

caique to row towards the upper lake, where he intended to spend some hours in shooting: we bent our course towards the city, listening to the songs of the Albanian boatmen, and viewing the reflection of the lights from the castron in the rippling surface of the water. For several days after this excursion we were nearly confined to the house by continual rain, though the time was in some measure lightened by the society of Mr. Foresti and Mr. Pouqueville, and by occasional visits from the friends and connexions of our host.

February 10th.—On this day we received a compliment which we little expected, and for which we were indebted to the kind intercession of Mr. Foresti: it was an invitation from Ali Pasha to accompany him to a splendid feast given at the house of Signore Alessio and to dine at his own table: to this honour he had never before admitted any foreigner, of the highest distinction, except the present Lord Guilford: even Sir John Stuart, and General Airey governor of the Ionian Isles, though invited to a dinner, were seated at different tables apart from the vizir. We received intimation of the honour awaiting us just after we had finished our own dinner, but we willingly took the chance of death by a surfeit, for the satisfaction of dining with Ali Pasha. We had scarcely time to array ourselves in our best apparel before one of the chaoushes was at the door to precede us through the streets, and we set out accompanied by our host.

All the approaches to Signore Alessio's mansion, as well as the court and galleries, were crowded with Albanian guards and others in the pasha's train. The rooms were brilliantly lighted up, and the clang of cymbals, drums, and Turkish instruments of music, denoted the presence of a potentate. We stopped for a short time in a large ante-room, where the vizir's band was playing to a troop of dancing boys, dressed in the most effeminate manner, with flowing petticoats of crimson silk, and silver-clasped zones around the waist: they were revolving in one giddy and interminable circle, twisting their pliant bodies into the most contorted figures, and using the most lascivious gestures, throwing about their arms and heads like infuriated Baccha-

nals, and sometimes bending back their bodies till their long hair actually swept the ground, illustrating thereby a distich of Claudian which has not unfrequently been misunderstood by his commentators.

Quis melius vibrata puer vertigine molli  
Membra rotet ? verrat quis marmora crine supino ?  
In Eutrop. ii. 359.

Another Latin poet describes these dances so accurately, that I cannot forbear quoting the lines.

Juvat et vago rotatu  
Dare fracta membra ludo,  
Simulare vel trementes  
Pede, veste, voce Bacchas.

As we entered into the banqueting room we observed the vizir seated as usual, at a corner of the divan, upon cushions of rich silk. Next to him sate a Turkish nobleman, named Mazout Effendi, one of the most venerable men I ever beheld, with a long white beard hanging over his breast, that exceeded even the vizir's by at least six inches: this old gentleman lived at Constantinople, but generally came to spend a few months in the year with Ali, being a vast favourite on account of his convivial propensities. Below Mazout sate the Archbishop of Ioannina, with the two epitropi or Greek primates; so that the whole party, with ourselves, made up seven, the exact number of the Platonic symposium. Signore Alessio, the owner of the mansion, coming out from the midst of a crowd of Greeks who stood at the lower end of the divan, advanced with us towards the pasha, who received us with every mark of civility, and motioned us to sit down upon the sofa at his right hand. He then ordered Signore Psalida to act as interpreter, who came up with a face decked in smiles and reverently kissed the hem of his master's garment, in token of submission to his commands. Ali was evidently in extreme good humour,

and dealt out his jokes and sallies of wit profusely, which of course had the effect of producing peals of laughter. At last, turning to myself, and stroking his long white beard, he asked if the people in England wore beards. I replied, only the Jews; at which he seemed as if he scarcely knew whether to smile or frown. Old Mazout in the mean time preserved the most dignified silence and demeanour, nor did his impenetrable countenance once relax into a smile\*. I scarcely thought it was in the power of Bacchus himself to turn this venerable Polysperchon† into such a merry rogue and very buffoon as he afterwards exhibited himself. In fact, we learned that the striking contrast between his extreme gravity when sober and his boisterous vivacity when half seas over, renders him so great a favourite with the vizir that he never goes to an entertainment without him whilst he resides in Ioannina.

After the lapse of about half an hour the lady of the house came forward with a silver pitcher and ewer, and a finely embroidered napkin thrown over her arm: having advanced to the vizir and made her obeisance she poured out warm water into the basin, with which he washed his hands, turning up his loose sleeves for this purpose, and washing half way up to the elbow‡: after he had finished his ablution, the water was brought to us and the other guests: this custom certainly seems requisite in a country where the modern use of knives and forks is entirely precluded by a partiality for the fingers. The vizir now motioned us to draw round a circular tin-tray which had been scraped bright for the ceremony (ξερὰ πρᾶνιζα), and we accordingly ranged ourselves at his highness's right hand upon rich velvet cushions, several of

\* His appearance might be accurately designated by the words of Lucian, who is describing a philosophic character at an entertainment. Σεινός τις ἴδειν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς καὶ πολλὸν τὸ κόσμον ἐπιφάνων τῷ προσώπῳ. Conviv. §. 7.

† Vid. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. 155.

‡ Does not this tend to confirm the interpretation which some commentators give to the word πνυγμή in St. Mark's Gospel, c. vii. v. 3, which seems wrongly translated in our version by the expression "oil"?

which were placed one upon the other for our accommodation : on his left sat Mazout Effendi, the rest of the space being filled by the archbishop and the primates. Rich scarfs were now thrown over our shoulders, and napkins placed before us, so embroidered with gold as to serve for no earthly purpose but that of decoration : a fine silken shawl being laid upon the vizir's knees, he courteously spread it out and extended it to Mr. Parker and myself.

Before dinner a dessert, or antecœnium, was placed upon the table, consisting of apples, dried fruits, and sweetmeats. After some of the party had nibbled an almond or swallowed a raisin, this quickly disappeared, and a tureen of thick soup was placed by the mistress of the family before the guests ; into this the vizir first dipped his *wooden* spoon, and was followed by the rest of the company : next came a roasted lamb, brought in by a servant, to which all fingers round the table were immediately applied, stripping the meat from off one side till the ribs were fairly exposed to view : I ought to observe that in deference to our customs knives and forks were placed before the Englishmen, which however they thought proper to dispense with as much as possible : the lamb was followed by a brace of partridges, which the vizir took up in both his hands and placed one upon Mr. Parker's plate and the other upon my own, as a token of extreme condescension : scarcely however had they lain there a moment when they suddenly disappeared like Sancho Panza's delicacies, being snatched up by the dirty fingers of the bare-legged Albanian guards who stood around us : this however was done merely to relieve us from the trouble of carving, for when they had pulled them limb from limb, they very carefully and respectfully replaced them upon our plates ; and in this manner was every fowl, or duck, or any other species of poultry served which the courtesy of the vizir and of the other guests induced them to offer us : and indeed these marks of civility were showered down so thick upon us that I was quite surprised how we survived this day's cramming, especially when it is considered that we



had eaten our regular dinner before we came to the feast, and that etiquette in this country demands that the guests should at least taste all the dishes set before them.

No liquor was drank at this entertainment but wine, which several beautiful youths from the vizir's seraglio stood to pour out from pitchers into glass goblets. Two pages would scarcely be sufficient to describe the different viands which were placed upon the table singly and separately, and upon which the first-rate culinary science in Turkey seemed to have been lavished; some of the ragouts and piquant sauces would not have disgraced the civic table of a lord-mayor: the most insipid article was the pastry, which was nothing more than cakes of meal, honey, and pistachio nuts. We had to run the gauntlet for about two hours through eighty-six dishes, all placed singly before the guests in a varied succession of roast and boiled meats, fish, stews, pastry, game, and wild-fowl, &c. until the dessert again appeared. In the mean time the Ganymedes had not been idle with their pitchers and goblets, and Signore Alessio, the *δυνάστης* of the feast, supplied them with his best quadrimum. Old Mazout had once or twice during dinner shewn symptoms of the Bacchic fury rising within him, by throwing open a sash window behind the divan, and joining in chorus with the Albanian band that was playing and singing in the anteroom. The vizir however now ordered him to be plied with larger and more frequent goblets; and, as he is very fond upon these occasions of seeing every one around him inebriated, he commanded the crowd of Greeks to advance from the lower end of the room and to drink like fishes. As for himself he took only a moderate portion of wine, and very considerably requested Mr. Parker and myself to follow his example.

The fumes of the wine began at length to operate so strongly upon old Mazout that his tongue seemed resolved to make amends for the silence to which it had previously been doomed: he sang droll songs in the Turkish language, exerted his lungs in the most violent shouts,

rolled about upon the divan, and throwing off his turban exhibited his bare head to view, whilst the spectators, and especially the vizir, were convulsed with laughter. Soon afterwards he called the dancing boys into the room, and snatching a tambourine from the hands of their leader, jumped and capered about, beating the instrument like an ancient Silenus: he then endeavoured to catch the boy, who eluded his grasp with the pliability of an eel, whilst the old fellow, failing in many of his attempts, fell flat upon the ground to the no small merriment of the by-standers. In the midst of this interlude however Mazout several times ran up to Ali, caught him with his arms round the neck, and almost suffocated him with embraces, kissing him on the forehead and bosom, and addressing him with expressions of the most fond attachment: from the vizir he ran off again to the dancing boys, and at last seizing their coryphæus, he nearly stifled him with caresses; then dragging him up to the divan, he coaxed Ali to give him a handful of small gold coins, which he wetted with his spittle and stuck like spangles over the boy's face, who struggled very hard to get free, that he might pocket the affront.

When the dancers had quitted the room the toasts began to circulate with great rapidity, all of which were drank in full bumpers. Ali gave the health of the Prince Regent, and the Royal Family of Great Britain; in return for which we drank to the prosperity of his house and dynasty, and to the immortal memory of Pyrrhus, his heroic ancestor. At length I proposed a toast by way of experiment, to see the effect which it would produce: this was—health and prosperity to Salee Bey—the vizir's youngest and favourite son, who, as it is strongly conjectured, is designed for his successor. This proposal was received with evident satisfaction by the vizir, and by the most rapturous applause from all the company; Ali took a full bumper, old Mazout three, and the archbishop, who had for some time fought shy, demanded two; Psalida reiterated his shouts with Stentorian lungs; Signore Alessio ordered a fresh barrel to be tapped, that all

might do justice to the toast, and the Greeks encircling the vizir and kissing the hem of his robes, tossed off glass after glass till he desired them to forbear. This toast, by-the-bye, was proposed and drank twice again during the evening, but no one thought of giving the health, either of Mouchitar or Vely Pasha. \*Soon after this ebullition, the archbishop prudently decamped, and Psalida, who had for some time been guilty of clipping the vizir's Greek, being led off the field hors de combat, our host Nicolo occupied his place as interpreter of tongues.

During a short interval of quiet, I took the opportunity of asking Ali whether there was any truth in the report that he intended Salee Bey to enjoy the advantages of foreign travel by visiting the different European courts: to this he answered, that the plan had been strongly recommended to him, and that he had taken it into serious consideration, but it was so contrary to the custom of his countrymen that he felt obliged to decline it. He asked how we liked Ioannina, and whether our host conducted himself well towards us: upon our answering that he was a good fellow (*καλὸς ἄνθρωπος*), he shook his head and said—"His father was." He then desired us, in his usual hyperbolical style, to consider all his possessions as our own, and commanding silence in the room, he declared in a loud tone, that he should consider no man his friend who did not shew us civility and attention. Some time before this speech was ended old Mazout began to be very impatient, and at length commenced a humorous song, which alas! he was unable to finish, for unfortunately overbalancing himself in one of his outrageous attitudes, he fell off the sofa and rolled under the table: whilst he lay there, the Greeks seeing how the vizir was inclined, seemed to forget that awe which the presence of an autocrat, upon whose breath their very lives depended, might inspire, and began to play all sorts of practical jokes upon each other, tripping up heels, knocking off calpacs, and exploding detonating balls close to the ear: the noise and confusion thus occasioned roused old Mazout Effendi from his trance; for, starting up in a species of delirium, he thrust his hand and arm through the sash win-

dow behind him : the joke seemed to be relished ; Signore Alessio thrust his arm through another pane, and Mazout immediately broke in the whole sash with his hands and feet : all the Greeks now fell to, and in like manner demolished every window in the apartment, amidst the loud laughter of Ali, and the Bacchanalian triumph of the Effendi, who ran to caress the vizir after every feat which he performed.

