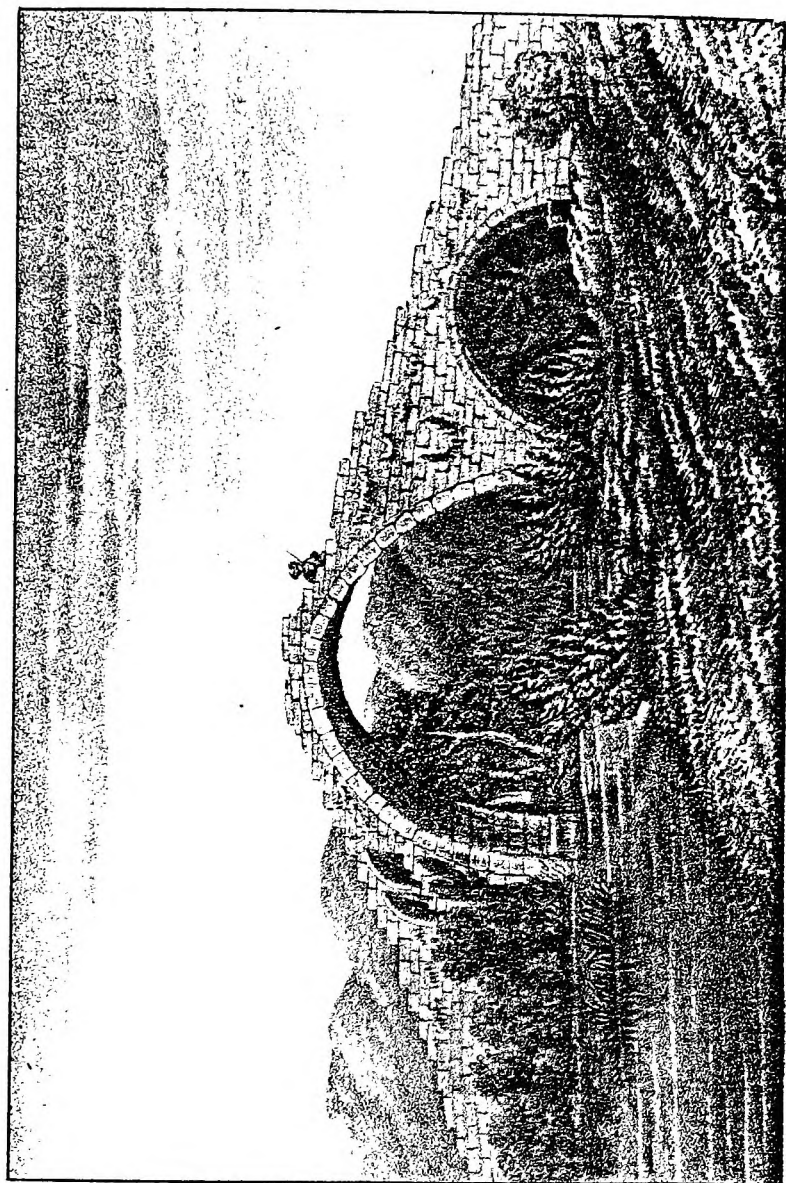
swollen by the rains, rushing under a narrow bridge without parapets. By moonlight, with black stormy heavens, the scene was wild and imposing; however, I did not experience so much pleasure in crossing the torrent, as in contemplating it as part of the view. The above-mentioned bridge would have answered the purpose of Al Sirat, but instead of being level, the two sides formed nearly a right angle, meeting at a point. Climbing over this by the uncertain light was nervous work; for it was not even wide enough for two to pass each other. This eyrie is called Kalat el M'selha. I soon afterwards stopped at Batrone, six hours from Tripoli, and lodged in a long gloomy khan or tunnel on four massive arches. I slung my hammock across the corner of this gloomy vault, while the Greek, who filled the office of khanji, procured me some fried eggs, and I made myself comparatively comfortable. One learns on these journeys how very little food a man can live on.

*December 20.*—Between this and Acre, the wayfarer passes a number of sheds and hovels, kept by Greeks, who, as he approaches, assail him with tempting inducements to halt, in the shape of fresh eggs, grilled fowls, pillaus, and other powerful sedatives, which, if he does not stop his ears, are likely to make him forget his day's march. These places will also afford a shelter at night in case of necessity.

The road to-day was stony, over the low cliffs by the seaside. On reaching Gebail, the ancient Byblus, I left the horses outside and walked through the town: it is surrounded with high dark walls: the interior is half in ruins, and its only street full of mud. Some massive stone columns were strewed about among the ruins, and, finding nothing more of interest, I went on, and soon after crossed Nahr Ibrahim; this stream is spanned by a single arch of great breadth and elegance: the upper walls and parapet are broken away, nearly to the shell itself, which gives it the appearance of great fragility: there is another small arch, which is only full during floods. The banks of the stream are lined with trees,

and the rose-laurel or oleander, and through the bridge the peaks and swells of the mountain are seen rising in rich luxuriance. The scenery improves here as the mountains approach the coast ; but I was not long allowed to enjoy it, as the rain again came down in torrents, and I was at length compelled to take shelter in one of the refreshment shops before mentioned from the fury of the storm.

The sky having cleared off, I resumed my march, and, after doubling a bluff headland, came suddenly on the beautiful bay of Djouni. The swelling slopes of Kesrouan flow gradually upward from the margin of the water to the peaks of Lebanon, crowned with the houses and villages of the Christians and Druses, with here and there a convent gleaming clear and white against the dark foliage : on the opposite horn of the bay, on the acclivity of the hill, rose the village of Djouni, partly hidden by trees and groves of firs : the delicate blossoms of the cyclamen hung flowering from their variegated tufts in the crevices of the rocks, and the butterflies sported their little day in the glorious sunset, under which the waves had lulled to a murmuring ripple. It seemed as if summer had burst from her icy prison to snatch another garland from the iron grasp of her tyrant. As I sauntered along, enjoying the loveliness of the view, I had forgotten my rest, and night overtook me by the time I had passed the south end of the bay, and I was still eighteen miles from Beyrout. The road was now too rugged to push on very fast : however, I reached Nahr el Kelb, flowing out of a steep gloomy mountain pass, the sides of which were so steep that the air struck cold, like going into an underground vault on entering it. I afterwards heard that the cliffs of Nahr el Kelb were full of Egyptian sculptures and inscriptions, and I regretted much having lost the opportunity of seeing them. Crossing over a bridge, I could just distinguish, by the expiring twilight, the appearance of an aqueduct or other excavations cut in the right-hand cliff. A shed on the other side of the bridge was occupied by people and cattle,



КОНАР ИБРАХИМ.

which I was not sorry for, as it was too cold and damp to sleep in without taking a fever, and I ascended the opposite cliff by steps cut in the rock, and at last took refuge in a Greek shop after nine hours' riding. A pillau made with samin (or what in England would be called rancid butter), and a duck, which I had shot on the road, roasted, made me quite a feast, and I was fain to be content with my quarters. The morning of the 21st was fine, and I arrived in three hours by roads knee-deep in mud, rendered worse by the constant passage of cattle, at Beyrout, a large place with extensive uncovered bazaars and ill-paved streets. As I wished to see something of the people, I put up in an upper room, in a large khan called the Kassaria. The lower part of the building was entirely occupied by silk-merchants, who were sitting in their respective stores, reeling, twisting or spinning their silks, when not attending to customers, and surrounded by skeins and fabrics of all colours. They make a great variety of ornamental silk-work, as braids, cords and tassels, purses, embroidered belts and horse trappings. In the centre of the court-yard grew an immense mulberry tree, an appropriate ornament for a silk bazaar.

I found here the same niggardliness and want of hospitality as I had experienced on the part of our other English Consuls in the Levant. I regret this only for the sake of the English name; on my own account I am not sorry for it, as it will obviate any scruples I might have felt in making a few remarks on our Consular system, which might have been an 'invidious task had I experienced kindness from any of its members. For a commercial and colonial nation like England, the Consular establishment is its political frontier, and the individual situation of consuls of the greatest importance as regards our relations with foreign powers. Through them intelligence is transmitted affecting the safety of our political and commercial interests, and through them, as the representatives of the nation, are negotiations transacted and differences settled. This would seem to imply the necessity

of employing men of talent and experience in situations of such consequence, and yet the neglect of this branch of the service is notorious, to the great injury of our commercial and political interests. Any man who has a claim either *private* or public, without respect to fitness or qualification, is considered good enough for a Consul; and this carelessness, added to the common practice of appointing native Agents, who seldom do us much honour, has gone far towards causing the name of a British Consul to be despised abroad. Again, our men in office at home are so much engrossed in party politics and struggles for power, that they can spare little time to attend to the details of our foreign relations or inclination to support their agents in maintaining the dignity of the nation abroad, or the privileges of their countrymen. The Consuls-General are instructed to compromise insults, hush-up complaints, and give the Government as little trouble as possible, which orders they transmit to their subordinates; the consequence of which is, that the British name is no longer respected, and our flag, in many instances, insulted, as foreigners have discovered that it can be done with impunity.

What is the cause of the success of Russia in her aggressive diplomacy? She employs clever men as Agents, who are to be met with in every quarter of the globe, and who are expected to forward, instead of to conceal, the intelligence they may obtain. What is the cause of the fast-rising name of the United States? They watch over their growing influence, are jealous of the violation of their national rights, assert reparation for insult with firmness, and are respected.

The different Agencies on the coasts of Turkey are in the hands of natives, who carry on a disgraceful traffic in British protection; they keep large establishments of Tergemens and chouashes, who pay high for their situations, paying themselves in return by fleecing travellers, monopolizing the hire of horses, and selling protection in a smaller way. The persons thus buying protection call themselves

consular dependents, and cannot be taken for debts or punished for minor offences, and the people are afraid to offend them, dreading the Consular vengeance, and thus the British name is made to screen crime. Many of our Consuls are entirely controlled by unprincipled interpreters, who have obtained an ascendancy over them by making themselves necessary; and the fact of two brothers holding the situation of chief Dragoman to the English and Russian Embassies at Constantinople needs no comment, and has been often noticed. I must, however, give the native Agents credit for more hospitality than the English Consuls.

Some time ago the Consular body at Alexandria took upon themselves to concoct and publish twelve articles for the regulation of Consulates in Syria, which superseded the existing treaties and capitulations, and an Austrian Commissioner was sent over by this anomalous body to see its provisions carried into effect. To this official it was expected the British representatives would submit their authority and the concerns of their subjects, while one of the stipulations required that any affairs with the government were to be transacted through the medium of Suleiman Pacha, a Frenchman in the Egyptian service, who, of course, has the interests of his own country most at heart, for which no one can blame him, but in the meantime ours would be sacrificed. While on the subject, however, I cannot avoid noticing the spirited conduct of Mr. Young, our newly-appointed Vice-Consul at Jerusalem, who has succeeded, although unsupported, in overcoming the many difficulties which were thrown in the way of his remaining there by the local authorities and the natives, and has at length established himself on a secure footing by asserting his rights with firmness, and supporting the honour of his country.

In France the Consular establishment is, like any other service, on a system of gradation; every person who enters it being obliged to begin at the lowest grade of Chancellor or Office Secretary, from which their promotion continues

in course of time, and they form part of the diplomatic body, rising according to their talents.<sup>1</sup>

The 22nd being Sunday, I attended service at the American Mission, where they educate a great number of the native children, twenty or thirty of whom were present. This is of great benefit to the merchants and other Europeans residing here, who, owing to their knowledge of English and accounts, employ these pupils as head servants and commercial clerks. These missionaries at first settled and carried on their work in Mount Lebanon among the native Christians, but interfering too much with doctrinal points, they excited the jealousy of the native clergy, who accused them of proselytizing, and eventually obliged them to retire to the town.

It would be uncommon for a traveller in Syria to pass Djouni without mentioning that extraordinary woman, who has been so long the heroine of its mountains, and I shall probably be the last, as I can but record her burial. Lady Hester Stanhope has gone to her long home, may she rest in peace! When intelligence was brought of her decease, the Consul repaired to her residence in the mountains, where he found the body laid out in a small darkened room, covered with a sheet and a single candle burning at the head and feet, partially lighting the forms and features of her Arab servants and dependents who surrounded the remains of their mistress. She was buried

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I fell on the following pertinent remarks in Col. Pasley's Military Policy: "If anything can be lamented or reprobated in our own system of foreign affairs, it is that we have too frequently seen, acting in the capacity of British agents abroad, men either without knowledge of any kind; or who, if they have possessed any knowledge of commerce, have confined it merely to speculations for their own private advantage. Some of them, one would think, had not the proper use of their eyes: for when our generals have consulted them, previous to landing in a country where they had passed half their lives, they have been unable to give any account of it. That such things have happened will, I believe, be allowed by most officers of experience in the army. It is a point of duty with the authorized resident in a foreign country to make observations, for even without positive instructions to that effect, he ought to be prepared to answer all questions that may be put to him, and neglect of duty either from want of zeal or capacity is culpable."

in her garden, at her own request, by the American mission. Her effects were sold by auction. I saw the famous horses she had prized so much: the one with the deformed hollow back was bought by an Arab for £2 or £3; the other, a white mare, was a beautiful creature, but had not been out of the stable for 17 years: it was bought by the Consul for £11 or £12.

Finding I was not altogether well accommodated in the Kassaria, I moved to an auberge kept by an Italian, and frequented by foreign merchant-skippers, Custom-house officers, and others of the same class, which was little better, and the fare as bad as need be.

Being the chief sea-port in Syria, Beyrout is crowded and populous. In addition to the usual variety of costume, the Druse women have been often noticed, their veils being supported by horns of filagree silver, a foot and a half long. From all I can learn, I am inclined to believe that the religion of the Druses, which they endeavour to keep secret, is an idolatrous system synonymous with, or very nearly allied to, Brahminism. I have heard that the Druses pretend to be descended from the first Crusaders under Godfrey, but this is very improbable. I do not imagine that the Scriptural expressions where horns are mentioned have any fanciful allusion to this costume, as some have tried to prove; but, as the Italians say, "Si non e vero e ben trovato!"

I think it was in Paris that I saw a steam-engine at work in a confiseur's shop, grinding chocolate. What would they say in Regent Street to a camel walking round turning a mill for grinding sugar for making sweetmeats? This I saw in a confectioner's shop in Beyrout. — — — —

It is astonishing the immense number of stone pillars of the ancient Berytus which are to be seen here. The foundations of the quays at the water-side are composed of these pillars, laid in rows; and the jetty, or breakwater, enclosing the inner port for small craft, is also formed of these massive stone columns, laid horizontally on each other: the opposite side of the port is protected by a



gloomy-looking castle, which runs out into the sea, and is approached by a ruined passage on arches.

The cruelty of the Governor of Beyrout, Mahmoud Bey, is a commentary on the vaunted improvement of the Government under Mohammed Ali, and is equal in atrocity to the most unblushing acts of tyranny committed under the Turkish despotism, by the principles of which this country is still governed. Under some pretext, which is never wanting, but really for the purpose of extorting a large sum of money, a Christian saraff was thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains, with the addition of an iron spiked collar, a chain from which was passed through the grate of the cell, which the sentry, or other person employed, had orders to jerk continually, until the wretched victim consented to pay the money. He was fastened in a position which prevented his moving, and this lingering torture was persevered in for several months, until it fortunately came to the knowledge of the European residents, who immediately combined to put a stop to this outrage on humanity: and, on their representation, the Pacha caused the man to be released, and his case to be fairly investigated.

Our servant, Giorgio, hearing of the length of our intended journey, lost heart, and refused to proceed any further: we accordingly discharged him, and did not procure another in his place. He was a ready-witted, intelligent fellow, and though at times insolent, in many respects superior to the rest of his class; as he observed of himself with comparative truth, in allusion to the well-known character of his countrymen in the Levant, "Ben che son Greco, son uomo onesto." He spoke Turkish and Arabic, passing himself off among the unsophisticated villagers as a Mussulman: he had been of great use to us thus far, but, as we had parted with our horses and lightened our luggage, a servant would now have been more an encumbrance than an advantage.

The Europeans here associate very little together, being at enmity with each other, and divided by petty jealousies,

a common evil of small societies, and of more frequent occurrence in the Levant, from the clashing of individual and national interests. In consequence of this we passed a dull Christmas season, our Consul keeping closed house.

On the 27th we left Beyrout, with two hired horses and driver, following the rugged coast road at the foot of the Druse mountains, the stronghold of the Emir Beshir, who is chief of all the mountain tract between this and Sidon. He resides at Dair el Kammar, and, although nominally independent, pays a tribute to Mohammed Ali on account of his having afforded him protection when the Sultan endeavoured to take his life. He governs 1200 villages, and can bring a large force of horsemen into the field. He is said to have no avowed faith, but temporises, changing his profession to suit his political interests.

The mountains on the left have a grand and imposing effect under a lowering sky. After marching six hours, we stopped at a large khan, which we occupied in common with muleteers, horses, and mules. The night was very cold, and one of the inmates brought a large pile of wood, which he proposed igniting in the centre of the floor; but not wishing to be smoked out, we prevented this, and made ourselves warm in bed, and we were no sooner asleep than they substituted a heap of charcoal, the smoke from which would not disturb us. The next morning I awoke with a splitting headache and nausea, which I attributed to a bilious attack, little thinking of the actual cause; and although we used charcoal all the way to Jerusalem, during the whole of which time I was unwell, it was not till then that I discovered the real cause, and nearly paid dear for the experience.

The next morning it rained unmercifully, and we entered Sidon (Saida) in three hours, and found quarters at the house of a Greek. The town is situated on an elevated promontory, backed by green hills, spurs of the Lebanon. The interior is gloomy and half in ruins: you find here nothing to remind you of its former grandeur: the few streets are narrow and intricate, and the population scanty.

A few truncated stone columns are scattered about, and the ruins of a castle, said to have been built by Louis IX., of modern style, attest the sway of the Crusaders, and serve now to add a picturesque charm to the view.

Hearing that Suleiman Pacha resided here, we called on him, and he insisted on our remaining and dining with him. His real name is Anselme Sèves, but having professed Mohammedanism, he has raised himself by his talents and perseverance to the rank of Major-General in the Egyptian army, which, in fact, he organized himself. In the French service he entered the Navy at twelve years of age, where he served five years, and then removed to the Hussars in 1807: he served in the campaigns of 1809 in Austria, 1812 in Russia, 1813 in Germany, and 1814 in France: after fourteen years' service he was made a sous-lieutenant, and in 1814 was only a lieutenant of chasseurs, when, despairing of promotion, or for some other reason, he retired to Egypt and offered his services to Mohammed Ali, by whom he was employed mining and excavating ruins in the interior: however, having convinced the politic Pacha of the advantage and feasibility of establishing a regular army, and obtained his permission, he commenced his experiments in drilling, which succeeded so well that more hands were required and sent for, and the present disciplined army was raised under French, Italian, and Turkish officers. One of his cavalry regiments, which I had not an opportunity of seeing, is equipped in a cuirassier uniform, with a Phrygian helmet, the peak of which is terminated by a steel plate, which guards the nose.

Suleiman Pacha is now a hale veteran of fifty-two, and a thorough Frenchman; Napoleon is his idol: one of his rooms is entirely hung with his portraits and prints of scenes from his life: at the upper end of the room is a large bust of the Emperor, crowned with a laurel wreath, and surrounded by a trophy formed of the standards and arms taken from the Turks at the battle of Nezib, placed there, as he says, "pour faire homage à Napoleon." The rooms

are papered with designs of groups of all the arms under which he has served in the French army, which form a very elegant pattern.

He was dressed in the Egyptian uniform, in which I believe consists the whole of his Islamism, as his table was excellent, with abundance of wine and liqueurs; there were, besides ourselves, a French doctor and an old camarade-d'armes, who had come to pay him a visit in Syria, and he and the old general talked over their campaigns and recapitulated their several exploits of former days, and we spent a very entertaining evening. Alluding to the Eastern question, he said they were equally prepared for peace or war, that is, with the Turks, for he was not positive how his men might withstand European troops. He wished us to stay with him for a longer period, and was extremely kind and obliging; and as kindness of heart shows itself mostly in trifles, I cannot help mentioning that, knowing I was indisposed, he very considerately sent me a supply of Eau de Cologne before starting. He is building a new and extensive residence at Saida, supposing that affairs in the East are now settled. The environs of this place and Tsoor were lately infested by the Mutualis, a tribe of mountaineers who call themselves Soofis. They inhabit the southern districts of Lebanon, and are the dread of their neighbours, from their reputed deeds of cruelty and atrocity. They threatened to plunder these towns; but the Emir of the Druses being applied to by the Pacha, he succeeded in dispersing them, and the roads are now again open.

*December 29.*—It is nine hours' march from Saida to Tsoor, and as we did not leave till midday, we had to perform a great part of this after midnight, which was rendered more unpleasant by rain, and from our having to cross marshes; nearer the town the road wound along the sandy beach. We passed the wreck of a vessel half-buried in the sand, the ribs of which rose like spectres in the gloom, and a jackal skulked silently away from the water's edge, where he had been searching for fish or any prey the waves

might throw up. At length, when nearly close to it, Tyre loomed black on our longing sight against the western sky ; but on reaching it, we were mortified to find the gates shut : for, although an insignificant place, it is surrounded by a wall as a protection against the plundering mountaineers. After clamouring for some time, the guards were induced to open their gates, and admit us, and we wandered through the narrow dark bazaars, the guards of which could not leave their posts to show us our road, and every one else was asleep ; so we were obliged to make a noisy attack on the door of the most respectable house we could discover, which brought a whole family to an upper window, who vented their astonishment in voices of every key, at being so unseasonably disturbed. At length one of them was persuaded to come down and conduct us to the house of the native British agent, where we were well received and treated with great hospitality. The next day the rain was incessant and overpowering, and it continued for three successive days, during which it was impossible to attempt to proceed, and as I was very ill, we considered ourselves fortunate in being in such good quarters. The first night of our detention, as we were sitting round the fire, a commotion outside gave notice of the arrival of some more unlucky winter-travellers, who joined our party, after changing their saturated garments, and proved to be the celebrated French painter, Horace Vernet, and two of his pupils. I had seen his paintings in Paris when a boy, and little expected to meet him at such a time and place. He is a small, spare old man, full of spirits and activity, and very intelligent and entertaining ; he wore the Egyptian uniform, with a large beard and moustachios ; he related a variety of anecdotes and stories with great humour, and we were not sorry at having the society of such an amusing companion during the time we were detained here weather-bound. He had with him a handsome gold-sheathed sword, presented to him by the Emperor of Russia, with whom he had been on intimate terms. It

was rather a risk carrying this about with him, in case any of the Arab plunderers had been tempted to relieve him of his extra baggage, but was characteristic, as well as his case of English duelling pistols, which could not be of much use travelling : on hinting which, he observed, "Ma foi, on ne sait jamais ce qui peut arriver !" alluding to the chance of a single combat. He was on his way to visit the localities of the battle of Nezib, between the Turks and Egyptians, which he intended to paint for the Pacha.

During the partial intervals of cessation of the rain, we ventured out to look on the spot where Tyre once stood ; and, certainly, it required the conviction arising from the truth of prophecy and the proof of history to believe and realize that there, where spread the restless waters, formerly rose the proud city which, for thirteen years, could withstand the power of Nebuchadnezzar, and, afterward, brave the genius of Alexander, at a time when he was refusing the sovereignty of Asia, West of Euphrates, offered him by the Persian monarch.

In calm, clear weather, it is said, the ruins may be traced at the bottom of the sea from a boat, as well as the jetties which formed the two ports ; but, "she has died the death of them that are slain in the midst of the sea." A few massive pillars among the rocks washed by the surf are the only remains of her former splendour. For two thousand years the waves have rolled over her, and the fisherman now casts his nets in her palaces, which lie deep in a watery grave. I sat on the sea-shore and contemplated the foam-crested billows, leaping triumphantly above what once was Tyre ; and, as I mused on the judgments and fate of the merchant-city, a voice seemed to come wafted on the wings of the howling storm that swept over me, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish !" The present town of Tsoor, occupying a rocky promontory, is of little consequence : there are a few rather good houses, but, in general, they are mean and miserable : outside the town is a remnant of an ancient aqueduct, which brought water from the hills ; it is nearly buried in the sand.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## PALESTINE.

*January 1, 1840.*—Hoping it had moderated, we thought we might brave the weather, and, accordingly, leaving Tsoor, we continued our pilgrimage; but, after a boisterous and wet ride of four hours, were compelled to stop at a khan, near what is called the fountains of Alexander, some copious springs here running down to the beach. We slept here, and marched six hours the next day to Acre, passing a village named Zib, surrounded by orange-plantations and crowned by a few palms: this is the Aczib of Scripture. Near the town is the country villa of Djezzar Pacha, and some long Turkish aqueducts, which bring water to supply the place.

St. Jean d'Acre, or Acca, is a large town surrounded by a weak wall: it is full of troops, and the defences are being put in repair, as they are not yet certain of remaining unmolested. The bay is very extensive, the opposite horn being formed by the bold headland terminating the ridge of Mount Carmel, under which the few vessels that frequent the port ride in safety. This place has always been the key of Syria, and, as Ptolemais, it was a port of importance. It was taken by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, in 1110. The Christians were finally driven out of it, in 1296, by Khalif el Ashraf, eighth Mamlook King of Egypt. It was here the genius of Napoleon forsook him before the hero of Acre, and here the Egyptians are preparing for the next struggle which may convulse the East. They have now two ships of war in the bay, and some gun-boats.

The interior of the town is very dilapidated, although they have been building some new bazaars, and the streets

are filthy and unpaved. As we scarcely knew where to direct our steps for shelter, a man whom we applied to conducted us to the Convent, an extensive building, part of which was occupied by three Frères, who received us well, and provided us with lodging and food. There are many of these Convents in Palestine, which are a great convenience to travellers, who are all well received within their walls, without regard to their faith, when they can pay for their entertainment. Poor pilgrims of their own persuasion are entertained gratis, according to their rules, varying from three days to a month: the general fee for those who can pay is ten piastres, or two shillings, per diem, for which they are furnished a bed and two meals, which they may take in company with the monks or in their own rooms. Following the sandy beach round the bay, we forded a deep river, swollen by the rains, and on reaching the Kishon we found it unfordable, and we were obliged to swim the horses across, passing ourselves and baggage in a boat. In two hours and a half we came to Kaifa, a small town prettily situated at the foot of Mount Carmel, where its first slopes rise from the shores of the bay: a number of palms form a grove to the east of the town, and add to its picturesque appearance. All the native consular agents have their flags here, and Kaifa may be called the port of Acre, the vessels frequenting it lying at anchor close under shelter of Mount Carmel, the high southern horn of the bay. The houses being all inundated by rain on account of the bad construction of the flat roofs, we ascended the mountain and took up our abode at the Carmelite Convent, on the summit. The convent is a handsome stone-built edifice, on the extreme point of the headland of Mount Carmel, overlooking the bay and town of Acre. To the north, the white houses of Tsoor and the distant peaks of the Lebanon are visible; on the other side stretches the Mediterranean, with a ruined town on the beach partly submerged by the waves. There was formerly a town near the foot of the mountain, called Purpurea, from the locality of which columns are



sometimes brought. The convent, at present, contains twelve monks, and I imagine few visitors would dine with them from choice, as by their rules they have always a human scull and bones on the table at meals: they wear leathern girdles and fast all the week; our own accommodation was most excellent as well as our fare, the rooms and beds being clean and comfortable, and the cookery remarkably good. Although the cold at this season is very severe, this must be a delightful situation to enjoy the sea-breezes in the summer.



CONVENT, CARMEL, BAY OF ACRE.

The Superior is a mild intelligent young man; he told us they had suffered much persecution from the Turks, and that the convent was now under the protection of the French flag; he showed us a painting which he said had been sent him by an English Protestant, who visited the convent, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, which had about as much claim to merit in the performance as to truth in the conception.

The next morning, being Sunday, I was awakened by the delightful strains of an organ at the morning mass,

and lay listening to the unexpected sounds which wafted me back on the wings of thought to my own dear native land; and in fancy I heard the joyous peals ringing out from every village spire, and the voice of praise rising from every heart; a contrast to this forsaken land, where the jackal haunts the desolate habitations of man, and the only voice that is heard is the cry of the oppressed: for a time I forgot the pleasures of the traveller: gratified curiosity and the love of enterprise and novelty were merged in the keen feelings of the exile.

I afterwards visited the chapel of the Convent, which occupies a large portion of the building; under the altar is shown a small cave, or grotto, which they say was formerly tenanted by Elijah the Tishbite. I walked down the mountain, the weather having partially cleared, springing numbers of red partridge, with which the brushwood abounds. We were told that in hot weather serpents are very numerous and dangerous. There are several caves in the sides of the mountain as you descend, any of which may lay claim to having sheltered the prophet. A group of rocks on the sands were excavated as tombs, in the same manner as those in Asia Minor. On the shore I picked up several shells, the fish in which gave out a deep purple fluid, of which was made the famous Tyrian dye.

We remained the day in this interesting locality, to allow the water from the heavy rains to subside from the lowlands, which were otherwise impassable, and marched the next morning at sunrise: passing through Kaifa, we skirted the foot of Mount Carmel, which extends, in a long ridge, to the south-east; our road was carpeted with a profusion of wild anemones, purple, scarlet, and pale blue, besides a variety of other small flowers, but in some places it was almost impassable. At one place we waded for an hour through a complete morass, traversing a tract of antique olive trees, the massive trunks of which were most curiously gnarled and contorted, and among which we found small villages of huts. We came to the brook Kishon at a spot where the prophets of Baal are reported to have suffered:

and the scene of the sacrifice, higher up on the mountain, is also pointed out. Following up the stream, we came to a place where a party with donkeys were fording: the water was deep and muddy, but yesterday it must have been unfordable, from the marks of the torrent left on the bordering trees and banks, which were far above the present level. Crossing the plain, or basin, of the river, we ascended the opposite hills through tortuous gullies, past a village called Jeadā. Half an hour before reaching Nazareth, the pretty village of Mocobey appears on the right, far down in a dell, embosomed in orange and olive trees, with a few palms. Nazareth is not visible till you enter it suddenly by a narrow, rocky gully, from which you emerge at once into the town; it is a large, straggling place, in a basin among the hills, up the sides of which the houses are built; the streets are consequently precipitous, and, now, cut into ravines by the late rains, were scarcely passable; it possesses a large convent of Spanish monks, to which we proceeded. Being Twelfth-day, we met a numerous congregation issuing from the doors of the church, where they had been attending evening mass. The majority of the population are Christian, amounting to about 4000, while the Arab inhabitants number only 400 or 500. It is called a journey of six hours from Mount Carmel, but, from the badness of the roads, it had occupied us ten hours, and we were glad to avail ourselves of the hospitality of the monks. They still exhibit here St. Joseph's shop, the original supper-table (which, by right, ought to be at Jerusalem), the well where the Virgin Mary went to draw water, and everything that can be made the means of plundering the sincere, but deluded, pilgrims. I give them every credit for their hospitality and charity, but I cannot overlook their faults, or the hollowness of their system.

The Church is professed to be erected over the scene of the Annunciation, and, accordingly, under the Altar is shown the grotto from whence the house of Loretto made its miraculous flight: to the roof of this is attached the

upper part of a black granite pillar. Overlooking the miracle, I should like to know what reason there is to suppose that the Jews lived in caves formerly, any more than at the present day ; for both this dwelling of Mary and the stable at Bethlehem are caves in the rock.

Nazareth, being of the same colour as the brown barren hills which surround it, is not at all picturesque, but its associations make the locality most interesting ; from here we descended the hills by a precipitous and dangerous path to the valley of Jezreel. The rocks abounded in flowering cyclamen : on the left rose above the hills the conical summit of Mount Tabor, and in front stretched the plain of Jezreel, bounded on the south by the mountains of Samaria. This plain, which we crossed in about six hours, is a rich and fertile soil, and the people of the villages were occupied ploughing after the rain, which, however, had converted the road into a wet ditch, through which we had to plunge to Jenin, which place I reached covered with mud, my horse having been swamped in a quagmire, from which I was obliged to dismount to extricate him. There are several miserable villages on this plain inhabited by fellahs.

Jenin, on the site of Jezreel, is prettily situated on the slope of the hills, near the sources of the Kishon ; it is surrounded by some gardens with prickly pear, olives, and a few groups of graceful palms : it contains about 100 houses, and the people are almost all Mussulmans. We could find here no khan or shelter, and the people asserted that the Mutsellim was absent. This is a common excuse, at which one cannot be surprised, considering the continual calls for billets made by government officers, employés, and privileged people, which is a heavy tax on the villages on the high roads, and which they naturally endeavour to avoid. At length an old Arab was called, who professed to take in travellers, and in his house we found a tolerable room ; and a pillau, for which the next day he expected to be exorbitantly paid.

From Jenin to Nablous is nine hours' march ; the road

striking into the rocky hills by a narrow ascending pass. Following the banks of a small stream, in one hour we passed the village of Cabadie, in a tract of olive plantations: winding through the hills, we came in sight of Tannoor, on the summit of a hill; I was surprised to see here the blue thrush, last seen in the south of Europe, and the rufous-bellied swallow was numerous. We were forced to make a *détour* over the heights to the westward of this village, to avoid the small plains below, which are impassable, owing to the water with which the soil is saturated, and which, further south, forms an extensive lake, which is dry in summer: this may be one of the pools of Samaria, the site of which place is near here to the south-west. We passed through the olive-woods of Dgeba, extending round the foot of the hill on which the place is built; it appeared a large, straggling village. It was the season for gathering the olives, and the people were all out in the woods; some beating down the fruit with long poles, others climbing the trees, and others, with the women and children, collecting the olives as they fell. The women wear curious ornaments down each side of the face; these are scale-plates, formed of silver coins laid one over the other, like the scales of a fish.

Continuing our mountainous course, we came to the top of Jebel Nablous, commanding a view of the fine valley in which the town is situated, and which, from here, has a fertile appearance, intersected by streams, and the town surrounded by trees and gardens. These united streams run down towards the Jordan, which they join near Enon, where Jesus was baptized by John.

This valley is certainly a romantic and beautiful spot, and forms one of the exceptions to the general desolation of Palestine. Nablous is a large town superabundantly watered, with long streets of shops and some covered bazaars. It is backed by high cliffs. The inhabitants are a spirited race, and gave the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pacha much opposition before they were quite subdued.

Besides the Mohammedan population, of which I did not ascertain the number, there are seventy families of Christians and thirty of Jews. There is also here a remnant of the Samaritans, who have a separate synagogue. It is a curious fact, with respect to this race, that they never number more than forty male adults; if a boy lives and arrives at manhood, an old man is sure to die, to maintain the limited number; I could scarcely give credit to the statement, although assured of its truth on the spot; it is generally believed in Syria, and I was afterwards told, by educated persons, who had lived long in the country, that there could be no doubt on the subject. I was unable to account for this unheard-of barrenness until I met with an extraordinary coinciding prophecy in the latter part of the 9th chapter of Hosea, which this seems to fulfil. On my return from Jerusalem, I went to the Samaritan synagogue to obtain a sight of the celebrated Pentateuch, which is preserved here. I had been told that they generally endeavoured to avoid showing the original one, by producing a copy of a later date, so I determined to see them both. On entering the chapel, which is a plain whitewashed room, the Cohen, priest, or Levite, called my attention to the lamp suspended from the ceiling, which, he said, "wanted oil;" which, of course, I understood as a gentle hint for money to buy it; he then produced from a recess a curious cylindrical case, apparently of brass, which contained the five books of Moses, written on parchment and rolled in equal proportions round two rollers; the ink of this appeared rather black for the age attributed to its transcription; about 3300 years: they say it was written by Abishua, the son of Phinehas.<sup>1</sup>

Pretending not to doubt its authenticity, I asked to see the other copy, which, after some demur, was produced:

<sup>1</sup> Basnage gives the title, "L'an 59 de l'Exode 13 ans après l'entrée dans la Canaan, moi Abishua, fils de Phinéas, fils d'Eleazar, fils d'Aaron, j'ai écrit cet exemplaire de la Loi." And adds in a note, "Les Samaritans se vantent de posséder encore cet exemplaire; mais Huntington les a convaincu d'imposture."—Vol. ii. book ii. c. 3.

it was rolled on pins like the former, but the parchment was not in such good condition, and the ink with which it was written was faded and brown; this was stated to be 400 or 500 years old. I am not a Hebrew scholar, so cannot decide their relative merits from the character of the writing; but from appearances I should say the latter was the real antique. I inquired if they kept up a correspondence with any others of their sect in distant countries. They said they had no intercourse with them, but they had heard that there were Samaritans (called by them Somarra) at Bunder-bushir (Bushire in Persia) at Iskelund (?) and in Cashmire.

The town seems populous, and well supplied with provisions and fruit; the streets are badly paved with round stones, and, owing to the heavy rains, were not in pleasant walking order. Leprosy is very common, and many cripples from this cause were sitting begging on the roads near the town gates.

*January 9.*—Leaving this picturesque valley, we proceeded through a fertile undulating district; near the town is a fine well of water, overflowing its mouth, where some natives were washing. Jacob's Well is on the mountain to the left, at the distance of an hour's walk, and near where the ancient Sychar stood (that is, according to tradition). A great many women were coming to the town, carrying baskets on their heads, in which were yaourt, burgool, eggs, fruit, etc. We followed the foot of the hills on the west side of the valley; on the opposite side, crowning the heights, were the several villages of Bietfalik, Salim, Rugib and Khowerta. Crossing an opposing ridge, we descended into another basin, varied with villages; Yatma, in a valley to the left, surrounded by olives; on the hills to the right were Howara, Sawey and Libban; this latter place is called a third of the distance from Nablous to Jerusalem. An old Arab, mounted on a sorry horse, joined our party from one of these villages, and entered into conversation, which consisted, on his side, of bitter complaints of the extortion and oppression of the Govern-

ment of Mohammed Ali. I was asking him the names of the different places we passed, as he seemed acquainted with the country. "Well, Agha," said he, "its of little consequence, for in a short time, if this system continues, there will be neither Bellad or Beit in the land, and we must either perish or take to tents on the desert, and abandon our villages, where we are at the mercy of the spoilers." "But, my friend," said I, "although your taxes may be rather heavy, I think you must exaggerate the evils of your condition." "Alla knows it is too true; ask these men: they are Mussulmans," alluding to the muleteers, for he had no concealment. "We have sold our carpets; we have sold the ornaments of our wives and daughters, our horses, and how are we to meet fresh demands? we cannot plough, for our children are taken as soldiers, and none are left to work; we cannot deliver ourselves from oppression or strike a blow for our own, for we have no arms. Is no one coming to help us? Why do the Ingleez allow this? Where are the Oroos? Where the Sultan of the Franks? Will none assist us to throw off this Pacha's iron yoke? Look at that village on the hill we are passing; it does not contain more than 100 souls, and what do you think is the amount it pays to the Government, to be raised from the patch of land you see in the valley below? By the beard of the Prophet, you will not credit it! It pays 30,000 piastres a year in taxes" (£300 sterling). I believe this was a fact, and, considering the value of money, the imposition was most extortionate; the whole value of the land under cultivation near the village was not more than half that sum. The country is under the management of the Modar of Acre, Mahmood Abd el Kadder, who has to pay a large sum to his superior, Ibrahim Pacha, and then squeezes as much more as possible from the unfortunate peasantry on his own account; the consequence is, the abandonment of the villages, the inhabitants of which go to the Syrian deserts, and follow a nomad life among the Arabs.

At Bethlehem, the inhabitants of which are all Christians,



many respectable men came round us to inquire respecting the state of Eastern affairs ; for, they said, many had already left the town, and if a change did not shortly take place, they would all be compelled to abandon the place, as they could no longer bear up against the exactions and oppression of the Government.

We passed the large village of Singeel, on the hills to the right of the road ; Toumasie lying in a hollow on the left : through tracts of olive wood. The mistletoe is abundant on the olive trees ; it is like the European plant, with the exception of bearing red instead of white berries. From here the road led through the wild rugged bed of a mountain torrent, the rocky hills being terraced up and planted with fig trees. Ascending a steep mountain path, we passed a large village, Shalwan, inhabited by Christians, where we repented not stopping, for, pushing on, we were compelled to sleep at Anabrood, a wretched hole, where no vacant room could be obtained, and we were obliged to share a den with a family of fellahs ; the only food we could obtain being a few fried eggs, besides being exposed to the mercy of unimaginable myriads of vermin ; we had marched about eleven hours.

The travelling all the way from Jenin to Jerusalem is most tedious and monotonous ; the general formation of the country being a succession of conical rocky hills, between and over which you are continually winding, ascending and descending : the soil appears to have been washed from the hills by the rains, and it is only where they are terraced up to save the soil, and in the hollows, that there is partial cultivation. A few fig and olive trees are scattered over the country, and, at this season of the year, it presents a scene of utter desolation, only to be accounted for, considering the large population it formerly supported, by the land being under a curse ; since those days there can be no doubt that the face of the country has undergone a most marked change ; so that a stranger like myself, from a far land, astonished at all her plagues, is compelled to ask, "Wherefore is she thus

smitten?" Three thousand years ago the prophetic answer was recorded, "Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers!"

