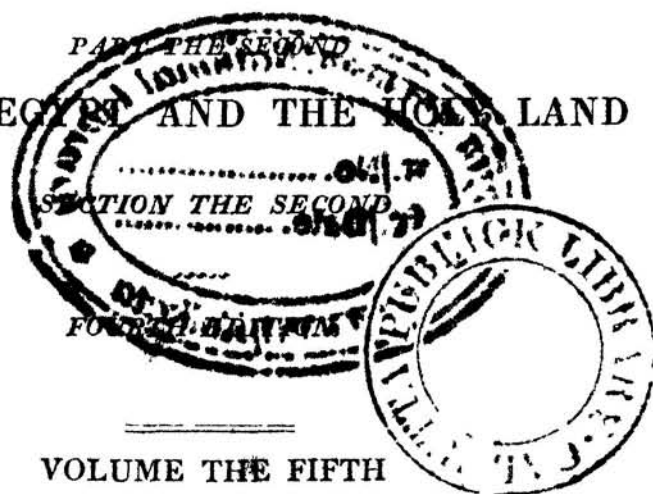


TRAVELS
IN
VARIOUS COUNTRIES
OF
EUROPE ASIA AND AFRICA

BY
E. D. CLARKE LL. D.

PART THE SECOND
GREECE EGYPT AND THE HOLY LAND



VOLUME THE FIFTH

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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE
PRESENT EDITION.

THE Author gladly avails himself of the opportunity offered by a new Edition of this part of his Work, to acknowledge his obligation to a very celebrated traveller, *John Hawkins*, Esq. for a valuable communication, respecting *La Guillitiere*; whose account of *Athens*, published in *Paris* in 1675, the Reader will find mentioned in the twelfth chapter. It seems that the criticisms made by *Spon* upon that publication did not pass unregarded by the editor of *La Guilletiere's* narrative; but that they elicited an answer, full of very bitter animadversion, and severe satire, upon *Spon's* own work: to which the latter replied with even greater asperity; and he endeavoured to prove that the pretended *La Guilletiere* was a fictitious character, and that no such person had ever set his foot in *Athens*; but that the account of its antiquities, which bears his name, was nothing more than a spurious publication, made from the

observations of the Missionaries. *La Guilletiere's* "Account of *Athens*" had been edited by his brother, *Guillet*; and it is this *Guillet* who attacked *Spon*, after the publication of his work, in a critique entitled, "*Lettres écrites sur une Dissertation d'un Voyage de Grèce publié par M. Spon, Médecin Antiquaire; avec des Remarques sur les Médailles, les Inscriptions, l'Histoire Ancienne et Moderne, la Géographie, la Chronologie, et une Carte des Détroits de Constantinople, selon les nouvelles Découvertes de l'Antiquaire:*" à Paris, 1679. 12mo. pp. 288.—In this critique, which is evidently the production of a writer of talents, and which abounds with the liveliest sallies of wit, its author refutes the objections made by *Spon* against the accuracy of *La Guilletiere*; and he adduces, with great force of raillery, several blunders which the former had committed, in history, in chronology, and in geography. During the same year, *Spon* published his answer to *Guillet*, with this title, "*Réponse à la Critique publiée par M. Guillet, sur le Voyage de Grèce de Jacob Spon: avec Quatre Lettres sur le mesme sujet, le Journal d'Angleterre du Sieur Vernon, et la Liste des Erreurs commises par M. Guillet dans son Athènes ancienne et nouvelle.*" à Lyon, 1679. 12mo. pp. 322. This controversy excited considerable sensation at the time; but

so little is known of it at present, that, with the exception of the two copies in the valuable Library of Mr. *Hawkins*, there is not, perhaps, another in any collection of *Great Britain*. Although they served to throw considerable light upon the state of *Greece*, when that country had been little visited by modern travellers, no allusion to these two publications has anywhere occurred. Indeed, so entirely unexpected was the communication respecting them, and so great the gratification which the writer of these pages felt in perusing the pleadings of the rival disputants, that it seemed to him as if the two authors had been called from their graves to talk of the travels they had performed near a century and a half ago; or as if he had, in reality, been admitted to a "dialogue in the shades." A few general observations concerning the two publications are, however, all that the limits of this advertisement will allow. It must therefore be sufficient, for the present, briefly to state, that if *Guillet* had the advantage in the first instance, by his successful irony, and by the address he manifested in ridiculing the errors he had detected in *Spon's* work, the latter finally triumphed, by his greater learning and more judicious criticism. He has made out a list of one hundred and twelve errors, which

he pretended to have discovered in *La Guilletiere's Athens*: but many of these hardly deserve the name of *errors*; they are such as may be found in any book of travels, especially in his own; and in one instance his charge against *La Guilletiere* is founded upon an *untruth*, for he affirms that there are no remains of a graduated *Coilon* in the *Stadium* at *Athens*: “*Il n'y reste,*” says he, “*pourtant, que la situation du lieu et quelques restes des doubles murailles, mais point de degrés.*” The principal charge brought against *Guilletiere*, respects his *autopsy*; but this charge is by no means satisfactorily supported. Another relates to his having maintained that an inscription *Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ* existed in the *Parthenon*; yet, for the existence of this inscription in the year 1669, *La Guilletiere* adduces¹ the testimonies of four persons; namely, *Barnaby* and *Simon*, two Capuchins, who resided long at *Athens*; and *Monsieur De Monceaux* and *Monsieur L'Ainé*, “*qui lûrent plusieurs fois la mesme inscription.*” *Spon* did not arrive in *Athens* until the year 1676; and his antagonist, mentioning this circumstance, says

(1) *Réponse à la Critique du Voyage de Grèce*, p. 316. à *Lyon*, 1679.

(2) *Dissertation sur une Voyage de Grèce*, p. 128. *Paris*, 1679.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 130.