When this work of destruction was finished Ali gave the signal for breaking up the party, and silence immediately succeeded to the yells which a few minutes before would have astounded an Indian war-tribe. The Greeks now retired to the bottom of the room, the pitcher and ewer with warm water were again introduced, and the customary ablutions performed : then several guards entered and preceded the vizir with long wax tapers to the head of the staircase, where he stopped a few minutes, asked for his English friends, and took a very courteous leave of us. At the outer door, in the area, stood several hundreds of his Albanian retinue with a fine Arabian charger richly caparisoned : vaulting into his saddle he set off in a gallop towards the serai of Litaritza, followed by his motley crew, shouting, waving their torches, and running at full speed to keep up with their chief. Mr. Parker and myself walked silently home, listening to the retreating uproar as it lessened on the ear, and when we arrived at Signore Nicolo's mansion we stared at each other and asked mutually whether it was not all a dream\*?

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\* I subjoin to this account one out of many passages in the *Odyssey* which mark a strong similarity between ancient and modern customs at convivial entertainments :

Χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα  
 Καλῇ χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρεοῖο λέβητος,  
 Νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ἑσθὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν·  
 Σῆτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,  
 Εἰδата πόλλ' ἐπιθέισα, χαρίζομένη παρέοντων.  
 Δαιτρός δὲ κρείων πίνακας παρέθηκεν δίφρου  
 Παντοίων, παρὰ δὲ σφί τίδει χρυσεῖα κύπελλα.  
 Κήρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσι θαμ' ἐπέχετο οἰνοχοεύων.  
 Ἔς δ' ἦλθον μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες· οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα  
 Ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμὸς τε θρόνους τε·  
 Τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν,

Next day I believe the sun had not run through half his course ere it was known to every person of note in Ioannina that the two English milordi had dined with the vizir: in consequence our room for several successive mornings was crowded with visitors, and from this time we enjoyed the most free and uninterrupted intercourse with the society of the place. Amongst the earliest arrivals was our late host Signore Alessio, who was evidently considered first amongst the Greeks of Ioannina, and stood highest in the despot's favour: this favour however he was obliged to retain by great sacrifices: it was but a short time since he had presented him with a complete service of plate, executed in the most superb style at Vienna; and yesterday very magnificent gifts were sent to the inmates of his harem, as is customary when he honours one of his subjects with his company at dinner. Alessio's father had been the principal instrument in gaining the Pashalic of Ioannina for its present ruler: in remembrance of which service he had made the son governor of Zagori, one of the four districts into which the province is divided. It lies north-east of the city on the other side of Mitzikeli, extending up towards Konitza and Grevna, and including forty-eight towns and villages, over which Alessio has almost sovereign sway, and from which he draws a princely revenue. At Ioannina his levees are attended by the principal inhabitants, and his society is as much courted as if he were a pasha himself. I have often seen him mounted upon a richly caparisoned white charger, taking his morning ride, followed by young men of the first Greek families in his train. Many persons however augur no good from this ostentation, knowing the capricious disposition of Ali, as well as that crafty policy of his

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Σίτον δὲ δμῶα παρενήνεον ἐν κανέοισιν·  
 Οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὄνειδ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱάλλον.  
 Κῆροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπενέψαντο ποτόιο·  
 Ἀνὴρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο  
 Μνηστῆρες, τοῖσιν μὲν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μεμήλει,  
 Μολπή τ' ὀρχητὺς τε· (τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός·)

Od. A. 136.



which leads him sometimes to strike down the towering eagle that the smaller birds may be kept in awe: in the mean time Alessio sticks to the old maxim of living whilst he can, endeavours to keep his master in good humour, and sacrifices a part of his fortune to retain the rest. In the list of our other visitors may be distinguished Signore Colovo, the vizir's dragoman; Signore Sakellario, one of his physicians, who possesses a superb collection of coins and antiques, but seems totally ignorant of the value they might acquire by arrangement, since he keeps them all mixed together in a leathern bag, and looks at them as a child does at his playthings; Signore Giovanni Melas, who has been already introduced to the reader's notice; the two primates of the city; Signore Stavro, a merchant of great opulence; Demetrio Droso, chief secretary of Mouchtar Pasha, whose mother is a branch of the noble Venetian family of Maruzzi; he came accompanied by two beautiful little girls his daughters, the one five and the other six years old, whom we made very happy by a present of some English toys. It is scarcely possible to conceive any thing more lovely than these children: their parents seem extremely fond of them, dressing them in the richest garments, carrying them in processions, and exhibiting them to strangers, though they take good care to immure them from sight as soon as their beauties begin to expand.

February 12.—This afternoon we thought proper to call and pay our respects to the vizir after the extraordinary civilities we had received. We found him at his serai of Litaritza, in his favourite little Albanian room, the only one in which we ever saw him more than once. His prime minister was with him, named Mahomet Effendi, a silly old man who studies astrology and occult sciences till he thinks himself gifted with inspiration, and will pore for many hours together over an old globe, though he knows not whether the earth moves round the sun, or the contrary: it would be well if he were content to pronounce oracles upon science and politics; but he is withal a violent bigot,



fierce and implacable against heretics or unbelievers, and ready to execute the most horrid commands of his despotic ruler.

The dress of the vizir both now and at other times appeared costly but never gaudy; his magnificence shone rather in the brilliants that actually covered the walls of this apartment. He is extremely fond of thus concentrating his wealth into a small compass; certainly it is useful to guard against the possible effects of a reverse of fortune: a little before our arrival in his dominions he had purchased six pearls, said to be the largest in Europe, and since our departure he has bought a diamond from the ex-King of Sweden at the price of 13,000*l.*, which, with a number of others, he has had formed into a star, in imitation of one which he saw upon the coat of Sir Frederic Adam: this he now wears upon his breast, and calls it "his order."

He was in such good humour this day that he would not suffer us to depart when we had finished our first pipe, but ordered a second and a third: he spoke freely upon the reverses of Bonaparte, informed us of the defection of Murat from the French cause, and called for a very fine Turkish map of Europe that we might point out to him the geographical situation of the armies at this time contending about the liberties of the world. He appeared very ignorant, like all the Turks, in geography, not knowing where to look for Malta, or even for Ancona, which it behoved him much to know as an important seaport opposite his own coasts.

*Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.*

Mr. Pouqueville indeed assured me, that Ali once questioned him upon the expediency of sending a ship of war to be coppered and rigged at Paris, and at another time wished the French army a fair wind to carry them to Vienna. Constantinople being a seaport, the Turks presume to think that every other capital city must necessarily be so too. Our conversation turned chiefly upon the great military events

at this time pending, and he seemed well aware of the tottering power of the French emperor: he spoke of his own wars as petty actions in comparison with the extensive operations of the great continental armies; though subsequently, when I was better able to converse with him in Romaic, he related some of his adventures with great apparent satisfaction. He asked us how we liked his Albanian room, and upon our expressing approbation of its comfortable appearance, he said, with some degree of vanity, that in this he was his own architect. At our leaving the palace he requested us to call frequently upon him, and as usual made us an unqualified offer of all his possessions.

On the day after this interview we made a shooting excursion with Giovanni Melas, and our two hosts: having received permission to shoot in the upper region of the lake, which, according to the game laws established by Mouchtar Pasha, is preserved for his private amusement, we had excellent sport, and Mr. Parker had the luck to shoot what is called a thalassopuli, or bird of the sea. One or two of these fowls are generally seen in every flock: it is nearly twice the size of a duck, and is decked with a superb top-knot of scarlet feathers upon its head, whilst its wings are beautifully variegated with purple and white: it is sometimes called the "Pasha's bird," (πῆλι, τῆ Πασιᾶ): no one presumes to kill it if the pasha be present, but each endeavours to procure him a shot by separating it from the rest, and whoever succeeds is sure of being liberally rewarded. We returned to dine upon the island, in a very neat and comfortable mansion, and were so pleased with our accommodations that we sent for our trunk-beds from the city, and Antonietti to dress the wild-fowl. Next day we made a second excursion upon the water, visiting several monasteries, and the ruins of Gastrizza. In the evening, as we returned to Ioannina by moonlight, I ordered my boat with Signore Nicolo, to row round the precipices of the castron, which beautifully overhang the lake: as we glided gently over the surface, and had just passed a high projecting angle, we heard a sudden plunge, as if some heavy body had fallen into

the water. I inquired of Nicolo what this might be, who coolly replied, "he supposed it was some incontinent lady tied up in her sack and thrown over the rock;" for thus it is that the inhabitants of these regions, in the solemn stillness of the night, hear—

Plunged amid the sullen waves,  
The frequent corpse\*.

We returned immediately to the spot, but the water was extremely deep, and the unfortunate victim, if such it was, was then hid from mortal view. We landed on the south side of the fortress, and in passing through the narrow intricate lanes in this part of the city, we observed the patrol carrying off a man to prison who had wounded another in a quarrel. My guide assured me that these occurrences are very rare in Ioannina, since the vizir has instituted the strictest police regulations, and acts with great impartiality, as far as regards the different classes of his subjects, in punishing the disturbers of public tranquillity.

Next morning after this excursion, we went to see a grand review of Albanian troops, which for the last month had been drawn together from all parts into the capital, to the terrible annoyance of the poor inhabitants, upon whom they were quartered. It was suspected that the vizir had some deep and important design in view, upon which conjecture was very busy. The review, if such it can be called, took place in the paddock adjoining the kiosk. The soldiers stood conversing in groups, strolling about, or lying down upon the ground, all except one regiment which contained many Franks, and was

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\* This punishment for the same crime seems once to have been known in England. See Chaucer's *Marchante's Tale*, where May says to January,

And if I do that lakke,  
Do stripen me and put me in a sakke,  
And in the next river do me drench.