The same hills continued throughout to Jerusalem, preventing any distant view of the city until within a mile and a half of the walls, so that by the time we came in sight of it, my eagerness to behold this celebrated spot had risen to the highest pitch of excitement; the approach to it is through hills composed of débris and rubbish, the formless ruins of former works and buildings. The appearance of the town is curious from the immense number of domes, small and large, which form the roofs of the houses and mosques; while the high massive stone walls and bastions, with the large dome of the Mosque of Omar, give it an imposing aspect.

Being Friday, as we arrived during the Mussulman prayer time, we found the gates shut,<sup>1</sup> and, until they were opened, we were obliged to amuse ourselves contemplating the lofty walls which now surround the place. It was to the left of this gate that Titus filled up the valley for the purpose of bringing his engines close to the walls of the old town, and this is the only side of the town at the present day where the plain extends to the foot of the walls: on every other side it is girt by precipitous ravines.

*January 20.*—What emotions crowd on my mind as I write from this hallowed spot, which I have so often longed to visit, and from whence the word of the Almighty went forth to humanize the world. I feel nearer heaven as I stand on that ground which once my Saviour trod, that conscious earth which shuddered with horror when daring man marred the form and wounded the spirit of his God: and gaze on the hills on which He looked, and touch the olives under which He sat and dispensed His message of mercy to an apostate race. Although one stone was not left on another in the destruction of Jerusalem, when the site

<sup>1</sup> Mohammedans have a tradition that their countries will be taken from them on Friday during prayers, and therefore always close the town gates at these times.

was ploughed over and sown with salt : although a Roman town was afterwards built there, and was succeeded by a Turkish one ; and although the Jewish temple has sunk into oblivion before the Mosque of Omar ; the Romish priests have still the audacity to point out to the poor ignorant pilgrims the situations of most of the incidents recorded in Scripture, from the sepulchre to the house of the rich man, at whose gate Lazarus sat ! But the features of nature have more interest for me : the everlasting hills change not : the never-dying olive still rears its gnarled skeleton frame on the slopes of Mount Olivet, and the pool of Siloam is still filled from the fountain under Mount Moriah.

As I wandered through these holy scenes, made dear to my heart by historical reminiscence, spiritual experience and youthful associations, I felt all my wishes realized, but I missed the presence of relatives of kindred Christian spirit to sympathize in my happiness, and I looked with almost a feeling of envy on a family of poor German pilgrims, who were bowing their foreheads to the cold rock in the valley of Jehoshaphat ; they had probably sacrificed their all to visit the Holy City, and had even brought their children this long journey to share in the blessing ; their way-worn garb showed the toils they had gone through, but it was all forgotten on reaching the end of their hopes. I can enter into the devotional spirit of the pilgrim, and I am sorry to see so good a motive so falsely directed by the agents of Rome, and the credulity of the poor pilgrims so grossly imposed on for the sake of gain : their victims being plundered of their little pittance, and thus deprived of the means of returning to their own country. The Russian Government, for the sake of its own name, has at length given orders to their Consul at Jaffa to make every Russian subject who lands, deposit a sum of money sufficient to pay his expenses home after his return from Jerusalem ; this, at least, escapes the fangs of the plunderers, and it is an example that ought to be followed.

A few of the traditional falsities connected with Jerusalem are worth noticing, and to begin with the supposed sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> Mount Calvary, on which the Church of the Sepulchre is built, was formerly outside the walls, but now forms part of the town; this church is said to be built over the scene of the Crucifixion, which was the public place of execution for malefactors; and yet in the same church is shown a rude cave, which they pretend is the sepulchre; is it to be supposed that Joseph, a rich man and a councillor, would have his tomb at Golgotha, a place of execution?

St. John, who is the only Evangelist who mentions the locality, says, "In the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre;" and, again, "the sepulchre was nigh at hand;" so that, although it might have been in a garden in the vicinity, which is all this passage can mean, it would be difficult to make one church cover the two localities; and that it was not on the same spot we see, for Mary followed after those who bore the body, to be able to find the sepulchre again. Besides this, the temple of Jupiter was built on Mount Calvary by the Emperor Adrian, and any such cave as that now shown would have disappeared or been destroyed in clearing the ground and laying the foundations of this edifice, so that the cave is most probably a modern excavation.

The next imposition is more bare-faced. On the Via-Dolorosa, by which Jesus is supposed to have proceeded to Mount Calvary, they actually show a dent in the wall, against which he is said to have leaned his cross!! This wall is proved to be about 600 years old, and could not have existed until 1200 years after the event it is made to witness, and yet the misguided pilgrims are obliged to kiss the spot, and thus, by continual friction, the impression is more evident; in the same way has the toe of the metal

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this, my attention was directed in 1842 to a passage on this head in Dr. Clarke's Travels, which I had not before seen, and I find this traveller came to the same conclusion, on inspecting the localities, as myself.

statue of Jupiter, at Rome, which idol is now used to represent St. Peter, been half worn away by kissing.

Again, in a fertile valley about two miles west of the city, is a strongly-fortified square building, with high stone walls, called the Convent of the Santa Croce, in the interior of which they pretend the tree grew of which the cross was made. I do not remember what description of tree this purports to have been, as only the stump remains in the ground, but the only trees growing here now are olive and fig-trees; nor do I suppose that any others than these, and fruit trees, grew in this situation formerly; this country has always been destitute of timber, which was imported from other countries, as in the time of Solomon: now it is not likely that the Jews would purposely cut down an olive, lemon, or palm tree, on which to crucify a supposed criminal, but would more probably procure wood for that purpose from the first timber yard; besides, in the 20th Deuteronomy, there is an express prohibition against cutting down fruit trees, even in an enemy's country: the authority of tradition is cited, but is it to be credited that during the grief of the disciples at their Master's death, they could have paid any attention to circumstances of so little moment, and in which they were in no way concerned, and of which they, consequently, could know nothing; like the Jews of old, they make the Gospel of God of none effect through their tradition. As for the other localities, such as the house of Pilate, Caiaphas, Mary, the rich man and Lazarus, and a variety of others, a man must be "under a strong delusion to believe a lie," if he can require any proof of their absurdity.

I should not be doing my duty were I not to raise my feeble voice against these gross frauds, which, although they may have been noticed before, cannot be too often repeated and brought to view. Turning in disgust from this system of falsehood and deception, which the infidel scoffingly adduces as an argument against all religion, and of which he makes a handle for the calming of his own

unsettled conscience and undermining the principles of others ; with what majestic simplicity and divine grandeur does true Christianity stand forth, untrammelled by the pall of superstition, but clad in the beauty of innocence ! With an eye calm in the consciousness of truth, and brow radiant with glory, she looks far beyond these earthly scenes of darkness and delusion. Holding triumphantly aloft the closed book of revelation, and pointing downward to the open page of history, she defies alike the subtleties of man's finite reason, the ridicule of infidelity, and the enmity of the world !

The accommodation for strangers at this place is very bad : the houses being badly built, the doors and sashes quite loose, and no protection from the weather. Partly owing to this, but principally to the rarefaction of the air in these southern latitudes, I do not think I ever experienced more intense cold even in England. I have always found that I could bear a much higher degree of thermometrical heat in the light air of a southern latitude, than I could in the denser medium of an English atmosphere. In India  $80^{\circ}$  is tolerable ; in England it is oppressive.

We remained for some days in a spare house belonging to our Consul, Mr. Young, and then removed to the Latin Convent : previous to which, however, I discovered the cause of my former illness, and which well-nigh brought our lives and travels to a close at the same time. On account of the extreme cold, we had adopted the plan of the natives of burning a large pan of charcoal in our room at night, there being no fireplaces : this is generally well burnt in the open air before being introduced, but it still emits sufficient noxious vapour to produce asphyxia in a well-closed room, and is most dangerous. When we were called in the morning, we could not lift our heads from the pillow, from giddiness and racking headache, accompanied by retching, faintness, and spasmodic pains in the chest : it was fortunate for us that the room was rather large, and the doors and windows loose, otherwise

we must have been suffocated ; as it was, we were a long time recovering from its effects.

The present town of Jerusalem, called Beet el M'kud-das, is raised on a foundation of ruins and rubbish ; it is principally built of stone : the Convents, which have extensive possessions within the walls, are very substantial. There are the usual covered Turkish bazaars, and a great extent of intricate, dirty, and inferior streets : in the eastern part of the town, towards the great mosque, are some massive arched passages, which have the appearance of greater antiquity, and may have formed part of Ælia. The only other object of antiquity is the remains of a bridge, which connected Mount Moriah with the city. Josephus mentions a work of this sort finished by Herod, when the city was taken by Pompey, but it is more probable that this was part of the Roman city. There is no doubt it existed before this town was taken by Omar in A.D. 636, as the wall of the mosque Al Aksa is built on it : all that exists of this bridge are the abutment-stone and spring of the arch, measuring, severally, 25 feet and 20 feet in length. The blocks of stone composing the walls of the town, and the mosque, are of an enormous size : I measured one in the latter 31 feet long, and some in the walls are much larger. Christians are not allowed to enter the Mosque of Omar, but the ascent of the Mount of Olives commands a view into its interior, which is little different from the generality of these temples. The hill, on which the town stands, is bounded on the south and half its west face by the valley of Hinnom, a deep and narrow ravine, forming a bed for the water from the pools of Gihon, one of which, a large square tank, still remains, though dry ; on the east side is the steep rugged valley of Jehoshaphat, forming a channel for the brook Kedron, which is also dry. On the west side of this valley is the pool of Siloam in an artificial reservoir, with a descent of steps to the water. The lower pool is further down the valley to the south, and is brought by a subterranean canal from the interior

of the hill: I tried to penetrate this, but found an iron grating across the passage. Among the crags, on the opposite side of the valley, is the village of Siloam, partly composed of houses and partly of caves and excavations. Towards the head of the valley are several handsome tombs cut out of the rock, which are of a much later date than the death of the persons whose remains they are said to cover. The tomb of Zachariah is a solid block excavated from the rock, and faced with Ionic pillars. I do not suppose it is of a more ancient date than the time of Christ, and it is most probable that these cenotaphs were actually being built at that time, and that, from the hill where He was teaching, our Saviour could see the progress of the work, when He denounced their hypocrisy, and mentioned Zacharias by name. The tomb of Jehoshaphat is partly excavated from the rock, the upper part, of large blocks, terminating in a cone crowned with a lotus, being built on to it. The vicinity is a favourite cemetery of the Jews, whose gravestones, bearing long Hebrew inscriptions, are thickly strewn over the adjacent slopes: another of these tombs is a recess under an entablature, supported by four pillars, with a spacious inner sepulchral chamber. A great number of these tombs are excavated in the face of the cliffs on the south side of the valley of Hinnom, where also the potter's field is pointed out; and to the north-west of the town, and supposed to have been formerly within the walls, are the extensive subterranean chambers, called the Tombs of the Kings, which have often been described. There are seven olive trees in an enclosure, called the garden of Gethsemane: whether this was the spot or not, I have no doubt the trees existed long before the Christian era, the olive tree being almost indestructible; even when the trunk dies, a new tree springs from its roots. These trees have the appearance of great antiquity: they are the largest I have seen, particularly at the roots, which spread out on all sides in gnarled and knotty forms, but their foliage is scanty. Near this is a low building, said to cover the tomb of the Virgin Mary.



In the village, on the summit of the Mount of Olives, is the Chapel of the Ascension : from this height you look down on one side on the city, and to the east stretches a fine panoramic view of the wilderness of Judea, the Dead Sea, and the blue mountains of Moab, rising from its shores ; a long and deeply marked ridge, the highest point of which is supposed to be Pisgah.

The population of Jerusalem is an extraordinary mixture of Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Jews, and monks and pilgrims from all parts of Europe. The garrison of the place is composed of Turks in the Egyptian service, who have been sent here as a punishment for mutinous behaviour ; they are dreaded by the people, and plunder the peasantry of their provisions as they enter the gates, and in the markets, and if they complain, they are beaten in addition. Their own Commander is afraid of them, and confesses his inability to check their disorderly conduct. Owing to the general oppression of the people, and disorganization of the country, provisions have become scarce, and living expensive. A well-to-do Jew assured me that his family, which, under the Turkish Government, he could maintain for 5000 piastres, now cost 30,000 per annum. I visited the Church of the Sepulchre, which is rather a handsome Gothic building, in the centre of which is the cenotaph, in all the beauty of carving, varnish, curtains, and lamps ; to prevent quarrelling, it was found expedient for each sect to have its own chapel within the church : in one corner is the chapel of the Greek Catholics, in another of the Maronites, in another the Armenians, with a number of others, each vying with the other in the profusion of lamps, tinsel, and frippery : nevertheless, during the Holy Week the scenes are most disgraceful among these self-styled Christians ; and a body of Turkish soldiers has much difficulty at that season in keeping order among the pilgrims by exercising indiscriminate battery on their heads with large sticks, to prevent their assassinating each other ; as knives are often drawn and blood shed in the church. Even now a divan of Turks is sitting inside

the church doors while the people are performing their devotions, the keys being kept by the Governor. The Jews were under the same surveillance under the Romans. Josephus mentions in his time: "A Roman cohort kept guard as usual at the colonnade of the Temple at festivals, to keep order among the congregated multitudes." The square before the church, as well as the different approaches to it, are full of people selling mother-of-pearl crucifixes, models, rosaries, etc., which are principally made at Bethlehem; besides immense quantities of beads, made of a sort of fruit-stone from Mecca; these are purchased by the pilgrims, and disposed of on their return to their own country very profitably.

There are some families of Jews scattered through this country, principally at Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Saffad. They are not, however, indigenous, but come here either as pilgrims, or in consequence of a Jewish tradition, which makes them believe that unless they die in the Holy Land, they must work their way underground to it, like moles, after their death. They come from Germany, Poland, Turkey, and even from England; the old men expecting to be gathered to their fathers, bringing their families with them, who often remain in the country: several hundreds perished during the earthquake which ruined Tiberias three years ago. The question of the restoration of the Jews, which has lately excited some attention, requires to be considered with respect to its political and religious bearings separately: for men, as bodies, are mostly governed by interest and expediency, and seldom allow their belief or unbelief to have any weight in their political measures, although, at the same time, they are only instruments in the hands of Him who ruleth in the kingdoms of men.

I have seen much of the Hebrew nation, and I consider them, physically and intellectually, as one of the finest types of the human race, and their present degradation is only a natural consequence of the state of slavery or oppression under which they have been groaning for

nearly two chiliads: it is only surprising that after such an ordeal they should still retain any moral worth, or even physical identity; but there are still among them men of talent and great capabilities, and they generally possess in a high degree the virtues of fortitude, industry, and perseverance; their aspirations have been quelled, their spirits broken, and their feelings embittered under the thralldom of Mohammedan despotism, the persecutions of the civilized powers of Christendom, and the insults of the world; but, if relieved from these clouds, the intrinsic nobility of their nature would be developed, and, springing with their characteristic elasticity from the sufferings of ages, they would soon assert a high rank among the nations of the earth.

Considering the political advantages to us of the restoration of the Jews, we are naturally led to the contemplation of our situation in the Levant with respect to Russia. I do not believe it was ever the intention of this power to enter into an open war with us, nor (although there are several available roads to our Indian frontier) had she any desire to take advantage of them for the conveyance of troops; her policy is encroachment on her neighbours, and compassing her objects with other Powers, by negotiation, duplicity, and intrigue.

By the machinations of her emissaries in the East she gained her object of plunging us into a bloody and ruinous war, while in Europe she is our faithful ally. No statesman could be deceived by the barefaced trick of their disavowal of the authority of their agents or the denial of their mission, in the case of their intrigues in Affghanistan. For proof of the swamping policy of Russia, it is only necessary to refer to her successive aggressions. Before 1800 she shared three times in the plunder of Poland, and took possession of Ingria, Livonia, Courland, Krim Tartary, Kabarda and Mingrelia. Since that she has increased her empire by the annexation of Finland, Bessarabia, Immeritia, the territory from the north of the Caspian to the frontiers of China, and taken

Georgia from Persia. She has crossed the Aras, and is now anxious to appropriate the rich and beautiful countries of Asia Minor; nor will she stop there unless we establish some check on her further progress southward. The Caucasian tribes might have formed a barrier, but they have all fallen, with the exception of the independent Circassians, and these we have abandoned to their fate. Turkey cannot protect itself against aggression; and Egypt has returned to its original insignificance. The mountain tribes of Koordistan would form like Circassia a stationary check on her encroachment, but could not be depended on. Where then shall we find a people sufficiently enlightened to act under good counsel, and united among themselves by every tie of religion, patriotism, and nationality? Does not the finger of time, the voice of prophecy, and the feeling of Europe point to the Hebrew nation? The restoration of the Jews to Palestine under British protection would retrieve our position in the Levant, and give us a commanding station from whence to counteract the designs and check the progress of our northern rivals, and we should then have an ally in Syria capable, with our assistance, of overawing, and if necessary repelling their advances on the Mediterranean. The Jews have, through the lapse of ages, kept their attention fixed on Palestine, to which they never doubt of returning, and their gratitude to their liberators and restorers would be unbounded, at the same time that they could not by any possibility gain by turning against us.

But taking the subject in its religious bearings, I would ask the Christian: Is not the sacred language of prophecy bursting with the germs of coming events? Does not every page teem with promises of the restoration of Israel to their own land in language too plain to be misunderstood? We may refuse to be the willing instruments, but what is spoken will as surely come to pass, whether we bear or whether we forbear. It is objected by many men of worth and intelligence that this restoration is

conditional on their conversion to Christianity (or rather, to a belief in the coming of Christ in humiliation). Supposing we take this view of the case, what means do we employ to compass this desirable end? If we do not despise their persons, we shock their prejudices and deny their scriptures: I say, deny their scriptures; for I consider the principal obstacle to the conversion of the Jews arises from a want of faith in the whole of the Scriptures, on the part of the persons who are most anxious for such an event. As the Jews stumble at Christ crucified, so they, falling into the opposite extreme, make a stumbling-block of Christ glorified: for I have always found, in conversing with the Jews, that although they could not remove the stumbling-block of the cross, their arguments drawn from the Scriptures with respect to their final restoration to their own land, under a king who should sit on the Throne of David, were utterly unanswerable by any one, who, instead of taking a broad comprehensive view of the prophecies in their literal, as well as spiritual sense, is contented with taking advantage of the numerous prophecies which have been evidently and literally fulfilled, for the sake of his own argument; and then spiritualizing away all the rest which are quite as minute, insomuch that they almost appear to have been written after the facts predicted: as if any part of the revelation of God was written in vain, or any word of it could fall to the ground. If you draw the attention of the Israelite to the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, coupled with the prophetic dates of Daniel, Micah, etc., he will be compelled to acknowledge that the time fixed for the coming of the Messiah is past, and probably account for His not coming (as they have often done to me) by reason of their sinfulness; at the same time they will refer you to the innumerable passages which foretell their restoration, exaltation, and the glorious advent of the Messiah, and if you attempt to explain away any such clear evidences, you would be deservedly laughed at by the Jew, who, at the same time that he attaches a spiritual sense to the prophecies, points with

the confidence of conviction to Idumea, Tyre and Sidon, Egypt and Babylon; and when he turns a sorrowful look on the land of his fathers, and sees Jerusalem destroyed, her sanctuaries defiled and trodden down of the Gentiles; his nation a curse and a byword, and scattered among the heathen; is it not mockery and folly to tell a man with all this before his eyes that the word of God is not literal? If we would convert the Jews, we must believe in the *whole* Bible, else the Israelite, possessing that faith in the word of the God of his fathers, stands on a commanding eminence, and wields over us a power of evidence which we vainly endeavour to resist.

There is, in general, great ignorance of the Scriptures among ourselves; men content themselves with discovering the correctness of some fundamental points of doctrine on which their belief is founded, and then do not think it worth their while to care about prophecies relating to other people, or the world in general; or, if forced on their attention, they do not believe them, because their finite reason cannot comprehend them. But what difficulty there can be in believing the plain statements relative to the re-establishment of Israel, I confess I cannot understand. Let any man read the Bible as an Israelite; as one of that nation to whom its revelations were addressed, and who have been the depositaries of the sacred revelation: let him divest himself of all educational and national prejudices, and realize to himself that he is a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and then let him search the Scriptures in faith, as the Truth revealed by the Spirit of God; and he will be astonished at the flood of light that will pour in on his mind, before narrowed by bigotry and prejudice, and he will no longer be surprised that a Jew will not receive the testimony of one who does not believe in all, as well as in a part of the Word of God.

“The remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob, to the Mighty God. For thus saith the Lord which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and stars for a light by night,” etc. “If those

ordinances depart from before Me, then the seed of Israel shall cease from being a nation before Me for ever. I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried on their shoulders," etc. "I will take thy children from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, *wherein your fathers have dwelt*, and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children, for ever," etc. "And they shall say, This land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are become fenced, and are inhabited." I trust the time is not far distant when the protecting banner of England shall wave from the battlements of Zion over the restored race of Israel, and the land of their forefathers be redeemed from the state of desolation and misery to which it has been reduced, and be blessed with regeneration, plenty, and peace.

The Rabbis of Jerusalem exercise spiritual authority over the Jews in all parts of the world, from whom they levy contributions by their agents or travelling priests; but, as they cannot always trust these, they sell them commissions, authorizing them to collect contributions for the Temple (figurative, I imagine), in particular districts, for a specified sum. All that these priests can collect above this sum is their own profit, besides that they are received and well treated by the Jews wherever they go. The priests are not much liked, on account of their extortions, exacting as they do large sums for burials and other ceremonies; but their power of excommunication makes them feared and dreaded. A missionary, Mr. Nicolaison, a German, resides here: he is maintained by the London Jewish Missionary Society, and has been ten years in the place. There is also an American Mission established here, and services are held and sermons

preached by them in Hebrew, Arabic, and German. Some few sincere conversions have been made from the Polish and German Jews, but not so many as I had expected, considering the time the mission had been established.

From accounts I had read in England, I had been led to expect that a Protestant church and a hospital had been built at Jerusalem: and views of the former had been published for the purpose of raising subscriptions, and I was rather surprised to find that this was not the case. A parcel of ground had been purchased, but even the permission for the erection of the building had not been obtained from the government of the country. The deception carried on in England, by false reports and highly-coloured descriptions of success, are quite unwarrantable, and do injury instead of aiding their object; a good cause requires no such questionable assistance. A German doctor is attached to the mission, who has done much good, but is now on the point of leaving, from ill-health. It is proposed to erect buildings for the reception of the sick, when permission is obtained for this as well as the church; in the meantime the funds collected lie idle, or go to pay officials at home. I made an excursion to Bethlehem, about 20 miles south of Jerusalem; it is a large picturesque village, the houses of which are grouped on the summit and slopes of a steep rocky hill, which then falls in rapid sweeps to the valley below. The patches of good land are clothed with hanging olive woods; to the east rises an extraordinary conical peak, and in the distance, the blue mountains beyond the Dead Sea. The Church of the Nativity has a handsome interior, being supported by rows of Corinthian columns of granite, probably part of the former temple of Adonis; the roof is in a state of dilapidation, and the building fast going to decay. The Monks think the cave which passes for the stable of the nativity, of more consequence; this is decked with lamps, tinsel ornaments, and offerings. The inhabitants are all Christians: they manufacture a



large quantity of mother-of-pearl rosaries and models as before mentioned.

I rode some distance on the road to Hebron, till I came to two large square reservoirs of water called the pools of Solomon, from whence there is an aqueduct winding through the hills to Jerusalem. The aspect of the country is hilly, separated by deep ravines, and valleys clothed with brushwood.

About six miles to the west of the city is pointed out the battle-field of David and Goliath, a bold picturesque valley, through which winds the bed of a torrent nearly dry; on the summit of a commanding height is the village of Colony; further down the valley to the left is a bridge with some orange gardens.

I rode out one day to obtain a nearer view of the Dead Sea, following the abrupt windings of the brook Kedron, through wild and rocky valleys; sometimes the road led over high projecting ridges, and at last I reached a spot from whence I could look down on the lower ridges rising immediately from the near shores of the lake, and a more complete wilderness cannot be imagined. Although so much rain had fallen, the slopes only varied in shades of brown, while the slumbering lake lay like a pool of oil in the barren basin below, reflecting the deep furrows of the opposite mountains. The scene was grand in desolation; not a living thing is to be seen, not even the hum of an insect is heard. As I stood lost in a contemplative dream formed of shadowy memories of the past, the sun was fast declining, when I was aroused by some muleteers with the hint that it was not altogether safe to wander in these wilds, and that I might be plundered by the Arabs who are said to infest this road. I had not gone more than half a mile on my return, however, when I discovered an Arab camp in a hollow among the hills, and to see if there were any cause for alarm, I made directly for them, when, as I expected, I was received with nothing but welcome, and they almost compelled me to stay and break bread with them. I excused myself by the lateness of the

hour, and left with one of their people to put me in the right road. As this is the road to Jericho and the Dead Sea, these reports of the dangers of the way are invented and kept up by the authorities at Jerusalem and Jericho, for the sake of making travellers pay highly for an escort between those places, for which interested motive the alarm is propagated.

I returned by the same valley, which is scattered with large masses of dark brown semi-translucent rock (sulphate of lime), which, on being burnt into lime, forms a most beautiful stucco for mouldings and ornamental architecture. The lower part of the valley of Jehoshaphat is laid out in vegetable gardens, which are watered by the springs from Mount Moriah: they produce the finest cauliflowers I ever saw.

As there is little or no timber in this country, the houses are all roofed with domes, which are built in the most artless manner. A large cap or mould is formed on a scaffolding under the proposed roof, and then covered with rough stones and mortar, without any arrangement or method: it is then allowed to dry, when the scaffolding is removed, and the dome supports itself by its arched form.

The tomb of David, outside the south gate on part of Mount Zion, is looked on with great reverence by the Jews, and also by the Turks, who keep the key of it, and pretend to allow no one to visit it. There is also within the town a part of an old wall which the Jews imagine belonged to the old city, and to which they resort on Fridays to sing psalms.

A man brought for sale some mosaic blocks, which had formed part of a tessellated work. They were formed of a cube of glass, the face of which is gilt, and a thinner plate of glass fixed over it. The two plates were so firmly fitted and cemented together that the gold leaf preserved its brightness unimpaired, although they were supposed to have been lying underground for ages, but it is impossible to fix the date of their manufacture.

There were not more than three or four English travellers in Jerusalem during our stay, the season being too far advanced and unpropitious for fair-weather tourists. The lately-published Turkish Hatti Sherrif has been publicly read in all the towns of Syria and Egypt. At this place Ibrahim Pacha had the consideration, I will not call it precaution, to suppress it until after the collection of his oppressive taxes. It is a curious anomaly that the Egyptian Government should allow the publication in its territories of the decrees of a power whose sovereignty it does not acknowledge, and with whom it is at open war. But it is the policy of Mohammed Ali to deceive the public of Europe; he will find, however, that, in case of emergency, the illusions created by the French press in favour of his civilization system, will stand him in little stead before common sense and bayonets. By this very act he has acknowledged himself in rebellion against the Sultan. With respect to his subjects, it is a mere form, or rather a mockery; for the provisions of the ordonnance, militating against his measures by regulating taxation, limiting the conscription and guaranteeing individual security, will of course be disregarded.

During the whole of my stay at Jerusalem the rain seldom intermitted, sometimes accompanied with snow, and the cold was intense. A partial change having taken place, I made arrangements for starting, in which I experienced some difficulty. My fellow-traveller had left me for an excursion in the Hauran. The muleteers, each owning a number of baggage cattle, prefer hiring them all at once, and will not break their caravan for one person: meeting, however, with a Frenchman in the same predicament, we hired cattle jointly, and proposed starting on the 27th: but when the time came, our man having repented of his bargain, did not appear, and, on our sending to the muleteers' khan, we were informed that he had left for Yaffa. Being all packed up and ready to proceed, this intimation was rather vexatious; but suspecting that it was intended to throw us off the scent, I told

my *compagnon de voyage*, who was blowing himself into a white heat of rage, to come with me to the *khan*, where, as I expected, we took the enemy by surprise. We found a large party of muleteers sitting under the sunny side of a wall, smoking and laughing, perhaps at our expense. Our man, however, was not among them, and on inquiring for him, they asserted he had left early in the morning for Jaffa, and that we must wait for a party that were going to Damascus in a few days. "Astoffer ulla," quoth I, with other language not complimentary, "Are ye not children of sin to tell me the man is gone, when here are his horses and mules feeding before your eyes?" and turning, I pointed them out among the others, for they had been brought to us for approval when hired. Finding themselves detected, they tried to brave it out; but this would not do: and as they refused to produce the man himself, we seized their Sheik, and compelled him to go with us to the Governor. The little Frenchman was half-mad when he found he had been so taken in: he raved, and swore that nothing should content him but giving the *bastinado* to the muleteer or the Sheik or both. The Sheik, who is responsible for the class of which he is the head, now began to be frightened, and wished to come to terms: he offered to find us cattle, and let us start when we pleased; but this the Frenchman would not listen to, determined to have justice as he called it. The rabble collected as we went through the town, but did not attempt a rescue, and picking up the Consul's Tergmen on the road, we marched to the house of the Mutsellim, the identical house said to have been inhabited by Pontius Pilate. The Governor was engaged with a General of the Egyptian troops, Ismael Bey, who had just arrived, and for whom, and his suite, fifty houses had been forcibly taken possession of, and the inhabitants expelled for their accommodation. On representing our case, the refractory driver was handed over to the correction of the *Chaouash bashi*; but no sooner were his feet tied up and the castigation about to commence, than the

Frenchman's heart failed him, and although he had been so anxious for the punishment, he now declared he should be taken ill if it were inflicted, and begged that the man might be released, which of course was complied with. The lesson was, however, effectual; for the cattle were quickly forthcoming, and we were soon on the road, and experienced no further difficulty all the way to Damascus.

The day was fine and warm, a most grateful relief from the previous weather. Some miles from Jerusalem we met a party of irregular cavalry coming from the opposite direction. As they defiled from the valley of Ramlah, their arms flashing in the sun, my imagination transformed them into a band of Red Cross Knights, with lance, shield, and banner. They were about one hundred, in every costume, from the Albanian to that of the old Janissary: all armed with long guns, carbines, spears, pistols, etc. Ibrahim Pacha receives his prisoners into his own service; conciliating them by allowing them to retain their own costume, and making them Bashi-bozeuk, free rovers or irregulars: many are induced to desert from the Turks for the same indulgence, as they detest the European dress of the Turkish Nizam.

The large village of Ramlah, supposed to be Ramah, crowns a hill, and the surrounding country is a scene of rocky desolation. Further on we passed Keona, between which and Senea is a lovely valley, clothed with plantations of fig and fruit trees, another exception to the general aspect of Palestine: the trees were now leafless, with the exception of the olive; but in summer this spot must be beautiful. The usual rocky road brought us in six hours to Selwud, a large village furnished with a pretty good room for the accommodation of travellers and evening loungers, which public accommodation is rather uncommon in Syria. In the evening a large party of the principal villagers, with their Sheik, collected round our fire to give and receive news. In this country you have to witness the whole tantalizing process of roasting, pounding, and making coffee before you can hope to enjoy its refresh-

ment, but the natives seem to consider this as half the pleasure. A handful of coffee is produced from the sash of the host, in the corner of which it has been tied up: it is first burnt in an earthen pan, afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar, and then boiled and distributed. This necessary preliminary being over, and every man busily engaged imbibing smoke, I thought it a good opportunity to test the feelings of the people. I told them I was travelling with a firman of the Sultan of Stamboul, which I produced. What proved to me their unanimity, and that they had no fear of betrayal, was their all rising simultaneously out of respect. The Sheik begged to be allowed to see the document, and immediately put the seal on his eyes and forehead, and kissed it: no doubt much of this is owing to their respect for the Sultan as Al Mir el Momeneen, head of the Faith; but many did not hesitate to say that they wished for a return to the rule of the Porte, and the overthrow of the Pacha's power. These sentiments were not without danger to their propagators, for Ibrahim Pacha had a number of people at Beyrout hanged for uttering opinions against his Government.

The next morning we struck into our old track, passing Singeeb, and, crossing a hilly ridge, descended into the valley of Leban, which terminates at Nabloos. At the foot of the descent is a fine well of water, and the dry bed of a stream winds through the valley. A party of six armed horsemen joined us, who said they were going to Damascus: but although we avoided their company, as roadside acquaintances are not always safe, we often crossed each other on the road afterwards. The rain recommenced with great violence before we reached Nabloos. I find that to-day we travelled seven hours: this would make thirteen hours from Jerusalem, and does not agree with my road down, which made it seventeen hours. I must, therefore, have gone by a much longer route, or it may be accounted for by our having fresh and good horses. We lodged with a Christian, Nikrile Jashan, to

whom I had been recommended by Mr. Nicolaison. The interior of his house was gaudily painted with red and green patterns. The females were slovenly, and the house dirty: the whole town is very dirty, but allowance must be made for the rainy weather, for the people seem a very intelligent race. The accommodation was not bad, and the host was obliging.

I marched with my French companion early on the 29th, passing through the olive woods of Dgeba, and by the pool of Samaria, and wound through the rocky hills to Jenin. The ground in the fields and valleys was covered with scarlet anemones, and numerous goats browsed on the declivities; these goats are remarkable for the great length of their ears, which sweep the ground as they feed.

As on the former occasion at this place, we found much difficulty in procuring a lodging; but eventually quartered in the house of a fellah, where, occupying the same room with his wife and family, we had to endure the usual concert of noises, squalling children (that discord so musical to mothers' ears in all countries!), cackling of fowls, the everlasting grinding of the hand-mill, and, not least, the accompaniment of the shrill voice of our hostess.

My travelling companion was none of the most sociable, for he would eat of nothing which he did not cook himself, which made me suppose that he was a French Jew, although he pleaded cleanliness for the procedure; however, as I always, where I could, made the natives officiate for me, I had to eat my burgool pillau in solitary selfishness, and was generally asleep before my friend had finished his "petite cuisine."

Before we reached Jenin the rain had set in, and it fell without intermission during the whole night, when the sky cleared and tempted us to proceed. The party of horsemen who had arrived here with us would not venture, and assured us that the plain to the north was impassable: however, we were not so comfortable as to induce us to remain where we were, and therefore resolved

to brave all obstacles. The weather was beautiful, and reminded me of an English summer's day, the larks springing from every dry spot, and filling the air with melody, and even the frogs were croaking their delight at a glimpse of sunshine. The mountains terminate here abruptly, with a northern aspect, the long barren ridge running eastward to the valley of the Jordan. The plain which lay before us was a complete quagmire, and almost deterred us from the attempt at passing it, before the waters had subsided: the horse track was converted into a muddy channel traversing the flooded soil, through which we were obliged to plunge, mostly about knee-deep, with an occasional variation up to the girths; in some places the ground on either side looked temptingly dry, but any deviation from the subaquean path was punished by our horses sinking and becoming fixed in the treacherous swamp, from whence to extricate them it was necessary to dismount, not without damage to person and property.

We passed the villages of Asura and Soura, where our driver took a north-westerly course, wishing, as I afterwards found, to go by Nazareth, and make two days to Tiberias; but as I carried a pocket compass, I made him return to the right road, which skirted the east foot of Mount Tabor. This abrupt conical hill is wooded with thorny Nebek trees, which bear a small berry like a crab apple, and on the top are some ruins, I believe of a convent; further on were two small ruined stone forts or khans called Khan Tejor. The road then took a more easterly direction across hilly slopes of firmer ground, and we were thirteen hours reaching Tiberias, where we arrived after dark. We saw a few gazelles on the road, and I was rather surprised at meeting with a large flock of the common rook. I had previously seen this bird on Mount Lebanon, and I also noticed their appearance near Eber, at the foot of the Sultan Dagh in Asia Minor. I do not think that it is an inhabitant of warm climates, and yet I was not aware that it was a migratory bird.

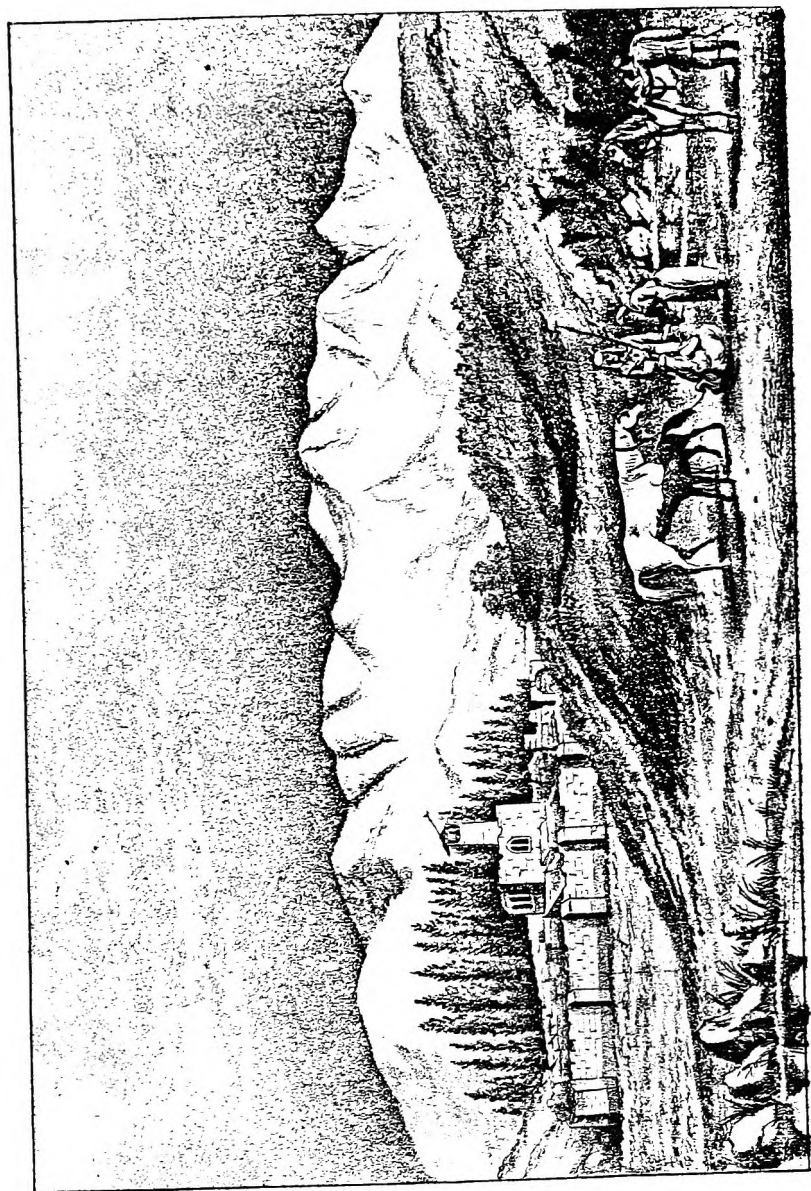


The Mutsellim was not to be found at this late hour, but the people were very hospitable, which I had not expected after the difficulty we experienced at Jenin. Some of the native Christians first conducted us to their church, which offered but cold and comfortless accommodation for the night, and as we intimated that we should prefer a lodging on a smaller scale, we were taken to a very good house, constructed of boards, on a raised platform. This had been built for the Egyptian General, Ismael Bey, whom we left at Jerusalem; although he had quitted it, the fleas had not, as we soon found to our cost. I always slung my hammock on my arrival, and lay in it and my 'Fellowes' sheets, so that I escaped any great inconvenience; but the poor Frenchman, who was lying (for he did not sleep) on the ground without any protection, was literally tortured, his groans at night were quite painful, and I do not think he slept for an hour for six out of the seven days that we employed going to Damascus, where he was seriously unwell in consequence. The natives say the King of the Fleas lives at Tiberias.

Tabaria is a large town on the south-western shore of the lake: it was surrounded by strong stone walls; these, as well as the town, are now half in ruins, from the earthquake which happened three years back. The town of Saffad, on the hills to the north-west of the lake, was nearly destroyed at the same time. I was very much pleased with the people of Tiberias: they seemed very intelligent and extremely obliging, bringing us everything that we asked for without hesitation or, as in the other parts of Syria, demanding payment in advance: in fact, they gratuitously offered many things we did not ask for, such as bedding, wine, etc.

On this journey neither my French companion nor the muleteer, who was a Turk, could speak a word of the language; but as I had by this time brought my Barbary Arabic into some sort of affinity with the dialects of the country, I stood interpreter to the party.