“ *Dans un intervalle de six à sept ans, l'inscription peut-elle pas estre détachée, ou par un scrupule des Turcs, ou par l'injure du temps. Je luy citerois encore vingt changemens plus considérables dans la masse de nos Bâtimens de Paris. Falloit-il pour cela donner le titre d'Imposteur à La Guilletiere?* At this distance of time, being appealed to for the probability of the existence of such an *inscription*, any impartial traveller, who has witnessed the frequent instances of forgeries exhibited under the name of *reliques* by the Eastern *Christians*, would surely say it was highly probable that the Monks of *Athens*, who made use of the *Parthenon* as a *Church*, before it became a *Mosque*, had left a legend of this nature in the temple; which they had been accustomed to exhibit as the real *inscription* observed by *St. Paul*. It was exactly the sort of imposition which would have been characteristic of the priests of that age and country, and of their ignorant followers: and such, perhaps, was the *inscription* read by *Guilletiere* and his companions; but which had disappeared when *Spon* was at *Athens*, having been removed by some traveller, or destroyed by the *Turks*. The most curious part of *Spon*'s answer to *Guillet*, is that in which he undertakes to prove that the famous *Eleusinian fragment* was in reality the *Statue of Eleusinian Ceres*, and not one

of the *Cariatides*, as *Guillet* maintained that it was'. Here he musters all his erudition, and quite overwhelms his antagonist; and had the author of the present work been aware of the powerful authority upon which this point rested, when he published his "*Testimonies concerning the Statue of Ceres*," he would never have ventured to undertake the discussion. It is, however, highly satisfactory to him to find, after so many years have elapsed since he ushered his little treatise before the public, that all he has said upon the subject is supported by the superior judgment of so great a scholar; with whose judgment the opinions of posterity will hereafter probably coincide.

(1) "J'ay quelque chose à débiter de plus curieux touchant la réflexion d'architecture que fait M. *Guillet* sur une statue de *Ceres* que j'ay décrite et que je donne en taille-douce, lorsque je parle des mazes d'*Eleusis*. A l'entendre parler, j'y ay commis une effroyable faute, ayant pris pour une statue ce qui est une *Cariatide*. Voyons si ce nouveau *Vitruve* ne se trompe point luy-mesme, et si j'en dois moins croire à mes yeux qu'à ses raisonnemens." *Réponse à la Critique du Voyage de Grèce*, p. 137. à Lyon, 1679.

CAMBRIDGE,
September 2, 1816.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

SECOND SECTION OF PART THE SECOND.

THIS addition to the SECOND PART of these Travels, will enable the Reader to form a tolerable estimate of the probable compass of the entire Work: and it may serve to prove, that the author, if he should live to complete his undertaking, will not have exceeded his original estimate, in the account of a journey through forty-five degrees of longitude, and nearly forty degrees of latitude. In his endeavour to concentrate the subject, he may have omitted observations which a particular class of Readers would have preferred to those which have been inserted. He has sometimes, for example, sacrificed statistical notices, that he might introduce historical information, where Antient History is pre-eminently interesting; and again, on the other hand, he has purposely omitted much that he had written on the subject of Antiquities, that he might insert a few remarks upon the *Egyptian* and *Grecian scenery*, and upon the

manners of the people. General observations, as applied to the inhabitants of *Greece*, cannot well be made: it would be a vain undertaking to characterize in one view such a various population. Throughout every part of the country, there may be observed, not only a difference of morals and of habits, but² also peculiarities of religion and of language. In the mixed society of one island, the *Italian* character seems to predominate; in another, *Turks* or *Albanians* have introduced their distinctions of manners and customs. Perhaps this may be one of the causes which, added to the fine climate of the country, and to its diversified landscape, communicate such a high degree of cheerfulness during a journey or a voyage in *Greece*: for whether the traveller be upon its continent, or visiting its islands, a succession of new objects is continually presenting itself¹; and in places which are contiguous in situation, he may witness a more striking change, both as to natural and to moral objects, than would be found in other countries, for example in *Russia*, if he were to traverse a very considerable portion of the globe. After all, an author, in the

(1) "Where'er we tread, 'tis haunted, holy ground,
And one vast realm of wonder spreads around."

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, p. 105. Lond. 1805.

arrangement of his materials, cannot be supposed capable of making any exact calculation, as to what his Readers may deem it proper for him to omit, or to insert: but so far as experience has enabled the writer of these Travels to determine, he has endeavoured to obviate former objections; first, by disposing into the form of *Notes* all extraneous matter, and all citations; and secondly, by compressing even these, as much as possible, both by diminishing the size of the type, and by the omission of *Latin* interpretations of *Greek* authors, which are often erroneous. With regard, however, to the numerous additions made to his Work in the form of *Notes*, it may be proper to state, once for all, that they are exclusively his own, with the exception of the extracts made from the *Manuscript Journals* of his Friends: and when these occur, the name of the traveller has always been added, to whom the author is indebted for the passage inserted. He has been induced to mention this circumstance, that no person may be made responsible for any of those errors and imperfections which belong solely to himself.

In addition to the *Manuscript Journal* of Mr. WALPOLE, this part of the Work will be found

to contain also a few Extracts made from the posthumous Papers of the late Lieutenant-colonel JOHN SQUIRE, of the corps of Royal Engineers; who met with a melancholy fate, in the service of his country, at *Truxillo* in *Spain*, in the thirty-third year of his age. The death of COLONEL SQUIRE was owing to a fever occasioned by excessive fatigue at the siege of *Badajoz*. Never was the loss of any officer more deeply and sincerely lamented by his friends and fellow-soldiers. To be employed in fighting the battles of his country was his ruling passion; and in fighting them he had been nobly engaged for the last thirteen years of his life. During that space of time, he served on the several expeditions to the *Helder*, to *Egypt*, to *South America*, to *Sweden*, under Sir J. Moore, to *Portugal* and *Spain*, under the same general, to *Zealand*, and a second time to the *Spanish Peninsula*, where he terminated his honourable career. The active mind of Colonel Squire did not content itself with the acquirements proper to his profession only, but was impelled by a large and liberal curiosity to obtain every sort of useful or of interesting knowledge. In all the countries which he visited, he kept a full and accurate journal, not only of military affairs, but of every thing else either curious or

important. It is to Colonel *Squire* that the literary world owes the discovery of the Inscription upon the pedestal of *Pompey's Pillar*, near *Alexandria*, which had eluded the ingenuity of all former travellers.

The *Catalogue* of the *Patmos Library*, communicated by the MARQUIS of SLIGO; and the Remarks made by Mr. WALPOLE, not only upon this 'Catalogue', but also upon the *Libraries of Greece*: will, it is hoped, be considered as valuable additions to this Work. The author is desirous also to mention his obligation to the last of these Gentlemen, for the assistance he has rendered in the illustration of many of the *Inscriptions*. Nor can he pass in silence the advantages he has derived from the *Manuscript Journal* of his friend and companion, Mr. CRIPPS; particularly in that part of his Travels which relates to EGYPT; where the continuation

(1) The original copy is written in the form usually adopted by the *Modern Greeks* in their *cursive* style; abounding in contractions, and containing many orthographical errors. If the Reader only direct his attention to the title of one *Manuscript* therein mentioned, namely, that of *Diodorus Siculus*, he will be convinced of the importance of making further inquiry into the state of the *Patmos Library*; such, for example, as the *French Nation* caused to be instituted, when they despatched the celebrated Hellenist, *Villoison*, to the Monasteries of *Mount Athos*.

of his own narrative was often interrupted by fatigue or by illness.