Col. Leake, in his *Researches* (p. 410), adduces some instances to prove that it existed also among the ancient Greeks.

about half disciplined: to this a band of heterogeneous music ~~was~~ attached. Mr. Pouqueville once asked Ali how he procured these musicians: his answer was—*τὲς ἔκλεψα*. “I stole them:” that is, he induced them by promises and bribery, to desert from various regiments in the Ionian islands. No military evolutions took place, but the names of the men were called over, and those who wanted money for arms or other accoutrements, or had great arrears of pay due to them, or any grievances to complain of, were allowed to make their complaints, or offer their petitions to the vizir, who sat in a small room with large heaps of money near him, and his secretary by his side. He once endeavoured to discipline more of his troops according to the system of European tactics, but was too prudent to persevere in this plan, when he saw how extremely adverse it was to the prejudices of his Albanian palikars, and how it interfered with their customary and almost natural system of warfare. The troops which struck us most in this assemblage were the Miriditi or Mirdites, the bravest of all the tribes settled in Albania, and who wear the red shawl, and the vest a la Tancrede. They inhabit the country between Tiranna and Alessio, bordering upon the pashalic of Scutari, and can arm 10,000 men against an invading enemy. They are supposed to be descendants of those Latins who fled towards the west after their expulsion from Constantinople by Lascaris, and those whom Roger II. king of Apulia, employed in his unfortunate Thessalian expedition: their language is full of Latin and Italian terms. They profess the Roman Catholic rites, and are governed in religious matters by a bishop, called, in their own language, Knez, and by priests sent from the Society de Propaganda: they are much more intolerant and bigoted than either their Turkish or Albanian neighbours; and very few instances ever occur of their changing their religion. Their temporal chief is denominated Pringlass: they live in small villages and are very poor, but honest; they acknowledge the nominal authority of the pasha of Scutari, and send him a small annual tribute; but they never admit

his troops within their territories. The predecessor of their present chief was treacherously assassinated in the very palace of Scutari: this one never enters the pasha's dominions without an escort of three hundred men, fifty of whom attend him in the audience chamber, with their hands upon the triggers of their muskets, ready to fire upon the first appearance of treason. On another occasion the pasha hung one of their priests; for which they immediately retaliated by catching and gibbeting three Turkish dervishes. Ali has contrived to gain them over to his interests by distributing presents among their chiefs and priests, and giving double pay to the private individuals: he always employs them in his most desperate undertakings, and I understand that, without them, he would have found it difficult to have taken Gardiki. We soon returned home from this exhibition to superintend the operations of Antonietti, whom we had left preparing a dinner in the Frank fashion, to which we had invited several of our Greek acquaintance.

Our general style of living in Ioannina varied but little from that we were accustomed to in our own country. We had coffee to breakfast, and French bread from a baker established here by Mr. Pouqueville, with which we used an excellent substitute for butter in a species of scalded cream called caimac\*. At dinner we generally eat stewed meats, varied with pilau, poultry, hares, partridges both of the common and the red-legged species, snipes, plover, and wild fowl; of these latter we shot so many, that after dressing them in every possible manner, and even making pies of them, we became so tired of ducks, that we distributed all in future amongst our friends. Mutton is the best meat in this country: the beef is hard and void of fat: the pork is often extremely good. I never recollect seeing veal at any table whatever. For vegetables we generally eat boiled onions, the cultivation of the potatoe not yet having been introduced at Ioan-

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\* This cream is produced from the milk of sheep and goats, but particularly of the former.



nina ; but in the spring we procured very fine greens and lettuces : the Greeks are as yet extremely deficient in the art of making cheese, it being very salt and crumbling, without possessing any distinguishing flavour: it is made from the milk of sheep and goats, which is turned by a rennet from the intestines of a lamb: our wine was generally the produce of the islands, which is better than that made on this part of the continent: in the evening we took a cup of coffee, and prepared ourselves for repose by the narcotic influence of the most fragrant tobacco. In this system we deviated from the habits of the people among whom we sojourned.

The modern, like the ancient Greek, is abstemious in his mode of living. He rises very early in the morning, the dawn of day being the most delightful part of it in these climates, where all the business of the market is generally done long before an Englishman has taken his breakfast. After a pipe and cup of coffee, with which alone the Greek breaks his fast, he saunters about, calls upon his friends, or attends to business till noon, when his principal meal is served up: he generally takes this with his family alone, friends being rarely invited, except on particular festive occasions like a marriage or the anniversary of a birth-day. The fare consists of boiled rice, sometimes mixed with oil and vinegar, vegetables dressed with oil, an article which enters largely into all their dishes, mutton baked with almonds or pistachio nuts, stewed meats, pilau, olives called columbades, thin pastry made of eggs, flour and honey: the wine of the country is generally drank, and the fruits of the season are served up as a dessert: the dishes are placed separately upon the table, and each member of the family helps himself with fork, or spoon, or fingers, out of the same receptacle\*.

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\* The times of taking food seem to correspond very accurately with those observed by the ancients, viz. the *ἄριστον* early in the morning, the *δεῖπνον* in the middle of the day, and the *δῶπρον* in the evening, according to Athenæus (lib i. c. 10.) who quotes the following fragment of Æschylus in support of the fact.



After dinner the females retire to the *gynekaïos*, and the men indulge in a siesta; in the afternoon visits are generally made or received, at which sweetmeats, pipes and coffee are presented to the guests. If the weather be fine, parties are made to walk in the environs of the city, to row upon the lake, to visit the island, or the monasteries on its banks, and about sunset they return to supper, which, for the most part, is a very frugal meal. At some houses cards are introduced, and many French and Italian games are in vogue. This amusement was very common at the mansion of Signore Alessio, from which our host Nicolo frequently returned with lighter pockets. Those who rise early generally retire early to rest, and this is the case with the Greeks, who rarely keep late hours.

We were now in the latter end of the carnival, when the severity of the police laws is a little relaxed, and the inhabitants are allowed to parade the streets at all hours of the night, singing to their guitars, after having sacrificed to Bacchus. As the upper ranks indulge now and then in masquerading at their convivial parties during this season, we en-

Σίτον δ' εἰδέναι διώρισα  
" Ἄριτα, δείπνα, δόρυα θ' αἰρείσθαι, τρία "

This distribution is also confirmed by Julius Pollux (lib. vi. c. 17.) who says the first meal was called *ἄριτον*, the second *δείπνον*, and the third, which only certain persons and not all took, *τὰ δόρυα*, *δόρυος*, or *δόρυητος*; it is also the case among the modern Greeks that many abstain from this meal. The gourmands of ancient times appear to have eat four times a day, since Philemon quoted by Athenæus (in loc. cit.) speaks of the *ἀκράτισμα*, *ἄριτον*, *ἐσπέρισμα*, and *δείπνον*. In the heroic ages two meals seem to have sufficed, the first called *ἀκράτισμα* or *ἄριτον* (for Plutarch, Symp. l. viii. Q. vi. thinks the terms synonymous, arguing from Eumæus in the *Odyssey* preparing the *ἄριτον* at the dawn of day) and the *δείπνον*, taken after the business of the day was over, *Ἦμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὠπλίσσατο δείπνον*. Civilization, with its consequent luxury, introduced three general meals; but the nebulones or bon-vivants indulged in four, whilst some abstemious venerated of antiquity adhered to two. I cannot agree with the opinion of those who think that at any time the ancients made only one meal, except a few eccentric characters, called *μονοσιτῶντες*, whom we find ridiculed on this very account by the satiric poets (vid. frag. Alexid. apud Athenæum, l. ii. c. 8.) Those of the ancients who ate thrice a day, seem, like the moderns, to have made but one hearty meal, the first and second being slight repasts, just sufficient to prevent uneasy sensations, the effects of fasting, since we find Plato severely reprehending the Syracusans, who dined and supped freely on the same day, and Cicero inveighs against the Romans, who encouraged a similar practice.

tered into the spirit of the custom, and arrayed ourselves in assumed characters, Nicolo as an English officer, Mr. Parker as a Turk, and myself as an old Greek lady, decked out in the rich velvet clothes of our venerable hostess. My two companions were frequently discovered, but my own disguise was so complete that we nearly made the whole circuit of our visits before I was unmasked: this occurred in the last house we entered, belonging to a sister-in-law of Signore Nicolo: here I was at first permitted freely to sit amongst a large party of females, until a fine young girl, named Alessandra, eyeing me attentively, cried out, *ἴσται ἄνθρωπος*, "it is a man," and the whole party scampered off as if they had been stung by a gad-fly, hiding themselves in every nook and corner of the house.

The same evening, after changing our dress, we witnessed a very extraordinary marriage procession from the window of another of Nicolo's relatives. I never recollect seeing such a crowd in the streets of Ioannina as on this occasion, which was the deportation of one of Ali's own concubines from his harem to the house of an officer to whom he had given her in marriage. One would have thought it impossible that a victim who had escaped from the bars of such a prison, in which sensuality reigns without love, luxury without taste, and slavery without remission, could have complied so far with custom as to walk, in the first ecstasies of liberty, with a motion not much quicker than the minute hand of a town-clock: she was attended by no persons of her own sex, but her train-bearer and supporters were Albanian soldiers, friends of her future spouse; from the great number of torches carried in procession, we were enabled to get a perfect view of her face, which was by no means handsome: her figure was very lusty, but ~~this~~ amongst the Turks is considered more beautiful than the proportions of the Medicean Venus. She was superbly attired, but we were informed that the pearls and brilliants which adorned her head and neck were only lent for the occasion, and would be returned next day

to the seraglio. The dress she wore, and two other suits, which, together with the furniture of the bridal bed were carried after her by the Albanian guards, was all the dowry she received from her former master.

It is not by any means an unusual thing with Ali Pasha thus to dispose of the females of his harem; he gives them not only to his Turkish Greek and Albanian retainers, but very willingly to Franks who enter into his service. At Tepeleni we saw two Italian gardeners who had been thus generously provided with consorts: but, as I have before observed, he is free from many Turkish prejudices, and is very ready to dispense with any forms, civil or religious, if he thinks his own interest can be thereby promoted: perhaps some of my readers may not give him much credit for liberality in this case, when they are informed that he possesses about 500 female victims, guarded by eunuchs, and immured within the impenetrable recesses of his harem; though it may be supposed that most of these are retained merely to augment his dignity\*, and to wait upon his favourites. Before age had chilled his blood his sensuality was unbounded. Wherever his satellites heard of a beautiful child, of either sex, they dragged it from the paternal roof, and massacred the family or burned the village if any resistance was offered. One of his most beautiful females was torn from the hymeneal altar whilst she was pledging her vows to a fine young man, son of the primate of Vonizza, who, unable to bear the loss, or to avenge it, blew out his own brains with his pistol. Such disgusting scenes are reported

\* Thus it seems to have been in ancient times, to instance only Agamemnon, of whose harem, mentioned in the following lines of Homer,

Ἡλείαι τοὶ χαλεοὶ κλισίαι πολλὰ δὲ γυναῖκες  
 ἔλειν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἔκκερτο, ἔς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ  
 Πρωτόν τε δίδωμεν

Aristotle makes the following remark: 'Ἄλλ' ἐκ ἐκός τις χρῆσιν εἶναι τὸ πλεθός τῶν Γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀναπόδας' *Athenæi*, lib. xii. p. 356.

to be acted within his harem, and especially that of his son Mouchtar, as are little fit for description in these pages: even the Turks themselves are accustomed to speak of them with astonishment and abhorrence. His present favourite is a young Greek slave, named Vasilikee, born at Paramithia and brought up in the serai from a child: she is said to be extremely beautiful, and bears an excellent character for charity; her kind disposition is frequently shewn in mitigating the severities of her lordly lover over his subjects. In her patronage also she has been thought remarkably judicious, for greatest part of the offices about court and other provincial appointments are settled in the harem, where Turkish and Greek ladies daily attend to visit the inmates, and to promote the views of their husbands and relations. Wherever Ali goes Vasilikee constantly attends him; she has retained his affections longer than any other woman, and in 1816 he married her with great pomp and ceremony, and permits her to retain her own religious rites and doctrines. At Tepeleni also there is an establishment of women, over which the mother of Salee Bey, a Circassian slave, formerly a favourite mistress and still highly respected by the vizir, presides.

In other respects Ali's court is supported with a great degree of splendour and expense far exceeding those of many princes in the Germanic confederacy. I was informed that provisions were cooked in his palaces at Ioannina for near 1500 persons daily, amongst whom are found visitors and retainers from all parts of the globe, attracted hither by his fame, and whose services he seldom refuses to accept. At the time of our residence he had for a guest one of the khans or princes of Persia.