The lake of Tiberias is strikingly beautiful: the broad



BASSA, ANTILIBANON

expanse of water is bordered by mountains which rise on the west shore in bold picturesque cliffs, partly wooded, the other shores being bounded by high flat ridges, deeply indented with valleys and ravines. A heavy fog in the morning had smoothed the surface of the lake, and now climbed the opposite hills in ragged masses, or poised its fleecy clouds superincumbent on the craggy peaks. The path along the shore was carpeted with wild flowers, and flocks of ducks reposed on the water; although no vessels now sweep over its ripples, the fish do not want for enemies: groups of large black cormorants sat on the isolated rocks, reflecting their gaunt forms in the glassy mirror; a smaller sort, with grey back, perched on the boughs overhanging the water; while ever and anon the kingfisher dashed headlong on his glancing prey, splashing up the water in a sparkling shower, and looking in the sunshine like a blue sapphire set in diamonds. There are three sorts of the Halcyonidæ on this lake, the common small one; the large blue kingfisher with white breast and scarlet bill, and the black and white; the latter hovers in the air over the open water, from whence it darts on its prey. The numerous villages that formerly lined these shores have disappeared; there are a few hovels at the north-west end, near about the site of Capernaum; no natural causes exist for the decline of this once populous region, and the destruction of all its towns: the country has every advantage of fertility and beauty, but the irrevocable judgment was denounced against them; they are cast down from their height of pride, and now the timid francolin nestles in the vegetation that covers their graves. After winding along the coast of the lake and enjoying its scenery, we ascended a steep mountain road to some wells near the ruins of a small building called Dgib Yusuf, from whence we took a last view of its romantic shores, and after some rough scrambling among the rocky hills, descended across gently sloping plains to the valley of the Jordan. These fine plains are covered with innumerable herds of cattle;

these descendants of the bulls of Bashan are peculiarly marked, being all black with the exception of a white face.

*February 1.*—In eight hours we reached Djesr Yacob, Jacob's bridge over the Jordan, where the only lodging procurable was a little hovel about ten feet square, without a door, and built of rough stones, loosely piled up without cement, and admitting the cold wind like a sieve: there being no shelter for eight hours further, we were fain to be contented, if not comfortable. There was another hut crammed full of horses and surgoes, this being a post station; some peasants lived in two or three hovels made of rushes, on the banks of the stream; but no provisions could be obtained, except black tiles of bread, dried figs, and eggs. I should have made a subject for the pencil of Murillo as I sat on the side of my hammock, peeling my hard eggs, and enjoying my hard fare, by the light of an end of candle stuck in the barrel of my gun; and this is the spot where Jacob crossed the Jordan into Canaan. Although the night was frosty, there is little fear of colds or fevers while one is compelled to such temperate living. Going out to make a sketch of the place, I saw a mungoose creeping away through some ruins.

The river Jordan, which we crossed in the early morning, is a clear rapid stream, of little breadth, flowing between gently sloping banks, bare of wood; it makes its way through an opening in the mountains into the lake of Tiberias. From the ascent of the hills on the other side, a smaller lake (the waters of Merom) can be seen towards the north. After reaching the tablelands of Bashan, on the summit of the mountains, we crossed a rather fertile country, with a large proportion of rocky ground: extensive tracts are scattered over with stunted evergreen oak trees, many of them withered and dead, and few even of a moderate size: these are the remains of the oak forests of Bashan. On the right, four miles from Kanneytra, which we reached in eight hours, is a remarkable conical hill.

Kanneytra (Canetha), a large village built of black stone,

lies in the open plain, but near the foot of the Antilebanon, which is a sheet of snow from its summit to its base. The village contains about 100 cabins, and the people, who are Arabs, were remarkably civil and obliging. In one of these cabins we were accommodated in the place of honour, a raised platform on one side, three feet high, which gave us the benefit of a denser smoke from the fire on the floor; the other end of the room, divided off by a low wall, was occupied by sundry horses and mules. Our hostess was tall and black-eyed, the beau-ideal of a gipsy queen. As the weather was fine, I sat outside the door, to avoid the smoke; the children crowded round, to see me write, but they were very respectful and unobtrusive.

The sky was cloudless, but the air which swept over the open plains was piercing cold; we passed several brooks frozen over, but the marshes and pools were full of wild ducks and geese; crossed a small tract of oaks and the remains of ancient roads. Before reaching Sassa, we traversed an extraordinary rocky district of great extent, broken into holes filled with rain-water. This desolate region had the appearance of having been turned upside down by an earthquake, and that this is more than mere conjecture would appear from the present condition of an ancient Roman road, formed of broad slabs, apparently following our present track towards Damascus, and over which we sometimes travelled. In some places, large portions of this road with the rock on which it was laid were forced out of their positions at an angle to their original direction; some parts having been raised or depressed vertically, and others horizontally, while large masses were thrown up the adjacent declivities; deep rents in many places had split the solid stone, and the whole tract appeared to have undergone a most violent convulsion.

At Sassa, where I arrived in eight hours, this stony waste terminates abruptly, and a fine fertile soil as suddenly commences and extends to Damascus. Sassa is a small square fort, with octangular bastions at the corners; the walls are built of black stone, to the height of three or four

feet, and then continued with white stone; it possesses a small tottering mosque, and is otherwise much dilapidated: a brawling brook flows in front of the gateway, and at the back of the village is a stiff grove of alders, but the splendid appearance of the spotless mountains diverts attention from the defects of the nearer view.

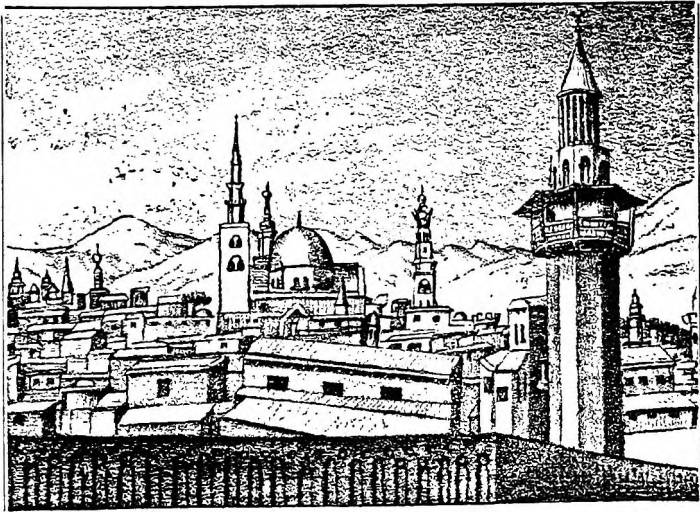
*February 3.*—It were impossible to imagine anything more lovely than the appearance of the sky and mountains at sunrise this morning: the mountains, which rose high on the left in one unbroken undulating sheet of snow, were dyed a pale rose-colour, and crowned with a mottled canopy of crimson and purple clouds, deepening to jetty black: the Eastern horizon, on which loomed several isolated mountain peaks, was overspread with vivid bars of orange and gold, which changed, as the sun ascended, to brilliant silver; the ground of the sky to some height above the horizon was a pale French-green, melting imperceptibly into pellucid azure: I watched the fleeting beauties of this glorious scene till the sun burst in brightness on the white curtained peaks and dissipated the gorgeous pageant.

Our road to Damascus was across fertile and well-cultivated plains, sown with wheat and barley; as we neared the town, we followed the course of the Barrada, but the plain is so flat it is impossible from this approach to obtain a view of Damascus: nothing was visible but a long line of trees, above which rose a few distant minarets: at the foot of the Antilebanon there is an extensive village, and far off to the eastward rises a panorama of isolated peaks and ridges.

Four miles from the town we entered the wide tract of orchard which encircles it. The trees at this season were all denuded of verdure, with the exception of the pale foliage of the olive; these gardens are chiefly planted with apricot trees, the fruit of which is dried, and becomes an article of trade throughout the Levant; it is formed into a paste, and then rolled into large sheets, which look like leather. We reached the town in seven hours, and lodged in a large dirty Latin convent.

Damascus seems to have entirely revived from its last destruction by Tamerlane, in 1400. It is now a large city, with good streets and bazaars; one of the latter is a very fine work, of great width, covered in by an arch of an immense span. In this bazaar fruit shops were arranged with as much taste as in a London market. A stranger is surprised at the number of gates, most of the streets being furnished with gates at both ends: these are all closed at night, and have guards or watchmen, which contributes much to the peace of the city, and prevents disturbances.

The houses, built of clay with flat roofs projecting two feet over the walls, have a mean appearance; this outward meanness is atoned for by the beauty and richness of their interior. The walls and ceilings are painted and gilded with arabesque patterns in stucco. The courtyards are furnished with fountains and marble pavements and planted with orange, lemon, and citron trees, which grow to a large size.



DAMASCUS.

From the top of the Franciscan Convent in which I lodged, I was struck with the extraordinary variety in

the numerous minarets of the mosques, no two being built after the same pattern or style ; in the accompanying sketch, taken from the top of the convent, there are nine different forms. The principal mosque, formerly a Christian church, is a mixture of Moorish and Byzantine. The present population of Damascus amounts to 80,000. An Englishman experiences no inconvenience in wandering about the streets and bazaars, the people being quiet and civil ; and with respect to the women, they seem less secluded than in other towns, for I saw ladies shopping in the bazaars with their faces uncovered : they have the reputation of being the handsomest women in the Levant, and they certainly justify their fame ; their faces are scarcely oval enough to be perfect ; they are fair, with black eyes and hair, and have not that sallow pallor which is peculiar to the Eastern women ; this may be the effect of their less rigid seclusion.

Intelligence had been received of the plague having broken out in the Hauran to the south, and as it was still winter, it was expected it would reach Damascus. An order arrived from the Pacha to cleanse the town, and a military cordon was drawn across the country between it and the infected district ; but independent of the predestinarian apathy of the Turks, whom a bribe would induce to allow any one to pass, it is impossible to prevent communication in a wild country like this, without any natural frontier. My stay at Damascus was necessarily rendered very short, by the dread of the arrival of this scourge ; in the event of which the gates would have been closed, and I should have had the unpleasant prospect of remaining imprisoned for an indefinite time with the pest, with the possibility of taking the infection.

I had intended crossing the desert to Bagdad by Palmyra ; but calling on the English Consul, I found at his house two French gentlemen, M. de Sivrac and M. de Beaufort, who had just returned from an unsuccessful attempt to visit that place, having been stripped of everything, one of them being severely wounded. It appears



that these gentlemen took an escort from the Governor of Homs, consisting of a party of Arabs, who, it was supposed, were in league with the tribes into whose hands they betrayed the travellers: their own party, however, was quite capable of making a defence, and might, if they had pursued a different plan, have reached their destination safely. It appears that on arriving within a march of Palmyra, they were opposed by a tribe of Arabs; and under pretence of a parley with the Sheik, they allowed themselves to be surrounded, and were overpowered by numbers: they had offered any sum the Sheik chose to demand, for permission to pass on; but he, seeing they were entirely in his power and unresisting, of course could not resist the temptation, and plundered them of everything; one of them in the confusion being wounded on the head by a club loaded with iron.

A party of six or eight armed Englishmen may always go to Palmyra, with a high hand: and with good management I am convinced this French party would have succeeded, for it consisted of four besides servants. The Arabs seldom come to blows, when they find they have a determined enemy to deal with: they are not a blood-thirsty race; the principal cause of their self-control is the existence of the blood feud; for they are extremely careful of taking life, when it will entail mutual assassination as an heir-loom on their children and relations for ages; and this has a national influence which is evident even in their intercourse with strangers.

The caravan for Bagdad had left a month earlier; and as this is not the season that travellers visit Syria, I could not form a strong party, and thought it better to submit to the disappointment of not seeing Palmyra, and go back to Aleppo, from whence we could prosecute our journey by a more circuitous, but probably a more interesting route through Mesopotamia.

I have nothing new to tell of Damascus. Its mosques, its bazaars and caravanserais, its baths, and all belonging to it have been so often described and illustrated, that

any further addition would be irrelevant. The convent in which I lodged contained four Franciscan friars: there was another convent in which one Capuchin friar and a servant had resided: this was the man on whose account the persecution was raised against the Jews, and which made so much stir. Two days before I quitted Damascus, *Padré Thomâ* and his servant both disappeared; he was in the habit of visiting the native Jews and others as a doctor, and was supposed to have amassed a large sum of money; and the most natural supposition would be that the servant had made away with him and his money, and absconded; however, the native Christian body, seizing the opportunity of gratifying their hatred of the race, immediately accused the Jews of having killed them for the purpose of using their blood in their ceremonies. A thousand stories were invented to increase the popular clamour, cases of children disappearing yearly were now discovered that had never been heard of before, and a man was actually named who had escaped from their hands after being kidnaped, and who had been bribed by a large sum and bound by an oath of secrecy. In short, it was a counterpart of what used to take place in Europe in the dark ages, whenever a pretext was wanted for plundering the Jews. The Christians, with the Monks and the French Consul at their head, assailed the Governor Sheriff Pacha with clamours for justice, without the shadow of evidence against any one, except whispers and reports exaggerated and believed. A number of Jews were seized and bastinadoed; and at length a barber, under the torment, was induced to confess that he had been sent for by the principal Jews to despatch *Father Thomâ*; on going to the place this man pointed out, they pretended to find some bits of bone, one of which was part of a scull; here was proof to people already convinced by prejudice. Finding that all the punishments produced no real evidence, although it was said that the Chief Rabbi had turned Moslem from fear, the Pacha, by the advice of an European, resorted to

the insidious plan of seizing and imprisoning all the Jewish children, to extort evidence from the fears of their mothers ; but the fortitude of the Jewish mother was proof even against this act of cruelty, and their enemies were baffled. Another Eastern method was put in practice ; that of employing conjurers to make discoveries by their charms, etc., and no doubt had this happened half a century ago, the popular excitement would not have been allayed but by copious blood-letting or massacre. After I reached Aleppo, I found that the daily exaggerated accounts from Damascus were greedily believed by all parties, who never dreamt of examining the sources of the evidence against the Jews, but only sought a justification of their hatred of the race ; and although there were some intelligent and educated Levantines of English blood living here, I could not find one to join me in pleading their innocence of the charge ; but, on the contrary, all opposed and ridiculed me with bitterness, insisting blindly on their criminality as not to be questioned.

The following remarks from Percy's "Reliques," on similar accusations against the Jews, are very apposite :—"It probably never happened in a single instance," says he ; "for, if we consider on the one hand the ignorance and superstition of the times when such stories took their rise ; the virulent prejudices of the Monks who record them ; and the eagerness with which they would be caught up by the barbarous populace as a pretence for plunder ; on the other hand, the great danger incurred by the perpetrators, and the inadequate motives they could have to excite them to a crime of such horror, we may easily conclude the whole charge to be groundless and malicious."

The manufacture of Damascus blades no longer exists, although some old ones may possibly be found ; those now worn by the Egyptian officers are made in Egypt ; they are much valued, but so highly tempered that they are brittle and apt to break from want of elasticity.

*February 8.*—My French companion remained at Damascus, and I was now entirely alone. I thought it most advisable to accompany a caravan across the open country between this and Aleppo, which is said to be unsafe on account of marauding Arabs. There being a regular monthly mail by dromedaries from here to Bagdad, and not knowing what treatment awaited us in Mesopotamia and Koordistan, I took the precaution of forwarding by it my notes and papers to Bagdad for safety. The party I had joined consisted of about thirty camels belonging to a trader, who was carrying a parcel of Dibs to Aleppo on speculation; this "Dibs" is a thick syrup made of the juice of grapes, by boiling, and is packed in large goat or calf skins; the chief owner of the caravan was an Aleppine named Hadj Ali, a rough good-natured fellow, who was of great assistance to me and showed me much kindness on the road; he wore a large turban, a cloak lined with lambskin, and long boots, and was mounted on a sorry horse, the only horse in the party besides my own. The camel-drivers had none of the low feelings and brutality to be expected from people in their position, but under their rough exterior concealed a great deal of natural courtesy as well as intelligence; and from this I augured to myself less inconvenience than this dreary journey of fourteen days otherwise promised. The moving of a caravan, however small, is a work of some difficulty, and after delaying till mid-day, we were again detained at a small town near Damascus, called Duma, for the purpose of completing the lading of the camels. I walked through the bazaar to purchase some bread and dried fruits for the road, a small crowd collecting and following me from curiosity, who behaved well. I met a number of Egyptian Nizam, horse and foot, who were marching south, and who all begged me to give them change for sequins: they had been paid in gold, which decreases in value about five per cent as you proceed south: I accommodated as many as I could, and then marched with the camels; we only however made seven miles from Damascus, and

halted at a khan near the large village of Rehan. A mare belonging to one of the soldiers foaled the next night, and was on the march again after a day's rest. I lay at night in the open air, but scarcely closed my eyes, being kept awake by the roaring of the camels and jingling of their bells. The ascent of the hills gives a splendid view of Damascus, surrounded by plantations and cultivation, and in summer, when the trees are in leaf, would justify the Eastern enthusiasm which it excites. The plain around Damascus is full of large villages: the next day we marched six hours; leaving a high conical mountain on the right, and passing over a small chain, we descended to the village of Kitifee, in a bitter drifting north-east wind: nothing of consequence happened, but the falling of two camels, which caused us some detention, as their loads burst, and wasted much of their sweetness on the desert earth; spare skins are always carried for these emergencies, and the damage was quickly repaired.

*February 10.*—We marched two hours before daylight, as the party were fearful of being attacked by Arabs. The cold was most intense, but the sky clear; we crossed more mountains, where the snow was lying in the ravines and on the north slopes, and traversed a high desert plain to Nebek, a small town on a hill, surrounded by a few fruit trees with springs of excellent water. There is here one of the finest khans or caravanserais I have yet seen; it is massively built of hewn stone, and covers an immense extent; the vaulted roof is supported by rows of enormous square pillars, and the interior would shelter several hundred camels and men; the villagers sat at the gateway, selling eggs, bread, sour milk, tobacco, grain, etc.: a large ruinous mosque is attached to this building; the cement between the stones is so firm, and the stones so closely fitted, that I found much difficulty in suspending my hammock for the night.

The next day we could only march three hours, to the village of Kara, beyond that the nearest place is Hasseya, which is nine hours. The road passed by Deratie,

a village on our right, between a low ridge of mountains and the Lebanon, which rose in the west, in wedge-shaped and pyramidal peaks. The people of Kara were outside the village, bargaining for cattle with a travelling drover; the Sheik, a fine-looking Arab, in a flaming scarlet furred cloak, asked me to his house; he was much amused with my pocket pistols, which I allowed him to fire, and his astonishment was extreme at seeing the damage of which they were capable; for they usually judge of firearms by their size. The Sheik's wife, who was remarkably handsome, served us with coffee, several of the principal villagers being of the party, among whom was her father. The Sheik asked how we arranged money matters at marriages in England, and being told that the wife was generally expected to bring a dowry to her husband, he said it was a most excellent arrangement: and, turning to his father-in-law, told him jokingly that he must refund all the money he had paid for his daughter, as he would be an Englishman. My merry host then wished me to point out which were Christians and which Moslem of the circle round the room; this was not easy to distinguish, as they were here dressed alike, and it was, besides, an invidious task; for the Arabs would have been offended at being taken for Kafirs, and the Christians would think it no compliment being taken for themselves; I therefore evaded it. He told me there were thirty families of Romish Christians and fifty of Arabs in his village, and that they paid 15,000 piastres per annum to the Government, which, with the maintenance of troops, which are continually quartered on the village, amounted to 25,000. One hour and a half S.W. of this is a village called Tabrod. We left at sunrise, across desert slopes, covered with black gravel: the road in other parts being muddy, which renders the travelling most difficult for camels, their large flat feet slipping about, and sometimes causing serious accidents, one of which I witnessed to-day. We reached Hasseyia in nine hours, and the caravan was just entering the ruined khan, when one of the camels

slipped in the mud, and in falling, broke its fore-leg above the knee; I endeavoured to induce them to kill it immediately, but the poor man who owned it, naturally wishing to lose as little as possible, kept it alive until he could dispose of it to the villagers, who soon assembled, promising themselves a season of feasting from its flesh. They examined if the poor beast was fat, valued its skin, calculated what he would bring when sold by the ocha, and stood chaffering and quarrelling for upwards of an hour, before a bargain was settled for 100 piastres. All this time the wretched animal sent forth such groans as nearly drowned the voices of the crowd, and continually struggling to rise, splintered more and more the crashing bone on which he attempted to lean, which must have put him to indescribable torture, and made me shudder to witness, and it was a great relief when the poor beast was killed. He was skinned with great expedition, the flesh cut off and carried to the village, and I soon heard the dull crunching sounds of the haggard dogs at work on the carcase, which had been left in one of the compartments of the caravanserai in which we slept. Half-way between Kara and Hasseya, we passed a large village called Elburge, where the women came out to meet us with bowls of milk-curds and bread for sale, on which we breakfasted; it would puzzle a stranger to eat flat cakes and milk with his fingers; it is accomplished by twisting the pieces of flat bread into the shape of a cocked hat, by which means you are enabled to diminish your dish very rapidly. As Hadj Ali could not manage to pronounce my Saxon name, I went among them by the Arab name of Mourad, as the nearest approximation.

Most of the inhabitants of Hasseya are Christians. While I was sitting in a solitary den in the ruins of the khan, the Cassis or priest came and asked me to go to his house, which I did. His dwelling was miserable and dirty enough, but at least warm.

In the evening the Mutsellim sent for me to his quarters.

I had seen him on my arrival, returning from hunting, on a handsome black Arab. I found him an intelligent young man, and well-informed for a Turk, which he was, although wearing the Egyptian uniform; his room was furnished with a chimney, and an enormous fire was kept burning; after passing a pleasant evening, I returned to the priest's house.

*February 13.*—I was awoke before sunrise, by a Greek travelling priest, who slept in the room with me, and who began at this early hour to gabble his prayers at a most unintelligible rate for nearly an hour, perhaps to give me an idea of his sanctity; the principal part of the performance was a continual repetition of Kyrie Eleison. I was much amused by the priest's wife, who was in a state of great alarm lest I should go away without paying for my entertainment; she whispered her husband and hovered about like a bailiff watching a debtor's door, and when at last she fingered the cash, the clearing up of her anxious features was a sight for a physiognomist. The load of the dead camel being distributed among the others, we resumed our march, but before starting we heard the guns firing at Homs for the feast of the Kourban Bairam, a distance of eight hours, not less than twenty-eight miles. At Shemsyn, three hours from here, the rocks and soil change to fine arable land. There is a fine view up the valley of the Lebanon, which begins to open to the S.W. The mountains are now nearly covered with snow.

The caravan passed through Homs and stopped outside at the village of Sidi Khaleed. I went in to visit the jewellers' bazaar: some of them had some good coins, but seemed to have found out that they were extremely valuable, and consequently asked most exorbitant prices, so I let them keep them for their next visitors.

We now struck into my old road from Aleppo, the caravan marching the next day in six hours to Rostan, where we arrived just as the rain began, and took shelter in the khan on the banks of the Orontes. Hadj Ali rode



on in advance to Hamah, and I remained till the following morning. I slung my hammock in a corner of the khan, which the great number of camels kept pretty warm. The khan at Nebek is entirely covered over, but this one is built on arches surrounding a square courtyard, which at present is a foot deep in black mud: under the vault there is a much greater accumulation of dry dust and straw; but little provision is to be obtained in the village.

*February 15.*—The river, swollen by the rains, had left so much mud on the road along its margin, that although there was a bridge, the men did not think it safe to risk their camels; and the weather being clear, I set off for Hamah alone. As I traversed these bare plains, I and my horse were the only living objects visible as far as the eye could reach; not a passenger or a distant shepherd to break the impressive grandeur of the solitude. Arriving near Hamah, I found a number of Turkish horsemen playing at the Jereed; they were chasing each other at speed in various directions, the pursuer discharging a short stick about four feet in length at his adversary, and then wheeling to avoid retaliation. After waiting for an hour in a public khan, I was not sorry to see the good-humoured face of Hadj Ali, who came and conducted me to the house of a relation of his, where we sat in the same room with the ladies of the family; one of these was a handsome young woman, who was nursing her child; they had no scruples or false modesty about being seen, and were all very obliging to their guests; they were people of the middling class, but in good circumstances; our bedding, at night, was made of quilted silk and cotton mattresses. I was obliged to stay with them another day, to await the arrival of the camels, and I could not have been in better quarters, the weather being cold and rainy. I was much pleased with the kindness I experienced from the people in this country, and considering the way in which I was travelling, with every appearance of poverty, it says a great deal for the goodness of their character. Hadj Ali took me to sup with

him at the house of a friend called Hadj Hassan, who was very curious to know what object I could have in wandering about their country. Hadj Ali, who had been joking with me before, frightened them by saying that the Franks went about to write them and their country in a book. "Oh," said Hadj Hassan, "Mourad will not write anything against me, for we have broken bread together." He gave us a supper of cuscasoo; a dish which I had not seen since I left Morocco, where it is a substitute for rice, but it is far superior and forms the principal food of the Moors; it is made of granulated wheat flour and looks like coarse sago, and is cooked by steam.

The 18th there was a hard frost, and the camels having come up, I took leave of my hospitable entertainers; we marched before sunrise, and did not reach khan Shokune under nine hours, on account of delays and bad roads. These plains abound in bustards: this bird is much taller than the turkey, and goes in flocks of fifteen or twenty; the males spread their feathers and strut like the turkey-cock, showing the inner down and under parts of their plumage, when they appear entirely white, and are seen at a great distance. Gazelles are also numerous; there are two varieties, the common brown gazelle, and another nearly white; the latter only is considered good eating.

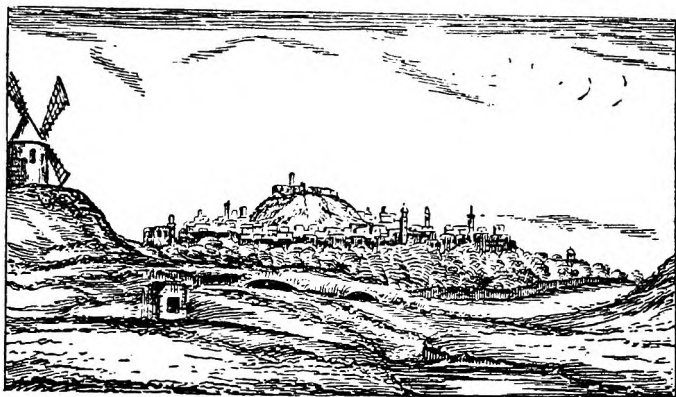
There was nothing in the shape of provisions to be obtained at this place. I had put myself to much inconvenience by not carrying provisions with me; but I preferred the sacrifice to the inconvenience of being encumbered with stores, and went on the principle that where one man could live another could; and wherever I found men, there of course I found food, though often, as in this case, of the worst description. In the present instance it gave me occasion to record the following trait of character, greatly to their credit, on the part of the camel-drivers. I was complaining of my bad fare, when one of them asked me if I would partake of their dinner of burgool. "Yes," said I, "if you will buy it and cook it, I will join in your meal," and for this purpose I offered

him the money to purchase it. "Oh no," said he, "we have it with us." I told him to keep it to purchase butter or whatever else was necessary; and with great reluctance he retained the money. In the evening we had an excellent pillaf, with the addition of apricot syrup. This is made from the paste manufactured from the Damascus apricot, a bale of this article, rolled into flat sheets, forming part of their lading for Aleppo; as soon as I had finished supper, my friend put the money I had given him into my hand, begging that I would not be offended at having it returned, as he said it would be a disgrace to them to take money from me for eating with them, and a stain on their hospitality. I was a little vexed at finding myself so completely overreached; but I could not help admiring the delicacy of the proceeding in these poor people, for had they first returned the money, they thought that I should have refused to join them.

This khan, like the others, was a foot deep in black mud; the camels are lodged dry and well-fed; they are furnished with abundance of chopped straw, and once a day are fed with a mixture of barley-meal and pulse or split peas; this is made into a paste with water, and divided into large balls of about three pounds each, of which five are given to each camel. Here and at Rostan there are a great many young horses grazing, belonging to the Government. The caravan halted here the next day and on the 20th I pushed on with Hadj Ali across the plains, leaving the camels to follow. We went into Marra, a gloomy dirty place, famous for its sweetmeats, and arrived in eleven hours at the village of Serukee. The ruins of the khan were crowded with travellers and baggage cattle, and we were obliged to go and procure billets in the village. I was separated from my companion, but found good quarters with a fine old fellow with a white beard; he was quite a sportsman, and complained very much of being deprived of his arms by the Government, which prevented his antelope shooting; however, he had substituted some fine hounds, and with them still carried on his sport.

*February 21.*—In the morning I searched the village for Hadj Ali, but without success, and set off by myself for Aleppo; this country being better cultivated, the roads were consequently worse; in many places they were ploughed over, and the march was very tedious. On one occasion, I foolishly diverged, for what appeared to be a drier path, when I all at once found myself swamped in a slough; I dismounted, but found my horse inextricably fixed; and there I stood, up to my knees in mud, contemplating my disconsolate situation, no one near to afford me assistance. In this helpless condition I should have afforded an easy prey to any wandering Arabs who might have taken a fancy to my baggage: and the reputation these plains enjoyed as the resort of plunderers did not add to the comfort of my position; at length a party with donkeys, whom I had passed on the road, came up and helped me to extricate my horse. I had paid these people for their assistance, but as I went on with them, I heard them remarking that they might have made a better bargain if they had left me in the mud till I had agreed on a ransom; it was very true, and what might have been expected from some of our peasantry nearer home. It took me twelve hours to reach Aleppo, which I came in sight of, just as it was lighted up by a lurid sunset; the town, with its graceful minarets and tall citadel, has a commanding appearance from the south. The plains on this frontier, from three hours south of Aleppo, to Sasa, south of Damascus, are, with some exceptions, fertile; the same fine soil extends to the vicinity of Palmyra. This rich tract is capable of high cultivation, for which the population at present is not adequate, but there can be no doubt that formerly it was thickly peopled; when the land is cultivated, it produces abundant crops of grain; and when left to itself, the thistles flourish in gigantic luxuriance; but such is the poverty of the people, caused by the oppression of the Egyptian Government, that it is only in large towns like Aleppo, Hamah, and Homs, that the common necessaries of life can be

obtained. I believe I mentioned that in Rostan, a town of 400 or 500 houses, I could obtain nothing but dry and bad bread. I suppose the human frame becomes more enduring under hardships; this is the only way in



ALEPPO.

which I can account for my health not breaking down on these long weary marches. The expense of horse hire from Jerusalem to Aleppo was about £3; the expense of living about ten shillings. I learnt on these travels how little a man requires to sustain life; in some places I could purchase dry fish-roes; these, and the carob bean, I carried in my wallet, with the flat cakes, which do duty for bread, dried to the consistence of flint: on one occasion I lived for four or five days on the small dry figs, which are strung like necklaces, and sold in the native bazaars, and yet my health did not suffer; there is no doubt that in our ordinary life at home most people eat too much: hence the multiplicity of diseases, and our consequent slavery to doctors. As my experience, when last here, taught me not to expect much hospitality from our Consul, I lodged for the night in a khan, and the next day, through the kind assistance of my friend, Mr. C. Barker, procured a very good lodging in the house of a Greek. Here I was very comfortable, and was

besides under the protection of a variety of saints and martyrs, with which the walls of my room were hung; some of these are worth recording, to show the delusions by which these poor people are kept in bondage by their spiritual false guides. One of these pictures represented the raising a dead man to life, by a priest named Phillipi Neri, who of course was canonized, as certified by an extract from a Pope's bull which is attached to it. Another is a picture of St. Eurosia, daughter of a King of Bohemia, who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Moors. The legend continues, "At the same time this holy martyr of Christ obtained the favour of the Most High to be protectress against rain and all sorts of tempests." I will make no comment.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## ASSYRIA.

FOR a month we were weather-bound at Aleppo: and from all the information to be obtained, the route through Mesopotamia, which lay along the base of the mountains, would be a quagmire, after these heavy rains; but my fellow-traveller having rejoined me here, after an interesting excursion in the Hauran, we made preparations for our onward march, hoping that the weather would improve as we went on. We purchased a couple of horses, and getting rid of all our extra baggage, we reduced our wardrobe to a change of clothes, and about four blue shirts each: these, with maps, sketch-books and a few necessaries, weighing altogether about 15 lbs., were packed in saddle-bags, made to fit over the cantle of our saddles; looking forward, as a general rule, to having to sleep in our clothes, all our bedding consisted of a coverlet or quilt, which was doubled and strapped with a surcingle over the saddle, making a comfortable seat, and a cloak fastened on behind; we each slung a double-barrelled gun, and pair of pistols, with necessary ammunition; and thus equipped we set off to traverse some of the most unfrequented roads of Turkish Arabia. With the exception of a little tea, which is not to be found where we were going, we trusted to Providence for forage, shelter, and provisions; we took neither servant, escort, nor guide. Having in vain waited for the weather to clear, we marched on the 18th of March for Bir on the Euphrates; but owing to various delays, could not go more than three hours, and that in heavy rain; the evening setting in, and despairing of reaching a village before dark, we looked about for some

place of shelter, and at last espied some caverns in the hills on our right, for which we shaped our course; we found here some heaps of stones, which had formerly been a village, but not a room standing; we therefore explored the caves, in one of the largest of which we fixed our quarters; it was very roomy, formed in the side of the hill with a low entrance, and appeared to have been tenanted by cattle, as the floor was covered with dirt, and in a corner, parted off, was a large supply of straw. By the time we had disencumbered our horses, and spread our beds in this comfortable refuge, a herd of oxen began crowding into the cavern, accompanied by a party of fellahs, who had taken up their temporary abode in these caves, while employed in cultivating the neighbouring fields; they did not evince any ill will at finding us in possession, but, on the contrary, drove some of their cattle into the other caves, to allow more room for our horses, and furnished us with barley for them, and what hard fare their slender commissariat afforded for ourselves; they seemed a happy quiet race, calling themselves Yezidies; but whether they were so or fire-worshippers (as I had been told there were some of these north of Aleppo) or Druses, I had no means of deciding; but my impression was that their own account of themselves was not the true one; they were very musical, and entertained us with a tolerable guitar, and a long pipe like a flageolet; their performance was melodious, and far from deficient in taste. We enjoyed a delightful night's rest, untormented by the entomological world, our repose almost unbroken, except by the cattle that were pulling the straw from under our beds when their own allowance was exhausted.

The next day the weather was still rainy; we mounted, however, and marched across fertile plains, our road lying partly along the bank of the Aleppo river; we passed a large camp of about fifty black tents on the opposite or western bank, and were afterwards informed that the natives often leave their villages at these seasons and



camp out in the valleys to graze their flocks of sheep and goats; about three miles from the road, towards the N.W., was a large village called Elghrul. After marching six hours, we reached the khan and village of Ochteran, where we found much difficulty in procuring supplies, and the weather having partially cleared, we proceeded to Bambuche, which we reached in four hours more; this is a large village, with flat roofed houses, where we found an oda musafir, the people very obliging, and every accommodation. The Turkish good fellowship is sometimes carried a little too far, though it is still a fault on the right side: not to mention the coolness with which, if you are a smoker, they take possession of your pipe, and, filling it out of your own bag, smoke away with the greatest nonchalance: it is not uncommon for a man to go to the door and, thrusting his naked feet into your boots or slippers, walk across a muddy street or courtyard, regardless of whether you may want them in the meantime, or of the dirt with which they may return loaded: as happened to me.

*March 20.*—In four hours we reached the Sadjur, a large rapid brook which flows into the Euphrates: we forded this stream, the right bank of which rises in high abrupt cliffs, through which the road descends. In three hours more we stopped at Ekergee, where, as usual, we found an oda and good accommodation, though the place was very small. The Sheik was a very intelligent man; he talked a great deal of Captain Lynch, who, he said, had remained here several months: this was at the time of Colonel Chesney's expedition to the Euphrates, when our stores and people were continually passing from the dépôt at the mouth of the Orontes to Bir on the Euphrates.

The country from Aleppo to Bir consists of fine undulating plains, with numerous scattered villages. The next day we crossed a stream over a bridge of three arches, and saw a range of snowy mountain peaks to the north. Just beyond this stream is the field of the battle

of Nezib, between the Turks and Egyptians, extending about eight miles on our left; our road was strewn with balls and fragments of shells; this battle, which established the dominion of the Pacha of Egypt in Syria, was fought on the 24th June, 1839; according to Mr. Ainsworth's account, published in the London Geographical Journal, the Egyptian army, including irregulars, amounted to 34,300, with 110 guns, the Turks numbering 33,200, with 160 pieces of artillery; he states that three regiments of Turkish cavalry remained inactive during the conflict. The Egyptian prisoners and deserters gave way at once, and the Bashi-bozeuks, who had been appointed to support the extreme left, marched to the tent where the treasury was kept, and began plundering that, and the rest of their own camp; this naturally drew the attention of the Turks to the protection of their baggage, and, although they fought with great bravery, they were thus thrown into disorder, and eventually put to flight. I was told in Syria that at one period of this conflict Ibrahim Pacha had decided on retreating, and was only dissuaded by the French General, Suleiman Pacha, who was much praised by Mohammed Ali, and much hated by Ibrahim in consequence. Mr. Ainsworth was compulsorily present at this battle, having been detained by the Turkish General, that he might be a witness of his anticipated victory, by which he became involved in the perils of the flying rout.

In four hours we came to the verge of the basin of the Euphrates, from whence the ground descends in successive slopes to the bed of the river. Between the Euphrates and Aleppo, the country consists of fertile undulating plains, without wood, with numerous villages. Feeding on the fields were large flocks of black ibis; this bird is about the size of a raven, the plumage changing in the different lights to purple and green, the head is bald and red, and the neck ornamented with a ruff of hackles; here I first saw the red wattled plover, *Vanellus Goensis*. The view of Birejek from this side of the river is remark-

ably picturesque; the formation of the valley gives the Euphrates the appearance of great breadth, and just opposite the town it spreads out into a wide expanded reach; the opposite bank is abrupt and precipitous, the houses of Bir being carried up the slopes and crowning the heights: to the south extend a range of conical hills; and forming part of the town to the north, springing from perpendicular cliffs, rises a tall old Saracen castle of yellow stone; the holes and ledges of the cliffs were peopled with the ibis above mentioned, which make their nests in every hollow and crevice, and round the towers and walls of the castle wheeled innumerable pigeons, starlings, and hawks, screaming and filling the air with discordant clamour. We were ferried over the river in a curious boat, very well adapted for carrying cattle, being very light, high astern, and with no bows; it was made of short planks fastened together, one overlapping the other. The town appeared to be very dirty, caused in a great measure by the numerous springs, which, descending from the top of the cliffs, find their way through the precipitous streets, stagnating wherever the water finds a level. We were told that there was a house still occupied by the stores belonging to the Euphrates expedition, but no one was in charge of it. The people of Bir are very different from those we have left; they are more Arab in make and aspect, disobliging and even insolent; they are probably a mixed race, for here the Koords, Arabs and Turks abut on each other.

We had reached this in six hours, and it being still early, wished to push on to another village, as there is always more delay and difficulty in procuring lodging in a town; and accordingly ascended through the town, on the outskirts of which were some extensive caverns excavated from the cliffs between which the road passed, ranges of massive stone pillars being left to support the superincumbent hill; these caves served the purpose of khans for cattle and travellers, and had no appearance of sculpture. On reaching the summit of the ascent,

the retrospective view was very grand: the slopes immediately beneath us were clothed with hanging gardens and trees, intersected by rushing brooks; beyond, lay the town, with the river winding away through the valley to the north and south, between white cliffs on this side and slopes of red soil on the opposite bank. The ground being verdant with long grass, we hobbled our horses to pasture for an hour; and then proceeded by the Orfa road, passing several springs and pools of pellucid water, from whence rise the streams that supply Bir. We had not gone far when we met a party of respectable Turks, by whom we were informed that there was no resting-place for ten hours further, and who advised our return to the town, as the country between Bir and Orfa was swarming with robbers, and unsafe at all times, but more so at night: we therefore returned, and scrambling down a bye-road in the cliffs, made our way to the house of the Mutsellim, which is perched on a point to which we ascended by a winding road. The old governor gave us coffee, and sent for the head of the Armenians, to whom we were consigned, with orders to provide us with what we wanted. Following our conductor, he first tried to quarter us, I believe, in his own house, but was met with such a storm of words from all the women as showed him how vain it was to persevere, and after half an hour's patient endurance of their shrill uproar, during which they refused to produce the key of the desired room, finding we could neither soften nor frighten them, we gave up the attempt; and we had to travel up and down for some time before the old blue-robed Armenian succeeded in lodging us in a vacant room, close under the frowning walls of the ruined castle. I walked out in the evening, and was struck with the appearance of the few horses I saw; they are of a finer breed and better class of Arab than I have yet fallen in with; a number of young men were assembled in an open space, playing at hop step and jump, leaping, and other diversions. As the people here are not well-inclined towards strangers, and I thought there was an appear-

ance of their leaving their sports to mob the Frank, I went and sat down in the centre of a row of elders, who were sitting along the side of the street looking on, and who immediately made way for me, when the sports continued, and they seemed pleased that I should take an interest in their amusements.

We marched the next day, nine hours, the weather having cleared for the present; we passed one or two little villages at a distance from the road, and some caves in the hills, so that we might have found shelter, had we yesterday continued our road. We slept at Sharmelik, a small mud village, with conical roofs, a large khan, with a good well of water of great depth, to which a flight of stairs descended.