A more accurate representation of the appearance of antient *Inscriptions* upon *Greek Marbles*, than had appeared in former books of travels, it is presumed has been adopted. For this purpose, a new species of type was invented by the author, and used in former publications. It has already received the approbation of literary men; the Society of Antiquaries having applied to the University of *Cambridge* for the loan of these types, when engaged in publishing the late Professor *Porson's* restoration of the celebrated *Rosetta* Inscription. Considerable attention has also been paid towards making improvement in the Plates: and a new mode of representing *Hieroglyphics* will be found in the *Fac-Simile* of a *Tablet* discovered among the *Ruins of Saïs*¹.

It may, perhaps, be deemed a bold acknowledgment to confess, that the account of *Helio-
polis*, and of the *Memphian Pyramids*, was written without consulting a single page of *Jacob Bryant's* "*Observations upon the Antient His-*

(1) See the Quarto Edition.

tory of *Egypt*." The author has, however, since bestowed all the attention he could command, upon that learned Work; and the perusal of it has made known to him the source of *Larcher's* opinion concerning a *Pseudo-Heliopolis* in *Arabia*, together with his reasons for placing the renowned city of that name in the *Delta*, although the *French* writer did not acknowledge whence they were derived. Now the whole of *Larcher's* pretended discovery, and of *Bryant's* most elaborate dissertation, may be reduced to a single query; namely, Whether we be at liberty to alter the received text of an antient author, in such a manner, as to transpose the names of two *Nomes*? If we be not allowed this freedom, the opinions thereby deduced have no weight. After all the labour bestowed upon the subject, the truth must rest upon the examination of a few brief extracts from *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, as compared with the modern geography and existing antiquities of *Egypt*, with which *Bryant* was but little acquainted. It will always be urged, to use his own words¹, that "*Strabo* was

(2) *Heliopolites* and *Iatopolites*.

(3) *Observations upon Antient History*, p. 120. *Lond.* 1767. *So also*, p. 123 (Note). "*Strabo's* authority must be valid: he was an eye-witness of what he speaks of; and seems to have been very inquisitive and exact." *Strabo* does, however, sometimes describe countries

upon the spot, and very inquisitive, and very minute and diligent in his description;" and that "we cannot suppose him to have been grossly mistaken." *Bryant* believed that the whole space between the *Pelusiæ* branch of the *Nile* and the *Red Sea* was such a sandy waste, that the *Israelites* never could have inhabited it: although he confesses that "the *Jews*, who, during the Captivity, betook themselves to this country, thought it no despicable spot to settle in:" and although the present cities of *Old* and *New Cairo*, by their situation, prove that this district has now the preference, he asserts that there were "no *Nomes*, nor places of any repute," in that part of *Egypt*¹. "When they were occupied," says he², "it was chiefly by foreigners, who obtained leave of the princes of *Egypt* to take up their habitation within them." Wherefore it should appear that the presumed allotment of this territory to the *Israelites* would be strictly consistent with the antient usages of the country.

countries of which he was ignorant, from the reports and writings of others; as in the account he gives of *Argolis* in *Peloponnesus*, where he acknowledges this, and proves his want of information, by affirming that there existed in his time no remains of the city of *Mycenæ*.

(1) See *Observations*, &c. p. 109.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 107.

The positions of *Heliopolis*, and of the places near to that city, in *Arabia*, are by no means doubtful; since they are always mentioned together, and in the clearest manner, by *Herodotus*, by *Strabo*, by *Josephus*, by *Ptolemy*, and by *Antoninus*, in his Itinerary. *Cellarius* places *Phacusa*, *Bubastus*, and *Heliopolis*, in *ARABIA*; upon the authority of *PTOLEMY*. *Bryant* censures him for so doing; and knowing nothing of the rich borders of *Arabia*, accuses him³ of stationing provinces “*in the deserts*.” The authority of *Cellarius* ought not to be superseded by the mere opinion even of such a scholar as *Bryant*; especially if opinion be unsupported by matter of fact: and in this instance, the principle of the “*malim errare*” is very admissible. The evidences for the position of *Heliopolis*, as deduced from *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, are as follow.

“To one going upwards from *Heliopolis*,” says *Herodotus*⁴, “*EGYPT* is narrow, owing to the

(3) See Observations, p. 112. Note 7.

(4) Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλεως ἄνω ἵκνται, στενὴ ἵκνται Αἴγυπτος. οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἔρος παρατίθεται, κ. τ. λ. ἐν τῇ καὶ λιθοτομίῃ ἵκνται, αἱ ἰς τὰς παραμύδας καταρμηδισαὶ τὰς ἐν Μίμφῳ. *Herodoti Enterpe*, c. viii. pp. 92, 93. Lond. 1673.

Mountain of *Arabia*. In this mountain are the quarries whence the stones were taken for building the *Pyramids* of *MEMPHIS*." The mountain, mentioned by *Herodotus* in this passage, is evidently *Mokatam*: and *Letopolis*, *Latopolis*, or *Litopolis*, which *Bryant* thinks¹ derived its name from those quarries (q. d. ΛΙΘΟΠΟΛΙΣ), being near to it, is mentioned with *Heliopolis* by other writers. We may now consider the circumstances of association under which *Heliopolis* is noticed by *Strabo*²:—"These places (*Phacusa* and *Phithom*) are near to the vertex of the *Delta*: there is the city of *Bubastus* and the *Bubastic Nome*; and beyond this³ the *Nome* of *Heliopolis*, where the *City of the Sun* is situate. After describing the temple and the antiquities of the city, he continues by giving a description of the *Nile* beyond the *Delta*; speaking of *Libya* as being upon his right, and *Arabia* upon his left. Then he adds this remarkable observation: "Wherefore the *Heliopolitan Nome* is in *Arabia*." After this, he introduces the *Lito-*

(1) See *Observ. upon Ant. Hist.* p. 123. Note 6. *London*. 1767.

(2) Οὗτοι δ' αἱ τόποι πλησιάζουσιν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Διόλου. Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ Βουβαστικὸν πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βουβαστικὸς νομός, καὶ ὑπερὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός. Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου πόλις, κ. τ. λ. *Strabon. Geog. lib. xvii.* p. 1141. edit. *Ozon.* 1807.

(3) Ὑπερὶ αὐτοῦ. *Sic MS. Par. Med. iv.* Vid. p. 1141. ed. *Ozon.*

politian Nome and the *Babylonian fortress*, as next in succession to the *Heliopolitan* upon the *Arabian side* of the river.