His three principal secretaries of state were at this time old Mahomet Effendi the astrologer, chief of the divan, who had the general management of affairs in his master's absence\*; Sechri Effendi, the most violent

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\* This old gentleman is since dead.

Mahometan bigot in Ali's dominions, who generally accompanies him in his excursions and executes his most important commissions ; Dwann Effendi, who carries on his correspondence with the Porte, for which purpose a *capi-kehagia* or procurator is appointed at Constantinople. Besides these he has four under-secretaries, all Greeks, whose business it is to correspond with the beys, agàs, and governors in the different Albanian provinces ; the two first of these named Mantho and Costa are men of the most crafty and subtile disposition, the ready instruments of all the pasha's schemes of vengeance and of power\*.

His two dragomen, or interpreters, are also Greeks, the first Signore Colovo, and the second Beyzady, the son of a prince of the Fanar.

He has four regular physicians, who serve him also in the capacity of secretaries and interpreters, as occasion may require : for every person attached to Ali's service must be able to walk out of his own particular course.

Besides all these, there are many sage counsellors who take their places at his divan, though they are not dignified by any peculiar office : in these he places the most implicit confidence, for they are all tried men. The principal of them are Mezzo Bonno, Dervish Hassan, Agho Mordari, and Athanasi Vayà, his favourite and most successful general, who might indeed be styled commander in chief. This person is intrusted with his master's most intimate secrets, and has free access to him in the hours of his most perfect retirement.

In addition to the above-mentioned officers employed in affairs of council he has a multitude who attend to those of ceremony. There is the

Sclictar-Agà, who carries the sword of state,

\* Vely Pasha after his reconciliation with his father so abhorred these men that he requested as a favour that his correspondence with the vizir might not be carried on through their agency. Mantho was his agent in the affair of Parga.

Bairactar-Agà, who carries the standard,  
Devichtar-Agà, who carries the inkstand, and  
Mouchourdar-Agà, who bears the signet.

The Capi-Baloukbashee lodges in the palace and superintends the police-guards.

The Ibroghor-Agà is the chief groom of the stables.

The Capsilar-Agà is master of the ceremonies.

The Caftan-Agà throws the pelisse over such as are so honoured by the vizir.

The Rachtivan-Agà has the care of the silver bridles and housings for the stud.

The Shatir-Agàs are four in number, who attend the vizir in processions, carrying a species of halbert by the side of his horse.

The two Bouchurdan-Agàs perfume him when he goes to mosque.

The Shamdan-Agà precedes the wax candles into the apartment.

The Sofrageebashi sets out the table.

The Ibriktar-Agà pours the water from the golden pitcher over the vizir's hands, and the Macramageebashi holds the towels.

The Peskir-Agà throws the silken shawls round him and his guests.

The Cafigeebashi superintends the coffee, and the Tutungeebashi the pipes.

Two high officers are the Mechterbashi or chief of the band, and the Tatar-Agà, who is at the head of one hundred tatars.

There are about twenty Chaoushes, and the same number of Kaivasis, who carry silver-knobbed sticks before the vizir in procession, and are the porters or keepers of his door: whenever he puts to death a great man he sends a Kaivasi to act as executioner.

The house-steward or officer who superintends the general expences is called Vechilhargi, and has many subordinate persons under him.

It would be tedious to pursue this detail further, neither can I answer for the accurate orthography of all the names already quoted,



though I took them down with as much care as possible from the mouth of a person high in office at the seraglio.

In addition to his proper officers, the court of Ali is crowded with a multitude of dependants and others, skilled in every art of adulation and mean compliance. Some of these turn him to good account by working upon his superstition. At this very time a Turkish dervish and a Greek artisan had conspired together to cheat him, and had persuaded him they were able to make a panacea or essence which should render him immortal: they had been working a long time in the serai with crucibles and alembics, and will probably continue to gain money from him for their pretended preparations, until death shall cure all his complaints.

The retinue of Mouchtar Pasha is very large, though inconsiderable when compared with that of his father. He supports two hundred officers and others of his household, and a thousand troops or Albanian guards. His annual income is estimated at about 350,000 dollars, though the vizir takes to himself the greatest part of his revenue from the pashalic of Berat.

## CHAPTER IV.

*State of Literature in Ioannina—Romaic Language—Turkish Society—Anecdote of a Greek Papas—Vespers at the Cathedral—Church of Sta. Marina—Vizir's Bath—End of Carnival—Tyrannical Acts of Ali Pasha—Tenure of Land in Albania—Chiflicks—Comparative State of Albania with the rest of Turkey—Greek Funeral—Expedition of Ali against Parga—Dinner with Mr. Pouqueville—Ali's Council—Visit to Mouchtar Pasha—Occurrence at his Serai—Festival at the Church of St. Theodore—Greek Superstitions, Clergy, &c.*

IT may perhaps be expected that I should say something respecting the literary society of Ioannina: but to confess the truth, I saw very little to describe; and if this city is called by some writers the Athens of modern Greece, I must own the term seems to me no bad specimen of the figure of speech called amplification.

Literature throughout Greece is but beginning to awake from that lethargy in which she has lain so many centuries: at present her motion is feeble and weak, she creeps on with torpid languor instead of soaring aloft, as formerly, in eagle flight. The minds of the people have been too long debased with sordid cares, and fettered too heavily with the manacles of despotic power, for sublime aspirations at present; they no longer possess, nor can they possess, that creative fire of genius, that untrodden soul (the *ψυχὴν ἄβυσσος*) which characterized their great progenitors. In their writings we observe at present only feeble copies of the ancients, or vain attempts at originality, wherein all true taste and simplicity is violated. Elaborate truisms, superficial remarks, metaphy-

sical absurdities, inaccurate details deform the pages of their historians, politicians and philosophers, whose writings give but little colour to policy, consistency to facts, or propriety to character; whilst the fire and spirit, the *igneus vigor et cælestis origo*, of antiquity, is totally absent from the conceptions and expressions of their poets.

Yet is not this said for the purpose of censure so much as of commiseration. In estimating the literary character of a people, we must take into consideration the circumstances which surround them. Nothing is great but by comparison, and if we perceive the modern Greeks deficient in that powerful talent, that extent of information, that accuracy of criticism, that eloquence and discriminating judgment which distinguish the polished capitals of civilized Europe, we must reflect also upon their misfortunes and debasement, we must remember that security is necessary for speculative abstraction, that the principles of truth are essential to eloquence, that independence of character is the nurse of Science, and that Poesy extends her impetuous flight only upon the wings of Liberty. But in these unfortunate realms, where tyranny has so long been established, suspicion, like the sword of Damocles, has uniformly banished joy from the hearts of the people; self-interest, and the acquisition of wealth, have been their ruling passions; superstition has long lent its assistance in blunting all the energies of mind; few have been the aids which education has given to talent; few the rewards proposed to emulation.

Still it would be wrong to say that the germ of genius no longer exists among the Greeks, whilst the substratum of their character seems to remain very similar to that of their ancestors. We may remark in the moderns the same perspicacity and pliability which distinguished the ancients, the same ingenuity in supplanting a rival, the same appetency for honours and distinctions however dangerous, the same desire of pomp and magnificence, the same liveliness and gaiety of heart when relieved from the presence of tyranny: the chief difference seems effected by external circumstances; the ancients were masters.

but the moderns are slaves; those moved in conscious dignity over a land immortalized by their valour, these are obliged to bow the neck beneath the foot of every petty tyrant. In such an atmosphere it is impossible for genius to bloom; yet when her scions are transplanted into a more genial climate we find them vigorous and full of sap\*; and whilst such noble-minded men as the Zosimades continue to pour the stream of bounty over their native land, planting the seed, though the time of harvest may be far distant, and whilst such patriotic souls as that of the venerable Korai exert their energies to infuse purity into the language, good taste into the writings, and generosity into the sentiments of their countrymen, we need not despair. Knowledge is increasing and will increase; with knowledge not only the desire of freedom but the fitness for it will increase also; true patriotism will spread through all ranks; and when Greece shall escape from bondage corporeal and intellectual, then its genius will revive; the Memnonian statue, now mute, when struck by the rays of Liberty will again utter its harmonious sounds.

Perhaps there is no part of Greece where its language has been preserved in greater purity than the mountainous districts of Epirus, or where more efforts have been made to restore it than in Ioannina. It is here much less mixed with Oriental barbarisms, or exotic Frank and Italian terms. Though the Romaic in its idioms, terminations, and phraseology has never departed so far from its original, as the Italian has from its mother tongue, it may be doubted whether this be an advantage or the contrary. The latter language, after a succession of foreign intermixtures and a variety of changes, was regenerated, as it were, in the sudden regeneration of the people, and assumed at once a noble consistency, copious expression, and delightful harmony: but the former has remained, and must ever remain, a debased enervated dia-

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\* The transcendent abilities of Ugo Foscolo, a Grecian born, but educated in Italy, may be cited as an illustration of this truth.

lect of the **most** glorious language ever yet formed by the ingenuity of mankind, eclipsed for ever by the brightness of its original. Still the efforts made to repair its defects and eradicate its barbarisms are extremely praiseworthy, especially since every good composition we can expect from the modern Greeks must be written in Romaic: if they attempt the Hellenic they will surely fail: no language can well express the genuine dictates of the heart in the eloquence of genius, but that to which we have been accustomed from our infancy, that in which we have listened to the accents of maternal tenderness, the admonitions of paternal care, the sentiments of friendship, or the soft whispers of a still sweeter affection.

Yet reform in the Romaic language, like all other reforms, ought to be gradual and not violent. Above all things it must not be committed to such a set of radical reformers as appeared no long time ago in Ioannina, who formed themselves into a committee of management for this purpose, and published a number of small works in their new-fangled dialect, the *Ρομενικη γλωσσα*, as they chose to call it; in which, by universal consent, they banished poor *ω* from his alphabetic associates for no fault at all; *ι* for that system of iotacism to which he had given rise; punished the diphthongs *αι* and *ηι*, by making them change places with *ι* and *η*, whose sound they had usurped, using *β* for *υ* wherever this latter was pronounced as a consonant, with many other alterations, which may be observed in the ode which I have subjoined, composed by the physician Velara, who was at the head of this association. His principal coadjutors were Signore Psalida, and an ignorant pretender in the medical line named Sakellario, who writes sonnets upon love and ladies' eye-brows, in default of prescriptions. The species of reform introduced by these innovators would soon put a final stop to all *improvement* in the language.

— Non defensoribus istis,  
Tempus eget.

But let the Romaic scholar judge for himself\*.

Πλανη.