*March 23.*—The sloping plains of yesterday continued for four hours, when we entered a bad road through rocky hills, until the road descends into the plains of Orfa; there is a made road down the pass, the beetling cliffs of black rocks on either side being full of caves and sepulchral excavations. From the summit of the descent, the eye wanders unimpeded across the plains of Mesopotamia, till they mingle with the horizon; in the foreground is the large town of Orfa, surrounded by rich cultivation; this we reached in nine hours. Orfa, called formerly Edessa, was the capital of the principality of Godfrey of Bouillon after the Crusades; it is now a walled town, with a numerous Egyptian garrison; to the south is a hill on which rise the ruins of an old fortress of the Saracens, planted in the middle of which are two tall Corinthian columns, built of stone; they are said to be inscribed with a Syrian legend, and are mentioned in the Jehan Nama. Orfa is also supposed, on the authority of tradition, to be the Ur of Abraham; there is a large mosque dedicated to him, called Ibrahim el Khalil, a very elegant building, with graceful minarets, and surrounded by cypress, on the margin of a large tank, full of sacred fish, which are supposed to have been there since the time of the Patriarch; there are several other pools, also swarming with these fish, which resemble

chub, and grow to a large size ; they are extremely tame, coming in shoals to the margin to be fed, and there are always people selling parched pulse to the pilgrims and believers for the purpose of feeding them ; a great many of these holy fish find their way into the canteens of the soldiers, who are not so scrupulous ; nor are their European officers. Fine ruins of Christian churches exist at Orfa : there are 400 or 500 Armenian families and some Jews. We lodged in the house of an Armenian ; these people are extremely ignorant, but very industrious and clever traders ; the principal men among them have no knowledge of their own history ; they had some tradition of a Sultan of theirs, called Abcar, who lived near Issus (Abgarus, I suppose, the last King of Edessa, sent in chains to Rome by Caracalla A.D. 216) ; they were converted to Christianity A.D. 300.

We found several Europeans attached to the troops, two doctors and a band master ; they all complained bitterly of the station, the bad character of the people, and the scarcity of provisions ; from Dr. Comnenus, a Hungarian, we received much attention, and he accompanied us to wait on the Pacha ; we had been told that it was extremely dangerous to proceed by our proposed route, this frontier being in a very unsettled state ; we rode through the town to the Pacha's palace, meeting with much bad language in the streets, which confirmed my impression of the evil disposition of these people ; the women have a very forbidding appearance, wearing veils of black horsehair, which allow them to see without being seen. Some of the houses are very well built of hewn stone. In the square before the Pacha's palace were several fieldpieces. We found the Pacha, a little fat round man, at his toilet, and a barber engaged exposing the development of his phrenology ; he had no objection to receiving us, and with the usual Turkish urbanity. In a short time Majoun Bey, the commander of the irregular Arabs, of which there is a large body stationed here to make excursions and push forward the Egyptian frontier,

came and formed one of our party ; so we gained some insight into the state of affairs, and were able to appreciate the obstacles that lay in the way of our progress. It appears that the Arabs from the neighbourhood of Bagdad had this year moved to the north in great force, plundering the villages, carrying off the flocks, and driving the nomad Koords, who pasture on these plains, before them to the Turkish and Syrian frontiers. Majoun Bey had been out against them, and managed to take some of them by surprise ; and he informed us that another expedition was preparing to start in a few days, when we could accompany him until past all danger, and he would put us in the road to Mardin, to the vicinity of which place he was going. We were highly delighted with this arrangement, and anticipated much pleasure from the foray, which would give us an insight into their mode of warfare, and promised some novelty. He promised to let us know when he intended marching, and we left him ; but the next afternoon, to our great disappointment, we were informed that in consequence of receiving sudden intelligence of the movements of the Arabs, he had marched early that morning, without giving us notice. To overtake his Bedouin horsemen with a day's start was impossible with our cattle, so we were obliged to subdue our vexation and take measures for starting alone. The Pacha advised our taking a northerly route through Diarbekir ; but as this would have taken us into the high road, and we wished to avoid a beaten track, we thanked him for his advice, but could not profit by it ; he then very kindly offered us an escort across the plains, which we declined, as it would only expose us to hostilities on a disturbed frontier, without being able to protect us, and in fact the half dozen men he might have furnished us would have run away on the first appearance of danger. At last it was arranged that we should take a letter from the Pacha to a principal chief of the wandering Koords, who had come to the vicinity of Orfa for protection ; with a request to forward us from camp to camp until out of danger.

The chief's name was Atash Bey ; he was the head of the Djilab tribes ; this is the name of a river which flows down towards Harran, on which these Koords are settled, and from which they take their name. This being settled satisfactorily, we returned to prepare for our departure.

On this road from Damascus by Aleppo and to Nisibin, the bread has a peculiar unpleasant bitter taste, which I can only account for from the ovens being heated with wormwood (Absinthe: Artemisii), with which these plains abound, and which forms their chief fuel ; the essential oil from this aromatic herb being volatilized penetrates the bread exposed to its action.

*March 28.*—The Pacha having sent us a horseman as a guide, and the letters he had promised, we set off this morning across the cultivated plains, taking an easterly direction ; we were accompanied for two hours by Dr. Comnenus, from whom we had experienced so much kindness, and who would not part with us until he had impressed it on our guide's mind to take every care of us. We then turned a little northerly, through a range of low rocky hills, and passed the little stream of Djilab, close to the villages of Simbeg and Hadr, which are situate on opposite banks of the stream, Hadr being on a mound to the north-east of the former: we stopped here to inquire our road ; it appeared to be a large village, with a great deal of cultivation around it, and the people were well dressed ; the houses were flat-roofed. Being shown the direct road to the head-quarters of the Djilab, we continued our march through low hills, a branch of the Abd el Aziz mountains winding east and south-east, with pools of water in the hollows, impregnated with red earth. In a gorge we came suddenly to a camp of twenty-five tents, the chief of which was one of the handsomest figures I ever met with ; he was tall and commanding, with handsome aquiline features, with a magnificent turban ; and in his flowing robe, girt at the waist with his sword, and a light burnoose over his shoulders, as he came out with some of his people to



welcome us and entreat us to pass the night under the shadow of his tents, I could almost fancy myself living in the time of the patriarchs: he was picturesque in appearance, and dignified in manner; as we wished to reach the camp of Atash Bey before dark, we declined his hospitality with thanks, and he sent us on our way with a blessing. I am convinced that much of the difficulty many travellers experience in these and other unfrequented countries, arises from their taking escorts and Tatars, who are looked on by the people with an evil eye, and who, being armed with a little authority, maltreat and tyrannize over the natives, who naturally show resistance, to the great inconvenience and sometimes danger of the traveller. We had been advised before and after leaving England, particularly to avoid the Koordish frontier, the inhabitants of Koordistan being described as cut-throats and plunderers; but after traversing a few of these eastern countries, our eyes were opened to all these absurd reports; so long as you behave properly towards them, you will receive good treatment at their hands, and I was not sorry that our road had now brought us in contact with them, as it has enabled me to judge for myself, and I can now say that, after seeing much of the Koords on the plains from Orfa to Mardin, and afterwards in the mountains by Jezirah and Zacu, we invariably found them frank, hospitable, and honest; but I am anticipating my journal.

After crossing several small brooks, we came to the descent of the hills, from the summit of which we looked down on the plains covered with black tents and flocks, stretching away to the south, as far as the eye could reach; among these was the camp of which we were in search, at which we arrived after marching ten hours; this camp was composed of fifty large tents. We were accommodated in an enormous tent belonging to the chief, of black hair cloth, and supported by fifteen or twenty poles; three or four of these are placed fan form, springing from the same centre, across the breadth of the tent, with a long

interval between each set ; on these the cloth roof rests, and is fastened down at the edges to pegs in the ground ; the mat partitions, of which there are several, are made of split reeds embroidered with patterns of coloured worsted ; one end of this tent is open and public, and here our horses stood under cover : another apartment had a fire hearth, and was spread with carpets and felts for guests : in the other divisions the females were busy at their household affairs, hand-weaving and cooking.

The men are not tall, but stout and well made ; they wear long white linen trousers, very wide at the ankle ; over these they have a white shirt or tunic, with a leathern belt round the waist ; this shirt is open at the sides, and from the four corners hang long tails or streamers, about an inch wide and terminating in a point. The better sort wear a cloak and turban, others merely a handkerchief or bit of rag round the head ; they have donkeys and a few camels for carrying their tents, as well as some small cows, but very few horses ; their riches consist in their flocks of sheep and goats. After sitting a short time with the circle round the fire, Atash Bey made his appearance, when the whole party rose as a mark of respect for the Chief ; he was a tall thin old man, with a white beard ; he welcomed us to his tents, and then advised us to go by Severek and Diarbekir, as it would be most dangerous to cross the plains, which are scoured by the Arabs in all directions ; and he feared the responsibility if anything happened to us ; he said he had just received intelligence that there was a party of the Anaze<sup>1</sup> to the north of them, about four hours off (this we afterwards found was true) ; but, imagining that the Pacha had instructed him to dissuade us, we determined to proceed at all risks. We

<sup>1</sup> Although here and at Orfa these Arabs are called Anaze, they are really the Shammar, the most powerful tribe of the Syrian deserts. Their chief, Sufuke, was lately a prisoner of the Turks at Constantinople ; he was afterwards liberated, the Sultan retaining his son as a pledge for his good behaviour, and I have no doubt that it is by order of the Porte that the Arabs are now harassing the frontier of Mohammed Ali in Syria. The head-quarters of these Arabs is at Al Modain (Ctesiphon) south of Bagdad.

asked the Chief why they did not make a stand and resist the encroachments of the Arabs; he said that the Arabs were superior to them in having the advantage of being well mounted, whereas they had few horses among them. All uncivilized warriors have a great dread of cavalry.

The old Bey had a fine intelligent little boy, who seemed much amused examining our dress, guns and everything belonging to us, and his delight was at its height when we gave him one of those little flat child's accordions, and showed him how to play it; he could scarcely believe it was his own, but soon scampered away to exhibit his prize; and we heard him performing in the harim for the amusement of the women. I think this gained the father's heart too, for after awhile he at last reluctantly consented to forward us to another camp in the morning. After assisting to demolish a large pillaf made of a lamb, we retired to rest.

The next morning two horsemen were in waiting at dawn to conduct us on our road; these men carried long spears, with black ostrich feather tassels hanging below the point; they galloped about, flourishing their spears, I imagine to inspire themselves with courage in case of danger, for they made anxious inquiries of every individual we fell in with as to the movements of the Arabs. The next camp belonged to a chief named Eyoub Bey. Our guides, however, took us a long round to avoid the enemy. We first retraced part of our westerly road towards Orfa, and then struck north into the hills, and reached the camp of Ayoub Bey about midday, just in time to join a party of guests who were partaking of an excellent pillaf of kid. The party consisted of another chief named Mohammed Bey, with six horsemen, who were returning to their tents from Orfa.

Ayoub Bey was absent, but Mohammed Bey, hearing of our wish to proceed towards Mardin, begged we would accompany him to his camp, where he would entertain us for the night, and forward us on our road in the

morning, to which considerate offer we gladly acceded. Mohammed Bey seemed a very superior man; he was very intelligent, with a thoughtful expression of countenance, and a frankness of demeanour, which were quite prepossessing and very uncommon in Oriental countries, where the general character is either shrewd cunning, or apathetic indifference.

We were now a strong party, and took a winding course N. and N.E. through the hills toward the Kara Dagħ; we encountered numerous parties of Koords moving in all directions, but mostly proceeding to the vicinity of Orfa, all fleeing from the Arabs, who had carried their depredations to the foot of the mountains; their property, consisting of their tents, poultry, and furniture, was packed on cows, camels and donkeys; on these also were carried some of their infants in baskets, and the young kids and lambs that were too weak to walk; their progress was very dilatory, as they drove their flocks before them and were accompanied by their women and children. The alarm seemed to be general, and although we were strong enough to have made a very respectable fight, I have little doubt, had a party of Arabs appeared, that the Koords would have immediately sought their own safety in flight and abandoned us to their mercy; our only hope was in the Chief, who I do not think would have forsaken his trust, and his men might possibly have stood by him: I was not sorry, eventually, that we had no occasion to put their fidelity to the test, although we soon had evidence of the presence of the enemy.

Towards evening, when about two miles from the camp, we fell in with a stray goat, which they supposed had dropped from fatigue, and been overlooked by the shepherds: one of the horsemen dismounted and took it up before him on his saddle; however, as we proceeded, we found sheep lying about in different places, some tired and others lame, and we now began to suspect that all was not right, which was soon confirmed by messengers

coming out from the camp with the intelligence that the Arabs had attacked the shepherds about midday, and carried off three hundred sheep and goats; it seems that we had crossed their line of retreat, and if we had been a few hours earlier, should have come in collision with the foragers. I was extremely grieved that this misfortune should have happened to an estimable man, and one who had shown us so much kindness: he naturally felt his loss, but showed no impatience at the blow; and hearing that his family were safe, like Job, he blessed God, and hastened to meet them.

A little further on, we approached the ruins of a village, with two or three stunted trees on a mound, which was occupied by a clump of spears; here we found a party of twenty horsemen, on all sorts of cattle, and variously armed, who had turned out to make a show of pursuit. They all returned with their chief, and we reached the camp in about nine hours; here we saw the lambs and kids, which are kept in camp while the mothers go to graze, running about seeking them in vain, and filling the air with their plaintive cries.

The Chief was met at the door of his tent by his children; he embraced them with great affection and seemed at the moment to have forgotten the loss of his flocks. After welcoming us to his tent, he went in to his family, but joined us at supper, and discussed his mishap with great composure; but gave orders to have everything ready for decamping in the morning, as he intended to move nearer to the frontier for protection.

Before leaving our friend Mohammed Bey, and while sitting at breakfast in the morning, a party of three men on baggage horses joined us from Orfa. One of these, a young man, was dressed in the height of Aleppine finery, a gold-laced frock, silk turban and sash, and the rest in keeping; the others seemed to be his servants: from his display in dress, his bragging of his wealth, but, above all, his not eating anything but what he killed himself and his own people cooked, I concluded he

was a Jew, which was afterwards confirmed, on hearing that many of the Damascus Jews had escaped with their property to Bagdad, when the persecution was raised against them in the former city. He passed himself off as a Moslem and professed to be well acquainted with the road to Mardin; in consequence of this, we joined company, but soon discovered that he knew nothing of the track, and we were obliged to take guides from one camp to another; his object seemed to be to have the advantage of our protection as Englishmen: his bags were heavily freighted, and his appearance was calculated to excite the cupidity of the natives, of which I will presently relate one instance. Our course was sometimes south, and at other times easterly, with the range of Kara Dagh (Mount Masius) running east and west on the left; the wind was very boisterous; we passed many remains of villages and several streams, running south to the Khabur. In eight hours we came to a ruin, consisting of old walls, standing on a basement built of stone, of superior workmanship; several truncated columns were lying about; it appeared to be a Greek temple. A few hundred yards from this was a large encampment belonging to Mohammed Bey, the Sheik of Ras-el-Ain, who welcomed us with the utmost hospitality; he lodged our horses under the tent, and ourselves in a neat inner room, formed of cane screens, where, as soon as we were installed, he gave us an account of his disasters. He was a fine-looking man, although with a dark and rather forbidding countenance; he was handsomely dressed in a green quilted satin caftan, lined with crimson silk, and a large white turban over a black shawl, the three corners of which hung down Arab fashion on his shoulders and back; he was the chief of the tribe of Herdooh, numbering 200 tents, who had long possessed the country about Ras-el-Ain, a fine fertile district on the Khabur river; but during the late irruption of the Arabs, his country had been invaded by a horde of the Anazie, as they are here called, who had carried off several thousand head of cattle, and

compelled him to seek safety by a rapid flight, as he said; this was very hard on him and his people, who were Arabs themselves. He was also deprived of a large source of wealth in the rich sulphur wells of Ras-el-Ain, the produce of which he disposed of to Ibrahim Pacha; from his description, it would appear that the native sulphur, or the mineral in a very pure state, is deposited at the bottom of some large pools or wells, fed by springs, on the banks of the Khabur, where men dive or go down with buckets and collect it; the water runs off into the river; different from our friend of yesterday, the Arab complained bitterly of his losses, and vowed vengeance against his invaders; he said he was determined, as soon as he had left his camp safe, to go back with his people and recover his country; he was probably attacked by the Arabs for allowing Majoun Bey to make Ras-el-Ain a rendezvous in his excursions against them, besides supplying the Egyptian Government with sulphur. The Sheik ordered a sheep to be killed, and we had an immense pillaf, served as usual with large flaps of bread spread round the dish, which answered the double purpose of food and tablecloth, and bowls of sour milk by way of sauce piquante. Our Israelitish road companion ate by himself, and was of course suspected of sailing under false colours.

They have remarkably handsome Persian greyhounds on these plains; the Sheik offered us our choice of his, which was a great temptation, but we could not encumber ourselves with them on such a journey. Neither here nor at the Koordish camps, could we induce the people to accept any remuneration for our entertainment; it was considered a slur on their hospitality. I am aware that with some of these people, Arabs particularly, they are loud in their protestations against being paid, at the same time that they are actually receiving a gratuity, and will even grumble if it is not considered enough; but here it was not the case: and any person, and I have had some experience, with a little observation, can easily distinguish between their real meaning and their actual profession.

In the morning, two more Arab travellers having joined us, we marched across the plains, now covered with verdure; crossing numerous muddy ditches, formed by rivulets from the hills, in which the horses were often nearly swamped; we also crossed several large streams, with black rocky beds, near which there were usually mounds, on which villages had formerly stood, but which were now only occupied by a few huts or black tents, inhabited by half a dozen stout fellahs, who cultivated a little patch of ground, with the variety, probably, of occasionally relieving a helpless traveller of his superabundance of baggage. This would certainly have been the lot of our friend from Damascus, had he been alone. The man who had joined us with his servant at the last camp was an inhabitant of Koh Hissar, a large village in the plain south of Mardin, to which he was going; he was a tall well-dressed man, and well-mounted, but of a sinister expression of countenance, and very reserved; he stopped two or three times at these groups of hovels, to light his narghileh, and twice after he left them, one of the peasants followed him on the road and detained him in conversation for a quarter of an hour; we thought at first that he might have business with them, but the repetition excited our suspicions, and, on pressing him, he at length told us that we were in a very dangerous country, and that these people had been tempted by the dashing dress and substantial appearance of our companion's bags; but afraid to attack so large a party, were endeavouring to persuade him to join them in their plundering speculation and share the spoil, to which of course he would not agree. The Jew was much alarmed, for I have no doubt he had valuable property with him, and urged us to push on. It is very probable that there was some danger and some mischief meditated; but what our pretended friend stated would not have happened twice following, or originated with two sets of people, and I therefore put a different version on the affair, and verily believe that it was he himself who wished these people to join him in the scheme for plundering the



traveller, from which they were only deterred by our presence and double-barrelled guns; had it not been for this protection, he certainly would never have reached Mardin, and there is no hope of redress in these deserts, where every man's hand is against his neighbour; when we arrived at Mardin, he said he would go on with a caravan, and we heard no more of him.

The numerous streams from Mount Masius, west of Mardin, feed the Khabur, which unites with the Euphrates; at their confluence ought to be found the ruins of the Mausoleum which the Roman army raised to their Emperor, Gordian the Third. After marching ten hours, we stopped for the night at a small camp of five Koord tents.

*April 1.*—Yesterday was rainy; but although we had an April morning, at twelve it set in a storm of hail and sleet with a drifting east wind. Two hours from our halting-place we passed the village of Mshkoka, in a rocky situation, the ground surrounding it being composed of black porous rock, with which also the plain was strewn. When the weather cleared, the mountains to which we had been approaching loomed black, ragged and picturesque; on one of the highest pinnacles stood the town of Mardin, above it towering the citadel, the walls of which are built up from, and seem a continuation of, the rocky scarps on which it was perched; from the plain it has a most romantic appearance: we had to ascend to this eyry by a paved road, winding up and round the sides of the hill; we waited on the Governor, Kerim Pacha, who was sitting in durbar; he was polite, as usual, informed us that the Nisibin road was quite safe, and consigned us to the Sheik of the Armenians, who are numerous here, by whom we were very well lodged. Mardin is a large Turkish town built of stone, but from its position the streets are narrow and the houses descending in successive terraces, the upper street sometimes spreading over the roofs of the houses immediately beneath it, so that we were often walking on the tops of the houses,

without being aware of it ; the town is walled and garrisoned with Turkish troops, for it was supposed that Mohammed Ali wished to extend his conquests in this direction. To-day's march was nine hours. It was on these plains near Mardin that Tamerlane encamped when subduing Mesopotamia.

On rising in the morning we found the houses and mountains covered with snow ; quite an English scene. The Pacha was to have sent a guide with us ; but, as he was not ready when we passed the palace, we marched on without him, slipping and scrambling down the road we had ascended the day before, meeting with a succession of snow-storms, which assailed us at the opening of every gorge of the hills ; coming to the bottom, we took a direction south-east, across spongy grass plains, intersected by ditches and spring-heads, leaving Dara on the left under the hills : this place is said to possess some interesting ruins, but we could not spare time to go out of our track to visit it : it was formerly a large town under the Greek Emperors, and being a frontier station was strongly fortified against the Persians. We stopped half an hour during some rain at the ruins of Serka Kon, the walls of a small fort, in which were a few dark smoky hovels inhabited by shepherds : and in ten hours reached Nisibin, on the small river Mygdonius ; before coming to this place, now only a large village, we passed a large square stone building, like a barrack, which appeared to be unoccupied ; an officer, with a party of Turkish soldiers, was in charge of this place ; by him we were provided with quarters in a long barn-like mud cabin, in which were a man and his family ; the people here were rather disobliging, and would not procure us anything until first paid for it.

Nisibin was a town of great importance in former times ; it was a large, populous, fortified city, and the scene of the struggles between the Romans and Persians, and taken by each alternately, during the decline of the Roman Empire : until the disgraceful peace made by Jovian with

Sapoor, King of Persia, at Dura, on the Tigris, to secure a safe retreat across Mesopotamia: he then agreed to give up all the Roman territories in that country, including Singara, a city in the Singar Hills, and Nisibin, although he was then at the head of a large army, shaming the name of Romans. The inhabitants of Nisibin begged to be allowed to defend their own houses against the Persians; but Jovian, although neither a general nor a patriot, was faithful to his agreement, and compelled the people to abandon their hearths, with their families and movables, in sorrowing and mournful procession, when Nisibin was occupied by a Persian garrison. He thus purchased safety for himself by the sacrifice of the Roman territory, and the dishonour of the Roman name. Compared with this shameful peace of Jovian, how different was the conduct of the 10,000 Greeks who forced their way through hostile countries, from Babylon to the Euxine, rather than submit to a degrading accommodation.

*April 3.*—We marched twelve hours to-day from Nisibin to Chelagha; it was severe work, the road being cut up by the rivulets from the hills, which occurred every quarter of a mile, and which strained and distressed the horses in plunging through them. We crossed three larger streams, on one of which, half-way, was the large village of Hosnaour, on a high mound; on the banks of the stream were a few wretched-looking trees, which served to support some storks' nests. The general appearance of the country is a treeless plain, with hills on the left; the villages, however, are numerous, from Nisibin to Chelagha. The Aga of this place was one of the greatest rascals I have met with; his object appeared to be to make us pay him for an escort, and I believe he invented most of the stories he recounted of the dangers of the road from here to Mosul. He assured us that their own flocks had been carried off by the Yezedies of the Sinjar mountains; who infested the road in such force that a thousand horse could not pass; one story of course about

as true as the other; it was not his interest to inform us that a party of horsemen were marching the next day, but which we afterwards discovered. The road to Mosul is certainly one of the most dangerous in these parts, from the incursions of the people of the Sinjar, who inhabit a range of hills to the south and in sight of this, and who are noted plunderers; but there were other reasons which induced us to take a more indirect road: there seemed no prospect of a cessation of the rains, and there was no shelter or village to be found for the four days we should be out on the direct road: besides which, the road by Jezirah-ibn-Omar to the north was much more interesting, bringing us on to the route of Xenophon and his Greeks.

We left Chelagha in the morning, taking a guide from village to village; but not succeeding in procuring a fresh one at the first village, we returned to make better arrangements; when, missing the horsemen we had seen here the day before, we discovered that they had marched for Mosul. After threatening the Aga with the vengeance of the Government, he furnished us with a mounted guide and more particular orders to the villages; this was rendered necessary on account of the intricacy of the tracks in a country which is hilly, and intersected by torrents; our course was first E.N.E. and afterwards N.E. The first village we reached was the one to which our guide belonged, and the rain setting in in torrents, we were glad to take shelter in his hut, as horrible a den as ever I was in; his wife, whose features could scarcely be distinguished for smoke and dirt, seemed much delighted at the honour of having us as guests, and immediately set about cooking; and not to offend them we were obliged to remain in this den and partake of their rather forbidding fare. We travelled five hours in the rain across a wild and scarcely inhabited country, to a small village of half a dozen huts, called Abas, the head man of which went by the name of Delli Aga (the mad Aga). Here we found shelter in a hut, already occupied by a horse, a donkey, and

several wild-looking dirty Arabs, with their long matted hair streaming over their shoulders. Although the Aga mustered a pillau for ourselves, we could procure no barley for our horses, and they were forced to rough it on chopped straw.

The night was bitter cold, yet it was scarcely an advantage being cooped up with so many tenants in this confined hut, and as it was wet withal we could not well turn them out, but confined them to the other end of the hut, for the Arabs were not only dirty, but suspicious characters: we therefore lay down as we were, dressed and armed, in our cloaks, with our saddle-bags for pillows, and slept as comfortably as in feather beds.

*April 5.*—Mounted in the rain, marching E.N.E., taking guides from village to village; in two hours we came to a narrow river called Suffan, much swollen by the rains, and flowing at a rapid rate; here our guide, a lad about eighteen, after pointing out the ford, wished to return, saying he could not swim, and as it was very deep, he should be washed away; however, it was quite impossible for us to risk the passage without being shown the way, so we could not listen to his excuses; the poor fellow declared that he should be drowned, and begged we would shoot him on the spot; but as we wanted a feeler across the water, we could not afford to agree to this proposal, although much moved by his entreaties and the terrified looks with which he eyed the bubbling torrent; at length, by persuasion and threats, we compelled him to strip, and, telling him to cling to my horse's mane, we plunged into the muddy stream; the water came above the horse's shoulder, and soaked our saddle-bags, and the boy hung on to my horse's neck, trembling from cold and terror, but soon forgot his fears on receiving some piastres to console him. In five hours we reached the village of Gogerserk, on the banks of a small stream, the Koordish mountains looming dark and massive in the north. We alighted at the Aga's, where we procured some refreshment for ourselves and horses; in his house we found assembled

a large circle of Turks and Christians; they were very obliging, and gave us every information respecting the roads; they told us there was a direct road east to Zacu by a ferry over the Tigris, at a place called Bishabour, six hours from here; but as it was uncertain whether we should be able to cross on account of the rains, and Jezirah, which we were desirous of seeing, was only four hours to the north, we procured a guide, and took the road to the latter place; we had not proceeded half an hour, when the rain came down in torrents, with thunder and lightning, which so cut up the ground that we waded through an ocean of mud, till we came to the margin of the cliffs, down which the road descends to the valley of the Tigris. The view from this spot was grand in the extreme; near the junction of the Tigris with another large river was the town of Jezirah, partly concealed by a tongue of high land which separated the two rivers; to the right the united rivers flowed majestically onward through a verdant valley, backed by the rugged peaks and dark precipices of the Jeudi Dagh mountains of Koordistan, rent into contorted chasms and abrupt masses of gloomy magnificence; and spanned by a glorious bow in vivid relief against the mountain gloom and the last black clouds of the retreating storm: overhead the blue sapphire fields were bursting through the silver-edged dispersing clouds, while the ground at our feet was strewn with wild flowers. Scrambling down the rocky descent, we came to the bank of the first river; but the passage did not appear encouraging, although we could perceive the continuation of the track on the opposite bank; it was evidently much swollen by the rains, and was rushing down with great rapidity to the Tigris, which it joined a few hundred yards farther down; higher up were the remains of a bridge, which had been washed away. As there was no one near to direct us to a better passage, and having dispensed with our guide two hours before, we determined to attempt it, and dashed into the stream; we had great difficulty in keeping the horses'

heads up the stream ; the water shot by, and foamed against their chests and over our knees, they could scarcely keep their feet and stem the current ; and after we were half across, we found ourselves verging on the upper edge of a rapid, where one false step, or a hole, would have sent us rolling down into the Tigris, unwept, unhonoured, and unsung, except by the dirge of the roaring waters, and no one would have known our fate : we were thankful when a few more plunges placed us safe and dripping on the other bank, though far below the track ; but we had scarcely crossed the tongue of land which separated us from the town, when we had to encounter another danger of an opposite character. Jezirah is built on a large island, formed by an arm of the Tigris which flows round it, and which has to be crossed before reaching the town ; over this there had formerly been a bridge, of which nothing now remained but the tall isolated piers : the places of the arches were supplied by a sort of hurdle or scaffolding, thrown across from one buttress to the other ; these were formed of two slight poles with narrow cross-boards nailed to and overhanging them on either side ; the water, about twenty feet beneath, looked still and deep ; it was most nervous work leading our horses across this unfirm footing ; as our weight reached the centre of each interstice, the scaffolding sprung up and down in a fearful manner, threatening to break or slip from its support, and plunge us into the gulf beneath ; the third of these hurdles was the most perilous ; one side of it having given way, it formed a sloping declivity towards the water ; we could not retreat, and there was not room for a horse to turn, and it was with a great sense of relief that we found ourselves safe on the other bank. A party of Turks who had been apathetically watching our tight-rope evolutions, asked us what induced us to venture across the bridge, which had only been put up for the passage of goats, while there was a ford a little lower down ! The town of Jezirah has a very peculiar appearance, being built entirely of

black stone; a great part of it is in ruins, particularly the old buildings; part of the wall which formerly encircled it still remains. It has a large Romanist Chapel, many of the people being of that sect; the building is old, and has been appropriated to its present purpose, for which it was not originally destined; it has a Persian inscription at the door, which is ornamented with some uncouth sculptures of lions and griffins, with fishes' tails. The Mussulman population are Koords, their costume is very curious and quite peculiar, their trousers and jackets being uniformly made of stuff striped black and pink; their turbans had a pink pattern on a black ground, and were worn very large; it put me in mind of a clan tartan; it had not a pleasing effect, for black and pink do not harmonize. Their houses are also built on a curious plan, and would seem very ill adapted for a cold climate, which this is in winter, and must be very comfortless. The house, or rather room, consists of nothing but an arched vault, entirely open at one end, and having a fire and chimney place at the other, forming a complete tunnel for the wind. We went to the house of the Mutsellim, built on the same plan, with some mats hung before it to keep out the weather; he was a pompous, self-conceited fellow, with the largest turban I ever saw, not less than three feet in diameter, the necessity for balancing which perhaps added to the circumspection of his walk; he handed us over to the Head of the Christians, who took us from house to house, to procure us accommodation, which the people did not appear inclined to afford; there was little vacant room, judging from the way the rooms were crammed, and the weather prevented them from sleeping out; at one house there was a poor woman lying ill of a fever, whom our cicerone was in the act of having obtruded, bed and all, when we protested against it and prevented the unfeeling action; at length we were fairly landed in the middle of a family of three generations, where we were forced to make ourselves comfortable; we took the place next the fire, and had carpets and mats put up to



close the open side of the room : we were rather plagued by the curiosity of the people, who crowded round the door to peep in, and some of the better dressed, who were very polite, were admitted to the interior fire circle, and our tunnel was well filled with black and pink visitors. These people are slightly made, with fair complexions, and mild in manner ; they speak Turkish and Koordish, and are armed with the short rifle carbine of Anatolia.

Jezirah is a place of some antiquity ; it was called Bezabdé ; it is in a very picturesque situation at the foot of the mountains of Koordistan, from which it is separated by the Tigris, here a broad and rapid stream ; between the mountains and the opposite bank of the river, and following the river north, is the celebrated pass by which the 10,000 Greeks effected a passage on their retreat from Babylon, when they were so obstinately opposed by the Carducii or Koords : as they might have crossed the river on rafts, it is difficult to imagine why they did not take the road across the Mardin Hills into Mesopotamia ; perhaps it is a sufficient reason that they were ignorant of the country, or, if not, were afraid to return by places where they would have been exposed to the attacks of Cavalry.

On the 6th the Governor sent a peasant to show us the road, and we went down to the ferry over the Tigris with his people. The apparatus for crossing was a little loose raft made of inflated goatskins over which a slight frame is fixed ; on this we embarked with our bags and saddles, while our horses were swum across by their halters ; the stream was rapid, and we drifted a long way down before we were fairly landed in Koordistan. Our guide, having put us in the track which led to Zacu, begged to be allowed to return, and we accordingly dismissed him ; the road led for some distance along the left bank of the river ; the weather and scenery were both fine, and to be riding along entirely alone, without escort or protection, in a country and place always considered impassable, on account of the lawless

nature of the people, made me begin to doubt whether the millennium had not arrived. Either these and other people have been much maligned by former visitors, or a most extraordinary spirit of peace and goodwill has diffused itself over these countries, which we have traversed, to make such a change in their natures. My early impressions, from reading travels, had led me to imagine that every Turk was a brute, the Albanian a cut-throat, and the Koord next-of-kin to a cannibal; and I was agreeably deceived to find the Turks gentlemen: the Albanians, though far from heroes of romance, plain soldiers; and harmless if uninjured: and the Koords hospitable and good-natured.<sup>1</sup> Had these people been so very bad as is reported, they might have made away with us, in the wild district between this and Zacu, with the utmost impunity: their subjection to Turkey is only nominal, and what revenue they pay is more in form of a tribute; these mountaineers would not have much respect for a Sultan's firman, if indeed men were in the habit of asking for your passport before robbing you; but I am proud to think that the name and undisguised profession of an Englishman is a more powerful protection and safeguard in all countries where we are not actually at war, than any countenance of the local authorities; and this feeling it ought always to be the object of a traveller to cultivate. I should always recommend a traveller to carry arms for appearance sake, as it will spare him much molestation from the rabble of towns, and will command respect from all; and where there is nothing to excite the cupidity of the natives, few will venture to attack an armed man, whom they know from the fact of his being alone, without other protection, is determined to sell his life dear: and when there seems so little to be gained, they are not fond of risking their own.

Following the course of the river for a few miles till we came opposite the village of Tchonsherref, on the

<sup>1</sup> These remarks will not apply to these races in time of war or when excited by fanaticism; then they are merciless.—1882.

right bank, we ascended the hills, and in six hours reached the villages of Tokir and Narwan, two large Christian villages, within half a mile of each other, on a fertile plain, surrounded by rice cultivation; we stopped at the latter, situated on a fine brook also called Nahr-Rahwan (The running stream); half of these people are Nestorians, the rest Romanists: they say they settled here four years ago, having come from the vicinity of Nisibin; they are nominally subject to the Chief of Jezirah, but are obliged to pay tribute to the mountaineers for protection. To the north of this the mountains of Koordistan rise in black, ragged and perpendicular cliffs, horribly beautiful; with an aspect of gloomy grandeur, now heightened by the clouds gathering round their summits, portending more rainy weather, which we were not long in realizing; in fact the rain was so continuous that we were forced to remain here the next day. These people, who call themselves Christians, like some of the same sort at home, seem to think that the profession exempts them from the exercise of the duties of the Christian; they will not bear a comparison with the Mussulman Koords, and are remarkably ignorant, avaricious and disobliging. Although they pretended to call us brothers, they endeavoured to overreach us, and it was only by force that we could procure common necessaries from this degraded class. Their hovels were very wretched, and as we preferred avoiding the vermin likely to be found in them, we lodged in an old vacant cow-shed, one half of the roof of which had fallen in; under this the rain had formed a black pool of water; the other end sheltered us and our horses, as comfortless a situation as can well be imagined. They had some buffaloes here; these animals I had not seen since leaving Macedonia. We could not induce the head of the village to furnish us with fowls, although there were plenty running about, and I was obliged to resort to a curious method of compelling them: as they are very superstitious, I threatened to write a charm to make their cattle and

fowls die ; it was amusing to see the faces of alarm the circle put on at this proposition ; they pretended at first not to care for it, and I sat down and covered a long slip of paper with several lines of nondescript characters ; they were evidently beginning to be frightened : " Now," said I, " the charm is written, and I advise you to make up your minds at once, for if I put my seal to it, I would not give a piastre for any cow in the village within a fortnight." I was blackening the seal for the purpose ; but the effect was produced, and the Aga promised, if I would destroy the paper, we should have the fowls ; I accordingly burned the talisman, but even then they were anxious to know whether it might not have some latent effect, as it had been written ; but I reassured them by telling them it was harmless without my seal. I know I am open to blame for encouraging their superstitious feelings, and I do not attempt to justify it ; but as it happened so, I merely relate the circumstance.

*April 8.*—Crossed plains abounding with gazelles, and flanked by bold and picturesque mountains, on our right a bold rugged range lay between us and the Tigris. In Arrowsmith's map the course of the Kabur does not appear to be correctly laid down : there it is made to flow directly S.W. by Zacu into the Tigris, to do which it must flow over the ridge above mentioned, which lies N.W. and S.E. between the Tigris and Zacu ; and the Kabur, after passing this town, takes a bend to the N.W., to wind round the north end of these hills, before it can join the Tigris. Coming to the banks of the Hezel-Soo, which are very precipitous, we found the stream much swollen by the rains ; but finding a raft, we crossed upon it, while two men, stripping, mounted our horses and swam them over ; the raft was a most primitive machine supported by a few goatskins ; it yielded to every wave and eddy of the water, and gave me the feeling of being afloat on a jelly-fish.

Our road now followed the banks of the Kabur, which was flowing N.W. ; the scenery was very fine ; the road

crosses a bridge above Zacu, which is prettily situated on a mound close to the water, and was once surrounded by a high stone wall; the bridge which we crossed is a very elegant structure of great height on five arches; it is built at a narrow pass where the river rushes through a rocky gorge and roars over large masses of dark conglomerate; we went direct to the house, or rather castle, of the Aga; he was a fine old man, with a long white beard, and was surrounded by a large retinue of brigand-looking mountaineers, all armed with carved ivory-handled daggers and a short rifle; and many carried wicker shields about a foot and a half in diameter, with a metal cross in the centre; they were all well dressed in picturesque variety. The old chief welcomed us to his house, he spoke nothing but Koordish, but an interpreter was sent for, at my request, who could speak Arabic: he was a Hebrew, an intelligent and remarkably handsome man, who was carrying on trade with others of his tribe in the village; through him the Aga offered us every hospitality and assistance, and we felt ourselves perfectly at home; he offered an escort, which we declined, in adherence to our rule. This chief acknowledges allegiance to Turkey, but was living in the old feudal style, and keeping open house, numerous retainers, and a major domo or chamberlain; he was more like a petty prince than a governor of a small town.

We sat with the old chief in a verandah surrounded by his people till evening, the spot commanding an extensive view of the river and plains by which we had come; we then adjourned to a large hall, which was a reception room for all strangers and dependents: projecting from the walls were several pairs of horns of the ibex, which they told us were found in the adjacent mountains; at the end of the room was a large fireplace, where an incipient blaze was meditating the destruction of a huge pile of logs; down the centre of this hall, spread with mats, were laid a row of platters heaped with mounds of rice, flanked with flaps of bread; beside these was very soon

formed a double line of wayfarers and poor people of the place, who came to partake of their chief's bounty; these were all shown their appointed places by the master of the ceremonies, who then gave them the signal to fall on, which they did in good earnest. A pillau in a little better style was served up to us by ourselves; after which the Aga, with his people, came in and a large circle was soon reclining round the blazing hearth, to talk of local politics or the wonders of Frangistan, our friend the Israelite standing interpreter. The exploits of Majoun Bey and the inroads of the Arabs were commented on; and they listened with incredulity to the wonders of steam, the description of European ships and armies, and the grandeur of the distant ocean. They examined our arms, and showed us their own; the Aga was particularly pleased with our pistols and pocket compasses, which of course we could not part with: Mussulmans are always desirous of obtaining the latter, which they call the Kebla Namaz, as indicating the situation of Mecca, towards which they must turn in praying.<sup>1</sup> We were rather amused at a trick of the old Aga's to obtain some medicine; being ashamed to expose his ailments, or rather non-ailments, in public, for it is seldom these people want remedies for sickness, a man was brought who fathered all his complaints, and pretended he wanted the medicine for himself; we were not long in detecting the fraud; for, besides the prompting he required, the Aga was very pressing that we should supply the poor man's wants; however, we parted good friends, and much pleased with our entertainment.