This position of the *Nomes* in *Lower Egypt* is equally authorised by *Ptolemy*. He enumerates them as they occurred from *north to south**, after *Strabo's* method of description; giving them in this order;—"the *Bubastic Nome*, and its metropolis *BUBASTUS*: the *Heliopolitan Nome*, and its metropolis *HELIOPOLIS*." These, together with *Aphroditopolis*, he places in *Arabia*†.

The same position is assigned to them by the *Itinerary of Antoninus* :

IN ARABIA.

Aphroditopolis.

Scenas Mandras . . M. P. XX.

Babylon M. P. XII.

Helio M. P. XII.

Other evidence to the same effect, if necessary, may be deduced from *Diodorus Siculus*, and from *Josephus*.

(4) Vid. *Ptolem. Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. Paris, 1546.*

(5) 'Εν μετρίῳ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ
'Αφροδιτοπόλει, Βαβυλῶν,
'Ηλιούπολις. *Ptolem. Geog. lib. iv. p. 212. Paris, 1546.*

PREFACE TO SECOND SECTION

In the observations upon *Alexandria*, some additional remarks will be found concerning the *Soros of Alexander the Great*, so fortunately added to the trophies of our victories in EGYPT, in the very moment when it was clandestinely conveying to *Paris*. Since the original publication of the *Testimonies* respecting this most interesting monument, the Editors of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* have considered the evidence as decisive; and have, by means of their valuable work, given it a passport to the notice of posterity, which the writings of the author were little likely to afford. Occasionally, indeed, it has been urged, that some unknown personage, belonging to the *British Museum*, does not concur in the opinion thus maintained concerning this remarkable relic. The author has been sometimes asked, Why it is not called the *Soros of Alexander*, in the Catalogue of Antiquities put into the hands of strangers who visit that stately repository? How shall he venture to answer so formidable an interrogation? May he not also propose another, equally redoubtable? it is this: Why has even the historical evidence, touching its discovery, been so unaccountably omitted? Wherefore has the circumstance been withheld from notice, that the *Arabs* held it in traditional veneration, as the **TOMB OF ALEXANDER**?

The reason why it has not received the appellation of a *Soros* is easily explained. The meaning of this word had never been duly understood¹, when the *Tomb* arrived in *England*; although this be precisely the name given by *Herodian* to the *conditory* of *Alexander's* body; neither had it then been heeded, that what *Herodian* termed a *Soros*, *Juvenal*, according to a custom of the *Romans*, mentioned by *Augustinus*², had himself alluded to under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*³: nay, so remarkable was the ignorance of a few persons who opposed the opinion now entertained of this *Soros*, that because it had, at a later period, served as a *cistern* in *Egypt*, they doubted its original *sepulchral* use; and some even ventured to deny, in direct contradiction of all history, that *Alexander* was buried in *Alexandria*⁴. When the *Catalogue* appeared, in which the *Antiquities* are enumerated, finding that it had not been deemed

(1) This can only be disproved by shewing that in some publication dated anterior to 1805 this word had its real signification.

(2) "Quia enim arca in qua mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam *Σαρκοφάγον* vocant, *Σαρξ* dicitur Græcè." *Augustin.* de Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

(3) "*Sarcophago* contentus erit." — *Juvenal.*

(4) For the removal of the body from *Memphis* to *Alexandria*, see *Quintus Curtius*, *Pausanias*, &c. &c. Καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου πικρὸν οὖτος ἐκπαύγων ἐν τῇ Μελιτῇ. *Pausan.* Attica, c. vii. p. 17. edit. *Kuhnii.* Lips. 1696.

advisable to state any particulars, even regarding the modern history of the *Alexandrian Soros*, and that the remarkable fact of its being considered by the *Arabs* as the *Tomb of the Founder of their City* had been suppressed, the author wrote to request, that a few copies of a *Letter* he had addressed to the Gentlemen of the *British Museum* upon the subject, might be distributed *gratis* by the porter at the door: but he was answered, that this would not be approved. The question may therefore now rest,—and, as it is humbly conceived, not on the test of *authority*, but of *evidence*. If mere authority could have any weight, the author might safely adduce the opinions which have fallen, not from obscure individuals, but from illustrious and renowned men; from a PORSON, and a PARR, and a ZOUC¹; from scholars of the highest

(1) Dr. Zouch's opinion upon this subject occurs in a Letter written by the present Earl of Lonsdale to the Rev. J. Sutterthwaite, of Jesus College, Cambridge, Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty; who communicated it to the author. Although the testimony of such a scholar as Dr Zouch (with whom the author had no personal acquaintance) be highly flattering, yet it is hoped that the insertion of it may be pardoned; as it alludes to a fact of some importance in the evidence concerning *Alexander's Tomb* namely, the remarkable allusion made to the *Soros* by JUVENAL (who himself visited *Egypt*), under the appellation of *Sarcophagus*

Lord Lonsdale's Letter is as follows: it was dated

My Dear Sir,

"Cottemere, Jan. 16, 1806.

"As Dr. Zouch's opinion of Dr. Clarke's history of the *Tomb of Alexander* may not be unacceptable to you, I send you the following Extract from a Letter I received from him a few days ago."

'I have

eminence both at home and abroad; who have approved his testimony, and have aided and encouraged him in making it public. It is upon the *evidence* alone that this question can be decided; and this is so simple, and so conclusive, that it is open to every apprehension. It merely amounts to this: Whether the *Cistern* held sacred by the *Arabs* as the *conditory* of *Alexander*, be, or be not, the sort of *receptacle* which *Historians* teach us to believe did contain his body. Any one who had read even such a compilation as '*Purchas his Pilgrims*,' and had therein found it stated, probably from *Leo Africanus*, that in *Alexandria* there "yet remaineth a little *Chappell*, wherein they say that the high Prophet, and King *Alexander the Great* lies buried," would surely have been curious to inquire what was really exhibited by the *Arabs* as the *Tomb* of the founder of their city: and if, during its examination, this turn out to be

'I have been much gratified with reading a history of the Tomb of *Alexander* by Dr. Clarke, of *Jesus College, Cambridge*. Indeed, I scarcely laid down the volume until I had gone through it. He seems to have proved his point, at least to have rendered it highly probable, that the precious monument deposited in the *British Museum* is what he thinks it to be. I cannot but believe that *Juvenal* expressly alludes to this splendid *Tomb*, in which the remains of the *Macedonian Hero* were interred.