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| 1. Πωλακη ξενο<br>Ξενητεμενο<br>Πωλη χαμενο<br>Πω να ταθο;<br>Πω να καθησο<br>Να ξενηχτησο<br>Να μη χαθο;               | 2. Βραδιαζ' ή 'μερα'<br>Σκοταδη περη,<br>Κε δηχος τερη,<br>Πω να ταθο;<br>Πω να φολιασο<br>Σε ξενο δασο<br>Να μη χαθο; | 3. 'Η 'μερα φειβγη<br>'Η νυχτα βιαζη<br>Να ήσηχαζη<br>Καθε πωλη'<br>'Εγο τεναζο<br>Το τερη κραζο<br>Ξενοπωλη'                      |
| 4. Κηταζε τ' φγγρα<br>Πωλια ξεβγαρη<br>Αφτην τη χαρη<br>Δεν εχο πλια.<br>Νηκτα με δερη<br>Με δηχος τερη<br>Χορης φολια. | 5. Γηρηζο ναβρο<br>Πω να καθησο<br>Να ξενηχτησο<br>Κανμοναχο'<br>Καθε κληρακη<br>Βατα πωλακη<br>Ζεβγαροτο'             | 6. Δεν με γνορηζυν'<br>Κ' εδο με διοχνην'<br>Κ' εκη μ' αποχνην'<br>Πω να ταθο;<br>Αχ! πορ να γενο'<br>Πω να πηγενο,<br>Να μη χαθο; |

The style of conversation amongst a people is generally found to be a good criterion of their literature; and as I have before observed, that of Ioannina, though superior to what is met with in the rest of Greece, is not much distinguished for brilliancy and flow of soul. We certainly met with many persons who had improved their manners by an inspection of foreign countries, as well as their faculties by the acqui-

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\* I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a long discussion respecting the origin and progress of the Romaic language and literature: neither could I add much to the copious account already given by Col. Leake in his 'Researches in Greece,' a work which is well worth the attention of all who intend to prosecute inquiries in this branch of literature, or who are desirous of travelling in Greece with advantage. I think however that the modern dialect, or Romaic, might easily be shown to have been chiefly formed from the writings of ecclesiastics, and the text of the New Testament: numberless terms for the common articles of life are derived from that source, where indeed very near approaches are found to the Romaic infinitive, and to the use of the auxiliary verbs; besides numerous examples of Latin and other foreign words, Grecized and incorporated into the new dialect by a mere literal change. With regard to the present confusion of accent and quantity, or the way in which the ancients themselves distinguished them, I know nothing about the subject, and never met with any person who did.



sition of modern languages and some few other accomplishments ; but we neither saw nor heard of any that were noted for attainments beyond mediocrity : we found some who had gained a smattering of philosophy, falsely so called, and who had paid very dear for it by acquiring a scepticism on more serious subjects. Upon the whole therefore, the chief interest in the society of Ioannina is derived from novelty, and when this wears off, nothing succeeds to relieve its monotony, agitate the stagnant ideas, and occupy the faculties of a reflective being ; no musical or theatrical exhibitions, no exhibitions of the fine arts, no political discussion, no courts of law, not even a new book or a pamphlet ; for neither a printing press nor a bookseller's shop is to be found in this capital \*

For the sake of variety we sometimes paid visits of ceremony to some of the Turkish beys and agàs, by whom we were invariably received with urbanity and politeness. We generally found the master of the house seated, according to custom, at the corner of his divan, dressed in that rich oriental garb, whose graceful folds confine, without disfiguring the limbs : pipes and coffee, sherbet and sweetmeats, were always introduced as a matter of course, and the conversation, though it might not be enlivened by that play of fancy in which its greatest charm consists, was frequently rendered interesting by the sensible and acute observations of our dignified host.

The Turk, though he applies neither to philosophy nor science, is well versed in the knowledge of the human heart, inasmuch as he studies men much more than books, and he frequently displays a perspicacity of intellect, which, with due cultivation, might enable him to shine a distinguished ornament of society. The most insuperable obstacle to his progress in refinement is the system of his religious faith ; this is so identified with his political institutions, as to fix an

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\* Books however may sometimes be procured at the shops of different trades : for instance, I myself purchased a Romaine translation of the Persian Tales at the window of a tobacconist.

indelible stamp upon all his habits, manners, and customs, which accordingly are found at the present day to vary very little, if at all, from the accounts transmitted to us by Besbequius and other early writers.

Feb. 19.—This morning we received a letter, dated Prevesa, from Mr. Foresti, who had left Ioannina for that place several days before ; and we were highly gratified by the intelligence of our army having passed the Pyrenees and entered France. This departure of the English envoy, the great accumulation of troops in the capital, the employment of a large body of Miriditi, together with several obscure hints from Mr. Pouqueville, all announced that some important action was near at hand, and various rumours were afloat upon the subject.

After breakfast I made an excursion upon the lake with Signore Nicolo, and in returning shot a fine eagle just as he was about to pounce upon a duck : this bird measured five feet eight inches from the extremities of his extended wings, and three feet two inches from the beak to the end of his claws : poor Antonietti in attempting to take him up received bloody marks of his talons upon his hand ; he was then secured by one of the boatmen. On landing we were met by a priest with a long black beard, and a box, into which he requested us to put alms for the Panagia. I begged Signore Nicolo to repeat to him the reply of Antisthenes upon a similar occasion : *Ὁυ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν Θεῶν ἢν οἱ Θεοὶ τρέφουσιν* “ For which,” replied the papas in his zealous indignation, “ he is undoubtedly damned ;” appealing to Signore Nicolo for a confirmation of his assertion : Nicolo however, who is rather sceptical on these points, chose to leave the matter in doubt with the interrogative answer, *ποῖος ἴσμεν*, “ who can tell ?”

In the afternoon we went to hear vespers or evening service at the cathedral, called the Metropolis, adjoining to which is the palace of the archbishop : the edifice itself is neither large nor handsome ; all that can be said of the chaunting is, that it was not disagreeable, though,

like the Greek singing in general, it was much indebted to the nasal organs of the performers: the women were all separated from the men in a gallery appropriated to them at the west end of the church, whose thick lattice-work hides all particular observation from the male congregation below. From hence we adjourned to the church dedicated to Santa Marina, which was founded by the father of our host, old Anastasi Bretto: this is the handsomest place of Christian worship that we saw in Turkey, and as profusely adorned with gilding as the second rate churches of Spain and Portugal. The singing was just concluded, but a deacon observing our entrance, came up with a large silver plate, upon which lay a wax taper and two pictures of the patron saint: we deposited thereon two dollars, and received in return each a picture; probably the offerings were not thought considerable enough to deserve the taper.

At night I went to the public bath, whilst Mr. Parker, who had long been disgusted with its filthy appearance, adjourned to one which is annexed to the palace of the vizir: but the state of his clothes when he returned home evidently proved that in this country no rank is a protection against the intrusion of certain animalculæ that carry on a constant war against mankind. This being the last day of carnival we were kept awake great part of the night by drunken parties of Greeks and Albanians, who seemed eager to seize that shadow of gaiety to which the real austerities of superstition were so soon about to succeed: the night was rainy, yet even this could not damp the ardour with which Bacchus had inspired them.

We were this time particularly unfortunate, for at the very dawn of day, when the Bacchanals had retired and we were just beginning to enjoy the comfort of repose, the loud and piercing shrieks of female distress prompting the idea that nothing less than murder was going forward under the roof, impelled us instantaneously from our beds: but before we had advanced so far as the outer gallery, whence the noise proceeded, Antonietti met and informed us that all this outcry

arose from our old hostess, Nicolo's mother, to whom his highness the vizir had that morning sent a present of ten kiloes of wheat. He had scarcely finished his speech before the old lady herself ran up howling and crossing herself, entreating us to have compassion upon her and interfere in her behalf with the pasha. We were at first quite astonished how all this affliction could be caused by so handsome a gift, and were inclined to reproach her with madness or ingratitude, until the bystanders informed us that this *present* must be paid for at double the market price, and that the messenger was then in the house waiting for the money. Upon this the old lady began to renew her lamentations, which we thought best to quiet by assisting her in paying for the wheat, rather than by annoying the vizir in what he might think an impertinent application. We found also that the calamity was common to all the inhabitants of Ioannina, each of whom had received a present according to his reputed means or the esteem in which he was held by his sovereign. The great extent of this avania tended still more to strengthen our conjectures that some important blow was about to be struck; for Ali never engages in an expedition or levies any troops without contriving some such method as this for the ways and means. Sometimes he takes similar measures merely to increase the contents of his treasury and improve his finances: once however he had nearly gone too far even for the most obdurate patience and well-practised slavery to bear. This occurred in the year 1812, when he took advantage of a deficient harvest to establish a monopoly of corn, prohibiting at the same time its importation from the fertile plains of Thessaly, whence Epirus is always in some measure supplied. On the 23d of June the poor people were reduced to such an extremity that they assembled in vast crowds around the serai of Litaritza, unawed by the presence of the tyrant, and with the most clamorous importunities demanded bread or death. One of the Albanian guards, of the tribe of Dgeges, fired his pistol amongst the multitude, and the rest were on the point of

following his example; but Ali foresaw the consequences, and was alarmed; he ordered them to forbear, hung up the offender instantly in sight of all the people, and told them that if they would disperse they should be satisfied. They did so, and he sent 2000 horse-loads of wheat immediately to be sold at a very low price, lowered his demand for the contents of his store-houses, and opened the communication with Thessaly. About a fortnight after this affair, determining not to be a loser by his humanity, he laid a heavy contribution upon all the principal Turks of Ioannina who derived any salary or emolument from his government. His own son, Mouchtar Pasha, was made to pay 150 purses; Gelalim Bey, and Mahomet Bey of Kastoria, two very rich men, disbursed twenty each; old Mahomet and Sechri Effendi fifteen; Agho Mordari, Mezzo Bono, and Dervish Hassan were amerced in twelve, and others in due proportion.

For these contributions, vexatious as they appear, he may have some plea of financial regulation; but the tricks to which he sometimes descends for the purpose of amassing money, are so mean and absurd as to be quite unworthy of one who assumes the character of a sovereign. For instance, he wishes to borrow a large loan from his subjects; he orders them to pay it in gold, and he returns it in silver, not according to the value of this metal at Ioannina, but at Constantinople, where it bears a much less ratio to that of gold.

He once purchased at a very reduced price a cargo of coffee, which had been totally spoiled by the entrance of the sea water into an English brig. He then sent for some coffee-dealers and Jews of Ioannina, and thus opened the conference with the principal tradesman:

“ At what price now is coffee, Murrie\*?”

“ Please your highness, we purchase it at Malta for three piastres

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\* The expression is one which he constantly uses to almost all that approach him: it is one, not quite of contempt, but of a familiarity that borders on it, and is only used by a superior to his inferior in rank: it is derived from the vocative of the Greek word *μυρρις*.



the pound, but the freight and duties oblige us to sell it again for four and a half."

"Well, Murrie, I have some excellent coffee which I will sell you at five piastres, by which you will avoid all trouble and risk."

"Please your highness, we have a great quantity at this time on hand, and it is quite a drug in the market."

"Haithe haithe, keratádes—get out, you horned rascals, you shall purchase it for *six*."

It is almost needless to add that the coffee was sent and the money paid. On a similar occasion he sold some hundred dozens of sword blades which he had purchased from a villain who, not being able to sell them on account of the badness of their manufacture, went to the vizir and offered them to him at half price. In like manner he bought a large assortment of watches *made to sell*, as well as snuff-boxes, rings, and toys, from a travelling Geneva merchant. He then sent for the Archbishop of Ioannina—"Here is a watch for you, very beautiful and very excellent: I expect that to-morrow you will make me a present of sixty sequins."

The two Greek primates next received each a gratuitous snuff-box, and almost every Greek possessed of wealth and reputation in the place, was gratified by his sovereign's gracious condescension and a present, with which, after receiving it in silence, he touched his forehead and lips, in token of respect, and departed.

These however are only a few trifling modes of tyranny with which Ali amuses himself in drawing money out of the pockets of his subjects. His grand and truly oppressive system is that of the chiflicks: this will best be understood if I explain the tenure under which land in Albania is held. All the villages then are either free villas or chiflicks. The free villa is divided into certain portions according to the number of proprietors, and a tenth of the whole produce is due to the sultan for the maintenance of the spahis, a species of military force somewhat resembling our yeomanry cavalry, except that they are liable to serve



in foreign warfare either personally or by deputy. The vizir, in quality of collector for the sovereign, generally doubles this impost, though he sends but a very small part of it to Constantinople. He appoints a baloukbashee, with a party of soldiers, to govern the village and receive the taxes, who are paid by the poor inhabitants: these latter also are subject to the expenses of lodging and boarding all officers civil or military, all soldiers upon their march, and all travellers, whether natives or foreigners, who are furnished with a bouyourdee: neither is any transfer of land allowed to take place without the vizir's permission.