There being no barley produced in the country, we were obliged to feed our horses on rice in the husk, of which, not being accustomed to it, they ate very sparingly, and were consequently unfit for their work. A Bashi-

<sup>1</sup> Mohammedans are common-sense Ritualists, always praying towards Mecca, while we turn to the East, imagining we are turning to Jerusalem when facing Kamskatka. This superstitious practice has come down to us from the Mithraic or Sun worship, and is a remnant of idolatry.

bozeuk soldier, of the Turkish irregular cavalry, who had been a guest at the castle the night before, said he would accompany us as he was going to Mosul; but, as he was not ready at daylight, we started without him: we crossed a bridge over an arm of the river, which insulates the town; immediately beyond this the road ascends a steep romantic mountain gorge, along the verge of a brawling torrent, the sides of the hills being clothed with shrubs and verdure; higher up they were clothed with dwarf oak: descending on the opposite side, we found a large village of flat-roofed houses, the road leading along the foot of the hills in a S.E. direction. The country to the south was undulating and bare, with some cultivation near the villages, of which we passed several: we were joined during the day by the Bashi-bozeuk, who had overslept himself and stopped to breakfast with the Aga. These irregulars treat the peasantry very badly, and assert the little Government authority they possess with great tyranny when they dare: we met a man passing in the opposite direction; the soldier called to him to examine if there was a stone in his horse's shoe; but the man refused, saying he was a fakir; the soldier immediately rode up to him, and getting off his horse, struck him a tremendous blow in the chest with the butt end of his gun, which brought him to the ground, and then kicked him about till he roared and cried like a child, against which we remonstrated in vain; he told him that would teach him how to behave to a servant of the Sultan in futurè; and then left him to pursue his way, though with rather a heavier step than when we met him. My horse was nearly knocked up before we reached Deleb, after marching ten hours; and here again we could obtain no barley, and were obliged to feed our horses on grass, and I hardly expected they would carry us to Mosul.

The inhabitants of this village were Yezidies; they are quiet and hospitable, and a tall well-made race; they are said to worship the Devil, both by common report and by the people among whom they live; this belief is no

doubt founded on their dread of the Power of Evil, whom they endeavour to conciliate and are fearful of offending. The advocates of natural religion must perceive from observation and facts, that all unrevealed religion, or systems not founded primarily on revelation, must necessarily include the worship of a Power of Evil, whose wrath will be deprecated by temples and offerings. The poor Indian, with untutored mind, sees no God in storms, nor in pestilence and famine, but a god of vengeance or a destroying angel. Examples are not wanting: the Greek and Roman Mythology inculcated the worship of infernal deities; the ancient Persians worshipped Ormuzd and Ahriman; the negroes have their fetish; the Indians worship a host of ogres and monsters from the Goddess Bowanee to the venomous Naga or hooded snake: to these have temples been erected, and human sacrifices offered; and yet, with these and other facts before their eyes, and the experience of ages deriding their folly, there are still found men who presume to imagine that mankind can be governed or satisfied by a system of rationalism of their own invention; they are in the darkest ignorance, naturally, with respect even to the working of their own hearts; yet, with finite reason, attempt to form a system of government for immortal souls; but in fact these would-be lawgivers are dishonest; they pilfer their knowledge from Revelation, and then ungratefully refuse to acknowledge their obligation; they know nothing whatever of God but from Revelation; the truths of which they have imbibed from their childhood, which have grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength; and had they been without this, and left to the unassisted light derived from the works of Nature, they would themselves most certainly have worshipped a Power of Evil, whether called by the name of Satan, the Devil or Ahriman.

*April 10.*—We proceeded along the foot of the mountains, where several villages were in sight off the road; the country undulating, with flocks of gazelles: having



had no grain for two days, our horses were fast failing; mine was nearly knocked up, when we fortunately came to a water-mill, where the people were grinding barley, for the supply of the villages: they objected to supply us, but we were forced to compel them to sell us enough for our exhausted cattle. This mill was on a fine brook in a pretty valley, and here I was obliged to rest till my horse was rested, for he was almost too far gone to eat. Travelling in these countries after rain is most trying for horses, on account of the numerous water-courses and swamps they have to struggle through, and winter rivers which they must swim across; the cold water coming in contact with their heated backs raises ulcers, which disable them entirely.

The villages are numerous in this district, and chiefly inhabited by Christians. Leaving the mountains trending off to the left, we passed the large village of Tel Escof, and stopped on the night at Botnai, where we were well lodged and supplied, and I managed to get my poor horse into a walk the next day, and there were only four or five hours more to Mosul. We passed a large village, called Telkif, and through the peculiar mounds supposed to cover the ruins of Nineveh: coming to a river which flows through these mounds into the Tigris, we were again obliged to swim, or rather drag, our unfortunate horses across, and in time reached the ferry opposite Mosul: although the boats were numerous, the passage was much crowded, principally by soldiers, but there were not wanting peasants, Arabs, women, and horses, all struggling to gain a footing in the boats. The Tigris in fine weather is crossed opposite the town by a bridge of boats; but the river being much swollen by the rains and freshets from the mountains, the use of the bridge is prevented, and the boats are snugly stowed under the other bank. We were not kept long in suspense, as the boatmen, seeing we were Franks, took us and our bags into a large boat, and our horses, more dead than alive, were half pushed and half lifted into the same; and

we were shortly landed on a sort of quay on the town side, amidst a crowd of wondering natives, Turks, Arabs, and Armenians; one of the latter offered to conduct us to the house of the Consul Ingles: not at all sorry to find that there was such a functionary here, we mounted our jaded horses, and followed our conductor through a variety of narrow crowded bazaars and dirty lanes to the house of Mr. Rassam, an Armenian, who had been interpreter to the Euphrates expedition, and had since been nominated our Consular-Agent at Mosul: here we were also agreeably surprised at meeting with Mr. Ainsworth, the geologist of that expedition, who is now travelling for the Royal Geographical Society, and has made Mosul his head-quarters; intending, as soon as the season permits, penetrating into the recesses of Koordistan. By these gentlemen we were welcomed with the greatest kindness, and we were delighted at finding ourselves in such good quarters, when we had expected to pass the time we stayed here in a Turkish khan.

Mosul is an ill-constructed mud-built town, rising above the banks of the Tigris, and backed by low hills; in the centre is a tall brown ugly minaret, very much out of the perpendicular; the interior of some of the houses is faced with a translucent stone, called Mosul marble, a sulphate of lime, which being soft is easily cut, but decomposes rapidly when exposed to the weather. Part of the old Saracen walls still remain: they are very massive, with square bastions of brick faced with stucco; some of the interior chambers and walls still retain the large ornamental Arabic inscriptions cut in relief; the ground between the walls and town is occupied by stagnant pools, ruins and dead bodies of camels and cattle, which is enough to breed a pestilence; the bazaars are mean and dirty. South of the town, on the banks of the river, is a large Turkish barrack; the rest of the environs are occupied by cemeteries; near it to the north, on the banks of the Tigris, are some sulphur springs about seven in number: the water of these is extremely clear, but the

odour from them is almost insufferable ; there was a red vitriolic deposit on their banks, so acid that it corroded the mouth and teeth ; the temperature of the water was 82° Fahr. From the top of the houses the view of the river and the Koord Mountains to the north is very fine ; and in front spread the numerous mounds forming the tomb of the Glories of Nineveh. In the evening the air above the town is alive with bats, which fly high, and afford sport to numerous kestrels, that pick them off, and eat them while hovering in the air : it was a curious scene. The next morning we crossed the river, for the purpose of examining the mounds : they cover an extent of several miles on the left bank of the river ; generally presenting the form of long smooth ridges, with intervals between ; or extensive isolated mounds ; the whole is covered with fine pasture, and on the declivities are now picqueted the horses of the irregular Turkish cavalry, which are brought over here for the sake of the grazing. The principal mound, called Kianjuk, is supposed to be the ruin of a palace or temple, and occupies a very large space ; it was lately the scene of a tragedy arising from the precarious authority of the Turks over the Koords, and proves that this is unrecognized in a great degree by the latter ; on one corner of this mound are the ruins of a village, which a few months ago was flourishing ; the Turks of Mosul having made an attack on Rawanduz Bey, the Koordish chief, he was not long in retaliating ; and avenged himself by sending a party of mountaineers in the night to attack this village, which they utterly destroyed, and indiscriminately massacred every man, woman and child in it ; Mr. Ainsworth mentioned having visited the spot the day after the occurrence, and finding the bodies of the villagers strewed about among the ruins of their homes. Two rivers flow through these mounds ; one close to the foot of the large mound ; and the other further south by the large village of Nebbi Yonas (prophet Jonas), whose sanctuary is here. Translators have found much difficulty in deciding on the names

of the different birds mentioned in the prophecies of the desolation of cities: these rivers, however, are frequented by pelicans, and cormorants are common: it is not yet decided that this is the site of the capital of Assyria, although the probability is in favour of it; as it was destroyed 602 B.C., and 150 years after the prophecies of Nahum, which were fulfilled by its destruction; no remains of it would be likely to exist above ground except in the shape of mounds.

We had received intelligence of some very interesting ruins in the Desert, sixty or seventy miles south of Mosul, which we were very anxious to see; and Mr. Ainsworth having long wished to visit the locality, we determined to gratify our curiosity by making a tour of discovery into the wilderness: the Arabs call the place Al Hadr, meaning the abode or dwelling-place, in contradistinction to the tents of the surrounding and wandering tribes: they have the same name in Arabia, in the province of Hadrelmout, the abode of death; and as the inhabitants of the place were Arabians, I have no doubt that the modern was the original name, although corrupted by the Romans to Hatra and Atra, by which name it is noticed by their historians. Dr. Ross, the Medical Officer attached to the Residency in the Persain Gulf, had made several attempts to explore these ruins, and although he succeeded in reaching them, he was prevented making any detailed observation in consequence of the hostility of the Arabs, who attacked and plundered his party; and he himself only escaped by being fortunately recognized by one of the Arabs who had seen him at Bagdad; notwithstanding this, and the assurance of the natives that it was impossible, and that we should never escape to return, we weighed all the objections at their real value, and resolved on persevering in our design; and it will generally be found that when there is resolution, nothing is impossible.

Mr. Ainsworth's horses were all out grazing on the other side of the Tigris; and the river having risen daily

since our arrival, the communication by boats was nearly cut off; so that we had to wait several days before they could be brought over by boats sent on purpose; and then they required some few days more to be put in working order: our own horses were so completely knocked up that we were forced to sell them both for about £3; but as we were to carry no baggage, Mr. Ainsworth's horses were enough for the party. Mr. Rassam was deputed to the Pacha, to know on what terms the Government stood with the Arab chiefs of the Shammar; and whether a Government soldier would be of any service for appearance sake; but we decided on no account to take an escort. The Pacha of course could not insure our safety, being on the usual slippery footing with the Arabs, but sent us a Bashi-bozeuk, who however proved totally useless. From the Arabs who frequented Mosul we learnt that although we might not fall in with any of their people on the road, we were sure to find a camp at Al Hadr, which was one of their chief rendezvous; at the same time we were careful not to let them know our intentions, or take any of them as guides.

We were unable to leave Mosul until the morning of Saturday, the 18th April. Our party consisted of ourselves and Messrs. Ainsworth and Rassam, with only one servant, an Egyptian Bedouin, yclept Hadj Ali, to look after our horses; this man we knew we could trust, as he had been in the service of Majoun Bey, and had accompanied Mr. Ainsworth from Orfa, and having fought against these Arabs, he knew, that had he been detected, he would have experienced short shrift at their hands. We mustered four guns, besides other arms, and with plenty of ammunition, felt confident of being able to maintain our own by force, if necessary, against any ordinary-sized tribe. We took no beds but what we could strap behind our own saddles, consisting of a quilt or a cloak: and no provisions but a bag of biscuits, which was carried on Ali's horse; trusting to our guns for any addition to our frugal meals. Our plan

was to follow the course of the Tigris from Mosul to a place called Kala Shergat, by which means we should be sure of water thus far ; and then strike across to the westward till we found the Wed Thatar, a small stream on which the ruins were situated : the banks of the river at this season are luxuriant with high grass and barley. We rode over sloping hills formed of gypsum, but covered with flowers, scarlet ranunculus, pink stocks, and white Star of Bethlehem ; the river was varied with broad green islands, and the weather most beautiful. Again descending into cultivated plains, sprinkled with mud villages, we reached Hammam Ali in four hours ; as we should find no village south of this, we stayed here for the night ; we found a few Chaldee Christians, but most of the houses in the small village had their doors built up with stones and mud previous to their owners leaving, which they do at this season, to pasture their flocks on the grass-clad plains ; we broke in several of these doors, but were repulsed by the myriads of fleas that issued from them, and at last took refuge in an open stable in preference. In this climate, when a hut or room is shut up and uninhabited for a short time, the fleas multiply to such an extent as literally to blacken the walls ; and the clothes of any one who ventures in are immediately covered with these sharp-set pests. This place takes its name Hammam Ali, the baths of Ali, from a sulphur spring, which has been enclosed by a circular gallery for the benefit of invalids ; a quantity of bitumen is collected from it ; the temperature of the pool was 46° Centig. : a tall artificial mound, called Tel-e-Seft, covered with long grass, rises close by, from the top of this Mosul is visible.

*Easter Sunday.*—Continued our march across hills, which run down to the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the Great Zab river : on the other side of the Tigris rises a remarkable pyramidal mound, surrounded by many lower ones, called Nimrud, and marking the site of some forgotten city. The soil is very shallow on these hills, the gypsum rock continually protruding above the surface ; the verdant

slopes and plains are most beautiful, refulgent with broad patches of brilliant scarlet and yellow flowers, and enlivened by innumerable birds ; turtle-doves and quail arriving in flights, the latter flying from under your horse's feet, or looking up from their nestling-places in the long grass as you pass over them ; the large Chekoar partridge is common, besides flocks of sand-grouse and plover ; white harrier hawks skimmed the plains in search of prey, while the hoopoes, green bee-eaters, and blue rollers flitted across the radiant-coloured fields ; diverging a little to the right, we came to a deep ravine, or channel, called Wad el K'seb, the river of reeds, from the number of reeds that grow in its bed ; these are the resort of myriads of reed sparrows, which almost bear down the reeds by their numbers, and stun one with their shrill clamour : they very much resemble the house sparrow, but are more elegantly shaped, and the breast dropped with reddish-brown. Following the course of this stream, or rather stagnant ditch, we started a large wild hog, with several young pigs : Mr. Ainsworth bagged one of these with shot, and we then loaded with ball and tried to get a shot at the old ones : the banks were intersected with holes and ravines, overgrown with long rank grass, affording them good cover ; alarmed by the shots, the pigs were seen making off in all directions for the Tigris : we gave chase to a party of five, but our horses being fatigued, we could only muster a canter : I was gaining fast, however, on two of them, which stopped every now and then, as if they intended to show fight, the reason of which I soon discovered by seeing they were followed by four little pigs, about three months old ; I pushed forward and cut off the retreat of these, as the old pigs, abandoning their young, had disappeared over a rising ground, being well ahead of the litter : I dismounted in the track made by the old ones in the long grass, and presently I heard all the young ones galloping up, squeaking and grunting in full cry, till they found me in their path, when they stopped, and began sniffing and examining

my feet; taking me, I suppose, for one of the fraternity; I soon undeceived them, and profited by the opportunity to pounce on two of them, which I carried off, singing a duet, one under each arm; while the others, finding their mistake, made their escape. Mr. Ainsworth had knocked over another, so we had a good supply of provisions for one or two days: these young pigs are very handsomely marked, being striped with longitudinal bars of black and white; the old ones are of a dirty black, and of immense size. Soon after crossing the Wad el K'seb, we passed a pellucid stream strongly impregnated with sulphur, beyond which we came to a flat full of bitumen pits; the ground was entirely encrusted with the mineral, and in many places it was oozing slowly from the earth and flowing towards the river, where it is often seen floating down on the water; some of the hardened black masses would bear our horses' weight riding over them; a little further we passed a high mound called Tel Gayra. From the rising ground we could see herds of twenty or thirty wild hogs feeding in the swamps on the river-side; and a wood of tamarisk and sifsaf appeared further on; we made for this, for the purpose of passing the night in its shelter; but, after crossing a low tract of coarse rank vegetation, rising above the horses' chests, rousing the wild boar on all sides, on reaching the wood, we found that it had been overflowed by the river and was now unapproachable. Disappointed here, we followed the bank of the river to find a bivouac where we might water our horses, the bank on this side, although low, being soft and steep and the waters deep. We had marched ten hours, and stopped for the night at the foot of a high mound; opposite to the sanctuary of Hadj Ali, on the other side of the river; we were unsuccessful in watering the horses, having nothing but a small brass drinking cup; they were obliged to pass the night without water, in sight of a broad river; indeed it was with some danger and difficulty that we could procure any for ourselves, which we did by breaking down a part of the bank on which to obtain



a footing, and holding each other's hands; our dinner consisted of sucking pig, partridges and hare, all broiled on the embers and we slept à la belle étoile in the long grass, which also afforded fine forage for our horses. We passed the night undisturbed; but in the morning our cloaks and coverings were wet with the heavy dew; we mounted at six, following the margin of the river over low hills, or grassy plains, with patches of wood near the waterside; in six hours we reached Kala Shergat, from whence we intended shaping our course for Al Hadr. This is a remarkable Babylonian ruin, composed of a mass of artificial mounds, on the bank of the river; the circumference of the ruins is 4685 yards, about  $2\frac{2}{3}$  miles; and the highest part, which has probably been a citadel, rises about 140 feet above the plain. On the north side is a small winding stream, overgrown with wood, which appears to have washed away the bases of the mounds during floods, and they now hang over it in abrupt cliffs about 60 feet high, entirely built of sun-baked bricks, of which the whole of these mounds seem to be composed: the upper uneven plateau is covered with broken bricks of all descriptions, red, black, and yellow, but all burned and marked with the straw and sticks used for the purpose; there is also a great quantity of pottery, some with an angular pattern of black and red on the border; round the south face of the mounds can be traced the base of the massive wall, and another is very apparent round the upper citadel to the north; these walls are composed of large blocks of gypsum. On further examination, the steep parts of the mounds would seem to have been faced with stone; for at the north-east angle, a portion of this facing still remains, composed of square bevelled stones, closely fitted, with the upper row crenellated; this would go to prove that this place was held by the Saracens, bevelled stones being peculiar to their style of architecture, as may be seen in the castle at Bir, in the ruins at Beyrout, and other places in Asia Minor: although it is possible that the Arabs did not invent this ornamental style them-

selves, but adopted it from the Babylonians. Under the steep banks overhanging the Tigris, we found several large pillars built of brick, which had been laid bare by the water, the earth having been gradually washed and crumbled away by the river; there were five of these in a straight line, some reaching to the top of the bank, here about 12 feet high; they measured 4 feet 10 inches in diameter, and were hollow down the centre, and very neatly made; the large flat bricks of which they were formed being broader at their exterior circumference; we were much puzzled to imagine what purpose they could formerly have served, whether they were wells, or places of sepulture; whether they were part of a colonnade, which supported a temple or other large building; or whether they were connected with hydraulic works for raising water from the river: I leave this question to be decided by those better acquainted with the subject; this place is a little to the north of the Hamrin hills. We passed the night among these mounds; but although we were shooting all the afternoon, and made a fire at night, there seemed to be no human being in these desolate wilds, and we passed the night in security. These ruins are frequented by a small red partridge about half the size of the common one;<sup>1</sup> I have not seen this bird noticed in ornithological works; it is different from the Indian, French, or Barbary partridge.

Our Bashi-bozeuk, who had been sent with us by the Pacha, began to grumble at the hard fare and Arab life we led; he was also alarmed at the thought of falling in with the Arabs; in addition to which, his horse was rather lame; we therefore, as he wished it, gave him leave to return, furnishing him with what provisions we had; we told him that he was much safer with us, but the next morning he left us by the same road that we had come: and I may as well mention here that on our return to Mosul, he had not made his appearance; and on our arrival at Bagdad, we received intelligence that he was

<sup>1</sup> I afterwards found this variety in Afghanistan.

not afterwards heard of ; but whether he deserted, or fell into the river, or was taken by the Arabs, we never knew. Our Bedouin Ali was a useful handy fellow, and seemed quite at home in the wilds ; although a Moslem, he had no scruples about skinning and grilling a young pig, though he would not eat of it, at least before us.

According to Dr. Ross's observations, Al Hadr lies W. by N. of this place ; and the next morning we struck inland in search of the ruins which we also knew were situated on the Thatar river or brook. The country was rather undulating, intersected by winding ravines or wadis, with abundance of pasture ; we proceeded at a trotting pace, ascending every elevation that would afford us a view of the surrounding country ; the Hamrin hills lying close on our left, but rising with an almost imperceptible slope ; notwithstanding the danger to be apprehended, we almost began to wish we might fall in with Arabs, who might direct us to the object of our search ; but as far as the eye could reach not a tent was to be seen on the bosom of the wavy solitude ; several times we thought we perceived the appearance of distant walls ; but on approaching, it only turned out to be some break in the ground, on the edge of a ravine ; when suddenly, after riding four hours, we were agreeably surprised by striking a stream, which we knew could be no other than the Thatar, which we had supposed to have been at a much greater distance ; the water was brackish, but drinkable, and the stream, about 20 feet broad, but deep : the channel being cut in the alluvial soil. Here we found ourselves at a loss, and held a consultation to decide on what course to follow : we discovered that, instead of travelling W. by N., our course had been W. by S., by which means we had struck on the Thatar so much sooner than we expected, and nearer to its junction with the Tigris ; we therefore decided on following up the stream, which, as we anticipated, soon took a N.W. direction : finding a clear channel, with a rocky bottom, we crossed our horses and bathed, and then continued our route ;

this stream runs through the middle of a broad shallow valley, from 100 to 300 yards across, in some parts bordered by low rocky cliffs, in others by swelling hills, without trees of any sort. In vain we ascended the eminences to obtain a more extensive view; not a sign of ruins or tents could be discovered, and we began to despair of succeeding in our search: after tracing the stream for three hours, we brought up for the night at a spot where there was good forage; and a few tamarisk bushes on the stream afforded us fuel: we had been so long in the wilderness that we had lost all apprehension of the Arabs, and lit our fire without alarm; in fact, we wished to fall in with some of them, to relieve us from our suspense. Not only were the clouds of despondency beginning to lower over us, but the cloudy weather gave every indication of rain: we resolved to prosecute our search in the morning for three or four hours, after which it would be almost hopeless: it was quite impossible we could have passed the ruins, as by all accounts they were visible for miles. We had discovered that the whole of these plains are overgrown with wild leeks, and I suppose owing to our enjoying everything so much under our privations, we thought them very fine-flavoured, and a large bundle was added to our evening's fare.

We tethered our horses close to us, and all went to sleep, not considering it necessary to keep watch, as a hare's footfall would have been sufficient to bring us to our feet. The rain which we had expected set in before morning, in a steady drizzle; and when we awoke, we found our cloaks soaked through, and our clothes more damp than was at all agreeable; fortunately, our guns, which we had put under us, and our saddles, which served us for pillows, were dry, and, nothing disheartened, we mounted and renewed our march. We rode on for two hours in the rain, which did not tend to raise our spirits, and our hopes were ebbing very fast, when, after passing a long slope, we were surprised and overjoyed

by the sight of the massive ruins of which we were in search, rising boldly on the surface of the solitary waste; looming dark and solemn through the mist, like the ghost of a mighty city contemplating the wreck of its former grandeur. Our delight at our success did not prevent us from seeing that the ground near the ruins was occupied by an Arab camp; and we accordingly prepared ourselves for action, setting off at a canter to reach the tents before they could arm or prevent our approach; we could see the shepherds running in as we approached, to give notice of an enemy to the camp: we rode straight to the Sheik's tent, distinguished by two long spears standing out of the roof on either side: we had evidently taken them by surprise, for half a dozen Arabs, among whom was the Sheik himself, came out, and holding our bridles while we dismounted, welcomed us to their tents in the most friendly manner: this was rather a different reception from what we had expected, and much more satisfactory. A circle being formed round the fire, we were assailed by questions of how we came, where from, etc., but their principal astonishment was that we had come so far without being killed or plundered; they said, of course, that there was no fear to be entertained with respect to their people, but there were other tribes nearer the river who were not so peaceable: we showed them our double-barrels, hinting that stripping four armed men was neither an easy nor a safe proceeding: at the same time we showed every confidence in them, particularly now that we were their guests. But what was our object in venturing here? We told them we were English, who had come from M<sup>o</sup>sul to see their Chief Sufuke, who was said to be at this place. (We knew very well that he had gone to the north with his people to harass the frontier of Mohammed Ali, and do a little business in the plundering line.) They told us that they were to march to the north to join their chief, and we might accompany them; but this of course did not suit our purpose, as our end was gained; so we said that, as we

had been unfortunate in not meeting the Sheik, we would just look at the surrounding ruins, and return the next day to Mosul ; one of the Arabs having visited Mosul, for the purpose of trade, recognized Mr. Rassam, and this added to the cordiality of our reception. The camp belonged to the small tribe of Lamood, a branch of the Shammar, who had moved up in force from the south of Bagdad, and whom we had so much trouble in avoiding, when traversing Mesopotamia among the Koords ; the Shammar are cowardly and deceitful, seldom venturing on open fight, but trusting to the rapidity of their movements, and to taking their enemies by surprise. The present party were of very dark complexion, but some of them extremely handsome, and even effeminate, with straight or aquiline features, and their hair hanging in plaits down the sides of their faces ; they live almost entirely on barley bread, butter, and sour milk : except when they have guests, when a sheep or goat is killed, as was done for us on the present occasion ; the only fuel they use is the dry dung of their flocks ; they possessed a few fine mares, which were clogged and turned out to graze ; some of the young foals were perfect pictures. Notwithstanding that we had thus established ourselves on a good footing with these Arabs, and, as it were, taken their hospitality by storm, I felt perfectly convinced that not half of them gave the least credit to our story, particularly when we proposed visiting the ruins ; some of the more ignorant believing that we had come for the purpose of exhuming treasure, which the Arabs always imagine is to be found in these ancient sites ; one of the most annoying of these was a villain with a squint, who with others afterwards dodged us about, keeping up a running commentary on our proceedings to his companions ; if we measured a room by pacing it, it was proof positive that at a certain distance between two points the treasure was concealed ; and if we examined any sculpture more minutely, they watched eagerly for the descent of a golden shower. The Sheik and some of his people were more rational, and

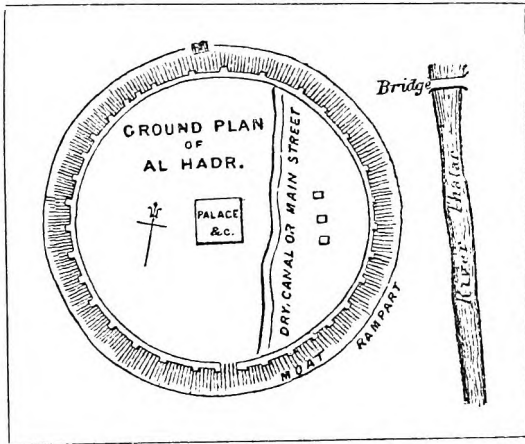


RUINS OF AL HADR. (HATRA.)

begged we would not lose our tempers, but bear with their annoyance, as he had little control over them; however, he managed to check any open hostility, although the sinister-looking fellow and his party were outrageous at his allowing us to visit the ruins; we fortunately avoided all collision, and succeeded to the utmost in the object of our expedition, under the protection afforded by the moral influence of the British name; the day was very unfavourable for us, raining at intervals; but after a slight repast, we set off with no lack of followers to explore the ruins.

The walls of the town, a great part of which are erect, inclose a circular area of 5460 yards or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles; they are built of solid stone masonry, defended at irregular intervals by 33 square bastions; outside the walls there appears to have been a moat, with a rampart beyond; on the north side there are the remains of a gateway in this outer rampart.

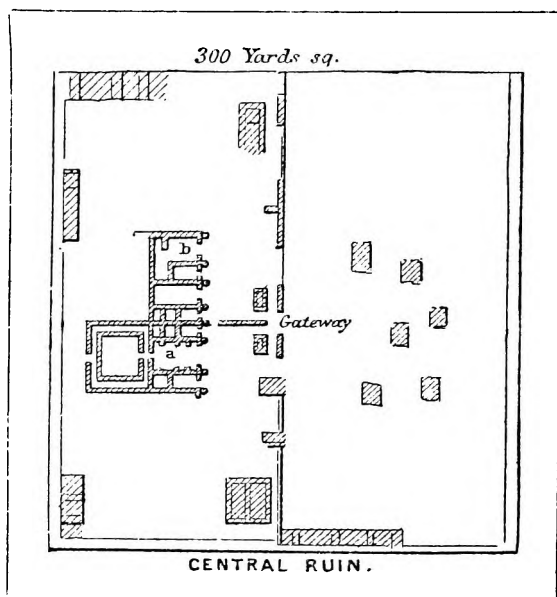
In the centre of the area is a large square enclosure of about 300 yards on each face; within this are the principal ruins, consisting of the palace and various gateways,



arches and ruined offices: the remains of a building of great magnificence form the principal pile, which occupies



the east side of the square, exhibiting a front of seven beautifully-sculptured arches, the entrances to corresponding halls, with intermediate pillars built of circular flat

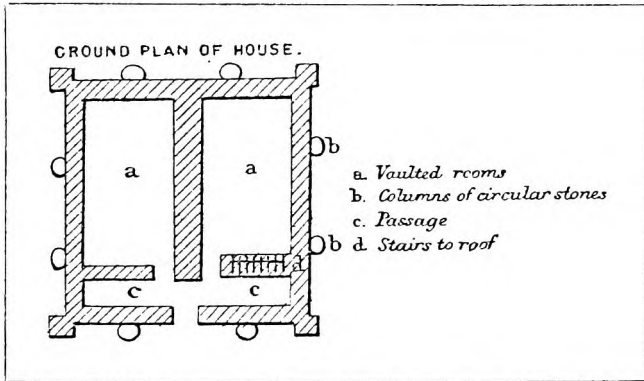


stones (see View of Ruins and Plan). These arches are ornamented with half-length male and female figures, standing out in high relief, and most elaborately finished; the female figures in low dresses with long waists, and the hair dressed in various styles; some of the male figures wore curled wigs: the dresses were minutely worked, and in a fine state of preservation. At the back of the principal hall is a door leading into an arched corridor, 10 feet high: this corridor, or passage, runs entirely round a square isolated room, with a beautiful sculptured doorway. On an entablature round this gallery is a row of winged quadrupeds, with lions', eagles', and griffins' heads, placed face to face, holding heads, or masks, under their raised paws: the doorways, as well as the cornices and archways, are elaborately ornamented

with acanthus foliage: the door of this inner hall was so blocked up by slabs and masses of ruin, that we found it impossible to effect an entrance, and we could procure no ropes to enable us to enter by climbing the walls. On either side of the large hall (*a*) are three tall pilasters, ornamented with masks, three on each: the faces were male and female, with the hair dressed in various styles, and each representing a different character. In the north hall (*b*), which is much dilapidated, there is a row of bulls on the left-hand side, in a kneeling posture, built into the wall, 6 feet from the ground, with their heads and chests protruding. The walls of these buildings are extremely solid, composed of rough stone bound with strong lime cement, and entirely cased with hewn freestone, most exactly fitted: there are stone stairs through the thickness of the walls, which conduct to the top of the building; on the roof are the remains of several vaulted rooms.

We were not successful in discovering any inscription of much interest: on a stone in the centre of one of these small rooms we found the following five letters,  $\text{𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤}$ , which Mr. Rassam assumed to be Chaldee; but I doubt whether they have any particular meaning, for it is a peculiarity of these ruins that, in the centre of every stone, both of the palace and other buildings, and even of the walls and bastions of the town, there is one of these letters deeply engraved; it has been suggested that these were merely the builders' marks to guide them in laying the stones; but, for this purpose, marks would have been adopted easily effaceable, or on a part of the stone which would be concealed in the building; besides which, marks ought to correspond on the edges of the stones, and be without limit in number; but here, the letters are exactly in the centre of each stone, and the same letters are constantly recurring; secondly, they are deeply and neatly cut, and must have entailed a great deal of extra labour; from which I am led to think that they were intended to be either ornamental; or that some

religious meaning was attached to them, and a character of sanctity imparted to the buildings which were thus protected. From the character of the sculptures and the frequent occurrence of the solar orb, I have no doubt that this building, combining palace and temple, was dedicated to Mithraic worship.



The building, of which this is a plan, standing among others on the east side of the town is very neat, and was probably a dwelling-house, for they are of the same date as the rest of the ruins. Among the ruins are found many of the narrow-mouthed circular cisterns, or grain stores, with their mouths on a level with the surface of the ground, which are common all over Asia Minor and Central Asia.

The Thatar, a small deep stream, flows by the east of the town, opposite to which are the remains of a bridge; the Arabs assured us that this stream rose from a source in the Sinjar hills, and ridiculed the idea of its being an off-set of the Kaboor, as laid down in our maps. There is a spring within the walls S.W. of the palace, which is less brackish than the river. On the left-hand wall of the principal hall (a) is an Arabic inscription, stating that this building had been ordered to be repaired by Massoud Ibn Mowdud Ibn Atabeki, the year of the Hegira 586, answering to A.D. 1190. On reference to D'Herbelot, this prince is mentioned as Ezzedin Massoud Ibn Cotbedin

Mowdud Atabeki, fourth prince of the first dynasty of the Atabegs of Irak, who reigned from A.H. 578 to 589 over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt; the rule of this prince was very nominal, for Salah-ed-din (the general of his predecessor and cousin-german, the third prince) had already wrested Egypt and Syria from his sway: Salah-ed-din and Ezzedin Massoud died in the same year. These ruins, from their great antiquity, the intrinsic beauty of the architecture, and the high preservation of their peculiar sculptures, which appear to be Grecian, grafted on and superseding the Persian, form one of the most interesting objects I have yet visited; the interest of the place is much increased by its isolated and impressive solitude, standing in the midst of the wilderness, with nothing visible on all sides, but a plain bounded by the horizon.

Al Hadr, or Hatra, was formerly a place of great strength; it baffled the attacks of Trajan, and was afterwards besieged A.D. 195 by Severus, for taking part with Pescennius Niger; the Emperor was repulsed with great loss, and the destruction of his engines, on this occasion; but the next season resumed the siege, and the Romans having effected a breach, Severus would not allow them to take the place by storm; and the citizens having repaired their walls during the night, the soldiers were so exasperated that they refused to renew the attack. Two hundred years afterwards, when Jovian's army encamped here on their disgraceful retreat, they found the city deserted and ruined.

Although we were at first extremely annoyed by the officious curiosity of the Arabs, they gradually left us as the novelty wore off, not having patience to sit for hours to watch us sketching and measuring, yet some of them always kept us in sight. The evening being fine, we shot a number of red-legged partridges and blue pigeons, to which the ruins give shelter, and after joining in a pillaf, made of a firstling of their flocks, we slept in perfect security in the Sheik's tent: these people appear to have few or no firearms, but carry spears 14 feet long, the

bamboos for which are brought to the Persian Gulf from India: they are so suspicious themselves, that they were quite surprised at the confidence with which we all went to sleep, though, at the same time, they were flattered by our trust in their good faith.

The Sheik, the next morning, offered to conduct us straight to Mosul, for which service he stipulated for a remuneration, which was not exorbitant; and my impression was that had it been less, or even had we not paid him at all, he considered it his duty to see us safe home, as we were his guests: although the distance was sixty miles in a direct line N. by E., we determined to perform it in one day; we started at seven o'clock, the Sheik leading on a fast ambling mare, and carrying a long spear. We cast back many a look of satisfaction as well as regret on the massive ruins, as they gradually sunk beneath the level of the waste; we scrambled through the Thatar, near the ruined piers of the bridge, and marched *à vol d'oiseau* across plains covered with grass, once or twice diverging from our track to avoid what appeared to be men: a human being is the greatest object of terror on the desert, as he is always prejudged to be hostile; fortunately the strangers were equally alarmed at our appearance, which, in the present case, was rather formidable, and quickly disappeared.

There is always a sufficient variety in the sloping of the ground, the colour or appearance of the soil, the direction of the little gullies or water runs, to enable an Arab, or any man with a little practice, to find his way with tolerable certainty across these plains; besides this, you now and then come to more prominent landmarks, either protruding rocks or slight peaks, or mounds, rising on the horizon line, which can be distinguished at a great distance.

Halfway between Al Hadr and Wed el Kseb is another watercourse, now dry, called Wed Hamra, from the colour of its banks, which are red and rocky. At midday we halted to graze our horses, one of them being knocked

up ; and soon afterwards, as we neared the Tigris, and just after crossing the Wed el Kseb, we came to a fine bottom covered with tents and flocks belonging to the Hedidi tribes, who live in the villages and towns during the dry season, but come out after the rains to graze their flocks ; at one of these camps we left the fagged horse with the servant, in care of the Arabs to come on the next day, and pushed on for the town : here also the Sheik el Hendy, who had gained our goodwill by his kindness and frank disposition, considering we were now safe, begged we would allow him to return, to which we acceded, requesting that he would pay us a visit at Mosul ; although he did not come, some of our desert friends found their way in a few days to Mr. Rassam's house at Mosul, where they were well crammed with pillau, and returned with presents to their tents, much pleased with their visit.

After parting with the Sheik, we crossed a low range of rocky hills and struck into the beaten path ; villages appearing as you approach the vicinity of the town ; we kept this road till after sunset, when we were enveloped in black clouds, which melted into drizzling rain, and the night set in so dark that we lost the track : endeavouring to keep a straight course, with only now and then the glimpse of a star through a chasm in the black clouds to steer by, we soon found ourselves walking up the side of a mountain, among gullies and masses of rock : while considering how we should pass the night, we were delighted at hearing the barking of dogs, and, making for the sound, we again hit on the lost road, which we kept with difficulty, being quite giddy keeping our eyes fixed on the track as we went on ; we at last lost it altogether, when within a mile of the town, and found ourselves involved and bewildered among cemeteries, gardens, ditches, muddy cross-roads, and pools of water formed by the rains, and were fortunate in escaping broken necks : our misfortunes were not yet at an end, for, on extricating ourselves, and reaching the Turkish barracks at nine

o'clock, they told us to go on to the town, and if we were not admitted, to return, and they would let us in: to my surprise, we were refused admittance into the town, and, on returning to the barracks, the rogues had changed their minds, and would not open their gates; we then had recourse to the buildings outside the town walls, and were fain to make the best of the shelter afforded by some little arched shops, in which we huddled, two in each, in our wet clothes; our poor horses, after their sixty miles' march, standing half under cover and half in the rain; holding the bridles in our hands, we snatched a few hours' sleep in this comfortless position, till the gates were opened at daylight in the morning.

On reaching the house we found a party of French travellers, Messrs. Tessier, La Bourdonnaye, and Guiche, who had arrived in our absence; M. Tessier has been travelling in Asia Minor for the last seven years, for the French Académie, and had just returned from Shapoor in Persia, with a portfolio full of accurate drawings of the various sculptures at that place: they promise us much discomfort in Persia, they having been plundered of £50 by their own Mehmandar, who was furnished for their protection: the French have, however, a peculiar talent for getting into scrapes, but every one agrees in giving the Persians a bad character.

The 26th of April is kept here as Easter Day by the Christians: there are many Armenians and Culdees scattered over this country, but the majority of them acknowledge the Pope of Rome, and call themselves Catholics. Mr. Rassam had obtained, from a Nestorian priest, a very interesting manuscript work, in the Chaldee character, on the Nestorian faith, written in A.D. 1332; from which it appears that they do not worship the host, or pay any adoration to the Virgin Mary: this manuscript, although in the Chaldee character, is written in the Arabic language.

On the 28th the rain finally cleared off, and we made preparations for starting for Bagdad: there is a post-road to the eastward, by Arbela, by which you can reach

Bagdad in six days ; but the most convenient plan is to go down the Tigris by raft. When there is much trade going on, large rafts, called *Kellek*, are constructed for carrying goods ; some of these are supported by as many as 600 inflated goat-skins ; this is a very expensive mode of conveyance, for, as the rafts cannot return against the current, they are broken up at the end of the journey and the materials sold : when these large rafts are being despatched, a traveller can obtain a passage on board them ; but, none being ready to go at the present time, we were obliged to have a small one made for us, which was to consist of sixty skins and cost 400 piastres, £4 : these skins support a slight framework, furnished at one side with two rude oars fixed in upright forks ; here the steersman sits to guide and propel the raft.