'Cum tamen a sigillis munitam intraverit urbem
Sycophago contentus erit.'—

nothing of *Arabian* workmanship, but, in reality, the particular kind of *Tomb* which Historians have actually ascribed to ALEXANDER,—a *Soros*, as it is mentioned by *Herodian*¹, covered with *hieroglyphics*; being, therefore, an *inscription* in the *sacred writing*² of the *Priests*, by whom it had been more antiently guarded and revered;—if this prove to be the case, it will be found a very difficult matter to prevent the public from identifying such a relic, however unsuitable the consequence may be, to the views and feelings of any private individual, or set of individuals, belonging to the *British Museum*. Powerful evidence bears down all opposition;—it asks not for *opinion*; it demands assent.

It has indeed been urged, that other *conditories* of the same kind were found in *Alexandria*; one of a similar description being now placed with the *Alexandrian Soros* in the *British Museum*: but this is *not true*: and even if it were, no other can lay claim to the tradition which so remarkably distinguished this. The other antiquities alluded to, came from *Cairo*, and from *Upper Egypt*: that, in particular, now

(1) In describing the visit paid to it by *Carnalla*, who placed upon it his purple vest;—*ἱερίων ἐν ταύτῃ ΣΟΡΩΝΙ*. *Vid. Herodian. Hist. lib. iv. Hist. Rom. Script. op. H. Steph. 1568.*

(2) *Τῶν ἐν ἱερῶν γράμματα*. See the Inscription on the *Rosetta Stone*.

placed by the side of this, is the well-known *Cistern* which was formerly called the "*Lover's Fountain*," and stood near to the Castle of *Kallat el Kabsh* in *Grand Cairo*³. Other remains of the same nature, less perfectly preserved, came from *Upper Egypt*; whence they were brought by the *French* to *Alexandria*.

It had been somewhat loosely affirmed, that the *Egyptians* always buried their dead in an upright posture: and the author, noticing this egregious error in his "*Testimonies concerning Alexander's Tomb*," maintained that the opinion could neither be reconciled with the appearance of the *Tombs* of the *Kings* of *Thebes*, nor with the evidence afforded by the principal *Pyramid* at *MEMPHIS*⁴. Since that publication appeared, *Mr. Hamilton* has incontestably proved that the affirmation was *loose indeed*, for that the *Egyptians* never buried their dead in an upright posture⁵. A writer, however, in one of the *Monthly*

(3) See a correct representation of it, as engraved in *Bouryer's* Work, entitled *Sir Robert Ainslie's Collection of Views in Egypt*, &c. from Drawings by *Luigi Mayer*.

(4) *Tomb of Alexander*. Introd. p. 7. Camb. 1805.

(5) See p. 227, Note (7), of this Volume. See also *Hamilton's Egyptiaca*, p. 317. Lond. 1809. "It was evident," says *Mr. Hamilton*, "that the bodies had been placed *horizontally*, not *upright*: consequently the passage of *Silius Italicus*, quoted to assist the
contrary

Journals', attacked the author for having disputed, although upon his own ocular demonstration, the *upright* position of the bodies. "Surely," said he, "it will surprise the reader, to learn, that one of the principal writers by whom the fact above alluded to has so *loosely been affirmed*, was *Herodotus*." It might, indeed, surprise any reader, if this were true: but the assertion is groundless, and altogether founded upon the most glaring misconception of the text of that author; as it is not only admitted by every scholar, but decidedly manifested by the appearance of the bodies in the *sepulchres* of EGYPT. *Herodotus* does not say that they were placed upright in *the tombs*, but in the *private houses* of the *Egyptians*², after the persons employed to embalm the body had delivered it into the care of the relatives. It is well known that the *Egyptians* frequently kept the bodies of their dead, after the funeral rites were performed, for a long time, in this manner in their dwellings. Sometimes they made them to be

contrary supposition, must have alluded to the posture in which the deceased were kept, while yet retained in the houses of their relations." The same is maintained by PAUW: *Philos. Diss.* vol. II. p. 39. *Lond.* 1795.

(1) See the *Critical Review* for July 1805. vol. V. No. 3. p. 276.

(2) See *PAUW*, *Philos. Dissert.* vol. II. p. 33. *Lond.* 1795.

present at their feasts³. And hence it is, that *Herodotus*, alluding to this practice, says, the relations take the body home, and place it in a chamber appropriated for its reception, “*setting it upright against the wall*”⁴. Upon these last words, the absurd notion was founded of its *upright position in the sepulchres of the country*; a notion entirely exploded, and contradicted by the evidence of the sepulchres themselves.

Upon reviewing the observations made upon the *Grecian Theatres*, the author is aware that they might have been more collectively disposed, instead of being dispersed in different parts of his Work: but the business of a traveller requires, that he should register *facts*, rather than write *dissertations*: if his remarks be deemed worth preserving, others will not be wanted, hereafter, to collect the scattered materials, and give them a more connected form.

(3) ——— “*Et à mensis exsanguem haud separat umbram.*”

Sil. Ital. lib. xiii.

(4) *Ἰσταντες ὁρθὸν πρὸς τοῦτον.* *Herodot. Hist. lib. ii. c. 86. p. 120. Lond. 1679.*

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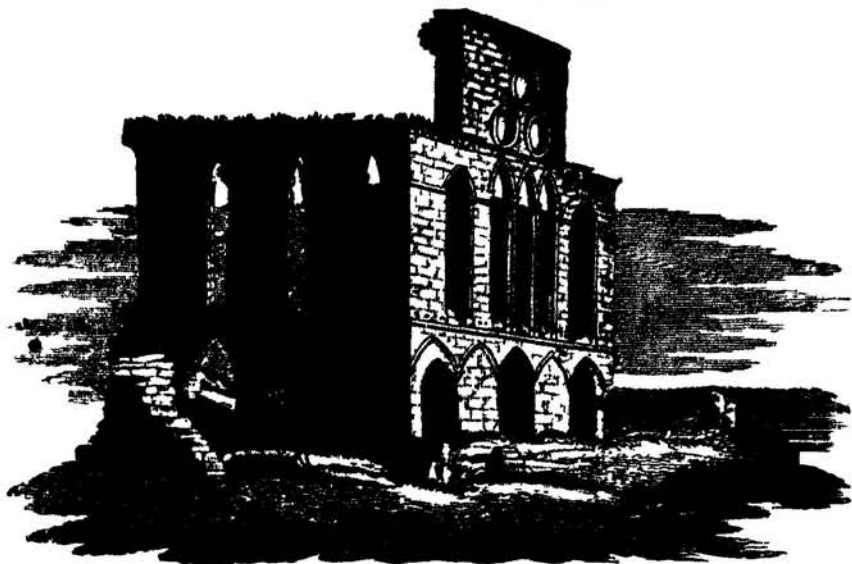
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I.

The *Romulus* makes preparation for sailing.