Can an Englishman credit it? These poor people, when allowed to possess their property on this tenure, consider themselves under the peculiar favour of Heaven! But the insatiable avarice of their despot urges him daily to strip them even of these scanty privileges. Ali's aim is to become the greatest landed proprietor in his dominions, and I think I shall not err if I assert that he possesses at least one third of the whole cultivated territory: he is little aware how much more rapidly his treasures would increase, by the encouragement of arts, agriculture, and commerce, and by the promotion of happiness amongst his subjects. To gain possession of a villa he generally contrives to purchase the portion of some indigent landed proprietor, which is not very difficult on account of his severe ordinance respecting the sale of estates; then, when the porcupine is once settled in the nest, the snakes may hiss, but they are soon dispossessed. If this plan does not succeed, and he is unable to make any purchase, he sends Albanian troops in succession through the district, with orders that they shall make a long sojourn among the unfortunate inhabitants of the villa, which is the object of his cupidity. It may easily be conceived in such a case how the injuries of a savage undisciplined soldiery are connived at and encouraged, rather than restrained or punished. Indeed the accumulated miseries to which the wretched victims are thus cruelly exposed can scarcely fail of its proposed

effect: they throw up all their land into the hands of their tyrant, remaining upon it as tenants at will, to receive a certain portion of the produce in return for the labour of cultivation, expenses for seed, and implements of husbandry. The free villa then loses all its ancient rights and becomes what is called a chiflick.

The condition of a chiflick is as follows. The vizir first takes one tenth of the whole produce, to which he would be entitled were it a free villa. The remainder is divided into three portions, of which he receives two, and if he should have furnished the seed and stock, he also takes half the remaining third. Some of these chiflicks are let annually at a certain price, either to Greeks, Turks, or Albanians, the vizir keeping a large book in which the names and prices are regularly enrolled. Our kaivasi Mustafà had hired a small one for the next year, at the rate of 800 dollars: but Ali having transferred it before our departure to Mouchtar Pasha, he took it into his own hands, and poor Mustafà lost an excellent bargain. The purchaser generally resides upon the spot, is dignified by the title of Shubashee, and has the command of the village under the vizir. At those chiflicks which Ali keeps in his own hands he builds large barns and granaries, in which the produce is kept under the care of the codgià-bashee, until some pressing occasion raises the price of grain; and if this should not happen, he fixes an arbitrary value upon the article and forces his subjects to become purchasers. The greatest evil to which the inhabitants of chiflicks are subject is their frequent transportation, like herds of cattle, to different parts of the country, according to the caprice or supposed interest of their master. The pictures of these clans leaving the mansions of their ancestors and those spots which have become endeared to them by the earliest associations, are described as being sometimes very affecting.

In considering these details one is naturally tempted to ask why do not his subjects quit for ever such an inhospitable country, and emigrate to happier climes? Alas! this is impossible. Not to mention

that affection for the natal soil which binds down the will in spite of all the inclemency of nature and the injustice of a tyrant, surer measures of prevention are adopted in Albania. No man can leave these realms, even for the shortest time, without a special licence from their ruler, whilst the frontiers and passes are most diligently guarded: if any one should escape these barriers, his property would be forfeited and his relatives cast into prison, to be made answerable for his return: besides, after all, the government of Ali Pasha is upon the whole beneficial to Albania, in comparison with that state under which it existed previously to his reign, and it is happiness itself when opposed to the government of the Morea and most other parts of Turkey. Here indeed one tyrant reigns supreme, but there every petty Mussulman can lord it over the miserable rayahs.

February 20th.—This afternoon, as I was taking a walk round the city with Giovanni Argyri, we observed a funeral procession moving from a Greek house of respectable appearance: the corpse was richly decked, and had a crucifix placed upon its breast, its face being uncovered as it lay upon the bier: this was preceded by the relations, priests, and deacons, and surrounded by hired female mourners who acted all the motions of distracted grief and made the air resound with the most horrid and disgusting lamentations, crying out, “Why did you die? why did you leave your wife and family and all your possessions? who shall now bring you coffee and tobacco from the Bazar?” with many more queries to the same effect. A very considerable crowd joined the procession which we accompanied to the church of Panagia, when the bier was set down: the service for the dead was then read over the body, which after its mouth and forehead had been kissed by the relations was wrapped up in a winding sheet and rolled into the grave. After the ceremony, the party, as I understood from my guide, would return and feast at the house of the deceased, where his friends would also meet again on the ninth day after the funeral to make merry, whilst the women would renew their

doleful cries and lamentations in concert with the widow. On that day a mess of boiled wheat, mixed up with almonds and raisins, is sent to the church, where prayers are put up for the soul of the departed. The same ceremony is observed also on the fifteenth day, on the twenty-first, and the fortieth. Then a repetition only takes place at the end of three, six, nine, and twelve months, and lastly at the expiration of three years, when the bones of the corpse are disinterred, washed carefully with wine, and, being tied up in a bag, deposited in the church for three days before they are placed in the common cemetery, at which time a solemn mass is performed, and a number of wax tapers are distributed amongst the by-standers. An entertainment also is given by the relations in proportion to their circumstances.

Observing an extraordinary number of graves in this cemetery, whereas the church is very small, I inquired the reason from Giovanni, and learned that it is the favourite place of burial with the principal families of Ioannina, with whom it is the fashion to deposit the mortal remains of their friends, out of sight, lest the mournful recollection of their loss should obtrude itself upon their minds when they go to divine worship at their own churches. The greatest part of these graves are decorated with a small stone or marble monument, in appearance like a square pilaster, surmounted by a cross; it is hollow within, having a little wooden door attached, and containing a lamp which is lighted on certain festivals, as well as on the anniversary of the deceased's birth and death: this service is undertaken by a priest who is paid for his trouble by the family.

Feb. 21.—Early this morning Antonietti came into our room, to say that all the military of Ioannina was in motion, that the vizir had just left the capital in his old German coach, escorted by a body guard of 500 palikars, whilst the hen-coops were preparing for the ladies of his harem to follow him. I immediately arose, and as soon as I was dressed, walked out into the environs of the city, where I beheld immense multitudes of Albanian troops spreading themselves over the plain, or

ascending the hills, and rushing, like ravenous wolves in search of prey, towards their place of rendezvous. Nothing could be more wildly picturesque than the appearance they made in their white fleecy capotes and national costume, strutting in a kind of martial pride as though they disdained to touch the earth with their tread. Few circumstances could have imparted greater joy to the people of Ioannina than this departure of the military, for whom they had been so long constrained to find quarters, to the utter destruction of domestic comfort, and in many instances to the ruin of morality amongst their families : the relief now experienced was like the removal of an incubus. Luckily it happened to be the cold season, or the most destructive fevers might have been the fatal consequence of this military occupation of the capital.

We dined this day with the French Consul, and from him learned what we before suspected, that the march of Ali's troops was directed towards Parga. That heroic little republic had to this time withstood all attempts of the tyrant to subdue it. He had tried every means, and had recourse to every art which he had hitherto employed with so much success : but the Parghiotes defied his threats, despised his arms, and rejected his bribes : with them a generous patriotism triumphed over every mean and selfish consideration, supported them in calamity, animated them with hope, and burned like the vestal's fire perpetually in their breasts. Every other inch of ground in Epirus was under the dominion of Ali : he had subdued and concentrated the various realms of Pashas, Agàs, or free republics, round the focus of his power, and he was indignant that this little rock should defy his efforts and preserve its independence ; that the flame of liberty should burn upon this last altar in poor enslaved Greece, like a beacon to excite her sons to shake off the yoke of tyranny.

Impressed with these ideas and accurately informed as to the state of continental affairs, he had been for some time engaged in assiduous endeavours to persuade Mr. Pouqueville and General Denzelot the gover-



nor of Corfu, to cede this fortress to him for a valuable consideration. But in this negociation he was cruelly disappointed. Those honourable men, though they well knew the preponderance of British arms, and that Parga must eventually be lost, steadily refused under any conditions to deliver up 5000 Christians to their sanguinary and atrocious enemy, or to sacrifice the lives and fortunes of those whom they had once taken under their protection, and upon whose citadel they had hoisted the standard of France. Who can reflect without horror that the British flag, which succeeded it, proved the winding-sheet of Parghiot independence?

Our conversation to-day turned naturally upon this interesting subject, and never shall I forget the exultation which that excellent man Mr. Pouqueville shewed at the very thought of Parga falling under the power of England so well able to protect it. He described the character of its inhabitants in such favourable terms as made us extremely desirous of visiting the place, and this wish eventually was gratified. In spite of the vast number of troops which Ali had now led against them, he secretly suspected that shame and defeat would be the result of his attempts, and he paid a compliment to the patriotism of Mr. Foresti which subsequent events shewed was well deserved.

Our host informed us that the priest or chaplain of the Miriditi had been with him this morning to borrow one of his rooms, with various other accommodations, for the celebration of mass. Thus those very barbarians, after participating in the benefit of their Saviour's redemption, had gone willing instruments in a tyrant's hand to massacre without the least personal provocation, a set of Christians whose only fault was their hatred and opposition to tyranny. What a labyrinth is the human heart!

During the absence of his father, Mouchtar acted as caimacam or vice-pasha; but the pressure of public business did not seem to lessen his avidity for amusements, or interrupt him in the enjoyment of them. The divan or council, at which old Mahomet Effendi presided, met every day; but its members were mere puppets, and could do no act



without the permission of their master : accordingly all the tatars were put in requisition and were in constant motion between the capital and Prevesa. Ali indeed sometimes contrives to throw the odium of oppressive and disagreeable measures upon his council, though he never allows it free agency. His insatiable love of power makes him anxious that all the minutest springs of state machinery should depend upon himself: and this desire is seconded by that knowledge which he has acquired of his territories during his extensive peregrinations, and by his extraordinary memory, which enables him to remember persons and facts at a wonderful distance of time. Every one seems conscious of the power which this knowledge gives him, and when absent, his presence is still, as it were, felt: nothing can illustrate this so admirably as the expression made use of by the physician Metaxà to Dr. Holland, “ that there was a cord tied round every individual in his dominions, longer or shorter, more or less fine; but every one of which cords went to him and was held in his hand\*.”

One day, during Ali's absence, having paid a visit to Mouchtar Pasha, as we were sitting in his saloon such violent shrieks and outcries from a female were heard beneath the window, that he ordered her to be brought up. The poor creature being introduced, ran and threw herself at his feet kissing the hem of his garment and imploring him, with the most moving lamentations, to save her daughter, a young girl only fourteen years old, whom Sechrî Effendi, one of Ali's chief secretaries, and a violent bigot, had seduced to the Mahometan faith. Can it be believed that this brute in a human shape set up a loud laugh and ordered his chaoushes to turn the poor suppliant out of his serai?