*April 29.*—Going down to the river-side for the purpose of embarking, we found our baggage on the raft, and the water bubbling up between the skins, which our additional weight brought very low down in the water ; we were to stop at a jungle further down the stream, and cover the raft with brushwood ; so we pushed off from the shore at 10.40 A.M., and floated down with the current, assisted by the oars ; the weather was fine, and, the river being very full, we expected to reach Bagdad in four days. At 11.15 we passed on the left the mound and village of *Yarumja*, said to be on the battlefield of *Arbela* : in five minutes more some hills rose on the right, crowned by the castle of *Seramoom*, the ground around it being strewn with square slabs of limestone ; at noon passed the villages of *Bagiari* on the right, and *Caracoilli* on the left bank : rocky hills form the left bank of the river, and on the right, which is flat, there are some sulphur-springs ; 1.15 we passed *Hammam Ali*, and in another hour crossed a rapid called *Awoeja*, formed by the ruined foundation of a bridge which once spanned the stream opposite *Nimrud* : this is another evidence of this place having been the site of an important city. This group of small hills which at 2.30 P.M.



lay due east of us is very remarkable ; consisting of a high conical pile, surrounded by lower mounds, exhibiting the artificial character peculiar to Babylonian ruins : I wished I had the time and means to excavate these and other mounds, which must be full of treasures of antiquity : on the right bank there is a mound, with the remains of old walls. At 3.30 we dragged the raft on shore, at a tamarisk jungle, and cut down enough to cover it about two feet deep : we had brought with us a bag of rice and a jar of butter, and we made a fire here and cooked a pillau. The feathery branches of the tamarisk formed, as they became compressed, a comfortable foundation for our beds, which we placed side by side along the middle of the raft, and, although it was scarcely 10 feet square, it was much more commodious than a boat. The sun was rather warm in the middle of the day, as we had no covering over us ; an awning would have been inconvenient, by catching the wind and retarding our progress, or driving us out of the channel ; 4.55 re-embarked and floated on through broad placid reaches ; the evening was most lovely, the sunlight spread like the fragments of a shattered mirror over the rippling waters, here broken by wooded islands ; the ruddy geese lay on the sandbanks, the black terns sported over the surface, and the wild hogs, disturbed in their solitudes, gazed at us for a moment in alarm, and rushed away snorting through the brushwood ; in the south rose a pile of mounds called Tshuf, marking the site of a city ; on the left bank and near the mouth of the Great Zab passed Tell Shmota ; 5.40 hills and cliffs on right bank, below which on the left are some sand cliffs quite honey-combed by sandmartins ; from the foot of the bank at Jaif rises a sulphur spring. At 6 o'clock the river suddenly widened, by the confluence of the Great Zab, which here pours into it the united waters of the mountains of Koordistan ; 6.30 passed a round hill on the right bank, Clu Nasser ; the weather appeared threatening with lightning in the west ; at 7 o'clock we were opposite Sultan Abdulla,

when the night fell, and we lay down to sleep; although the raftman remained at his seat, he was not long in following our example, his head sinking down on his oar, and thus we floated down the stream all night at the mercy of Providence.

We travelled three nights in this manner, yet fortunately escaped without serious accident, although often awoke in alarm by the roaring of a rapid, into which we had been drawn by the current: or the thundering fall of the sand banks as they were undermined by the stream and fell into the water: or the not less unpleasant sensation of grating on a shallow, on to which the backwater had carried us; with the exception of these little breaks, we slept as sound as if there had been no water under us. The effect of the falling in of the banks is very impressive in the silence of the night, and occurring, as it does, at short intervals, resembles successive claps of thunder. Further down the river towards Bagdad, the navigation is rendered dangerous after dark by the number of scaffoldings jutting out from the bank, and supporting the apparatus for raising water for irrigation; this consists of a large leather bucket, which is drawn up over a pulley, a hose is attached to the lower part, by which it empties itself. Notwithstanding the heavy rains which have prevailed for five months in Syria and the north of Mesopotamia, no rain has fallen this year south of the Jebel Hamrin range, and we found the country quite burnt up, and the people complaining of drought.

*April 30.*—At daylight this morning we were opposite high cliffs on the right bank, the central rocky peak of which is called Kala M'kohl; this is a spur of the Hamrin hills, and goes by the name of Kanooja; to the north of this is Kala Shergat, which we had passed in the night; in the south rise the Hamrin, a long range of white barren hills marked with deep gullies. Our boatman, who professed to know the names of all the localities on the river, tells us that the Hamrin on the right bank go by the name of Jebel M'kohl: Hamrin being the name given

to the range beginning on the left bank ; the shores on either side are clothed with tamarisk jungle. At 6.15 A.M. we passed the mouth of the Little Zab, or Shat Kupri, flowing from the eastward ; 7.25 on the hills to the right are the ruins of a castle called Kala Djibar, part of the walls furnished with bastions in a ruinous state, wind up the slopes of the hills ; 9.20 opposite the Hamrin range on the left bank : these hills cross the Tigris diagonally from N.W. to S.E. ; 11 passed Djebel Legleg, on the left bank, a group of truncated conical hills of conglomerate ; the shores and islands are wooded with tamarisk and other shrubs ; among the cliffs we saw a few of the ibis which were so numerous at Birejik ; 2.15 P.M. hills on the right crowned with Moslem tombs, called Said Kerim Ibn Cabon ; left bank low : these hills, which form perpendicular cliffs over the water are a mass of conglomerate through their whole depth ; south of these the cultivation of grain by irrigation commences ; 4.15 arrived at Tekrit, formerly a place of great importance ; the present town contains about 300 houses : the natives, a mixed race of Turks and Arabs, appeared evil-disposed and inhospitable ; to the north of the town rise high perpendicular cliffs, on which the old fortress was built ; these cliffs have been faced with brick a long way down, and their summits crowned with walls and bastions ; which, however, are fast disappearing, for the ruins form a depôt of building materials ; and large rafts are continually loading with the bricks, which are sent down to Bagdad : this latter place is chiefly built of bricks brought from the ruins of the old cities. The people were crossing and re-crossing the river on pairs of inflated goatskins, tying their clothes in a bundle on their heads and propelling themselves with their feet. We left Tekrit at 5 ; just below it the cliffs finish, and the river expands to a great breadth, appearing like a wide lake : we landed on the opposite bank, and took our dinner, remaining three-quarters of an hour ; and then floated on without further incident till the following morning, when

we were below the large town of Samarra, rebuilt by the Caliph Motassem in 830; at 6 we were opposite Dedgeh on the right bank; here we passed the first masted Arab boat tracking up the stream.

*May 1.*—This morning we were surprised at being surrounded by myriads of Ephemerides, covering the whole surface of the water; they were a variety of May-fly, but as large as butterflies; their wings, of which the upper pair were brown, the lower white, resembled parchment; the head and body were black; the tail barred black and white with long forks; as the nymphæ rose in shoals to the surface, they burst, and gave birth to these creatures of an hour, which even then never left their parent element, but skimmed along on their forked tails with the greatest swiftness over the surface of the water, which appeared alive under their sportive gyrations: they were not long unmolested; attracted by the prey, flocks of tern, crows, and bee-eaters soon assembled, screaming and wheeling above the living swarms, which they devoured on the wing; while the fish attacked them from beneath; but scarcely were their numbers diminished: "twas but a little hour of sunny bliss," and their languid wings drooped in the soaking tide; their evolutions ceased as suddenly as they began; and instead of the spinning of their countless wings, the surface of the stream was covered with floating masses of dead and dying. 10:30 we came to the first grove of palm trees on the left; 11:30 passed the village of Sindea on the same bank; from here and up to the vicinity of Bagdad the date palms are all planted on the left bank of the river; on inquiry I was told that it was to avoid the depredations of the Arabs to which they would be exposed on the other bank: even in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, where they grow on both sides of the stream, the Arabs come down and pitch their tents in the groves during the date season; and not only live on the fruit, but carry away as much as they can in their retreat. We landed in a date grove, with an undergrowth of

spreading orange, citron, and pomegranate trees, melodious with the song of nightingales, and swarming with turtle and ring doves: I even saw here a little horned owl and a pair of falcons; these cool scented bowers form delicious retreats in the heat of the day. Passed villages of Musoria and Sadia; these villages are all embowered in graceful palm groves. We halted for nearly two hours the last afternoon, to avoid arriving at Bagdad in the night or too early in the morning; threw a line over for fish, but only succeeded in taking a small one, a specimen of a numerous family peculiar to the Asian rivers, and which all go by the name of Shabood, or Kaboodie: they have no scales, and a great many long beards from the nose and chin. I do not think I ever witnessed a more magnificent sunset than on this evening off El Howash: the river was literally a mass of molten gold; a breeze winding through the taper shafts of the feathery palms wafted from the orange groves floods of the most exquisite perfume; and the ruddy rays shot far away into the recesses of the interminable colonnades that lined the eastern shore, and bathed the weeping branches in crimson light: it was a scene of enchantment, which repaid one for much toil. We floated on under the wooded shore, watching the changing hues, and enjoying the luxury of the hour, till night closed around, and threw a veil over its beauties; to reveal the vast spangled concave reflected in the sleeping mirror, making our little raft seem like the centre of one immense blue starry sphere: we had several escapes of being dashed against the poles supporting scaffoldings during the night; and the boatman persuading us we were much nearer the town than was the fact, we brought up for four hours.

*May 2.*—The approach to Bagdad by the river from the north is strikingly beautiful, as well from the novelty of the palm foliage as from the imposing features of the scene; the river is 220 yards wide, the banks approach nearer to each other, but not enough to destroy the grandeur of the noble stream down which you float

through winding vistas of palm, orange and pomegranate. We first came in sight of the four gilt minarets and domes of the sanctuary of Imam Moosa at Casimeen, towering above the date trees; this is the resort of the Sheah sect, who are mostly Persian pilgrims or refugees, and is said to be a nest of scoundrels. At 10 o'clock we entered the city of the Kaliphs, the two banks connected by a bridge of boats spanning the river; the houses are chiefly built of brown bricks, with here and there a gayer kiosk, a coffee shop with ornamented eaves overhanging the stream, or a more modern house, furnished with light wooden balconies, the whole thickly interspersed with trees. Near the north end on the right bank are the remains of some ancient buildings of massive brickwork ornamented with Korannic mouldings of the same description as those at Mosul; on the left bank, just before reaching the bridge, stand the remains of what was the principal mosque, half of it having fallen in from being undermined by the river three years ago; the whole of the interior is thus exposed; half of the dome being still untouched, it forms a striking object in ruins; the domes of the mosques are covered with blue and green tiles; the minarets are not high, but extremely well built; the Saracenic moulding under the galleries being elegantly and elaborately worked. The river, as we floated down, was covered with boats and rafts: the boats are of very peculiar construction; the larger ones, which are lying in tiers under the banks, have pointed stems and sterns rising to a most disproportionate height, and are furnished with a mast; the smaller boats, which are continually passing from one shore to the other, are circular wicker baskets, thickly coated with bitumen, and rowed with one or more paddles: these are called Goufa, but are appropriately named asphaltic coracles; as our raft could not pass the bridge, we were obliged to leave it and embark in one of these coracles; on the other side of the bridge the houses have more regularity, with balconies projecting over the water; this is principally on the left

bank, which is occupied by the main town ; the other side being only a suburb ; we were soon greeted with the sight of the British flag flying on board the Nimrud steamer, which was lying off the Residency ; here we landed, and were hospitably welcomed by Colonel Taylor, the British Political Resident in Turkish Arabia.

Bagdad was built about 500 of the Hegira, and called, by Abu Djaffer al Musor, Darr el Salam ; it remained the seat of the Kaliphate for 500 years, till it passed under the sway of the Moguls, in 1258 ; it was taken by Tamerlane in 1392. This far-famed city possesses few remains of the grandeur of the Kaliphate, with the exception of some of the bazaars, which are massively built, and an immense khan for merchandize : the bazaars, though arched over, are narrow ; perhaps they may have been so built for coolness, in such a hot locality as Bagdad, where the temperature rises indoors, in summer, to 120°. From the summit of a forsaken minar, an extensive view of the town and surrounding country is obtained, with the windings of the Tigris through an ocean of date-trees, which more or less conceal the buildings ; to the East stretches a wide sheet of water, left by the late inundations : the interior of the houses is better than their outside would promise ; one room in the Residency was entirely ceiled and pannelled with mirrors, ornamented and corniced with gilding and arabesque pattern-work, and furnished with couches, slightly raised from the floor : the effect produced by the plate-glass is very beautiful, increasing the extent and enhancing the splendour of the whole. In the house of the Pacha, which looks on to the river, the rooms are richly gilt and painted, but in quite a different style, by Persian artists ; the walls are loaded with a profusion of gaudy flowers, which, though stiff, are generally correct to nature, and the panels encircled with gilt foliage : this gaudy style is not to be compared in beauty to the neat interlacing and mathematical precision of the arabesque. Ali Pacha himself is a little man, remarkable for nothing but extreme

rotundity of figure, which does not show to advantage in tight European costume: we paid him a ceremonious visit in state, attended by the Resident's interpreter and cavasses.

The commerce of the town consists chiefly, besides European goods, of tobacco, galls, and dates; much of the trade in produce is engrossed by Jews, of whom there are about 1000 families: the European trade is in the hands of Armenians and Levantines; the tobacco is principally Persian Tumbacu, which is the only sort suitable for the narghileh, or water-pipe, and forms a large branch of commerce, supplying the whole of Turkey and Syria: it is grown in the vicinity of Shiraz. Ibrahim Pacha made an attempt to produce this description in the North of Syria, but entirely failed; however, as he would not be a loser by the speculation, he forced the merchants to take it off his hands, and they disposed of it, at a loss, by mixing it with the genuine. The dates are produced in the Pachalic; they are preserved by being immersed in boiling water and dried, when they become crystallized and extremely hard: the average produce of each tree is three cwt.

We met here Dr. Ross, the surgeon to the Residency (to whose directions we had been indebted in our expedition to Al Hadr), Captain Lynch, who succeeded Colonel Chesney in the command of the Euphrates expedition, and a party of his officers. Another of the steam flotilla came up the river the day after our arrival, the *Nitocris*, Lieut. Jones, who, I found, had been intimate with my brother in Bombay, and brought me the information that he was ordered, with his regiment, the 18th Royal Irish, to Canton. These steamers are made of iron, separated into three compartments; they carry six swivels and two large guns fore and aft. Three or four of these boats were brought out, in pieces, to Bassora on board a brig, with the necessary artificers and engineers: they arrived at that place in December, and now, in about five months, are fit for work. I imagine



that this flotilla is here, more with a political object than for any service it may render either in forwarding mails or merchandize; for the latter it is useless, and, for despatches to India, it is much too dilatory: should the Suez line ever be interfered with, there is a land route across the desert to Beyrout: and another by courier, through Turkey in Asia to Constantinople, by which letters would travel with greater despatch. I am informed that these steamers, in descending the river, add the rate of the current to their speed, and make from twelve to fifteen miles an hour; but, in steaming up the river, subtract the current of about six miles an hour from their rate of progression, by which they only ascend from two to three miles in the hour; and this can only be done at the season of the descent of the freshes; for, after the river has fallen, the impediments, in the shape of rapids and shallows, would prevent the ascent of the Euphrates from Bassora to any great distance; the steamers *Nimrud* and *Euphrates* came from Bassora to Bagdad, on the 3rd of June, in seven days, stopping during the night.

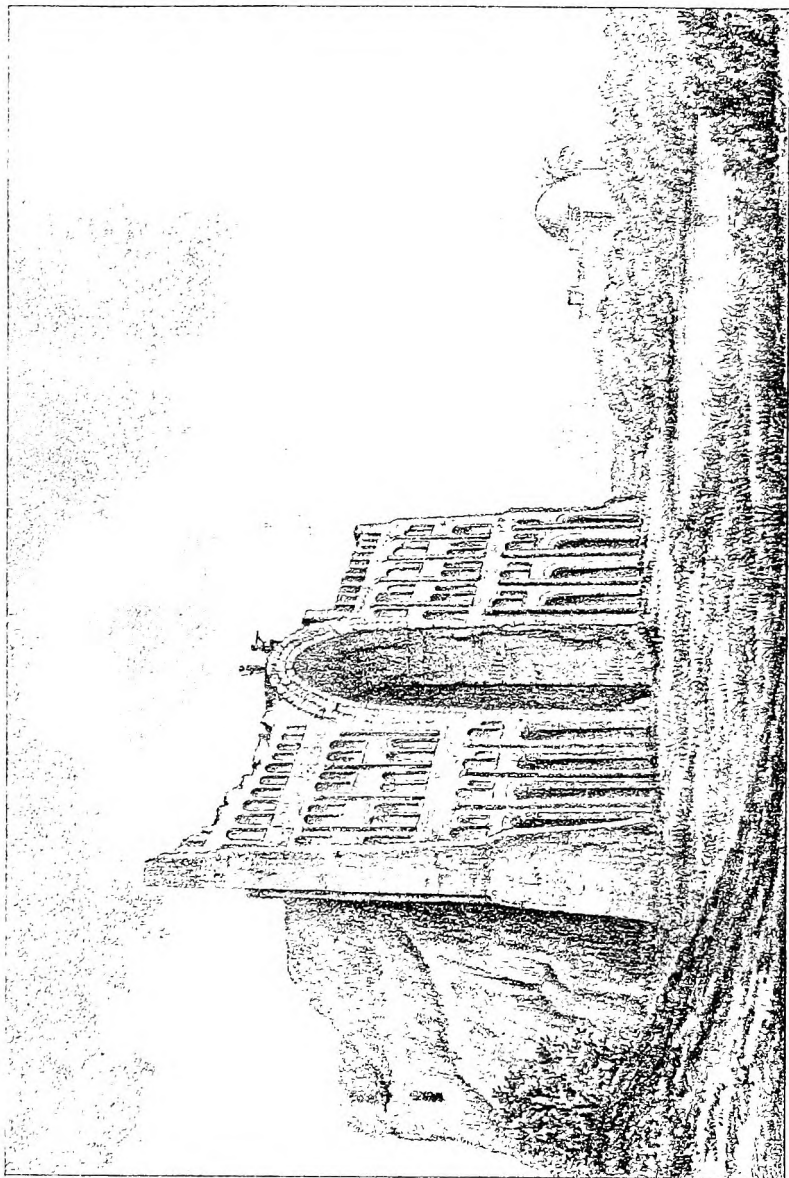
The heat during the day, at this season of the year, and during the summer, is so great that the people are obliged to live in vaults (*sardaub*), which are constructed for the purpose under all the houses; the streets, at this time, are deserted: in these vaults, which are ten degrees colder than the outer air, we took our meals, fanned by a punkah, the first one I have seen used, and an importation from India; these vaults become close and moist after dark, when we ascended to the roof of the house to take tea, the servants making use of the flat chimney-tops as a sideboard; fortunately for Bagdad, the air from the river usually renders the evenings cool, and, as long as it is moonlight, this skying is very agreeable: it is impossible to use a light at other times, as it would immediately attract clouds of mosquitoes and insects from the river and marshes: and you are obliged to carry on conversation in the dark, while you strive to pierce the gloom to see if your neighbour is listening to you. The whole population

sleep out on these terraced roofs at night; the tops of the houses being separated by walls more or less high, according to the jealousy of the natives; if half what is reported be true, the morality of Bagdad is at a very low ebb indeed. The Arabic language is spoken here in a much purer form than in Syria; the population is a mixed race of Arabs and Turks; the town is supplied with river-water, carried in skins by men and donkeys. I here first saw that destructive insect, the termite, or white ant; being soft and unfurnished with the scaly skin of the other species, they carry on their devastations under covered ways, which they make as they proceed, covering everything they destroy with a coat of hardened mud: this also protects them from their enemies, the black ants, and from birds: fireflies I saw, but they are not common.

*May 7.*—The steamers leaving to-day for Bassora, we profited by the opportunity to visit the sites of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, called by the Arabs Al Modain (The cities); we went down the stream at a rapid rate; the only fuel used is the wood of the tamarisk, which grows abundantly on the banks of the river, and is supplied at fixed stations by contract with the Arabs, notwithstanding their occasional hostility, a late instance of which occurred to one of these new steamers on her way up to Bagdad; somewhere above the junction of the rivers they were fired on by the Arabs, one ball entering the paddle-box and another indenting the funnel; the steamer returned the favour by charges of grape-shot among the herds of buffaloes, killing many of these valuable cattle; this would be a greater punishment to the Arabs than killing their men, and be a lesson to them to be more cautious in molesting us; they probably belonged to a tribe of Arabs who inhabit the marshes down between the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, and who occupy themselves entirely with the pasturage of buffaloes, on the produce of which they live; they are subordinate and tributary to the great tribe of the Montefik.

I was told a story of these same people in connection with the Chief of the Montefik, who at that time was a young man named Ageel, who is described as having been remarkably handsome, with his hair flowing in curls over his shoulders; the tribe in question, whose name I do not recollect, had enjoyed an exemption from part of their tribute, on condition of their keeping certain dykes on the river in repair: this, however, had been neglected, and remonstrances were in vain, until the accession of Ageel, who, finding messages and complaints ineffectual, at last went himself to see the work done; the people were collected and already engaged on the dykes when their Chief came up; Ageel asked him why his orders had been so repeatedly disobeyed and unattended to. "Why," said the Chief sneeringly, "we are not accustomed to be commanded by boys!" "It is well," said the enraged Ageel: "and now you shall see how a boy shall be obeyed," and giving orders to his people, the unfortunate Sheik was immediately seized, and built alive into the rising embankment with his head out, in the presence of all his tribe. This young Chief was afterwards killed in an engagement with the Shammar Arabs, who being put to flight, he incautiously followed them too far, when his mare slipping, fell on his leg, and before he could extricate himself, one of his enemies returned and ran him through with his lance.

We brought up in two hours and three-quarters opposite the ruined walls of Seleucia, the fragments that remain consisting of sun-dried bricks are of no interest; half a mile from the left bank rises the extraordinary massive pile known by the name of Tak i Kesra, the Arch of Chosroes, the only relic of Ctesiphon which has been spared by the successive inundations of the river; we found it entirely surrounded by water, being slightly elevated on a low mound; we all landed and waded through the marsh, up to our knees in water, inveterately assailed by clouds of mosquitoes; we were repaid, however, for our trouble



TAK-I-KESRA (ARCH OF CHOSROES), CTESIPHON.

on reaching it: it is a most imposing structure, with a long front facing east; in the centre of the face is an enormous arch 106 feet high, the entrance to a vaulted hall 160 feet long, which extends to the rear of the building; the interior of this has been stuccoed; the front of the building is ornamented with five stories of blind arches, and the remains of a sixth: the arches diminish in size as they ascend; there being only eight in the lower tier, and twenty-four in the 5th; between the arches of the first and second stories are eight pillars, and the same above this between those of the third and fourth, but placed without regularity. The accompanying sketch gives a correct outline of the building, it is constructed entirely of small bricks; there is a peculiarity in the central arch, which decreases in width near the ground, forming part of an oval; as there is nothing to show that the sides have given way, it must have been originally built on this principle, and its present state of preservation has proved its stability when the rest of the city has perished; the rooms, which formerly occupied the sides, are in ruins; this edifice, although it will not bear a comparison with Al Hadr in the beauty of the building and its architectural details, appears to have approximated to the plan of the palace in those ruins before described; the same imposing front, the same vast halls, and their position facing east, are some of the points of similarity; but the buildings are evidently of different dates.

The brushwood jungles and reedy banks of the Euphrates are the resort of lions, which are found along its course, from the north of Shergat, where we first heard of them, to the S.W. of Persia: this animal is the lion with the short mane, which is now recognized by naturalists as a distinct variety.

In the evening the mosquitoes were so numerous and troublesome that we were forced at dinner to keep them off with one hand while we ate with the other; they came from the marshes in clouds and became literally a dangerous pest. We had intended going on from here to the site of

Babylon, and had sent our horses to meet us on the opposite bank for the purpose ; but the next morning my saddle was carried down on board one of the steamers by mistake ; this disabled me, and my companion being attacked with intermittent fever, we thought it better to defer our visit : landing on the right bank, our return on horseback to Bagdad was painfully tedious, wading through marshes left by the inundation of the river : in many places the stream was above the level of the surrounding country, from which it was only separated by an embankment : the banks were overgrown with the liquorice plant. An hour before reaching Bagdad we were completely stopped by the inundation, and were obliged to cross the Tigris to the left bank in one of the round goufas, which only carried two horses at a time. One of our party on this occasion was Captain Edmunds, of the Bombay Army, Assistant Resident at Bushire,<sup>1</sup> which place he was obliged to quit on account of our present quarrel with the Persian Government. We occupied six hours returning to Bagdad.

We made acquaintance with the Persian princes who had visited England, Timour Meerza and the Wali ; the other brother, Reeza Kouli, who claimed the succession, being absent at Samarra : these princes receive a pension of £2000 per annum each from our Government. There are two other Shahzadehs at Bagdad, who I am told are pensioners of Turkey ; they are uncles of the former, and sons of Fath Ali Shah : a large party of us went to dine with them : the eldest, Ali Verdee Meerza, was about forty-five years of age ; he had the hereditary long handsome beard of the royal family : the other brother, Suleiman Meerza, is much younger, tall, and handsome, but as wild and reckless as if he were the Shah himself : they received

<sup>1</sup> This gentleman afterwards volunteered his services to Lord Ponsonby, and held an important command with the land forces during the operations of the British in Syria ; on his return to India he was appointed Head Assistant to the Political Agent in Sind, under Major Outram ; when on the point of proceeding to that country, he was unfortunately taken ill and died at Poona.

us very courteously; the dinner was good, and they made no scruple of eating with us; which is not usual with Sheahs, although the Soonees never object to it; there was no lack of wine and brandy at this feast; and their great amusement seemed to consist in trying to make their guests tipsy, which was succeeded by romping, changing hats, caps, turbans, and other childish amusements: after all these schoolboy tricks, when they had to appear in public, it was amusing to witness their stolidity and apparent unconsciousness, as they rode through the streets without moving limb or feature; what the Prince de Ligne said of the English may well apply to Mussulmans: "Ils sont comme des levriers. Ils courent, ils dansent, ils sautent et puis ils ont l'air de rêver toujours." They had a fine young lion, which rolled about among us on the carpets, and seemed rather too large to be at liberty, and under little control.

I heard the following tragic story in which Suleiman Meerza was concerned, and the consequences of which might have proved fatal to himself. Being out hawking some miles from Bagdad, his falcon missed her quarry, and flew away, alighting on the tent of an Arab at a small camp. Suleiman Meerza rode up to the tent, to recover the bird; but the owner of the tent, having taken possession of it, refused to deliver it up; Suleiman, not accustomed to be thwarted, threatened the man that if he did not restore it, he would compel him. "At least," said the Arab, "I defy you to take it alive;" and he deliberately and wantonly wrung the falcon's neck, and threw it at its master's feet, adding, "Now you may take your bird." The exasperated Persian immediately drew a pistol and shot the Arab dead, and then galloped off to the town. The next day the Arabs came to demand justice of the Pacha, who told them that the Princes were guests of the Sultan and sacred; and besides, that they were wrong in committing the first unprovoked outrage; so the Arabs were compelled to return without obtaining satisfaction.

There is a beautiful breed of white asses at Bagdad,

which are much prized by the natives for riding; they are much finer made than the common donkey, and have more spirit; some few are taken to Persia, where they bring a high price, but I imagine they do not thrive out of their own country, or perhaps owing to their expensiveness, they are rarely seen out of the plain of Bagdad.

On Friday night, May 15th, we left to visit the ruins of Babylon. We had hired horses, and sent them to meet us some way down the opposite banks of the river, the whole plain round the western suburb being inundated: we floated down the stream in a coracle, and at 11 o'clock found our horses in waiting; when we mounted and marched four hours to Khan Azat, crossing four streams or canals connecting spreading waters on the right and left. Leaving Khan Azat before sunrise, we passed extensive artificial mounds, which the people here call Sheshabar (perhaps Perisabor); we passed Khan el Beir, and stopped at Eshendriah, as we found it quite impossible to bear the intense heat of the sun; we stayed here till midnight, when we marched by the light of the moon, passing Khan Jedide and reaching Khan Mhoweel an hour before sunrise. The level plain between Bagdad and the ruins of Babylon presents to the eye nothing but a hard white glaring surface, intersected by lines or groups of mounds, the remains of former towns: these mounds form inexhaustible stores of bricks for building; and of them the numerous large caravanserais on these burning plains have been constructed; there is one of these at every two hours or eight miles, besides others in other directions; and still the supply fails not, and the excavations go on continually: there is no vegetation, but a little scattered gray southernwood. From Khan Mhoweel, which is surrounded by a grove of palms, to the ruins, the plain is a little more thickly covered with wormwood and capers, the whole track swarming with the pin-tailed sand-grouse, called by the Arabs Katta, I believe on account of its note resembling the mewing



of a cat, also called Katta in Arabic. At these Khans we were tormented by the attacks of small sand-flies, like midges, so transparent that they were scarcely visible; their bite is like the pricking of a needle.

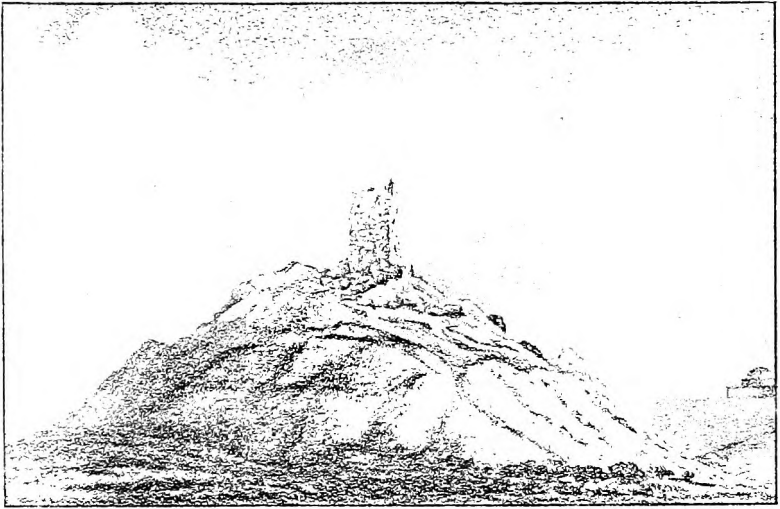
About six miles north of Hilla we came to the large mound or ruin called by the natives Babel; it is an extensive truncated hill, composed of bricks and rubbish, full of caverns and holes, the remains of old vaults, which are inhabited by jackals; most of the bricks are stamped with Babylonian inscriptions, a most complicated form of the Cuneiform. From the southern point of this hill an extensive view is commanded of the winding of the Euphrates, with Burj Nimrod standing boldly on the horizon about fourteen miles distant; after exploring these débris for an hour, we went on to Hilla, proposing to visit the other mounds on this side the river on our return, the great object of interest being the Burj itself; descending from the mounds, we started a djerboa, which bounded away on its long hind legs like a grasshopper: crossing some marshy land, my horse stumbled and pitched me on my head, but I escaped without permanent injury beyond bruises; after traversing two miles, between groves of date trees planted in lines and inclosed by mud walls, we reached Hilla, a good-sized town, crossing by a bridge of boats; we put up at a khan on the opposite side. The Euphrates is much narrower here than the Tigris at Bagdad, but is a fine rapid stream; both are much swollen by the late descent of the floods from Asia Minor and Koordistan.

Hilla, which dates from the year 500 of the Hegira, A.D. 1100, is built of bricks from the Babylonian ruins. It was peopled jointly by colonists from the Arab tribe of Beni Assad, and the few remaining descendants of the Babylonians, calling themselves Babelene; the latter race has, however, become finally extinct: the pure Beni Assad tribe are still living in tents on the desert, and of course despise their stationary brethren of the town; the town is surrounded by date groves, has some

bazaars of shops, and enjoys a considerable trade in black lamb, or kid skins, dates and a few manufactures; it is also enriched by the continual passage of pilgrims, who come from all parts of Persia to visit Mesjid Ali and Kerbela, which are in its vicinity. A Sheah who has visited the latter place always affixes Kerbelai after his name; as a Soonee visiting Mecca prefixes the title of Hadji; twenty miles to the south is the reputed tomb of Ezekiel, to which the Jews of Bagdad and other places make an annual pilgrimage; Jews are numerous at Hilla. The reason I mention pilgrimages as a source of profit is because pilgrims in the East usually unite commercial speculations with their devotional journeys.

*May 18.*—To avoid as much as possible the heat of the sun, we started from Hilla by moonlight at two in the morning, for the purpose of visiting the Burj, about seven miles south of the town; we took a straight line across a desolate country, intersected at intervals by small muddy canals, and trenched and partitioned as if it had been under cultivation; in some few places patches of barley were growing, and on these were generally four or five little black huts, or tents; on nearing the mound, we were obliged to make a detour to the left, to avoid an extensive marsh, and then crossed a tract of white dry soil, covered with brushwood, and swarming with black partridge: I never saw these birds so plentiful; they are usually shy, but here they were running about like fowls, crowing in all directions, and springing from every bush; a good shot might have bagged twenty or thirty brace in the course of an hour or two.

Just before sunrise we reached the lower mounds surrounding the Burj in a storm of wind from the south, which drifted the dust in clouds across the waste, and by the time we had ascended the hill, the sun rose a dark crimson globe struggling to pierce the murky atmosphere, adding to the gloomy solitude of the scene, than which I never witnessed anything more impressive. This extraordinary hill, together with the mounds at its foot, are



BIRS NIMRUD. BABYLON.



BABYLON.

solid masses of brick masonry ; the gullies of the central hill and the surface of the mounds are covered with vitrified brick, in black, green, and yellow fragments ; on the sides of the hill, in many places, the solid brick building is exposed, otherwise it is covered with a mass of smooth débris cut perpendicularly into channels and gullies by the rain. The summit of the mound is crowned by a pinnacle of yellow brick wall, which, when measured by Rich, was 37 feet high by 28 broad : this wall is vitrified on one side, but in other parts is soft and can be cut with a knife ; it is pierced with oblong horizontal holes, both breadthways and lengthways. At the foot of this wall are piled some large black masses, or boulders, some of them 7 or 8 feet in diameter, which were mistaken by Kinneir for stone, but in places where they have been fractured, the layers of brick are very apparent, showing these rocks to be fragments of brickwork, fused into solid masses and vitrified by the intense action of fire. Comparing the partial destruction, and apparent newness of the wall, with the so utter transmutation of these masses, it would seem that the former was protected, while the latter was undergoing the extreme ordeal of fire ; for no one can doubt that fire in some shape was the agent in the destruction of this edifice ; and I therefore conclude that these black rocks, which must originally have rested on the summit of the mound, have gradually sunk down by the disintegration and washing away of the pulverized materials, till they arrived at their present position ; the same cause leaving exposed the present elevated fragment of brick masonry.

Rich makes the circumference of the mound 762 yards, with an elevation from the plain on the west 198 feet. The appearance of the ruin and the surrounding country is striking and unique ; the former is emphatically what Jeremiah has called it, a "burnt mountain," whilst far around stretches a dreary expanse of desolate plains, with towards the south and west some extensive marshes.

I have no ancient author at hand to consult, to venture

on deciding whether this building was within the walls of the city or not, but it certainly appears to have been isolated; however, I have no doubt that it was, originally, the principal temple of Belus attached to the capital; although it is difficult to account for the traditional name of Burj Nimrod (the tower of Nimrod), or Babel, given it by the Arabs, and which would imply its existence before Babylon; but, as it is probable the Arabs had no tradition of Nimrod before the time of Mohammed, this site was most likely identified by them, and received its name after the publication of the Koran. The general appearance of the site of Babylon is sufficient to strike the careless with astonishment, and the incredulous with awe; yet I am aware of having stated some details which will give a handle to the caviller. Because a few tents are seen on this wilderness, and some Arabs, belonging to Hilla, carry on a little temporary cultivation by its pools of water, he will say, in disproof of the prophecies, that the Arabian still pitches his tent there, and the shepherds fold their flocks there: and overlook the vast mounds of ruins which rise in frowning grandeur on the bosom of this impressive solitude; the fire of heaven that vitrified her palaces; and the general desolation of the locality, formerly the most fertile in the known world. Another argument against the truth is adduced by assuming that the town of Hilla, surrounded by palm-groves, is in the middle of the site of Babylon; but I consider it next to impossible to determine on the precise limits and figure of a place so utterly destroyed as this is; nor is there anything but hypothetical evidence to prove that Hilla is within the limits of the walls of the old city: but Christianity stands on a surer basis than the ruins of Babylon, nor can it be shaken by such adventitious circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I should suppose that no one who has seen this ruin, and visited the Hindoo temples of Southern India, could avoid being struck by their identity. The pyramidal piles of nearly solid brickwork of Madura, Combaconum and Tanjore would form exactly similar ruins to the Burj Nimrod. Herodotus

On our return, we passed through the town without stopping, and crossing the bridge of boats went directly to the mound or ruin called the Mklouba or Mujelibi, which Kinneir makes 750 yards in circumference. It is four or five miles from Hilla, close to the left bank of the river; instead of being solid like the others, it is composed of heaps of loose bricks and rubbish, and is dug into pits and hollows by successive explorers; in places where late excavations had been going on, the large bricks, a foot square, stamped with Cuneiform inscriptions, came away quite perfect; between some of them were layers of bituminous charcoal, on which the letters were stamped in relief; some of the masses of brick have been partially vitrified: the stamped bricks are of a light brown colour, but remarkably hard; on the side near the river is part of a solid brick building of a

assigns eight stories to the temple of Babylon; the Hindoo buildings are usually seven stories high, but often more. The probability of this is strengthened by the following article from Calmet's Dictionary, where it is asserted that a fundamental principle of the Hindoo idolatry is derived from this locality; and it is natural to suppose that where the worship originated, from the same place would be taken the model of the temples consecrated to that worship. Under the head Babel:—The Hindoo relation says, that the origin of the Lingam worship was derived from the banks of the Cumud Vati (Euphrates), where the first of these idols was erected, under the name of Baliswara linga (Iswara, the infant, Baal), seeming to answer to Jupiter Puer of the west: Baleswara and Balisa are synonymous in the Purans, and appear to be derived from the Bel or Belus of Babel. Any one reading the Scripture account of the golden image set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura must be struck with the absurdity of supposing a figure sixty cubits high by six broad could ever have represented a man; and yet we are astonished to find a person of the erudition of Prideaux torturing matter, space, and his own intellect to force this conclusion: and Calmet, with the above plain article before him, countenancing, by giving place to his hypothesis; even the lynx-eye of Maurice, in his elaborate work on Indian antiquities, has passed this over unnoticed: I am quite convinced that this golden image was no other than the Brahminical symbol of the pillar, the worship of which was then so general, and which now pervades India. The principal idol worshipped at Petra, in Idumea, was an octagonal stone pillar: and Maurice himself gives the following, from Athenæus: "At one of the magnificent festivals of Osiris, Ptolemy Philadelphus displayed to the Egyptians a pillar of gold, richly painted and adorned with golden crowns: one hundred and twenty cubits in length, with a star of burnished gold on the top, the circumference of which was six cubits: this was borne aloft, like the other idols, on a splendid car, and, like them, received homage from the gazing crowd."

yellowish colour, with an appearance of great newness; the walls of this are in some places eight feet thick; it has probably been restored to light by excavators. At the north end of this mound is a tamarisk tree, of a different variety from that which grows so abundantly on the rivers in this country; I was told that it was the only specimen of the variety existing; it is sacred, and goes by the name of the tree of Amran Ibn Ali; about forty paces N.E. of this tree, and partially buried in a hollow, is the large statue of black granite, representing a lion with a man under him; the block is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and very rudely carved; it is the only stone I saw near these ruins; the rest of the mound is an indistinguishable mass of débris and rubbish. On a narrow space, between the mounds and the river, we found an encampment of fellahs, belonging to Hilla, who told us they had come out for the purpose of cultivating a little barley; at other times they live in the town; they were remarkably friendly and obliging, and brought us milk and fruit; we rested for two hours in a thick grove of date and pomegranate trees bounding the mounds to the north, surrounded by these people, who were amusing and intelligent; they could not understand why the English left all their friends and relations and wandered about these countries; they said if we would remain with them, they would give us beautiful wives, and make Sheiks of us; we were obliged to resist this (to an Arab) most irresistible temptation, and resume our march, trusting that our future travels might always bring us into as good company. To the eastward of this is another conspicuous mound, which possesses nothing in common with the other ruins: red bricks are uncommon in the others; but this mound is entirely composed of fragments of red brick, on none of which I could discover the arrow-headed writing; from its red colour it is called Tel a Hummer, and I should suppose was the remains of some fabric of a later date than the other mounds. On the lower mounds, near the Burj Nimrod, there is a small domed sanctuary

dedicated to Ibrahim el Khalil, and twenty-five miles N.W. of Hilla, in a grove of date trees, is another Imam called Nebbi Noeh; the memory of Abraham, Ezekiel, and Noah still flourishing above the ruins of Babylon. We stayed the night at Khan Mhowcel, where we procured a pillau of rice and plenty of sour milk, a woman standing by us with a skin full of this beverage, to replenish our cups; this she performed by relaxing her hold of the neck of the skin, which she grasped in one hand; a rather primitive Hebe!