THE most active preparation for sailing was made upon our return to the *Romulus* frigate. Upwards of sixty bullocks were on board, and forty more were afterwards added to the number. Every exertion was then made to get in the necessary supply of fresh water. We bought great part of the freight of melons from the *Jaffa* boat, to carry to the fleet off *Aboukir*; and a more acceptable donation can hardly be imagined, for almost all its supplies came from *England*: fruit and vegetables were particularly scarce.

The Author takes leave of *Djezzar*.

In our last visit to old *Djezzar*, we found his health visibly on the decline; but there was nothing he seemed more anxious to conceal from the knowledge of his subjects. The well-known fable of the dying lion was constantly present to his imagination; and no one better understood its moral application. Like the generality of antient fables, it is, in fact, strikingly applicable to the policy and manners

of *Eastern* nations¹. Although the repose and stillness of his charem were better suited to the preservation of his life than the public duties of his palace, he knew too well the consequences of a rumour purporting his inability to transact the affairs of his government, and therefore more readily granted audience to persons requesting admission to his presence; continuing his usual practice of cutting watch-papers, but being less ostentatious of his bodily vigour, and the exhibition of his Herculean strength². We found him, as before, with his feet bare, and a bottle of water by his side; but a more than ordinary covering of turbans appeared about his head and neck. Having thanked him for the many obligations he had conferred upon us, he inquired concerning our late journey, and seemed to possess great knowledge of the country, as well as some degree of information respecting its antient history. Adverting to the dispute which took place between the Author and one of the escort, in the Plain of *Esdraelon*, (of which he had been informed,) he cautioned us against the imprudence

(1) In the time of *Aristophanes* there were three kinds of fables; the *Libyan*, which was the most antient, the *Sybaritic*, and the *Æsopian*.

(2) See p. 84 of Volume IV. 8vo. edit.

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of striking an *Arab*, unless with power to put him instantly to death; adding, "If you had been anywhere but in *Djezzar's* dominions, and under his protection, you would not have lived to tell the story. I know the inhabitants of this country better than any man, and have long found that they are not to be governed by halves. I have been deemed severe; but I trust you have found my name respected, and even beloved, notwithstanding my severity." This last observation was strictly true; for, in spite of all his cruelty, such was the veneration in which they held the name of *Djezzar* in the *Holy Land*, that many of the *Arabs* would have sacrificed their lives for him. As we were about to take leave, he acknowledged, for the first time, that he did not feel himself well, and complained of want of sleep; asking us if we perceived any change in his health. His Interpreter told us that he had never before known an instance of a similar confession; and augured, from this circumstance, that he would not long survive it; which proved to be true, although his death did not immediately follow¹. His last moments

(1) He was afterwards visited by Colonel *Squire*, in company with Major *Leake* of the Artillery, and Mr. *Hamilton*. The last of these gentlemen, it seems, as Private Secretary of the Earl of *Elgin*, had some diplomatic arrangements to make with *Djezzar*, and wished to gain

were characteristic of his former life. The person whom he fixed upon for his successor was

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I.

gain information with respect to the commerce and condition of *Syria*. These circumstances are related in Colonel *Squire's MS. Journal*, from which the following is an Extract.—The party sailed from *Alexandria*, on *Monday, April* the 5th, 1802; and came to anchor off the town of *Caiffa* on the morning of *April* the 9th.

“ At noon (*April* 9th) we went on shore, and endeavoured to see the *Sheik* (*Governor*) of *Caiffa*. At this moment we could not see him; for the day (*Friday*) being the *Mohammedan Sabbath*, he was engaged at the *Mosque*. In the interval, we proposed to make a small tour without the town; but we were told that the gates were then shut, and that they would not be opened until the prayers at the *Mosque* were ended: this, as it appears, is a custom in many parts of the *East*; for they fear that while the *Mussulmen* are engaged in the duties of their religion, the *Christians* may enter secretly, and take the place by surprise—indeed, they have a tradition to this effect. After the noon-prayer was concluded, we had an audience of the *Sheik*, in a miserable smoked chamber; the key of which, after a great search and inquiry, was with some difficulty procured. He regaled us with coffee; and as there was only one extra pipe for the accommodation of his guests, it was passed from one person to another; and we smoked alternately. During our conference, an unfortunate swallow, which had taken up its abode in the *Sheik's* mansion, was constantly hovering over our heads*. In the course of conversation, the *Sheik* observed, that he was born near *England*, as he was a native of *Algiers*: he alluded to our fortress of *Gibraltar*, for the *Turks* consider all our foreign possessions as *England*. *Ismael Pasha*, a respectable *Turk*, declared he had been in *England*, because he had once visited *Gibraltar*. After coffee and pipes, we proceeded towards *Mount Carmel*. This mountain, which may perhaps be two hundred feet above the level of the sea, is covered with a variety of shrubs and aromatic plants, which may render the air as wholesome as it is fragrant and agreeable: the ascent was by a slope; and this, although now covered with weeds and brambles, appears to have been, formerly, a regular

* For the universality of the superstition with regard to the swallow, the Reader is requested to refer to p. 265, and Note, of Vol. II. of these Travels, 8vo. edition: also to v. 149 of the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, where the same bird is called *Διὸς ἄγγελος*. See the end of Chap. vii. Vol. IV.

among the number of his prisoners. Having sent for this man, he made known his intentions

a regular road to the Convent on its summit. In the beginning of the ascent, we observed a sort of grotto excavated in the rock. On the point immediately above the sea, are the remains of a well-built Monastery, which, since the appearance of the *French* in these countries, has been entirely destroyed by the *Turks*. Below this there is a smaller Convent. It is inhabited by a *Turk*, and its church has been converted into a mosque: it is excavated from out of the solid rock; being about fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and twenty feet in height. On our return to *Caiffa*, along the sea-shore, at the foot of the mountain, we observed a range of Catacombs in the rock, which had probably been the burying-place of an antient town in the neighbourhood: on the floor of these Catacombs were cavities for the reception of bodies. Near this place is a tower of masonry, with five embrasures in the lower part, for the defence of the anchorage: at present, no guns are mounted there.