February 26.—This day a festival or fair was held in booths upon a vacant space, about a mile from the city, at the church of St. Theodore, and in honour of its patron. At about eleven o'clock A. M. we set out for the scene of action, and were passed on the road by Signore Alessio

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\* Holland's Travels, p. 187.

mounted upon a finely caparisoned white charger, and accompanied by a long train of Greek gentlemen. We found the people amusing themselves in various sports and pastimes, and the priests just ready to begin a service, which was delayed only till Alessio should arrive. At length he entered and the church was soon crowded with people, each of whom, as he came in, paid adoration to a dirty picture of the saint placed in triumph on a frame in the middle of the aisle: this he kissed with great reverence, crossing him both before and after the ceremony. So much had this painting suffered from the lips of its admirers that scarcely a feature could be traced upon the canvass. The women were as usual concealed from public view by the lattice-work of the gallery. Various mummeries were now exhibited at the great altar which stands at the eastend of the church before the Holy of Holies, a place venerated like the adytum of an ancient temple, through the apertures of which the priests ran in and out, like puppets in a show, dressed in their most gaudy habiliments: the Kyrie Eleeyson was sung and a few psalms chaunted, during which process boys in surplices came up to receive our contributions, swinging incense in brazen censers till the whole church was filled with smoke: this custom is observed as some say on account of its grateful odour and utility in a hot climate, or, according to others, to drive away demons and evil spirits:

*Λύχων γὰρ ὁσμάς ἡ φιλοῦσι δαίμονες\*.*

My friend and myself put each a dollar into the chalice, for which we received three puffs of frankincense; but Signore Alessio, who contributed a whole handful of sequins, was literally enveloped in a cloud. Other chaunts were afterwards sung in honour of different saints, and at the conclusion of each the chalice for contributions was brought round with the censer as before: these worthies however were enriched only with a few paras. So ridiculous and absurd are the mummeries of

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\* Plat. Com. in Athen. lib. x. p. 442.

Greek worship within their churches, that in all probability nothing but Mahometan austerity prevents them from practising more nonsense in public than their catholic brethren of the west. The Turks indeed hold the Greek rites in the utmost contempt, and their picture-worship in perfect abhorrence, their own faith being intimately connected with the spirituality of the Deity, of whom they cannot endure any corporeal representations. I once had a conversation with a most respectable Turkish agà upon this subject, who assured me that if the "Greek dogs" were not such idolaters he should have some respect for them, but when he saw them led by such ignorant and sordid impostors as he knew their priests to be, he could not possibly restrain his indignation and contempt. He then asked me why the English Franks never bowed down to kiss pictures, and why they did not cross themselves? and when I explained to him some of the chief articles of the Protestant faith and the discipline of our church, which discards all ceremonies that tend to debase the mind, and retains those only which are necessary to add dignity to religious worship, he exclaimed that all this was very good (καλὰ καλὰ); but that we were no more Christians than he was; meaning to pay us the greatest compliment in his power.

Certainly the Greek priests exert very few endeavours to enlighten their countrymen, whose ignorance and credulity is the source from which they derive the greatest part of their revenues. They teach their flocks therefore just as much of Christianity as is necessary for their craft, instruct them more in legends and miracles of saints than in the life and doctrines of their Saviour, inculcate a lively faith in purgatory, with the efficacy of masses, crossings, and the tedious repetition of prayers, just as if divine like human charity could be forced by sturdy importunity: hence attendance upon ceremonious institutions counterbalances the neglect of religious duties, and the people, unimpressed with the true stamp of devotion, possess a most adulterated system, not only of faith, but of morality. I trust however that the time is not far distant when these abominations shall cease for ever.

The Greek clergy of Ioannina are very numerous and many of them very poor: some follow various kinds of professions, but especially husbandry and fishing: these are distinguished from the laity only by a high round cap and beard flowing over the breast: they despise the tonsure as an innovation of the Latin church. A priest is only allowed to marry once, and his wife must be a virgin: if he marries a second time he is silenced, and is termed an *apopapas*. The monks or *caloyers* are bound by a vow of continency, and from them the bishops and other dignitaries of the church are generally selected. The Archbishop of Ioannina is appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the recommendation of the vizir: he has four suffragan bishops under him, viz. of Vellas (or Konizza), Argyro-Castro (or Drinopolis), Delvino, and Paramithia. His jurisdiction is very limited, for Ali Pasha will permit neither priests nor laity to possess more power than is absolutely necessary within his dominions.

## CHAPTER V.

*Difficulties which occur to the Writer of Ali Pasha's early History—Prefatory Remarks respecting the Country called Albania and its Inhabitants—Ali's Birth-place and Family—His Situation at the Death of his Father—Character of his Mother—Ali's Education—His Mother and Sister carried off by the Gardikiotes—Ali's first Attempts at Warfare and various Success—His Adventures in the Mountains of Mertzika—Throws off his Dependence on his Mother—Turns Kleftes—Taken by Kourt Pasha and released—Again turns Kleftes—Taken by the Pasha of Ioannina but released—Is again attacked by Kourt, but succeeds in gaining his Favour—His Adventures at Berat—Enters into the Service of the Pasha of Negropont—Gains Wealth and attempts to seize upon Argyro-Castro, but fails—Takes Libochobo, &c.—Destroys the Town of Chormovo—Attacks the Pasha of Delvino whom he assassinates, but is driven from the Place—Is made Lieutenant to the Derven-Pasha—His Conduct makes the Pasha lose his Head—Serves against the Russians—Enters into Correspondence with Potemkin—Gains the Pashalic of Triccala—Attacks Ioannina—Gains a Battle over the Beys—Succeeds by Stratagem in taking the City—Appointed by the Porte Derven Pasha of Rumelia—Conquers the Pasha of Arta—Takes Klissura, Premeti, Ostanizza and Konitza, and secures the Course of the Voïussa from Mount Pindus to Tepeleni.*

HAVING proceeded thus far in the journal of our residence at Ioannina, during the course of which I have been necessarily led to bring forward many characteristic traits as well as some political and

domestic anecdotes relating to its celebrated ruler, I am induced to think that a more regular and detailed account of the adventurous life of this extraordinary man, in which the causes of his uncommon success may be connected with their effects, will not prove an unacceptable document to the generality of my readers. The earlier parts of this wild romantic history never can be very accurately and authentically described, since they rest almost entirely upon oral traditions, or accounts which have been compiled from those traditions after a long intervening time : and though I have perused probably fifty of such records, yet I never met with two that agreed with each other, either in the relation of facts or the development of motives. In all such cases it is necessary to be well acquainted with the character of the persons from whom we receive information, and to know what opportunities they themselves have enjoyed of acquiring it. For my own part, I found no persons more able or more willing to impart this information than the old Albanian governors of cities, fortresses, and scraglios which we visited in our excursions through the country : these men were the early friends of Ali in his youth, sharers of his toils, and partners of his success : still even their accounts are subject in a great degree to exaggeration from vain-glory, and their chronological arrangement to disorder from defect of memory : the errors therefore that proceed from these sources must be corrected by a careful and discriminating comparison of written documents\*, as well as from the observations of those persons who have had the good fortune to view and sagacity to connect the chain of political events, in the secluded seats of literature and science. On one occasion, which will be hereafter mentioned, I was fortunate enough to gain some elucidation of Ali's early history from the chief actor in its scenes : had I been a greater adept in the

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\* I met with a detailed account of the Life of Ali Pasha written by an Albanian poet in Romaic verse, and procured a transcript of it from some of Signore Psalida's scholars ; but the young rogues, in their hurry to get the reward, wrote it in so confused and illegible a hand that it has been of little or no service to me in my labours.



Romaic language, I should not have despaired of receiving an authentic detail of the whole from his own mouth. The latter portion of his history, after its hero had established a name, and connected his dominions in political union with surrounding nations, offers itself much more advantageously to investigation and research.

However before we enter upon the biographical part of this memoir it will not be irrelevant if we take a cursory view of that curious and warlike people, whose valour formed the basis of their chieftain's aggrandizement, and still remains the bulwark of his power. But in this description it will be necessary for the reader to bear in mind that the character of this people is referred back a few years, to that time when the Albanian, like the Indian hunter, stalked free and lawless over his native mountains. His peculiar habits, manners, and customs have been considerably altered by the despotic sway and consolidated power of Ali Pasha: though the general elements of his character may remain the same, yet the strong collision of external circumstances has worn down many rough points and prominent features in its configuration.

The country now called ALBANIA is extremely difficult of definition. It was originally confined to the little district of Albanopolis\*, (now Albassan) in Southern Illyricum or that region which was afterwards denominated *New Epirus*. From this insignificant origin, the courage and increase of its inhabitants, shewn especially during the weak disorderly reigns of the Byzantine emperors, have extended the limits, or rather the name of ALBANIA over greatest part of Illyricum and Epirus; so that in the present day it borders to the north upon Bosnia, to the east upon Macedonia and Thessaly, to the south upon

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\* Ptolemy the geographer, who flourished in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus is the first upon record who makes mention of it. *Αλβάνων Αλβανόπολις*. l. iii. c. 12. Dion Cassius enumerating the Roman conquests in Asia Minor, makes mention of Albania and calls it *Αλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ*, as if in contradistinction to an Albania elsewhere.

Acarnania and the Ambracian Gulf, to the west upon the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic; though the Albanians by no means form the chief population within these limits, being interspersed with numerous tribes of Servians, Bulgarians, Valachians, Osmanlis, and Romaic or modern Greeks: so that in the same town it is not uncommon to hear spoken the Turkish, Romaic, Bulgarian, Valachian, and Albanian languages, and sometimes a patois, or mixture of them all. Albania is not unfrequently divided into Upper and Lower, though the boundary line of these divisions is very undefined: they might perhaps with greater propriety be styled Illyrian and Epirotian Albania. The districts which are generally acknowledged in the country are as follow. Scutari, Upper and Lower Dibra, Croia, Dulcigno, Duratzo, Tiranna, Albassan, Ochri, Avlona, Berat, Musachia, Desnitza, Scrapari, Koritza, Kolonia, Konitza, Dangli, Toskaria, Malacastra, Arberi or Liapuriá, Argyro-Castro, Kimarra, Delvino, Liutzaria, Zogoriá, Palaio-Pogojanni, Ioannina, and Tzamouria: to which might now be added Arta, and Luro, since as many Albanians are settled in these provinces as in most of the others abovementioned.

With regard to the origin of this people, who lay as it were dormant so many centuries, "*occulto velut arbor ævo*," during the incursions of the barbarians by whom at various times the Eastern Empire was overrun\*, history is quite silent; all is left to conjecture, and conjecture itself has in this instance but slight grounds for the formation of an hypothesis. Their language being entirely oral, no written documents can remain to aid us in our researches. In the opinion of Col. Leake, than whom few persons are better able to judge, they are the descendants of some ancient Illyrian nation, preserved by their mountain barriers from the intermixture of Goths, Huns, Sclavonians, and other invading tribes who settled in the country; and the only

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\* From the time of Ptolemy the geographer till the 11th century I believe they are not mentioned by any historian.

hypothesis which seems able to stand against this, refers them to an emigration of Asiatic Albanians, concerning whom Strabo has left us a copious narrative, wherein some traits of character curiously coincide with these Europeans, modified by the inventions of modern science and the introduction of different religious rites.