On leaving at eleven at night, the sleepy khanji only opened the heavy gates wide enough for our horses to squeeze through; and, as I carried my gun slung across my back, the stock caught on one side and the barrel on the other, and the horse going on before I could extricate myself, the strap caught me round the neck, and I was fairly dragged out of the saddle and precipitated to the ground, alighting on my shoulders; I was thankful that it was no worse, for if my feet had not come out of the stirrups, I should have been either hung or quartered, instead of being unpleasantly shaken: it was a bad fall, but did not prevent my travelling all night; we met with nothing more of interest, except in the morning, passing flocks of several hundred enormous pelicans, which were so lazy we could scarcely make them take flight; we reached Bagdad on the evening of the 19th, and I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Farren, our late energetic Consul at Damascus, where he did such good service and made the English name a power in Syria. Major Rawlinson, whom I expected to find here, had left with Colonel Shee for India. The following is the height of the thermometer for a few days in May, promising a very hot season; it shows the highest temperature indoors:

May 20	.....	96°	May 24	.....	99°	May 28	....	102°
„ 21	.....	98°	„ 25	.....	100°	„ 29	.....	91°
„ 22	.....	100°	„ 26	.....	100°	„ 30	.....	92°
„ 23	.....	101°	„ 27	.....	100°	„ 31	.....	94°

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## CHAPTER X.

## PERSIA.

IN anticipation of the difficulty of proceeding further without a knowledge of the language, we had been compelled to make a long delay of nearly two months at Bagdad, for the purpose of studying Persian. My knowledge of Arabic had stood us in good stead thus far, but would be of little use in the countries yet to be traversed, but by assiduous application we had mastered the Persian sufficiently to enable us to make our way, and expected to improve by practice as we travelled on.

Our plan was to traverse Persia by Ispahan, and Yezd to the province of Seistan, and thence trace the river Helmund to Kandahar; but on account of a difference with the Persian Government, and the withdrawal of our Embassy from Teheran, we were doubtful if we should be allowed to go through Persia at all, but determined to make the attempt. We knew nothing of what was going on in those countries except that our Government had this diplomatic difference with the Persians. Up to this place there had not been any great difficulty in obtaining money by letter of credit, through the kindness of Consuls and officials, although there were no fixed banks; but after leaving Bagdad we anticipated no possibility of obtaining funds before arriving in India; consequently it was necessary to carry on our persons the money necessary to carry us through Persia to Afghanistan. The best way of carrying money is in gold, for which the Persian toman, worth ten shillings, is very convenient; Persian bills to a traveller would be waste paper, and the gold toman is just as portable, and

a sufficient number can be carried about the person without inconvenience; a belt should never be used, as in case of plunder, it is the first thing the Arab or Turcoman looks for. After some little experience, I would offer another piece of advice to the traveller: whether the weather or climate is cold or hot, always clothe well: I suffered from illness in Persia, but I believe I should have suffered much more if I had not adopted this plan: that which will protect from cold will also protect from solar heat: I always wore an English dress, as any disguise would have exposed me to danger and detention; disguise should never be resorted to but in cases of extreme emergency, and quitted as soon as its purpose has been answered, as its disadvantages greatly preponderate over its trifling advantages. It was a hard wrench leaving Colonel Taylor's hospitable roof, and exchanging the kindness of his family, and the luxurious entertainment we enjoyed, for the hardships and privations of Eastern travelling; but the way was still long before me, while the worst two-thirds of the journey had yet to be traversed.

It was considered unsafe to cross the frontier into Persia at the present moment, there being reports of caravans having been attacked while crossing the mountains; it is also unsettled on account of the late violation of the Turkish territories by the Persians, who had surprised and taken Suleimanieh, 150 miles north of Bagdad, and it was rumoured that the Shah had an intention of marching to Bagdad itself: in the meantime a force was collecting outside the walls, to make a show of going to relieve the former place.

A caravan being about to leave for Kirmanshah, we hired horses of a head Chawardar (mule driver) to accompany it, and after waiting several days, we made a false start on the 19th June; for, on joining them outside the gates, we found to our mortification that they were not all ready, and could not proceed, inflicting on us the gratuitous vexation of sleeping under the town walls; after storming and threatening at a great expense of temper and breath

to little purpose, for moving a caravan is like moving a ship, we were forced to lie down and sleep off our disappointment, losing a fine cool moonlight night; as it is impossible to travel at this season of the year in these plains during the day on account of the great heat of the sun, we were of course detained till the following evening: while I remained outside to make sure of a start in the evening, I followed the example of the other travellers, who were fastening carpets and cloths to the wall to form rude tents, as the heat during the day was tremendous: there was a large caravan of camels outside about to leave for Damascus: our caravan consisted of mules and horses.

The present state of the plains forming the basins of the Tigris and Euphrates presents a striking contrast to their ancient fertility: where formerly the land returned several hundredfold, and maintained an overflowing population, it is now with difficulty that they can raise, by a laborious system of irrigation, enough to supply the comparatively insignificant towns that are scattered over their surface; and yet, humanly speaking, there is nothing to prevent the redemption of these rich alluvial plains from their actual state of desolation, with the means of irrigation from these fine rivers at hand, which, by being judiciously distributed, instead of allowed to waste in useless inundation, would make this country what it once was: a garden; but a curse seems to lie upon it.

The sun was setting, glaringly reflected in the smooth water of the Tigris; on the banks, and partially mixed with the trees, was pitched the Turkish camp, under Ibrahim Bey; nearer, on the opposite bank, were assembled the camels of the Damascus caravan, a wild-looking herd; the water-carriers were wading into the cool stream to fill their skins; the background was composed of feathery date groves: our caravan was all in motion, some packing, others loading their beasts, some washing in the river and those least encumbered with baggage already mounted, and sitting patiently on horseback,

smoking their narghilehs or counting their beads: at seven in the evening we began our march by moonlight, across white alluvial plains. I did not anticipate a very agreeable journey, the majority of the caravan being composed of bigoted Persian pilgrims from Kerbela and Mesjid Ali: at eight in the morning we reached the Diala (Passitigris), a fine broad stream with a slow current and a muddy bed, the left bank rising in low cliffs: this river is lined on both sides with date woods; it flows into the Tigris south of Bagdad: we crossed it in a large commodious ferry boat, with a platform for cattle to walk into it without unloading: turning to the right, we traversed the small mud-built town of Yacobea, inhabited by Arabs and Koords, and stopped for the day in a palm grove beyond it, each choosing the shadiest spot he could find under the trees or old walls to pass the day: the walls which enclose gardens, form a very convenient shelter by making a pent house from them with a rug, and when the sun reaches one side it is shifted over to the other.

A poor Persian travelling with the caravan offered himself as our servant; he called himself a Shahzadeh, and one of forty brothers: it is nothing uncommon in this country for the Shah and princes to have families of fifty or eighty, but it is rather uncommon for them to provide for so many; we engaged this man to cook for us, and mounted him on one of the mules. The only Soonee of the party was a native of Cabool, who had been Moonshee with Colonel Hughes at Karak, in the Persian Gulf, from whence he had been dismissed for some misdemeanour, and he was now returning to his own country: he could speak a few words of English. We were not long unmolested by the fanatical Sheeah Moollas, who, just returned, sanctified, from their pilgrimage, thought it a good opportunity of manifesting their zeal for their faith by preaching intolerance against those they called infidels; they told our servant that there could be no salvation for him if he served us and ate our food: and so far frightened the Soonee Moonshee,

who was a respectable, and more enlightened man, that he was afraid to join our mess, and would only eat of our food by stealth after it was dark: of course, he was the sufferer for his folly. The Persian servant disregarded their anathemas; and, as their preaching was a relief to their own minds, we did not interfere with their amusement, although at times it was sufficiently annoying. The Moonshee sometimes ventured on a controversy with them in our behalf, as well as in defence of his own faith, in which, being well versed in the Koran, he generally had the advantage of the Persians, who, although they could read the Arabic words, understood the meaning imperfectly; they were obliged to admit that Jesus is called the Spirit of God (Rooh Alla) in their Koran, yet it did not diminish their enmity to his disciples. Although the higher classes in Persia have no scruples about eating with Christians, they dare not do it in the presence of their Moollas, and the lower classes not only will not eat with you, but will not give you food or water in their own vessels; I met with a few exceptions to this in Khorassan.

There was a Shirazi with the caravan, who was on his way home: he appeared to be the person of most consequence in the caravan, being mounted on a handsome horse, and armed with holsters and carbine, with a servant on a pony carrying his baggage and narghileh; with this man, whose name was Meerza Ismael, we were soon sworn brothers, and his countenance was of use to us in counteracting the preaching of the intolerant priests; for the unstable mob, seeing our friendship with their superiors, paid less attention to the denunciations of these fanatics; Meerza Ismael was of great service to us in keeping up our Persian lessons as we rode along together, and before reaching Kermanshah we could manage to carry on a conversation and understand each other very well: although this man would give us anything he had, or assist us in any way, yet he was obliged to avoid offending the prejudices of the Moollas; he would not eat with us, and

though he always offered his narghileh, whenever it was accepted another mouth-pipe was put to it; the apparatus for smoking this pipe is rather inconvenient for travellers, who in this country are seldom or never without it; a pair of large cases or drums, made for the purpose, are suspended at the saddle-bow, one of them containing the large water pipe and the other the tubes, tobacco and other necessary apparatus, and as they are continually smoking, they must have fire with them; this is always carried in a fire-pan or iron censer, suspended by three chains from the cantle of the saddle, and hanging down from the horse's side; on the other side hangs a large leather water-bottle. There were about ten women of our party, some carried in pairs in covered panniers, called Cajawas, slung on mules, and others riding astride like the men: they were enveloped in large white wrappers, with a white handkerchief over the face, in which was worked a square of net or open work for them to see through. The dress of the men in Persia is very unbecoming: a long gown reaching to the ankles and split up the sides, with tight sleeves, a leather belt, and the hideous black conical cap of lambskin.

Leaving in the evening, we marched seven farsaks across plains to Sherawan, a mud village by which flows a small deep brook; from here the mountains are in sight beyond the Hamrin Hills; I tried to catch some fish, but after taking two or three fish like chub, the tortoises gorged my hooks and destroyed my sport and tackle; the large blue kingfisher is common here.

*June 22.*—We slept all day in the date woods, and marched at six in the evening E. by N. across plains; verdant in the vicinity of water, but in other parts the arid soil was covered with capers in blossom: at sunset, as usual, the whole caravan halted for prayers. Before dark we crossed a small stream by a bridge, and a little beyond this, another handsome bridge of one arch, over the Sirwan, and, soon afterwards, ascended a rocky road over the Hamrin Hills; here it was a regular scramble, all

crushing through the narrow passes, fearful of being cut off by plunderers; on the other side the descent into the plains was easy; and after passing two or three muddy streams, or ditches, we stopped at a caravansera, in the town of Kizil Robot, having only marched five farsaks; it was still dark, and we slept till morning.

In the evening the Khanji came round to levy contributions, and, seeing we were English, demanded ten times more than from any one else, which, of course, we refused, offering him what was reasonable; he then threatened to send people to rob us during the night, which we told him he was welcome to do; but assured him that the first man who attempted it would get shot for his pains, and, in the meantime, we paid him nothing: these people are a very bad set, a mixture of Koords and Arabs: we, however, slept unmolested.

We were off at midnight, first crossing a narrow stream, and then, through rocky and gravelly hills, we marched five farsaks to the town of Kanakin, which had a pretty appearance as we approached it in the morning; embosomed in trees in a slight hollow, and traversed by a river called here N'Pool, the real name of which is the Elwan; it is backed by the Zagros Mountains, called by the natives Koh i Ajam (Mountains of Persia): this town, though partly in Persia, the frontier-line traversing it, pays its revenues to the Pachalic of Bagdad; over the river is a good brick bridge of thirteen arches, which we crossed, and found ourselves in Persia: on this side there was a fine large caravansera, but, tempted by the shade and coolness of the gardens, we bivouacked under the trees to pass the day; we, however, found the people as brutal and inhospitable as at the other places on this frontier, and had nearly come to a serious collision here with some of the natives. To make friends with the owners of the gardens, we had bought a quantity of apricots of them; but in the course of the day, as I was strolling amongst the trees, I picked some of the fruit which hung from the boughs in my path: on this being

seen by one of the gardeners, there was a hue and cry ; his shouts bringing all the rest to his assistance, and they came down on us in force for satisfaction for the damage. It seems that the gardens are held by a sort of partnership, and we found it no easy matter to please so many ; however, after some trouble, they appeared pacified by being paid ten times the value of the damage : to show the groundlessness of their irritation, I may mention that at Kermanshah we purchased seventy apricots for the value of one shilling. Thinking the affair was settled, we lay down to sleep, when the storm again burst out, from some misunderstanding among themselves, one of the owners not getting his share of the plunder : roused by the noise, I saw an ogre-like villain, his "mustachios curling with ire," coming towards me with a large stick, for what purpose I could easily guess, at the same time directing another to assault my companion. I pretended to be asleep, when the rascal came and gave me a poke to awake me, and was preparing to proceed to further extremities, when he was brought to a dead stop by finding I had drawn a pistol : on seeing the Moonshee and some of the other people coming between us to interfere, he again summoned courage ; and, drawing his curved dagger, with which they are all armed, he attempted to make a fresh onslaught ; but of course was prevented by the rest, who, however, were rather frightened of this fellow, who seemed mad with rage. I did not take my eye off him till he had become a little cool, as I was fearful he might take me by surprise : at length, some arrangement was made, by the Moonshee giving him some trifle, and he went off swearing and threatening, and we retreated to our caravan : the others, though not so violent, were very difficult to manage or reason with, and it was fortunate the affair ended without any more serious consequences. In this place, exactly on the frontier, the people have no respect for either Government : if you show a Sultan's firman they say they are under Mohammed Shah, and, *vice versâ*,



so that if any blood had been drawn, we might have been massacred with impunity: and this prevented our endeavouring to have the man punished by the authorities of the town, which would most probably have been abortive, and have only exposed us to further danger.

The principal fruits in these gardens are apricot, peach, plum, and pomegranate. The apricots of Western Persia are the finest variety I have ever seen, not being oval and dry like ours, but round and juicy. The temperature of the air decreased rapidly as we approached the mountains. We were told here that it was impossible to pass the country about Kasr Shireen (our next stage), without an escort, as the road was infested by plunderers. In the large Caravansera of the village there was a party of twenty travellers, who were afraid to proceed, awaiting the collection of a stronger body, and now intending to proceed with us, they increased our caravan to about seventy, among whom were a dozen women. Among these latter the intelligence of the danger caused no small commotion, and owing to their clamour and the fears of the head Chawardar, it was decided to hire an escort of fifteen Tofunchees (gun-men), for which a subscription, amounting to about thirty shillings, was to be raised from the travellers: notwithstanding that the robbers were rated at 200 horsemen! this being settled, we slept as usual in the open air, and started just as the moon rose, in its last quarter. The guards, however, were not forthcoming, so forgetting their fears in the bustle of preparation, they marched without them. About a dozen of our party carried arms, and those ready for service rode on the flanks and rear of the caravan, after entering the lower spurs of the mountains, composed of rocky hills; keeping a sharp look out for any suspicious appearances as we passed the different ravines and hollows: how many of these would have stood fight was rather problematical; however they adopted the eastern system of endeavouring to alarm their enemies, instead of avoiding notice, by keeping up a dropping fire of blank cartridge

to show (as they said) that they were prepared: we saw nothing of the threatened bandits, and at daylight found ourselves abreast of two remarkable hills on either side of the road, which had the appearance of having been fortified: this place was called Kala Esabsee.

*June 25.*—Passing a smaller stream, we came to the rapid river, N'Pool, at 6 o'clock, following the banks of which we reached Kasr Shireen at 7 A.M., having marched five farsaks. There is here a large caravansera and the remains of a deserted village, near which are some extensive Sassanian ruins, most massively built, principally of black unhewn stone cemented by lime mortar, which by age had become as hard as the stone, and resembled dirty white marble: several vaulted rooms, built of red brick, are still entire, but the ruins possess no beauty or symmetry. D'Herbelot mentions that Chosroes built a city between Holwan and Kanikin, and named it after the beautiful Shireen:<sup>1</sup> the loves of Ferhad and Shireen are well known in Persian romance. There is a smaller mound of ruins called the little Kasr. The white hollyhock grows wild in great abundance on the surrounding hills, as well as a beautiful species of furze with rose-coloured blossoms, otherwise the country is barren, and the mountains in front have an equally desolate and forbidding appearance. The graves in the cemeteries are ornamented in a novel style, having each a tall square roughly hewn obelisk at the head. At this place we could procure neither fuel nor provisions, and the water of the river was slightly brackish; we were obliged to be satisfied with a pillau of rice and butter, and started again at sunset, through a barren, rocky and hilly country: during the night march our caravan was thrown into a state of alarm by the looming in front of them of a large dark mass, above which we could plainly distinguish the bristling of spears; awaiting their approach, they proved to be the French Ambassador, M. de Sercy, and his party, with an

<sup>1</sup> Irene, daughter of the Emperor Maurice, married the Persian King Kosrou Purviz.

escort of fifty spearmen, returning from his mission to Ispahan : we stopped for half an hour's conversation with these gentlemen, comparing notes and exchanging news : they had been furnished with an escort for the road we had just passed, which is considered unsafe, and which we told them was quite clear at present : they gave us reason to anticipate very little pleasure from visiting Persia, of which country they had not a good word to say : we regretted not having met at a halting-place during the day, which would have been a pleasant break in such a monotonous journey. This French Embassy, which was sent to Mohammed Shah during our difference with the Persian Government, to establish French influence at his court, was totally unsuccessful, and left a very bad impression behind them ; the ambassador, disgusted at the meanness and venality of the Persians, perhaps taking little pains to conciliate them ; and the Persians in their arrogance pretending to despise the French, were disappointed in their expectations of receiving supplies of money from them. We had heard some reports of their bad reception while at Bagdad, and these were afterwards confirmed on our visiting the Shah's camp ; the French however disclaimed any care about cultivating the friendship of Persia, but said they were merely sent out of compliment by Louis Philippe at the special request of the Shah's Government, and therefore had no object in making any sacrifice to curry favour with the Persians : I was glad to hear afterwards that the Shah had been very much enraged at the treatment M. Tessier had received from his Mehmandar when travelling in Persia, and which had been represented to him by M. de Sercy ; he had ordered him to be brought from Shiraz in chains, and it was expected that he would lose his head, unless he ransomed it. After marching five farsaks, we came to the village of Ser Pool Zohab in a gorge, through which the river winds out of the mountains : we slept in the verandah of a large caravansera which had been turned into a barrack, and in which were a few Persian soldiers.

The mounds which occupy this locality are the remains of a large ancient city ; the situation is very beautiful, an amphitheatre of mountains rising all around ; the Ab Elwan, a pretty little river, bursting through a bold rocky gorge and winding through the ruins, which in many places form cliffs overhanging it ; from one of these cliffs some large square blocks of stone project ; these may have belonged to a connecting bridge or other building. The antiquity of this site is confirmed by the various sculptures on the rocks in its vicinity ; some of these sculptures are found on the abrupt jaws of the gorge, from whence the river emerges : one is a rude representation in bas-relief of two figures on horseback and one on foot ; about fifty feet above this is another, of an armed figure on one side, the other side being destroyed by the water from above having formed a gully in the face of the scarped stone ; others are known to exist on the opposite rocks, but these we could not discover. At a second gorge in the same ridge, two miles to the south, is a square excavation, high up on the face of the rock, with an outer scarp on which is sculptured a figure in robes with one hand elevated : this, the natives say, represents David ; and the tomb they call *Dukkan i Daoud*, David's shop ; this place is held by them in great veneration, and they here offer vows and sacrifices.

The inhabitants of the districts between this and *Kermanshah* are not Moslem : they are *Allāillahi*, who believe in a variety of incarnations ; at *Karind* they call themselves *Daoudee* ; they live in black tents and go by the name of *Ilyāt* or wanderers ; the country is fertile, and they cultivate rice and other grain ; where they are stationary, they build huts of reeds and wattle. There is a small village at this place, where passengers are supplied with provisions ; the *Ilyats* are a robust, fine-looking race, dressing like the *Koords* in a light linen dress ; they are intelligent, with a handsome aquiline cast of features. The ruins are called by these people *Kala Afrasiau* ; according to *D'Herbelot*, there were two of this name ; the first of

these was Afrasiab, a Turkish leader and King of Touran and Transoxiana, who conquered Persia in the time of the ninth sovereign of Assyria of the Pishdadian dynasty. From this King the Seljukians and the present Turkish Sultans pretend to derive their descent; another of the name was conquered and slain by Rostam, son of Zabzer, general of Kai Kosrou, third of the Kaianian dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following notice of this place from Major Rawlinson's 'Researches in Western Persia,' published in the Journal of the Geographical Society, is extremely interesting as identifying it with the site of the primeval city of Calah, and also fixing it as the situation of the Samaritan captivity, and from his long residence in the country, and particular attention to its comparative geography, his opinions are of great weight and his arguments and facts appear very convincing.

"The real site of Holwan, one of the eight primeval cities of the world, was at Ser Puli Zohab, eight miles south of the present town; this is the Calah of Asshur and the Halah of the Israelitish captivity; it gave to the surrounding districts the name of Chalonitis. The etymological identity is, I believe, the last claim which Holwan possesses to be considered the representative of Calah of Asshur, but for its verification as the scene of the captivity (Samaritan), there are many other curious and powerful reasons; we find in Strabo that this region along the skirts of the Zagros was sometimes adjudged to Media, and sometimes to Assyria, and we are thus able to explain the dominion of Shalmaneser, the Assyrian King, over the cities of the Medes. Some of the Christian Arabs in their histories directly translate the Halah of the captivity by Holwan. Jewish traditions abound in this part of the country, and David is still regarded by the tribes as their great tutelary prophet. If the Samaritan captives can be supposed to have retained to the present day any distinct individuality of character, perhaps the Kalhur tribe has the best claim to be regarded as their descendants. The Kalhurs, who are believed to have inhabited from the remotest antiquity these regions around Mount Zagros, preserve in their name the title of Calah. They state themselves to be descended from Roham or Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews, perhaps an obscure tradition of their real origin. They have many Jewish names among them, and above all their general physiognomy is strongly indicative of an Israelitish descent. The Ilyat of this tribe now mostly profess Mohammedanism, but a part of them together with the Gurans, who acknowledge themselves to be an offshoot of the Kalhurs, and most of the other tribes of the neighbourhood, are still of the Ali Ilahi persuasion, a faith which bears evident marks of Judaism, singularly amalgamated with Sabeian, Christian and Mohammedan legends. The tomb of Baba Yadgar in the pass of Zarda is their holy place, and this at the time of the Arab invasion of Persia, was regarded as the abode of Elias. The Ali Ilahi believe in a series of successive incarnations of the Godhead, amounting to 1001. Benjamin, Moses, David, Elias, Jesus Christ, Ali and his tutor, Salman a joint development, the Imam Hussim and the Haftan

After examining everything of interest in this locality, we passed through the before-mentioned gorge, just above which the Elwan is joined by a large brook called the Dierra, the valley of which we ascended, and found the caravan halted in the open plain, the only shelter on which was the shade of a solitary small mulberry-tree; and as there were so many women to be accommodated

(seven-bodied), are considered the chief of these incarnations. The Hafttan were seven Pirs or spiritual guides, who lived in the early ages of Islam, and each worshipped as the Deity is an object of adoration in some particular part of Koordistan. Baba Yadgar was one of these. The whole of the incarnations are thus regarded as one and the same person, the bodily form of the divine manifestation being alone changed, but the most perfect development is supposed to have taken place in the persons of Benjamin, David and Ali. Benjamin of Tudela seems to have considered the whole of these Ali Ilahis as Jews, and it is possible that in his time their faith may have been less corrupted.

“The mountains of Huphthan, where he places a hundred synagogues, is evidently Zagros, the name being borrowed from the Hafttan of the Ali Ilahis, and he states himself to have found 50,000 families of Jews in the neighbourhood. Amaria, where the false prophet Messia David Elroi appeared, was certainly in the district of Holwan. The most curious monument of Holwan is found at the corner of the upper gorge, about two miles up the valley. This is a royal sepulchre, excavated in the rock, exactly similar in character to the tombs of Persepolis: the face of the rock has been scarped to the height of 70 feet, at which elevation has been excavated a quadrangular recess 6 feet deep, 8 high, and 30 wide; in the centre of the recess is the opening into the tomb, which, as in the case of those of Persepolis, has been forcibly broken in; the interior is rude, containing on the left-hand side the place for the deposit of the dead, being a section of the cave divided off by a low partition about 2 feet high. Outside are the remains of two broken pillars, which have been formed out of the solid rock, on either side of the entrance, the base, and a small piece of either shaft, appear below, and the capitals adhere to the roof of the recess, the centre part of each column have been destroyed.

“Upon the smooth face of the rock, below the cave, is an unfinished tablet. The figure of a Mubidar high priest of the Magi appears standing, with one hand raised in the act of benediction and the other grasping a scroll, which I conclude represents the sacred leaves of the Zend Avesta; he is clothed in his pontifical robe, and wears the square pointed cap and lappets covering the mouth, described by Hyde as the most ancient dress of the priests of Zoroaster. There is a vacant space in the tablet, apparently intended for the fire altar, before the priest. This tomb is named by the Ali Ilahis Dukkan i Daoud, or David's shop, for the Jewish monarch is believed by them to have followed the calling of a smith; the broken shafts are called his anvils, and the part of the tomb which is divided off by the low partition is supposed to be the reservoir to contain the water for tempering

without being exposed to the public gaze, there was plenty of quarrelling for this slight shelter: we left at four in the evening; the dry grass in the valley and on the hills was swarming with the uncouth mantis, and the sword-tailed grasshopper. The narrow valley of the Dierra has a very peculiar appearance, running between two opposing ridges of stratified rocks, which have been formerly connected, they so exactly correspond, but have been burst asunder in some early convulsion of the earth's surface; towards the head of the valley, where the road enters the mountains, the scenery is fine, the stream rushing down through borders of green willows, behind which the rocky cliffs spring up to a great height, the slopes studded with evergreen oaks. Before dark we began ascending the steep pass over the Zagros, the stream losing itself in a precipitous gorge to the right, at the entrance of which were the ruins of a caravansera, called Tak i Garra; the defile we were traversing increased in grandeur as we advanced, entering woods of dark oak, which hung from the declivities and crevices in the cliffs, both above and below us; the road was artificial, an unusual thing in the East, and, where it

the metal. David is really believed by the Ali Ilahis to dwell here, though invisible, and the smithy is consequently regarded by them as a place of extreme sanctity. I never passed by this tomb without seeing the remains of a bleeding sacrifice, and the old Ali Ilahis, who come here on pilgrimages from all parts of Koordistan, will prostrate themselves on the ground, and make the most profound reverence immediately they come near the spot. In connexion with the Samaritan captivity, I regard this superstitious veneration for David and the offering of Kurbans, or sacrifices at his supposed shrine, as a very curious subject.

“There can be no question, I must observe, about Ser Pool Zohab being the real site of Holwan. The Oriental itineraries and geographical notices are quite decisive upon this point, the ruins themselves bear certain evidence, and the spot is still known by some of the Kurds by the very title of Shari Holwan (the city of Holwan). Holwan continued a large and populous town long after the Arab invasion of Persia. It was often partially destroyed in the conflicts of the Abasside Kaliphate, but it again rose from its ruins, and it was not until the visiting of the desolating hordes of Hulaku in their descent on Bagdad in 1258, that it received its final blow and sank before the exterminating hand of war never again to be inhabited.”

winds along the face of the precipices, had been built up with massive blocks of stone. High up on the mountain we passed the ruins of a substantial arch of white marble in a romantic spot and commanding a view of the subjacent valleys: it may probably have served as a toll-house for the road. As the darkness increased, our path became very dangerous, the horses slipping and plunging along the broken road overhanging the precipices: I never felt more than on this night the painful difficulty of preventing myself from falling asleep on horseback; although alive to the conviction that a false step would send me rolling down a descent about thirty or forty degrees from the perpendicular, I found it utterly impossible to keep my eyes open for any length of time, and was carried to the end of the march more asleep than awake: on plains where the road is straight and your horse requires little urging, you soon become accustomed to sleeping in the saddle without any danger of falling, the body soon suiting itself to this somnequitation, and maintaining its equilibrium. After eight hours we passed a ruined caravansera and village, called Suri Dcser, in a defile, partially wooded, and soon afterwards reached the caravansera of Kirind.

*June 28.*—The large village of Kirind, composed of about 1000 houses, inhabited by Daoudee, before mentioned, is in a most lovely situation in a mountain gorge, richly wooded with vineyards, and gardens on its slopes; below, the trees are principally poplar and mulberry, but as you advance up the pass, wherever there is any footing for the soil, stately walnut and plane trees cast their shade over the houses which line the rocks on either side; precipitous crags, and picturesque, ragged, and jutting rocks, frown above the defile, and contribute to the coolness and seclusion of the place. Down this valley flows a clear mountain-stream, rushing through the village and over the rocks in numerous shoots and torrents, forming an enchanting scene; higher up, the valley opens, and the ground is entirely laid



out in gardens, mixed with fruit-trees, the verdant valley watered by abundant streams, looking more beautiful from the contrast of the naked perpendicular crags that enclose it, and the lofty barren peaks that rise in the background. About a mile from the plain, at an elevation of 500 feet, is the source of the stream, overflowing from a clear tank or basin 30 feet square; the water is distributed in channels through the gardens, and, re-uniting after precipitating itself through the village, where it turns several mills, it waters and fertilizes the subjacent districts. A small white rose here grows wild, and the gardens abounded with roses, lupins, and other flowers. The houses are built of burnt and sun-dried bricks, and run up the cliffs on either side, one above the other; they are rather substantial, and the people seem in good circumstances; the men are muscular and well-made, and the women, who do not veil or exhibit any alarm at strangers, are tolerably well looking.

*June 29.*—We marched last night at twelve, and in the morning were traversing wooded hills and slopes clothed with dwarf oak, and descended into a verdant plain overgrown with liquorice, and studded with the camps of the Ilyat, composed of square huts covered with boughs. Five farsaks or seven hours brought us to Haroonabad, a large village of mud huts, with scarcely any inhabitants; a muddy stream, lined with a few stunted willows, flowed by in front of the caravansera: the surrounding country is fertile, and a great many horses are bred here; they are a small race, but seemed to possess some spirit. The Ilyat from the camps, seeing the arrival of the caravan, brought a number of horses for sale, asking from £5 to £7: they were an insolent set, and we had some difficulty in avoiding annoyance from their curiosity and intrusion; we saw in the possession of one of these peasants a portefeuille, belonging to a Frenchman attached to the Embassy, which they allowed us to examine: it contained various papers of little consequence and a passport: wishing to return

it to the owner, we offered to redeem it; but the man, imagining it was of great value, demanded a sum it was not in our power to give under the circumstances, and we directed him to take it to Kermanshah. We were obliged to be very determined with these people, to check their intrusiveness, the reason for which we afterwards found out to be the unsettled state of the country; the people being ripe for an outbreak among themselves, from some cause of quarrel existing between the two Ilyat tribes of the Guran and Kallhur, which subsequently ended in open hostilities; the former numbering 6000, the latter 12,000 men. We marched at 9 in the evening, the road gradually becoming more rocky and difficult: in the middle of the night, after ascending a steep ridge, we had to descend a perfect ladder of rocks; the starlight was extremely brilliant, affording sufficient light to enable us to avoid the worst dangers of this perilous road; but the confusion from the falling of horses and mules with their loads among the stones, and the screams of the women, was very great: this spot would have formed a splendid station for a band of plunderers.

In the morning after a tedious ride of six farsaks, the peak of Kermanshah rose high in the east; and we passed



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a bridge over a muddy stream, and halted at Moïdesht caravansera; this is a large village of mud bricks, likewise deserted. The temperature has become very mild and pleasant.

On the 1st July, we marched at 1 in the morning four farsaks to the town of Kermanshah, just as the sun was rising above the bold peak that appears to frown over the town, although several miles from it. The view was very beautiful: the town, which has rather a dingy appearance, with its flat mud houses, being surrounded by gardens and trees in a fertile hollow, backed by noble mountains: the gardens abound in apricots, nectarines, peaches, morella cherries, and mulberries; we bought apricots 70 for a shilling; but I was struck with the want of spires or minarets, which ought to have found their place in the view; I was told that, owing to the jealousy of the Persians, they had been pulled down and forbidden, as they commanded a view of the interior of their houses; it strikingly illustrated a remark I have read, of a town without a spire being like a face without a nose. The temperature was about 95°, which was cool after Bagdad, and here I first saw fireflies.

Anticipating a little in my opinion of Persia, I am not now surprised at the praises that have been lavished on this country by their poets and other writers, whose imagery has been copied by us, and tended to disseminate a false impression with respect to it even among Europeans. After traversing desolate and dreary tracts, which sink the spirit to the lowest ebb; when we come suddenly on one of these beautiful valleys, full of pellucid streams and towering trees, the contrast is so striking and delightful, that it is naturally described in the most glowing colours, and its beauties expatiated on and exaggerated, by being seen through the false medium of a comparison with the surrounding deserts; and thus, from individual localities, a false judgment is formed of the country in general: I have myself often felt the force of this delusion; but, after crossing the barren mountains

of Persia Proper, and the salt deserts of Khorassan, I am forced to the conclusion, that, although the weary traveller often finds spots of surpassing fertility and beauty, the country in general is dreary, ungrateful, and barren.

As we entered Kermanshah, men were blowing long horns on the roofs of the baths, to let the inhabitants know that they were ready for the bathers: we quartered in a caravansera, where we were besieged by smoke-vendors and barbers; the former hiring water-pipes, several of which they carry slung round them, with tobacco bags and the necessary paraphernalia; the latter carry a pouch stuffed with razors, soap and instruments, and give you notice of their presence by putting a looking-glass in your hand. Another great convenience here are the cook-shops, from whence we procured an excellent dinner of several dishes, stews and cabab, with a large bowl of sherbet made of pomegranate syrup, with lumps of ice floating in it: in large towns in Persia ice is kept in ice-houses during the summer, and sold in the bazaars extremely cheap; it is only used for cooling fruit beverages, as they do not understand the process of making ices as in Europe. Like other Eastern towns, Kermanshah possesses extensive covered bazaars; the shops here however are on a larger scale. The people are rather a small race, with swarthy complexions and long black beards, of lively dispositions, with a great fund of rascality.

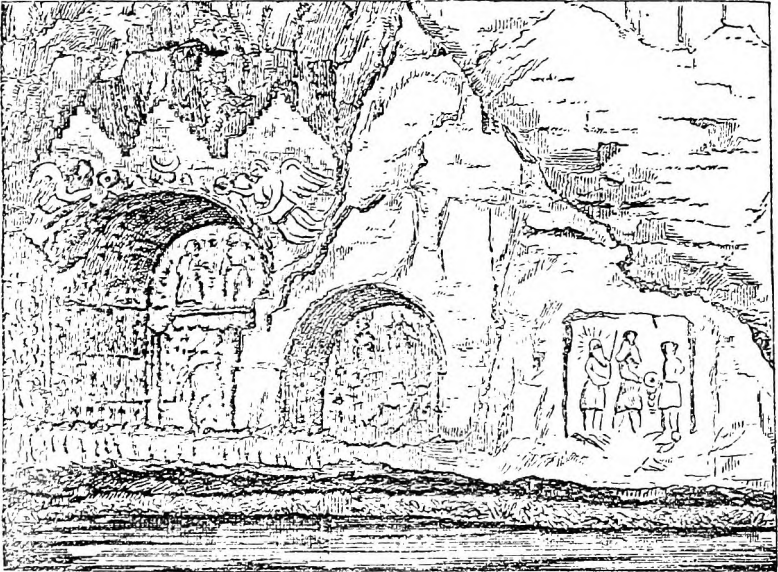
We had found great difficulty in hiring or buying horses, which detained us two or three days. I had anticipated the possibility of our being prevented passing through Persia, all English subjects having left the country: and here the first obstacles to our progress began to make themselves evident. We had tried to avoid the authorities; but the Khan or Sirdar of the town now sent his Secretary to pay a visit of inspection, when we made excuses for not having waited on the Governor, proposing to visit him on the following day, which seemed to give satisfaction: the Secretary was very friendly and polite, which was more

than we could say of his suite ; for he had no sooner taken his departure, than we missed a pair of Bagdad riding boots ; we were not long in discovering the guilty party, an apparently respectable old man, with a reverend beard ; on being brought back, he swore to his innocence, and invoked curses on his own head, if he had taken the property, and proposed our making further search, during which he succeeded in replacing the boots ; although vexed at his impudence, we could not help smiling at his ingenuity, and dismissed him with a little good advice. The next day we paid a visit to the Governor or Sirdar of the town, who was a heavy, sullen-looking man, and not overcourteous ; we exhibited our passports, the purport of which we had caused to be translated into Persian at Bagdad, and certified by the Resident ; he seemed satisfied with this, and asked us if we were going to see the Shah : it had not been our intention to visit the Court, for fear of detention ; but, perceiving that we should ultimately be obliged to take this step, we professed our intention of having the honour of seeing the light of the Shah's countenance ; by this means we avoided any compulsory measures, and facilitated procuring horses, the onus of which we immediately transferred to the Governor, by whose authority we were soon enabled to hire them. In the meantime the Governor said he would despatch a courier to the Shah, who was camped at Nahawand, about six days' journey off, for instructions. On our return to the caravansera, a man was sent to remain with us, nominally to assist and protect us, but really as a spy to prevent our departure and watch our movements. The next day our Persian servant came and informed us that the Cabool Moonshee, Abderahman, who had accompanied us from Bagdad, had been injuring us with the people, by telling the Governor's Secretary that we were English agents, distributing money, and intriguing in favour of the banished Persian princes at Bagdad, and that we were on our way to Shiraz, to facilitate the march of the English troops on that place from Karack

in the Persian Gulf; on being confronted with his accuser, the Cabooli denied the accusation, although the Persian maintained it to his face: I was conscious that all the Persians were liars; at the same time I knew the Moonshee to be an indefatigable talker, and I had often been warned against his indiscreet communications to the people; one thing, however, was certain, that reports had got abroad to our detriment, upon which it was necessary to come to an explanation immediately, as well as to put an end to the state of suspense and surveillance in which we found ourselves so unpleasantly situated. We had found here an old servant of Dr. Ross's of Bagdad, an inhabitant of Louristan; he was an honest, obliging fellow, and spoke Arabic as well as Persian; enlisting his assistance as an interpreter, we proceeded to the house of the Sirdar, who was sitting in durbar, with all the principal people assembled round the room, and the courtyard crowded with guards and attendants: our interpreter, having no fear of the authorities, delivered exactly what we told him to say; after complaining of our detention, the accusations which had been laid to our charge; and their general want of hospitality and courtesy towards us, when we had come openly as Englishmen and strangers, without disguise or cause for suspicion; we demanded to be allowed to proceed immediately to the camp of Mohammed Shah, where we could obtain a royal firman for travelling in Persia: astonished at the high tone of our remonstrances, the Sirdar denied having wished to detain us; and said that a Serbaus should be in readiness to accompany us on the morrow to Kengowar, where the Shah was expected to arrive in a few days; this place was convenient for us, being on our road, and three days' march from here, and we returned to the caravansera, well satisfied with the result of our visit. We parted company with the Moonshee, who persisted in asserting his innocence and accused the Persian of falsehood, but we could not consider him a safe companion. On returning to my room,

I took a clean shirt from my saddle-bags, and was in the act of putting it on, when I fortunately discovered a scorpion three inches long inside it; these reptiles are very abundant here.

There are some remarkable sculptures about five miles N.E. of Kermanshah, at a spot called Tak i Bostan, on the North face of the high rocky mountain of Besitoun: these curious sculptures are in a beautiful situation, where copious streams of clear, icy-cold water gush from under the foot of the mountain, and, forming a small river, rush down through the trees and gardens that line its banks, to join the Karasoo, which we forded between this place and the town.



TAK I BOSTAN.

The sculptures consist of two deep alcoves and a tablet on the scarped face of the cliff: the first of these is 40 feet high and 30 feet deep; on the back wall of this recess, and just attached to it, is a colossal equestrian figure, in a coat of mail, carrying a spear and shield;

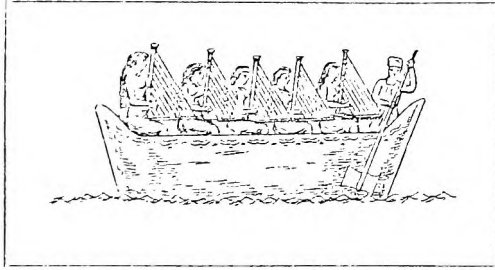
the horse's nose and one of its legs are broken off, and from the cantle of the saddle hang the large horsehair whisks which are used at the present day to keep off the flies; sculptured in relief over the cornice above this statue are three colossal figures, the centre one clothed in a tunic and crowned with a tiara and plumes: on the left is a female figure in flowing drapery, holding an urn, or vase, and, on the right, a male figure, with the ancient Persian round wig: on either side of this back wall is a slender pilaster, with capital rudely imitating the Corinthian, with a row of vine-leaves along the cornice. The side walls of this alcove are elaborately



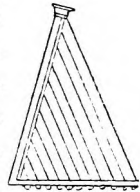
designed and sculptured, representing hunting scenes, without any regard to perspective; on the right side is a stag hunt, in several compartments, or successive scenes; first are seen herds of deer, driven through barriers by men on elephants; then comes the chief personage, on horseback, three times the size of any of his suite; an umbrella is carried over his head, and bands of musicians are playing by his side, while he transfixes the game with his arrows; in the last scene the horsemen are pursuing the scattered deer, some are lying about dead, and others are being carried away on the backs of camels.