"*Caiffa* itself is a miserable village, close to the sea-side, and opposite to *Acre* it is of an oblong figure; its longest side, parallel to the sea, being about two hundred yards; and its shortest, one hundred and fifty yards in length. It is completely inclosed by a stone wall about fifteen feet high, with square towers at the angles. On a small eminence immediately above the town, and completely commanding it, is a square tower, which, as well as the towers of *Caiffa* itself, has been dismantled of its guns by the Pasha of *Acre*, since the arrival of the *French* in *Syria*. From the summit of *Mount Carmel* the view of the Bay of *Caiffa* was picturesque in the extreme. On the opposite side was *Acre*; and beyond, the towering heights of the *Anti-Lebanon*, with a small chain of mountains intervening, which seemed to retire and lose themselves in the interior of the country. Bordering on the bay appeared an extensive plain, with the River *Kishon* meandering through the middle of it. From the roof of the Convent on the summit of *Mount Carmel*, *Acre* bore N. E. by N. distant seven miles; *Mount Saphet*, E. and by N. distant fifteen miles; a town on a projecting point on the coast, S. S. W. distant four miles. *Mount Carmel* consists of hard limestone, varied sometimes by thin strata of flint."

On the 12th of *April*, Colonel *Squire* sailed from *Caiffa* for *Acre*. His *Journal* then continues.

"Wind E. S. E. light breezes. At half past six A. M. weigh anchor; and

to him; telling him, at the same time, that he would never enjoy a peaceful dominion while

and at half past seven, bring-to at the entrance of the harbour of ACRE. A boat came from the town, which undertook to bring the vessel into the harbour. Our pilot, it appeared, was a sort of harbour-master, and has constantly twenty men employed for his assistance. As soon as the vessel was moored, the Captain of the port stripped himself, made a dive under the vessel's bottom, and told us there were four feet of water between the keel and the anchoring ground. The man was extremely old; and we were surprised at his activity and attention: however, upon inquiry, he said, that he obeyed the orders of *Djezzar*, who would immediately take off his head should an accident happen to any ships moored in the harbour of *Acre*. After a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by *Djezzar's* batteries, we landed, with a view to pay our compliments to the Pashia. *Djezzar* was sitting in a small apartment at the farther extremity of a court in the upper floor of the Seraglio. The court was planted with orange and lemon trees, and others shrubs; and one side was occupied by the Charem.

"*Djezzar* received us in a very gracious manner; saying, that he had always loved the *English*, because they were a brave nation; and seemed to insinuate that his friendship was perfectly disinterested; that he was independent of all; that he had plenty of guns and troops of his own; in short, that he was able to defend himself without the assistance of others. When we inquired with respect to the march of the *Vizier* through *Syria*, and his return from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, he replied, 'I know not which way he is gone; they say he is now at *Damascus*; he will scarcely leave a beard or mustachio in any town that he passes through. When he was at *Cairo*, he desired me to send timber for his army: my reply was, *I am not a seller of wood.*' So that *Djezzar* fully explained his situation and his politics; continually launching forth in his own praises; at the same time that he abused the *Vizier* and his creatures. 'The *Vizier* (said he) has rich dresses and precious ornaments in abundance; but he carries all his wealth on his person. I am a *Bosniac*, a rough unpolished soldier, not accustomed to courts and politeness, but bred in camps and in the field. I have no handsome pelisses nor fine shawls. my troops, however, are well paid, and numerous. I am expert (added he) in the management of a sabre: with a single stroke of my sword, I have cut in two the barrel of a musket.'

"*Djezzar*

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certain of the princes of the country existed.
 These men were then living as hostages, in

"*Djezzar* sat in the upper corner of the apartment : close to his hand was a four-barrelled pistol, very richly mounted ; behind him were two muskets, a sabre, and an axe ; a silver spitting-cup was in his left hand ; and in another part of the room, a drinking-mug of wood, made by himself, and always kept in the apartment. the ceiling was ornamented with landscape-painting of his own invention. The *Duan* (the part raised a few inches above the floor) was covered with a thin common carpet ; the other part of the chamber with a mat. *Djezzar* leans on a low crutch, placed under his right arm, which he said he had always used instead of the fine downy cushions of the rich and indolent. He was dressed in an old darned pelisse, with blue cloth trowsers, in the *Turkish* style ; and a red shawl on his head as a turban. He remarked, that he was sleeping when we fired our salute ; that he had been rather unwell ; that the report of the guns awoke him, and that the grateful sound had revived him from his indisposition.

"*Djezzar* may be between seventy and eighty years of age : he has lost the greater part of his teeth, has a respectable grey beard, and a prominent nose ; and though, when he smiles, he may impose upon one the appearance of good-nature, the ordinary cast of his countenance, with his wrinkled brow, sufficiently denotes his well-known familiarity with conspiracies and assassination. After taking our leave, we visited the fortifications of *Acre*, towards the land, with the Dragoman of *Djezzar* ; who pointed out to us the position of the *French* camp, and the different points against which the attack was directed. The camp was in the plain, about two miles south-east from the town, extending itself, from the sea, as far as the remains of a church near the aqueduct which once conveyed water to *Acre*. Part of this building was destroyed by *Buonaparte* : that part which was near the town has been levelled by *Djezzar* since the departure of the *French*, that he might render the defences of his works as open and clear as possible. With the same view he has levelled most of the trees in the neighbourhood." [N.B. Here Col. Squire enters into a very detailed account of the fortifications of *Acre*.]

"The Mosque, built by *Djezzar* about fifteen years ago, has a large dome, and both outside and within is very richly ornamented. We observed

Djezzar's power. “ You will not like to begin your reign,” said he, “ by slaughtering them; ”

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I.

observed in the walls large pieces of Verd-antique, and specimens of many different kinds of marble: the ornaments within are light, and painted in very gay colours: the whole building has more the appearance of a fine theatre, than a place for devotion. We were not permitted to ascend the minaret: here it is the office of a blind person to call the people to prayers, that there may be no opportunity from this elevated situation to observe the women in the Pasha's Charem. Before being admitted into the Mosque, we were obliged to purchase thin slippers, and wear them as a mark of respect, leaving our boots at the entrance. The court of the Mosque, in the centre of which is a neat fountain, and a small plantation of palm and cypress trees, is surrounded by a sort of cloister, and small apartments, in which are deposited the books of *Djezzar*. These also serve as lodging-places for the chief people of the law. Under the Mosque is a large reservoir for water; and we were informed, that, at present, a ten years' supply of water for the town is collected in the different cisterns. Without the gate of the Mosque, and opposite to the entrance of the Seraglio, is a handsome fountain, with basons of white marble, and furnished with drinking cups, very convenient for the inhabitants. Since the campaign of the *French* in *Syria*, the fortifications of *Acre* have been repaired, and considerably increased: those which have been added are much more substantial than the old; the masonry, though not finely wrought, is solid and well executed; the stones which compose it are taken from the walls and foundations of the antient *Ptolemais*. The whole of the ramparts are surmounted with a sort of battlement, which *Djezzar* told us was very useful when the enemy mounted to the assault: for these stones, being loosened, were tumbled down upon the *French*, and occasioned very great confusion. When the *French* besieged *Acre*, their attack was directed on the *Bourge Ali*, at the north-east angle; and the besiegers took advantage of irregularities in the ground, of the garden walls, and of a small ravine, and more particularly of the remains of an aqueduct which once conveyed water to *Acre*.—*Djezzar*, profiting by this experience, has entirely levelled the aqueduct near the town, and is determined that, for the future, the enemy shall not have the smallest shelter.