The features of the Albanian, his narrow forehead, keen grey eye, small mouth, thin arched eyebrow, high cheek bones, and pointed chin, give him a very marked Scythian physiognomy; but as I am ignorant of the language [which by the best judges is considered a dialect of the Slavonic with an intermixture of many other tongues], and have no other data of any consequence, I feel myself unqualified to offer any opinion upon this point. The name of ALBANIANS seems to have been taken from Ptolemy by the Byzantine writers\*; for the Turks call them ARNAOUTS, whilst their appellation in their own language is SKYPETARS, their country SKYPERI, and their dialect SKYP. They are divided into four great tribes, or clans, called DGEDGES, TOSKIDES, LIAPIDES, and TZIAMIDES†. The first of these occupy the northern districts of Scutari, Dibra, Dulcigno, and Durazzo. The second dwell in the great plains of Albassan, Musakia, and Malacastra, stretching from the hills of Durazzo to Berat and Avlona, and along the banks of the Voiussa, or Aous, to Tepeleni and Klissura. (the ancient Fauces Antigoneæ), and from thence to the boundaries of Koritza eastward. The third are a race of wild mountaineers spread over the country between Toskerià and the great plain of Delvino, bounded by the Ionian sea: they are so dirty in their habits and so addicted to plunder that the derivation of their name is commonly referred to the Lapithæ of antiquity. The fourth tribe ex-

\* The titles given them by the Byzantine historians are 'Αλβάνοι, 'Αρβάνοι, 'Αλβανῖται, 'Αρβανῖται, Αλβανῆτες, &c.

† Called by the Romaic writers, Γκέγκιδες, Τόσκιδες, Λιάπιδες, Τζιάμιδες. The Albanian pronunciation, according to Colonel Leake, whom I consider as the best authority, is NGEGE, TOSKE, LIAPE, TZAMI. There are many subordinate tribes, most of which the reader may see in the map.

tends over that part of ancient Thesprotia which lies chiefly to the south of the river Kalamas or Thyamis, comprehending Philates, Margariti, and the Cassopæan mountains. In all these tribes there are certain shades of difference with regard to language and manners, that render it possible for a native to distinguish them from each other: but the principal traits of the Albanian character seem to have remained unaltered since the time of Alexius Comnenus\*, when they begin to be noticed by historians as a hardy and nomad, but cruel, rapacious, and insubordinate people. After the death of the great Scanderbeg, when the Albanians, who had made a most brave resistance, fell beneath the Ottoman yoke, an innovation was introduced into their religious faith: till this time they at least professed Christianity, however uninstructed they might have been in its peculiar tenets and doctrines: the progress of apostacy however was at first very slow, and the religion of Mahomet did not gain many adherents till about the end of the sixteenth century: at this time a law was promulged which secured their estates in the possession of all those Albanian families who should bring up one of their members in the Mahometan faith. This had the double effect, of keeping the country more clear of Osmanli settlers than the rest of Turkey, and of soon transferring the chief property into the hands of the new proselytes. At various times however whole villages, towns, or districts, for political advantages, have voluntarily renounced the religion of their ancestors; and these instances occur not unfrequently at the present day. Yet the Albanian Mahometan is not more observant of doctrines, rites, and ceremonies under his new law than he was under his old one, and is looked upon with great contempt by the rigid Osmanli. He frequently takes a Christian woman to his wife, carries his sons to mosque, and

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\* 'Οι τὰς Δεσβολαίς νεμόμενοι Ἀλβανὶ νομάδες. L. ii. c. 55. Ἀλβανὸς δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν οἰκοῦσι αὐτονομὸι νομάδες. L. ii. c. 24. 'Οι τὰ ὀρεῖνά τῆς Θετταλίας νεμόμενοι Ἀλβανὶ ἀβασίλευτοι, &c. L. ii. c. 28. Ἐνχερεῖς ὄντες πρὸς μεταβολὰς καὶ φύσει νεωτεροποιοὶ. Cantacuzeni, Hist. l. ii. c. 32. sub init.

allows his daughters to attend their mother to church; nay, he even goes himself alternately to both places of worship, and eats with his family out of the same dish, in which are viands forbidden to the disciples of Mahomet. Very few of them undergo the rite of circumcision: hence when the pasha, in a fit of religious zeal, has sent sheiks to perform the operation throughout certain districts, many of the adults have died in consequence. They are in general too poor to avail themselves of the licence which their religion grants for polygamy, but are content with one wife, who is chosen, like any other animal, more for a slave or drudge than for a companion: they are by no means jealous of their women, nor do they confine them like the Turks and Greeks. The wretched creature of a wife, with one or two infants tied in a bag behind her back, cultivates the ground and attends to the household affairs by turns, whilst her lordly master ranges over the forest in search of game, or guards the flocks, or watches behind a projecting rock with his fusil ready to aim at the unwary traveller. These women are in general hard-featured, with complexions rendered coarse by exposure to all varieties of weather, and with persons extenuated by constant toil and scanty fare. In some districts they meet with better treatment, and are found ready to share the dangers of war with the men as well as the labours of agriculture. One fault of very ill savour attaches itself to both sexes, being dirty in their habits to a proverb, and never laying aside their apparel either by day or night. Having no such conveniences as beds, they sleep on the ground, with skins or mats for covering, in the midst of filth which might turn the stomach of an Esquimaux: their huts or cabins have no chimney, but plenty of crevices are left in the roof and walls for the egress of smoke and the admission of rain. Scarcely ever is any other furniture seen than a little earthenware, with an iron pot to cook their victuals: they are far from being luxurious in their food, and intoxication is a vice of rare occurrence: yet at times they will both eat and drink immoderately, especially if it be at another person's cost:



they are very greedy of gain and will almost starve themselves to procure money, which they readily expend in the purchase of arms: many of their tribes never lay aside their weapons, even during the time of sleep: when an Albanian is completely armed, he carries a musket over his shoulder, a pistol and an ataghan in his belt, with a narrow crooked sabre slung at his side in a manner somewhat similar to our hussars; thus equipped and shorn after the fashion of the Abantes, with his little red skull-cap on his head, his fleecy capote thrown carelessly over his shoulder, his embroidered jacket, his white camise, or kilt, and his scarlet buskins embossed with silver, he calls himself a palikar, or warrior, looks with infinite disdain upon all the world besides, and in his gait assumes that haughty strut which so strongly characterizes the nation, and which is observable, though in a less degree, amongst our own Caledonian highlanders.

A martial spirit and eager thirst after gain lead the Albanian to engage very readily in the service of foreign states\*; but like the generality of mountaineers, his attachment to his native land is so strong that he will never enlist but for a limited time, and the idea of returning to his native hills alone supports him under all privations and disasters. When he serves under the beys or chiefs of his own country, his enrolment is sometimes voluntary, for the hope of booty or revenge, and sometimes purchased, in which case the pay is proportioned to the valour and merit of the individual. His school of war is one of unbridled licence more than of military discipline, of cunning more than magnanimity; and the chiefs having only an imperfect authority over their vassals, these latter will sometimes disband themselves during a campaign and return to their own homes: there they may be seen indulging in perfect indolence, stretched out in the sun to sleep, or tuning their guitars to their wild music in songs that celebrate the actions

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\* It would seem that the people of Epirus, like the inhabitants of Switzerland, always had a propensity for foreign mercenary warfare. Vid. Diod. Sic. vol. ii. p. 494. ed. Wessel.



of favourite chieftains or of themselves; for as their valour is stained by perfidy, so is their merit by presumption, and they delight in boasting of deeds done either in fact or imagination. The retribution of blood was in full force amongst them until the despotism of Ali Pasha put a stop to this evil as well as to that system of brigandage which made robbery a profession and removed from it every token of disgrace\*.

The Albanian costume, especially that of the women, retains a singular resemblance to the antique. The abdominal system of the men seems greatly compressed by the tight ligature of the zone about their loins; this however, together with constant practice, enables them to bear long and difficult journeys on foot; and their activity in climbing rocks and mountains is quite extraordinary. In temper they are somewhat irritable, and very rarely forgive a blow: they are by no means deficient in talent and acuteness, and it is a remarkable fact that the three greatest men produced in Turkey during the present age, have all derived their origin from Albania. These are the late celebrated Vizir Mustafâ Bairactar, Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt, and, the greatest of them all, the subject of this present memoir.

Tepeleni, a small town of the Toskides, situated on the left bank of the Aöus or Voiussa, soon after that river emerges from the straits of Klissura, was the birth-place of Ali about the year 1750†. Its beys held it in a kind of feudal tenure under the pasha of Berat. The family‡ of Ali, whose surname is Hissas, had been established for several centuries in this place, and one of its members, named Muzzo, having been very successful in the honourable profession of a kleftes,

\* A favourite Albanian proverb says, "He that knows not how to take away another man's possessions deserves not to retain his own."

† The exact year of his birth is not known: nor can the information be procured from Ali himself, for he is always anxious to be thought younger than he really is.

‡ It is thought very probable that this family was one of those which when Albania fell beneath the Ottoman yoke changed their religious faith to retain their possessions.

or robber, secured the lordship of Tepeleni to himself and transmitted it to his descendants. Ali's grandfather, after whom he is named, was considered the greatest warrior of his age. He fell bravely fighting at the celebrated siege of Corfu, just as he had scaled the ramparts sword in hand and was animating his troops to follow his example. His sword was long kept as a relic in the armoury of Corfu, from whence it suddenly disappeared during the occupation of that island by the French. I have heard that Ali offered a large sum of money to gain possession of it, but without success. The father of our hero, named Vely Bey, was a man of humane disposition and excellent character, extremely well disposed towards the Greeks, by whose interest in the Fanar he was appointed to the pashalic of Delvino. From this post however he was subsequently removed by the intrigues of a cabal and retired to his native lordship of Tepeleni: in his misfortunes he was cruelly attacked and harassed by the neighbouring beys and agàs, chiefs of petty districts, who at that time abounded in Albania and were always engaged in a state of warfare amongst each other for the purposes of pillage, or revenge, or extension of territory. Unable to make head against his enemies, it is said that he died of grief, leaving two wives and three children, a daughter and two sons. The mother of Ali and of his sister Shaïnitza, was a woman of uncommon talents, undaunted courage, and determined resolution, but fierce and implacable as a tigress. Her first act was to get rid of her rival, whom together with her child she took off by poison, thus securing all the rights and property of her husband to Ali, who at this time was about fourteen years of age. Far from yielding under the disastrous circumstances of fortune, she armed herself with double fortitude, and rising superior to the weakness of her sex, carried a musket against her enemies in the field at the head of her faithful clan, performing all the duties both of general and soldier. In most of these enterprises she took Ali as an associate, though she kept him

within the strictest limits of obedience. Plainly foreseeing that his security depended chiefly upon his military education, she accustomed him early to the perils of an active and romantic life, and improved his naturally strong constitution by exercise and temperance: she engaged the oldest and most faithful retainers of her family to animate his zeal by a recital of the history and exploits of his ancestors, to correct his rash impetuosity by their experience, to instruct him in all the manly exercises of an Albanian palikar, and to school him in knowledge of mankind and the arts of governing them, rather than in the lore of book-learning and science.

Ali's progress kept pace with her most sanguine hopes; and to the habits of his early life many traits in his future character may easily be traced. His great object was to secure the attachment of his Albanian clansmen: in this he completely succeeded by assiduously cultivating their society, by partaking of their dangers in war and amusements in peace, by listening to their wants, deciding their quarrels, flattering their prejudices, and imitating their customs. During his military excursions he traversed this rugged country on foot with his musket over his shoulder, and thence acquired a most useful knowledge of all the mountain fastnesses and every opening for advance or retreat: by constant intercourse with his military companions, whose histories and adventures he was accustomed to learn by heart, he so improved his naturally strong memory that on some occasions, when an old associate in the profession of kleftes has been taken and brought before him, he has astonished the culprit, before condemnation, with a recital of all the principal events of his life, and in the same manner he has enumerated the merits of those whom he has rewarded: with regard to bodily exercises, he soon became the best horseman, the swiftest runner, and the most expert marksman of his day. The old governor of Tepeleni, when we visited that place, spoke in raptures of the young bey's proficiency in these arts at an