The wall on the left side represents a boar hunt : elephants are seen driving the pigs from the marshes in swarms, while the Chief and his attendants, embarked in boats, shoot them with bows and arrows as they pass ; some



of the boats are full of women playing on harps : in one place elephants are killing pigs with their trunks : in another is a map-lake full of fish ; the whole being a confused mass of hundreds of hogs, men and elephants on one side ; and men, deer, horses, and camels on the other ; notwithstanding this want of arrangement of the whole, the details are most minutely sculptured, even to the flowers and embroidery on the women's dresses, the hair on the pigs, the foliage and water, which are all most elaborately executed. The sides of the outer round arch are ornamented with staves, wreathed with leaves and vines, and above it are two draped figures with broad wings, in rather superior style, with a half-moon over the centre between them.



We found here a French artist, M. Flandin, who had been left behind by the Embassy for the purpose of taking drawings of these sculptures for the Academie ; he had pitched his tent in the interior of the alcove for the convenience of his work : we were mutually pleased at meeting, and we remained and dined with him : he had already succeeded in copying the whole of the Cuneiform inscriptions at Besitoun, and was far advanced in his present work. The second, and smaller alcove, contained two Sassanian figures in bas-relief, on either side of which

was a Pehlevi inscription, which has been translated by De Sacy, the antiquary, that on the right :—"Celui dont voici la figure est l'adorateur d'Ormud, l'excellent Sapor roi des rois d'Iran et d'Aniran, germe celeste de la race des dieux, fils de l'adorateur d'Ormud l'excellent. Hormuz roi des rois d'Iran et d'Aniran, germe celeste de la race des dieux, petit fils de l'excellent Narses, roi des rois." The other inscription is in a similar style, and is inscribed to Vahraran (or Baharam), son of the former. The third sculpture, to the right of these, is a tablet on the face of the rock, with three figures in relief: one of these has a glory round the head; the second is presenting a vase to the third; they are standing on one or more prostrate figures. Just beyond this are two low brick arches, built under the rock, serving for outlets to the large body of water that issues from this part of the mountain; lying by the side of the water is the trunk of a large statue of a female, of white stone: this may have been the statue of Semiramis mentioned by historians, and so often sought for in vain. Above the principal alcove the rock has been cut away to form a crenellated wall, and a beaten pathway leads up the mountain to the right of the springs; but, after ascending this to some height, it became indistinct, and finally lost among the crags, without conducting to anything of interest.

Our compulsory visit to the camp of the Shah would at any rate afford us the advantage of seeing more of his court and army, although there was a possibility of our being sent back to Bagdad, or even detained as spies; but we soon forgot this, in the excitement of being once more on the road, and relieved from the pressure of our present detention; there would be time enough when it actually occurred to alter our plans, or strike out a new route.

We started at sunset on July 6th, and had a moonlight ride of five farsaks, winding through picturesque mountains, which, under the pallid light, had an ever-changing and beautiful effect; we stopped at the caravansera at Besitoun,

in a valley at the foot of a stupendous perpendicular cliff springing up to the height of 1000 feet, and seeming to impend over us in majestic grandeur. The caravansera was closed, and, failing to awaken any of the inmates by shouting, we attempted to remove the doors, which were massive, and resisted our efforts to raise them or move the bolts; at length our noise succeeded in raising the khanji, who had fixed on an extraordinary situation for passing the night; the entrance of a caravansera is formed by a large gateway, containing rooms on either side in two stories, and is crowned by a dome; in imitation of the storks, I suppose, which often build their nests in such situations, the khanji had placed his bed on the apex of the dome, for the sake of coolness; it was a most precarious situation for any man given to indulging in good suppers, or a somnambulist, as any extra restlessness would have been followed by a rotatory descent into the courtyard or the road; having persuaded him to descend from his elevation, we gained admittance to the interior, where we passed the night.

The next day we went out to explore the antiquities of the place: the first thing we saw on passing through the few hovels, which were half in ruins, near the caravansera, was a Sassanian capital of a column, on two sides of which were sculptured in relief figures similar in form and dress to the centre figure over the cornice in the centre alcove of Tak-i-Bostan; the other sides are ornamented with foliage; the lower part of the cliff has been scarpd to a great height, apparently for the back wall of some extensive building, which probably formerly existed, or at any rate was partly finished, as the materials are lying at the foot of the cliff in great abundance, consisting principally of massive blocks of hewn stone; a wall of the same surrounds a large terraced space on which the building stood, and the declivity of the mounds as well as the whole space round the foot of the mountain is piled with square blocks much time-worn, but in the centre of many of which a letter or sign



A little beyond this is a small spring of water, issuing from under the rocks, above which are the remains of some colossal Greek sculptures, the figures are very much dilapidated, and the inscriptions nearly effaced: these few disconnected fragments can be deciphered: the centre

ΑΛΦΑΣΑΤΗΣΜΝΘΡΑΤΗΣΠΕΓ  
ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝΣΑΤΡΑΠ  
ΓΩΤΑΡΣΗΣ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ

of the tablet has been smoothed away to give place to a large Arabic inscription of a modern date. Over a spring, among a few willows, I saw a slab carved with foliage and a Cufic inscription.

Inscriptions in the Cuneiform, or arrow-headed character are very numerous in Persia; attempts have been made to translate them, but as yet with doubtful success. Colonel Taylor, the Resident at Bagdad, who is one of the first of our Oriental scholars, put no faith in the pretended translations that had been made public, and was sceptical as to the inscriptions being ever elucidated. It is true that an expert in cypher can work out the alphabet of any language he is acquainted with; but with Oriental languages, not only are there letters which have no equivalents in Western languages, but there is no division of words, no punctuation, and a variety of signs or points added to the letters; but admitting that the alphabet is discovered, and admitting that the words are disentangled, the next question is, What is the language? Assuming that it is a cognate language to the Arabic and Hebrew, the interpreters have had recourse to the Arabic Lexicon, Arabic being the oldest Oriental language that we are acquainted with. There is one thing in their favour, that they can trade on the ignorance of the public, for whatever translation they may put forth, no one is capable of proving a negative, and boldness of assertion usually insures belief, especially when the majority have a laudable desire to accept any and everything that

appears like an illustration or corroboration of Biblical history.<sup>1</sup>

We had been joined by part of our former caravan, among whom was the Loor who had stood interpreter for us with the Governor: he was carrying some English double guns to the camp on speculation, and had, besides, some loads of a sort of sugar, made of honey-dew, which is produced on the leaves of an oak growing in the Koordistan mountains: it is formed into large masses of a green colour, and has a flavour of green tea; it is much used in Persia for making Hellowa and sweetmeats. The mountain-wall of Besitooon looked very commanding in the moonlight, and the discharges from the guns and pistols of some of the party re-echoed from its surface in thundering reverberations; we crossed a bridge of five arches over a river called by the people Chamchamal, and on the other side of a plain overgrown with liquorice, we came to an abrupt rocky ridge, forming a breastwork across the valley; a massive wall, of great length, crowning this ridge, is called the rampart of Nadir Shah. He is said to have gained here a victory over the Turks, his artillery and archers being stationed on this wall, which is seen running up the hills on the right and left. In the plain on the opposite side we lost ourselves among marshes and water-courses, and, after wandering up and down for some time, at last found a bridge over a stream, and a high road, which brought us in the morning to Sanna: beyond this stream we passed a castle on a hill, called Kala Saguss.

*July 8.*—Sanna, five farsaks from Besitooon, is a large

<sup>1</sup> I copied what follows from a review of Gliddon's *Antiquities*—"The synchronism which exists between the scriptural annals and the monuments of Egypt cannot be traced earlier than 971 B.C. The earliest is Shishak, in the time of Rehoboam, and, indeed, as the Bible does not mention by name the earlier sovereigns of Egypt, there is little probability of more being identified." A very suspicious fact, and which may be applied to the Assyrian inscriptions, where, if the names and histories had not been found in the Bible, they would never have been discovered in the inscriptions.

I leave this as it was written, although inclined to modify it in the light of later researches and discoveries. 1883.

mud village surrounded by gardens, watered by streams, and encircled by picturesque mountain-peaks: we passed the day in a caravansera, and marched at sunset through a winding pass in the hills, and in the morning we passed the massive ruins of a bridge. This defile was almost impassable in the reign of Fath Ali Shah, being infested by robbers: arrived at Kangowar (Concobar), a good-sized town in a fine situation, in the declivity of the hills; to the S.E. extended fertile plains, and, beyond, rose barren mountains, streaked with snow. The principal object of interest here is the ruin of the temple of Anaitis, built by Semiramis: on the side facing the street is a basement of large blocks of hewn stone (one of which measured 17 feet by 3 feet 8 inches), on which stand the lower part of the shafts of eight enormous columns and a pilaster; the area of the temple is filled up with mud houses, and a mosque is built at the North side of it: the declivity of the hill towards the plain is strewn with broken pillars and debris. It was not till after our departure from this place that we heard of an inscribed stone, which is considered sacred, being preserved in the mosque, covered with earth, or plaster, and strictly guarded: from the description of it by a man who had seen it, and who made an outline of the stone on paper, it would seem to be Cufic, but it would be worth the inspection of any future traveller, as there would be little difficulty in obtaining a view of it.

The town was all in commotion, from the expected arrival of the Shah, and we found some difficulty in procuring shelter in a khan: the inhabitants were collecting in crowds, the tops of the houses being crowded with women, to indulge their curiosity, and see the entry of the Shah: Serbaus galloping about with orders, and the authorities running to and fro to provide accommodation and supplies for the coming troops. Soon after sunrise the Shah arrived, with an army of 13,000 men: the Shah himself took up his quarters in a small castle on a hill outside the town, which had been prepared for

him, while the different employés pitched their camps in the gardens, wherever they could find a convenient locality: the troops spread over the plain below, which was quickly covered with their tents and cattle, the horses being picqueted in the fields of grain and clover, and the baggage-mules driven in herds to graze.

I here had an opportunity of witnessing the effect of the march of an irregular army: this fine plain, which I had looked on in the morning covered with vineyards, gardens, and fields of standing corn, in the evening was a barren plain, the vineyards trampled down, the gardens stripped, and every trace of verdure swept away with locust-like rapidity: the land was as the garden of Eden before them, and, behind them, a desolate wilderness.

We soon found that it would be no very easy matter to obtain permission to pass through Persia at the present juncture. We might have attempted to travel without a firman, but it would have been attended with great difficulty and even danger, as the sequel will show: we were detained three weeks in the camp as spies, and although eventually allowed to proceed, had to abandon the route through Yezd and Seistan to Kandahar.

But before proceeding, I must first give some idea of the people we had to deal with: I may have been suspected of taking too favourable a view of some of the people among whom I have been thrown, and I hope this will insure me the credit of impartiality, where my opinion must be the reverse of praise. I believe the reason that the information of former travellers, as Chardin and others, has not been relied on, is that we are loth to credit that any nation can be so bad as they describe the Persians, who thus acquire a sort of immunity on account of their extreme vileness, which, I grant, it is difficult to understand by those who have not known them. The present Persians are the vilest race that ever were collected into a nation; to give their character in detail, I should have to submit to the revolting task of enumerating every vice that disgraces humanity: I have even challenged



persons who were prepossessed in their favour to mention one single good point in their character, but in vain; unlike the old Persians, of whom it is recorded that they never told an untruth, these people find their greatest pleasure in lying gratuitously, without the prospect of advantage to be gained by it; they have not even the virtue of savages, hospitality. I have heard their politeness and courtesy spoken of, but it has been either by ambassadors, or men in situations which brought them in contact with men actuated by self-interest or fear, and then they are basely servile; but where they have no end to gain, or inducement to duplicity, they are insolent and disobliging. I do not say that there are not some individual exceptions to this description, for I have met with some few myself, but not sufficient to alter or soften the deep dye of the general mass. The Persians have imagined to imitate European powers by calling their second Vizier "Minister for Foreign Affairs," he however is a mere clerk of the Chief Vizier Hadji Meerza Aghassi. The Vizier acting for Foreign Affairs, Meerza Ali, was a young man about twenty, holding the situation in the absence of his father, Meerza Massoud, who had been sent to Khorassan on business. We waited on Meerza Ali, to whom we exhibited our papers, and trusting in the good faith of a person in his situation, at his request left them in his hands, very foolishly, as will hereafter appear; we had no difficulty in communicating with him, as he spoke French fluently, and his secretary was a Frenchman born in Persia; he promised to exert himself to procure us firmans for traversing Persia, and assist us as much as lay in his power, in the meantime we were to follow the march of the army, till our business was settled: at this time we were not aware of the value of Persian promises, and thought we had a fair chance of success. We called on the Hakim Bashi, Meerza Baba, who had been five years in England; he is obliged to attend the Shah daily, besides having numberless patients at his house, and from whom I do

not suppose he receives many fees except in presents : when we were sitting with him, these were continually coming in, principally consisting of sugar, sweetmeats, and fruit : the Hakim sent us some supplies, and was very obliging. We met here another Persian, Meerza Reza, who had been in England to study fortification, etc. ; he had not attained much proficiency in the art, and on one occasion was nearly losing his head, when Abbas Meerza was Shah : the Shah having asked his opinion on a point pertaining to the fortification of some place, he proposed to go for his book ; the Shah naturally observing that with a book he could tell as well himself, and did not require to pay him for his assistance, ordered him to die the death, from which he narrowly escaped.

As soon as you cross the Persian frontier, coffee is no longer in use, the national beverage being black tea, sweetened, but without milk ; the water-pipe is in most common use, but is not so annoying as smoking in other countries, where the fumigation is continuous ; here they never take more than four or five whiffs ; the pipes are handsomely ornamented, in the same style as in Syria ; they are called Kallian, which name in Syria is given to the long cherry-stick pipe.

*July 10.*—One year from London. We marched with the troops at 7 A.M. across the plains in the direction of Hamadan, passing over several low ridges of hills ; three farsaks to Minderabad, a high mound surrounded by a low mud wall with bastions and watered by springs ; the plain from here to Saadabad, two farsaks farther, at the foot of the Elwand, where the army encamped, was covered with villages surrounded by orchards and vineyards ; Saadabad was in the centre of a large tract of plantations inclosed in high mud walls ; a fine mountain rivulet, owing to no precaution being taken to protect it, was soon so trampled and spoilt as to be useless for drinking, and we were obliged to send half way up to the source to procure clean water ; for a long distance the stream had the

appearance of a thread of honey besieged by flies or ants, from the numbers of men and cattle that thronged it. Before reaching the place we were struck with the extraordinary appearance of the dust, acted on by the eddies of wind at the foot of the hills, forming what might be called dust spouts: these were columns of dust rising several thousand feet perpendicular till their tops were literally lost in the clouds; there were always several around us in different directions at the same time, although there was scarcely any air or wind in the plain on which their bases rested and across which they slowly moved, sometimes bending as they came within the influence of an upper current, they were of irregular form and size from 10 to 40 feet in diameter, then dwindling to a thread as they broke up and disappeared.

The Shah's army is attended by 30 field-pieces, badly harnessed and served, and 60 or 70 Zamburek, camel artillery; these are small swivel guns mounted on a wooden block in front of the camel's saddle, behind which the gunner is seated, a large scarlet flag hanging from a staff at the back of the saddle; they are besides ornamented with rings, tassels and bells, and have a picturesque effect; among the so-called regular troops there are some fine men, but they have no sort of order or discipline; they wear a hybrid sort of uniform, a blue jacket and full trousers to the knee, with a pouch and musket; the cavalry are all irregular, under their own different heads of tribes; in fact, some of the foot regiments are commanded by men who have raised them entirely from their own tenants; the commissariat seemed very well managed, the provisions being carried on strings of large strong mules, which were always on the ground, and the bazaars erected, long before the arrival of the troops. The soldier's pay is 15 sab-crons or shillings a month, for horse, and 10 for foot; the Government, however, are not very regular in their payments, and it sometimes happens that the Colonel has to find funds to pay his own corps. The present army was nominally raised for the

purpose of putting down a sedition at Ispahan, where the Sheik el Islam, with a band of Lutis, had been committing every sort of atrocity, and the city was a scene of robbery and murder; much of the storm fell on the Arinenians, who are known to possess wealth; and the Armenian Patriarch, venturing to remonstrate with these miscreants, was set up as a target, and shot to death with arrows.

The appearance of Mohammed Shah before their walls put a stop to their career of licence: he beheaded, some say 300, and others 30, of the rebels, and the chief, whom he dared not serve in the same manner, on account of the sanctity attached to his office, was banished. Although this was the pretext assigned by Mohammed Shah for setting the force on foot, his real object was to indulge his ambition by marching on Bagdad, as a prior step to which, Suleimanieh had been taken by the Persians as a feeler, to try their strength, as well as to discover whether any objection would be made to these hostilities by foreign powers: we had the following details from those who saw the correspondence which passed on the subject between the Vizier of the Shah and the Russian Ambassador, General Duhamel; and which evidences the paramount influence attained by Russia at the Persian court, and the style of dictation assumed by her towards the Shah's Government. When the present force was raised, the Russian Ambassador sent a strong remonstrance to the Vizier, complaining of the violation of the Turkish frontier by the taking of Suleimanieh by the Persians, and begging to be informed whether this step had been taken by the orders of the Shah's Government, or whether it arose from a border quarrel and was an attack planned by the local authorities unauthorized by the Government, as in the former case he should be compelled to lay the affair before the Emperor, who would be highly incensed at this hostile violation of the Turkish territory. The Vizier, alarmed by these threats, seized the alternative so artfully proposed, and denied having given any instructions with respect to the attack on Suleimanieh, throwing all the blame upon the

local authorities, whom he would bring to account for their conduct: this was the point the Russian wished to gain, and, pretending to be appeased by the disclaimer, he wrote back to say that it had been reported to him that the present force raised by the Shah had been intended for an attack on Bagdad; but, of course, after the solemn assurance of the Government of their non-participation in the infringement of the Turkish frontier by the sack of Suleimanieh, he could not believe that there was any intention on their part to direct their hostilities against Bagdad, which would give the greatest offence to his Government; and the troubles at Ispahan being now subdued, he expected the present force would be forthwith disbanded. The Shah, finding himself thus outwitted by the wily Russian, dared not resist, but marched towards Teheran, allowing his troops gradually to disband and return to their homes to save appearances. The present Vizier, Meerza Aghassi, is very inimical to the English, and a tool of Russia, and on one occasion displayed a jewelled box in open durbar, presented to him by the Emperor as a proof of the friendship between them, at the same time proclaiming his enmity to the English.

Notwithstanding that this is a despotic country, the Government is weak and afraid to punish offenders; when the Shah was at Kangowar, the owner of the garden, in which Meerza Ali was camped with his suite, not liking the intrusion, had the audacity, in the night, to open the water-courses which irrigated the land, and flooded all his tents, committing much damage amongst his stationery and furniture; and for this outrage the man escaped with impunity. At Hamadan, Meerza Ali's French Secretary, having quarrelled with some of the townspeople, was assaulted and beaten, and although the perpetrator was known, and the affair represented by the Vizier to the Shah's brother, who was Governor of the town, he was afraid to punish the offender, because he was a tradesman of some substance, and he wished to avoid a collision with the body of the townspeople: they pretended he could

not be found, but after a few days the sufferer was obliged to be satisfied with an apology.

The right of sanctuary in Persia attached to mosques, harims, and even extending to pieces of artillery, the horses of the Shah or other persons of consequence, particular gateways, etc., is inviolable, and is a great protection to malefactors as well as a means of obtaining justice for the innocent, where, from the consequence or power of the offender, it would otherwise be impossible; in this manner I heard of a poor widow, whose son had been kidnapped by a man of high rank, enforcing justice from the Shah by taking sanctuary under an antique brass gun in the palace-yard at Teheran; and on one occasion a whole regiment took sanctuary in the Mosque of Imam Reza, at Mushed, to obtain redress of some grievance; and although the Shah went in person to induce them to come out, they would not consent, until their demands were granted; the privilege is naturally very much abused, and the sanctuary of Imam Reza in particular, including several squares and streets, is a den of criminals, who keep their shops and carry on their business as before, but are liable to be seized whenever they venture outside of the precincts.

The present Persian race is only improved in proportion to its admixture with the Caucasian blood of Georgia and Armenia: white slavery has in this case been of great advantage to Persia, for the Georgians are physically and morally a much superior race, although their moral qualities must necessarily be absorbed in the national character of their masters: in some cases, however, the Persians inherit from them a more open physiognomy, while the majority, if judged from Le Brun's Comparative Zoology, might well answer to the Jackal family; with regular features, they have a sharp deceitful expression; their most remarkable feature is the long black beard; I was told that Fath Ali Shah always had an attendant on each side of his horse to support the ends of his beard! The Persian dress contributes a great deal to their forbidding appearance, the black

pointed cap is hideous, and the long gowns very effeminate; boys, till they are sixteen and more, allow their hair to grow in curls down their backs, when they may easily be mistaken for women.

The next day we made our daily visit to Meerza Ali to know what prospect there was of obtaining firmans, and were put off with various excuses and false promises. In the evening, the whole army was in motion, and we marched up a steep rocky pass of Mount Elwand for Hamadan. The Persian army on the march have no order or discipline, but every one gets to his ground in the best individual way he can; and, for a self-styled regular force, I could not have imagined such a scene of confusion as I witnessed to-night, except in a general rout, or flying retreat before an enemy: foot-soldiers, cavalry, strings of mules, camels, artillery, parties of officers, and baggage-cattle all pressing on in a straggling mass, scrambling among rocks and ravines, or falling into swamps; in some places, where the track closed, leaving only a ledge with room for one animal to pass at a time, there was a momentary check and struggle for the path; when the press behind soon forced numbers to a perilous descent into the ravines, and others to climb the abrupt acclivities and crown the heights, to save themselves: add to this the shouts of camel-drivers, the noise and uproar echoing through the rocks, the calls for assistance of parties extricating their fallen cattle, with the songs and merriment of those who were well mounted and as yet unharmed, and it will give a faint idea of the disorderly rabble with which we were obliged to make progress: the safest animal in such company is an old baggage-horse; it knows the roads well, is sure-footed, and has a sort of *vis inertiae*, acquired from constant hustling among loads, that give it a great advantage in a struggle of this sort, and it generally finds itself on the track when more fiery or active horses are injuring themselves by impatient struggles, or breaking their legs among the rocks. Fortunately, the starlight was very brilliant, and, after the first rush, and

as the night advanced, the stream of life on the line of march became more attenuated, affording us rather more safety, and in the morning, we were in a beautifully-cultivated country, covered with wheat and barley in the ear : this table land was much higher than the plains we had quitted, with the summit of Mount Elwand rising close on our right, streaked with snow. Although there was much damage done on the march, the men showed here more forbearance than might have been expected, by picqueting their horses on the borders of the fields. The Persian rose, although abundant in the gardens, hedges, and orchards, as it only flowers once a year, in June, and then only for a limited period, is no lasting ornament to the country.

The Shah travels with two sets of extensive tents, each of which covers a large area, surrounded by a high wall of canvas, which is encircled at night by a row of blazing torches : one of these camps is always sent on in advance, while the other is in occupation : and is always ready for his Majesty's reception when he arrives at the camping ground : his tents are usually pitched in a grove of trees, or a garden, commanding water and shade. The camp to-day was two farsaks from Hamadan, at a village called Azehra, in a pretty situation at the foot of the mountains, surrounded by vineyards and varied with a few trees : here the troops were already encamped ; but the Shah not having come up, we took this opportunity of indulging our curiosity with a view of his Majesty, by remaining in a shady spot under some trees close to the road until he passed by. As we sat here waiting, the Governor of Hamadan, having notice of the Shah's arrival, passed out to meet him, accompanied by a large body of cavalry, and four elephants with their heads painted in various colours ; at eight o'clock the return of the elephants gave us notice of the Shah's approach, and he passed us on a fast-ambing horse, accompanied by the old Vizier, Meerza Aghassi, and our friend, the Hakim Bashi, and the rest of his court ; but, as usual, without



any order, the cavalcade being mixed up with horsemen and baggage-cattle, which preceded and followed them. Mohammed Shah, of the Kadjur tribe, is a fine-looking man, about thirty, rather stout, with round features and a short beard; he wore a light green frock, with a brooch or armlet on either arm, and a handsome diamond aigrette in his black cap; he is always attended by his favourite son, a boy about ten years of age. When his Majesty commences a march, a little more regularity is observed, which I had an opportunity of seeing before quitting his camp: a large body of cavalry being drawn up on either side in front of his quarters, three flourishes of trumpets announced that the Shah was ready to start; presently afterwards a man came from his tent, and shouted out three times in prolonged tones, "Mohammed Shah," which was the signal for the discharge of a dozen Zambureks; the Shah then rode out, with his cortège, and the horsemen immediately closed in on all sides, resuming their usual disorder; on this present occasion the Shah rode a white horse, dyed orange colour with henna from the middle of the chest downwards, and several uncouth Russian carriages were in attendance. Mohammed Shah always rides on horseback, and prides himself on being a soldier; he is, however, of a mild and peaceable disposition, and entirely governed by Meerza Aghassi, who was formerly his tutor; by this means he has obtained his present ascendancy and influence, which he has used to bias the Shah against the English, notwithstanding that it was they who set him on his throne.

The Shah has offered the refugee princes at Bagdad permission to return to Persia, with the restoration of all their property, which, however, they are quite right in refusing, as their heads would never be in safety; not that I believe he would wilfully betray them, but in case of his death, or the Vizier taking advantage of a weak moment of the Shah, they would merely add another to the accumulated examples of Eastern political treachery. An instance of his weakness occurred while we were with the camp:

a party of the French officers who have lately come to Persia arrived from Teheran, for the purpose of obtaining their arrears of pay, amounting to about £300, from the Minister; after endeavouring to play with them and put them off for some time, seeing they were determined on not quitting without it, and wearied by their importunity, he gave them an order on one of the principal men of Hamadan, declaring he himself had not a farthing in the world: on this order being presented, the rich man went off to complain to Mohammed Shah, who hearing the amount was only 600 tomans, paid it out of his own private purse: no doubt the Vizier could have produced twenty times that sum at a minute's notice, and ought to have been compelled to pay it, but probably the Shah was ashamed of his conduct, and out of respect for him, wished to hush it up.

I am told that Fath Ali Shah always used the plural number in speaking of himself, and sometimes the third person; a custom the present Shah has not adopted. The nominal pay of the Vizier is 2000 tomans, or £1000 per annum; but by bribes, extortions, and speculation, he raises his income to a very large amount.

Hamadan is a large town, built of sun-dried brick, and surrounded by a weak wall; it is situated at the foot of the Elwand, in one of the most beautiful situations I have seen in Persia; the whole plain in which it stands being richly cultivated, and abounding in streams and springs of fine water; it is also well wooded in the valleys at the foot of the hills; but the principal trees in the plain are willows, which line the water-courses, or rows of poplars, which are very abundant, and grow among the houses and in the courtyards; but being a stiff ungraceful tree, it adds little to the beauty of the view, except from its verdure: the principal cultivation of the district is wheat and barley, and the chief owner of the lands is an officer high in the Shah's service, who was absent with his regiment in Khorassan; his residence is at the fort of Shavarin, five miles from the town, where we

accompanied Meerza Ali's European Secretary, to see his nephew Mahmoud Khan, also an officer in the Shah's service: this young man we found rather superior to the Persians in general; he is married to a sister of the present Shah; he appeared intelligent, and was anxious to visit Europe, which was not easily to be accomplished, owing to the jealousy of his government; he has a taste for drawing and was practising lithography. Shavarin is a mud fort, with double walls, prettily situated. The Khan expected the Shah to visit him the next day, and was anxious to astonish him with fire-balloons; but the whole town was searched in vain for tissue paper, and although I made them with common paper, they were too heavy to ascend. The Shah's officers dress in a sort of European costume, consisting of a frock coat, plaited full, with trousers, but usually of the most ill-assorted colours; Hussein Khan, who went as ambassador to Paris, and was justly denied a reception in England, wore a purple shot-silk frock coat, with red silk trousers.

Hamadan has an insignificant appearance from its want of minarets; in the town is a small, high, brick-built edifice, apparently of the time of the Khaliphate; it is four-sided, and the interior elaborately worked with stuccoed figures; the natives say this covers a treasure, which is guarded by a skeleton: on looking into the vaults under it, which are half filled with rubbish, we found some skeletons, exposing their anatomy in wooden cases, which were open; but the treasure was rather more fabulous. A small mausoleum within the walls belongs to the Jews, and is said to contain the remains of Esther and Mordecai. Hamadan has been identified as the site of Ecbatana of Media; there are some mounds S.W. of the town, which are the only apparent remains of ancient buildings, with parts of walls, and a massive tower or bastion of gravel concrete. There are several large caravanserais in the town and bazaars which are badly built. The Persians are ingenious workmen; their shoes are equal in appearance to European; and they imitate our guns exactly; only failing in

their attempts to copy the makers' names, by which they are easily detected ; their goods are however flimsy : they are fond of and have some taste for painting and ornamenting their looking-glasses, writing-cases, etc., with enamelled paintings of figures and animals, which are not badly executed, though very deficient in perspective ; I do not know how they reconcile this indulgence with the prohibition of images in the Koran, so strictly attended to by the Soonees.

On returning from an excursion outside the town, I fell in with a party of Persians, who were quail-hawking, for which purpose a small sparrow-hawk is used ; it is a very tame amusement, on account of the short flight of the quarry ; this hawk does not sit on the fist, but is grasped round the tail and wings and thrown at the quail ; these hawks are caught and trained at the beginning of the season before the quails arrive, and set at liberty when it is over ; when tired with this sport, the horsemen amused themselves practising at a mark, consisting of a ball of wool laid on a bank ; this they fired at, at full speed, when passing within fifteen or twenty yards ; the first few shots were pretty well aimed, those that missed the mark glancing from the bank and humming across the country for the benefit of the public : afterwards, from the badness of their powder or gunlocks, they continually missed fire ; I counted successively as many as six whose guns could not be induced to go off.

During our detention here we made a trip to see some Babylonian inscriptions, which we had heard of in the Koh Elwand, near the village of Abbasabad ; from the foot of the hills we wound up a thickly-wooded gorge, the bed of a mountain torrent ; about half a mile above the village we found two large tablets of Cuneiform inscriptions, of two different characters ; they were deeply cut on the steep rocky face of a ravine on the right of the road, where the stream comes tumbling through the rocks in three or four broken cascades ; besides the inscriptions, which are clear and perfect and well carved,

there is another tablet nearly effaced and a niche cut in the stone; although we copied them, they have been already published; the people give this tablet the name of Gange Namah, the History of the Treasure, and say it indicates the locality of the hidden treasures of Ameer Khan Pehlwi, who was conquered by Alexander the Great: in proof of this they tell you that the streams from the mountains bring down what they call gold dust, and that the teeth of the sheep which graze on the hills are dyed yellow by the herbs they feed on, and which they suppose to be impregnated with gold. The sand of these streams is certainly full of glittering spangles of mica, which when taken between the fingers, rubs into a bronze powder, and this gives some countenance to their traditional theories. I saw the water-ousel in these hills.

After various delays and false assurances of despatch from Meerza Ali, we at length waited on the Vizier Meerza Aghassi, to discover whether it was his intention to allow us to proceed on our journey: we found him sitting half undressed in a large room, the walls lined with Persians in durbar; he is a little shrivelled old man, very ignorant, but shrewd and cunning, with a shrill loud voice; and when he gets excited, he has an extraordinary habit of knocking his black cap awry alternately from one side of his head to the other; I am told that he surpasses even the Persians in general in the want of decorum and the grossness of his language: on the present occasion he was sitting with a tray of fruit and ice before him, in which he was indulging alone, while his circle looked on; I never saw so mercurial a little old fellow for a Minister of State, and it was with the greatest of difficulty we could keep our countenance as he went on eating and vociferating all the while, venting his feelings on his cap, which was sometimes in his tray, and again perched knowingly over one eye, till a fresh ebullition gave it an impetus to the back of his head exposing his bare crown; it was really most laughable. We sat down by the wall, with the rest of the people, till

he had finished his tiffin, during which they stretched their politeness so far as to present us with tea. The old Meerza first alluded to the differences between England and Persia, which, however, they did not look upon in the light of an open rupture, although the English had all left the country; but still he did not know what our object could be in coming to Persia, under the present aspect of affairs; we told him we were mere travellers who had come undisguised to request a travelling firman to pass through the country by Ispahan and Yezd, on our way to India: this he said was impossible, as the road by Yezd, and the province of Seistan, was through broad deserts, which he could not insure our traversing with safety, appealing to his courtiers for their ready acquiescence, who forthwith each had his story to tell of perils and dangers which had befallen passengers on that road: and here our friend the French Secretary, thinking to assist us, very ill-advisedly told him that the road being little known was our object in visiting it, for the purpose of making maps for the benefit of the public. This raised his suspicions at once, and he refused point blank to allow us to go that road at all, excusing himself by saying that the British Government would hold him responsible if anything happened to us and make it a pretext for further quarrel: on this we offered to give him a written release from all responsibility, a copy of which to be forwarded to Colonel Shiel at Erzroom, if he would only allow us to prosecute our route: to this he first pretended to accede, but afterwards returned to his former refusal; he then offered to allow us to return to Bushire and embark: or proceed by the road of Mushed to Herat, for which we should be provided with firmans. After much sparring and circumlocution, we found we should be compelled to abandon our original intention of reaching Candahar through Seistan, as the old Vizier adhered to his determination. After this audience, my companion, finding that we should not be able to follow the route we had intended, resolved to return

to Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, while I prosecuted my journey alone through Khorassan, Afghanistan and India.

As an instance of the gross ignorance of the Vizier, I must notice that on my excusing myself from embarking at Bushire for India, on account of suffering from sea-sickness, he inquired how it was, in that case, I had been able to come to Bagdad through Turkish Arabia, where he had been informed the *rains* had been very abundant during the last season.

Notwithstanding that everything seemed now settled, apparently with the acquiescence of the minister, it will hardly be believed, but which we afterwards discovered, that to within three days of our departure, and after a detention of a month in the camp, the lying old Vizier had not decided whether he should allow us to go at all ; in fact, we were looked upon in the light of spies ; and yet, had this been the case, they could not have played into our hands better than by keeping us with the Court, where we saw and knew everything that was going on. In the meantime, not being quite *au fait* to Persian falsehood, we called daily on Meerza Ali, to know when our firmans would be ready ; these he always faithfully promised by the next day, and on the morrow we were invariably met by some trivial excuse and a renewed promise to be cancelled in turn the day after. From various hints, we found out that this fellow expected, according to the custom of the country, to be bribed ; but as this was entirely against our policy, his expectations were disappointed, and even had we paid him, he had no power to despatch us before the Minister's permission was given. After daily applications, either personally or by letter, answered by constant false promises, we were resolving on leaving without firman or leave, as the place was becoming unhealthy, and our supply of cash was beginning to run low, and we had a long journey in prospect ; when, fortunately for us, the Secretary of the Russian Embassy, Baron C. A. Bode, arrived at the Shah's camp from Teheran : this

gentleman, hearing of our detention and unpleasant situation, kindly interested himself in our favour, and promised to use his influence in obtaining the necessary papers from the Vizier to enable us to depart, remonstrating warmly with Meerza Ali for having subjected us to such vexatious delays. I really am unable to speak in any measured terms of the shameful conduct of these Persians in office towards us: during a month's stay in the camp and court, we had never experienced the slightest hospitality or civility at their hands; we had been detained all this time by daily lies; we had left our English passports at the request of Meerza Ali in his possession, as before mentioned, and now this thorough-paced young villain had the audacity to assert to Baron Bode that we had brought no papers whatever; that they did not know who we were, and could not be expected to furnish firmans to strangers under such circumstances: this was a climax of villainy we could scarcely have contemplated, and our rage and indignation at these barefaced assertions, with his own experience of Persian falsehood, immediately convinced the Baron that he had been imposed on, and he sent orders to Meerza Ali insisting on the production of our passports; Meerza Ali, finding his lie detected, then pretended he had mislaid them, and would seek among his papers: to end this tale of Persian treachery and rascality, the passports were eventually produced, but not till the very morning of the march of the army for Kasbin. Old Meerza Aghassi, finding the Secretary of the Russian Embassy had no suspicion of our being aught but what we professed, and that he used his influence in our favour, thought he had nothing to fear by allowing us to depart; and in consideration of our detention, and of our being prevented following the route we wished, he directed the firmans to be made out with an order to the heads of villages at the different stations on our respective roads to furnish us with a certain quantity of forage and provisions gratuitously; this I found of great advantage in procuring supplies,



which could not otherwise have been obtained for money at all times, among these inhospitable people, and even with this order it was often attended with much difficulty.

I cannot help recording here the very uncommon fact of meeting with one Persian who spoke truth, which deserves notice from its rarity ; this was Meerza Mohammed Ali, the Minister's Secretary, who had formerly accompanied a Persian Ambassador to England, and who was now employed in writing all the correspondence of the Government ; he was a good-tempered man and spoke French fluently : we were often referred to him for our firmans, and told that he had orders to prepare them ; this was with the object of making him bear some of the odium of our detention ; but he never gave us any promise or hopes, although expressing his willingness to serve us, until he actually received the instructions to prepare them, when he promised we should have them the following day, and to our astonishment they were ready at the appointed time.

We had reason to be very grateful to Baron Bode for his interference and assistance in our difficulties, but for which we might have been detained an indefinite period, or perhaps obliged to return to Bagdad ; besides his exertions in this respect, we were much indebted to him for his general kindness and attention, the more gratifying in a strange country, and under circumstances "where we might have expected, but never found, political feelings interfering with the courtesy of the gentleman, or the kindly feelings of the Christian. In the presence of the Persians, the Baron always took off his hat when naming the name of Jesus Christ. As an instance of his spontaneous goodness of heart, I must mention that, hearing we had been robbed in the house of an Armenian, where we were lodging, of a purse of tomans, which we were unable to recover, he immediately offered to advance us funds for the prosecution of our journey ; and as we were put to much inconvenience by this loss, his generous offer was as freely accepted as it was frankly offered. Should

these pages ever meet the eye of Baron Bode, I trust he will not be offended at this acknowledgment of our obligations for his kindness, but accept this as a slight tribute of esteem and gratitude from those to whom he was a friend in a foreign land.

Until I learnt the graceless character of the Persians I had expected to have found a better feeling on their part towards the English than actually exists; considering that we have armed and disciplined their troops; our officers have been continually living among them; and it was we in short who assisted Mohammed Shah to mount the throne. They had a certain respect for the English, but it did not, as in other countries, influence their treatment of individuals; the friendship of these people is maintained no longer than while we pay for it, and they profit by it.

We had removed from the Armenian quarters, and occupied a small upper room at the opposite end of the town, to be near the head-quarters of the army: the situation was unhealthy, from the number of trees growing among the houses; besides the damp from the numerous water-courses from the mountains, some of which form ravines, intersecting the town; many of the houses in high situations had an elegant appearance, being furnished with verandahs supported on light wooden pillars: we amused ourselves during our stay riding about the country, and, before or since, I have seen no place in Persia to equal the beauty, fertility, and richness of the valley of Hamadan: the gorges of the mountains are full of vineyards and orchards of fruit trees, and the plain is covered with grain, which is now harvesting and being carried into the little mud forts which are scattered about the country.

The principal fuel in Persia is dry cow-dung, which is made, with earth and straw, into flat cakes, and dried in the sun: on the line of march of the Shah's army at the different villages, immense stacks of this fuel had been prepared for the use of the troops: this is

proof of the absence of timber in the country south of the Elburz mountains. The Persians wear very high-heeled shoes, or boots, and carry a broad, double-edged, pointed hanger at the waist. Here, as in some other parts of the East, the custom exists of raising large heaps of stones on conspicuous eminences by pilgrims, or travellers: these are usually found at the first turn or point of the road that brings them in sight of their destination.

I was informed that two or three marches south of Hamadan there is a hill-fort, consisting of a mound surrounded by a village: from the interior of this fort an underground passage leads down two or three hundred feet to a subterranean lake of clear water, abounding in fish.

Near Hamadan we fell in with a travelling Parsee merchant, a native of Yezd; he was an intelligent man, and was here on some business with the Vizier, being a money-lender: he had been all over Persia on his donkey, and, hearing of our intention of visiting Yezd, he gave us some information with respect to the roads: he told us the road from Ispahan to Yezd was through a wild country, but with villages at intervals, and Yezd itself in a fertile spot, surrounded with gardens; but, beyond this, he said, there was no passable road to the Seistan Lake, which received the waters of the Helmund, and, to reach that part of the country, we should be compelled to go down to Kirman, from whence the caravans for Kandahar take their departure: although this appears a long way round, yet we were assured, on minute inquiry, that there was no other route than Kirman to the province of Seistan.

END OF VOL. I.