“ The Bay of *Acre*, or *Caiffa*, is seven miles in width, and perhaps a league

CHAP. I. I will do that business for you:" accordingly, he
 ordered them to be brought before him, and

league and an half in length: the sweep is nearly semicircular: the soundings, in general, ten or eleven fathoms; and the holding-ground near the village *Caiffa*, on the south side, excellent.

"A low sandy ridge, projecting from the south point of the bay, forms a secure roadstead abreast of *Caiffa*, and is always preferred. Two small streams discharge themselves into the Bay of *Acre*: one about a mile east of *Caiffa*, supposed to be the *Kishon* of the Sacred Scripture: the second, called the *River of Acre*, discharges itself into the sea, perhaps a mile and an half from the town. This stream is shallow, inconsiderable, and frequently changes its direction. The beach of the bay does not seem convenient for landing, being much exposed to the westerly winds, flat and shallow, with a continual surf.

"*April* the 13th. Soon after breakfast we visited *Djezzar*, who was very talkative, and showed us several specimens of his ingenuity: he cut out, in our presence, a gun, in paper, with a pair of scissors; told us he was a great adept at this art, and would let us see his performances: these consisted of vases and flowers, very neatly cut, and adorned with different inscriptions from the *Koran*, and had been further decorated by a painter in the town: he also showed us the model of a powder-mill to be worked by horses, of his own invention. When we made him a compliment on the gallant defence of *Acre*, by himself and Sir *Sidney Smith*,—"Ah! (*replied he*) all events are from God. Fate has always favoured *Djezzar*; and confident in my own strength and means, I never feared *Buonaparte*. Nor do I care for the *Vizier*: when he marched through this part of *Syria*, he did not dare to approach *Acre*: for he knew I was well able to receive him."

"After having taken our leave, we wished to visit the fortifications towards the sea: we were however told, that it would be better to walk without the town; for *Djezzar* could not be responsible for our safety within, as it was the time of a festival (the *Kourban Heiram*, the sacrifice of lambs), during which the soldiers fire their pistols continually (always with ball), and perhaps some accident might befall us. Mr. *Hamilton* returned to *Djezzar*, to make some diplomatic arrangements; while Major *Leake* and myself took a walk on the north side of the fortifications.

"*Djezzar's* Dragoman (*Bertocini*, a *Genoese*) informed us, that thirteen years ago, on account of a suspected conspiracy between his

they were put to death in his presence. Soon afterwards he died; leaving, as he had predicted, CHAP.
I.

Mamluke slaves and his *Georgian* and *Circassian* women, he put them all to death, eleven females, by throwing them alive into a well, and thus leaving them to expire: he also mutilated a vast number of them, by cutting off their noses, who had had the smallest communication with the *Mamlukes*. It is supposed that *Djezzar* has thirteen women in his Charem; their dresses being made in the town, and a billet being sent to the workmen for a dress for such a particular number.

“ At four P.M. we re-embark.

“ *April* the 14th. After breakfast, we visited *Djezzar*. We brought with us a packet, which we requested him to forward by a courier to *Aleppo*. ‘ Am I (said he, in a violent rage) the *Sais Bashi* (Chief of the Couriers)? Your conduct is very extraordinary. The first day you visit me as a friend;—you make me no present. You suspected my friendship from the first. Instead of coming directly to *Acre*, why did you anchor at *Caiffa*?’ [We were prevented by the weather, and our pilot’s entire ignorance of the harbour.] ‘ On the second visit you desire to see the plans of my fortifications; and while the two others go without, and examine my fortifications, you (addressing himself to Mr. Hamilton) remain with me, open the object of your mission, and wish me to make peace with the *Druzes*: a subject I cannot bear to advert to.’ Mr. Hamilton attempted an explanation; and told him that the simple subject of his inquiry was, whether Sir *Sidney Smith* had interfered in the affair of the *Druzes*, or not;—that Lord *Elgin* was extremely sorry to have heard a report of that nature;—that the conduct of those persons who had communicated with the enemies of *Djezzar* should be strictly inquired into: and he concluded by observing, that he hoped *Djezzar* would receive an *English* Consul at *Acre*. This, indeed, was the subject of the conversation of yesterday. *Djezzar* had mistaken the whole: like a true tyrant, always filled with jealousy and suspicion, he imagined that we were emissaries from the *English*, and wished to re-establish the affairs of the *Druzes*. He would hearken to no explanation; but entertained suspicions which we saw it would be wholly impossible to erase. The *Emir Bechar* (Prince) of the *Druzes*, who governs the Mountains (of the *Lebanon*) inhabited by this people and
the

CHAP. 1 the undisturbed possession of a very extensive territory to his successor, *Ismael Pasha*.

the *Maronites*, is continually at war with *Djezzar*, and he refused the contributions annually levied in the Mountains. *Djezzar* retains two nephews of the *Emir* in his Seraglio, as hostages, in case any act of hostility should be shown by the Prince of the Mountains. When the *French* were before *Acre*, they attempted to bring over the *Druzes* and *Maronites* to their alliance. Sir *Sidney Smith*, gaining intelligence of this, very prudently despatched emissaries to counteract the *French* intrigue in the Mountains; and made ample promises of his friendship and protection to the *Druzes*. This people had always been the declared enemies of *Djezzar*, and the short-sighted policy of the tyrant made him most inveterate against Sir *Sidney* and the *English*, on account of their correspondence in the Mountains.

“ ‘I can (added *Djezzar*) let the *English* know, that I am as powerful in my enmities, as I am faithful and sincere in my friendships. Am I to be dictated to? I, who have held the sword over the heads of the *Beys*, shall I lower it, and be humbled by the *English*?’ No! (exclaimed he,) I can withstand them all. I will have no communication with the *English*. I will have no Consul of that nation; not one of their ships shall come into my harbour, they shall not approach within gun-shot of my fortifications.’ Mr. *Hamilton* still attempted to explain and at last, *Djezzar* went so far as to say, that it was not with Sir *Sidney Smith* that he was offended; that it was with a Mr. *Wright*, Lieutenant of the *Tigre*, and the Vice-Consul of *Tripoli*, a *Frenchman*, whom he considered the cause of the breach between him (*Djezzar*) and Sir *Sidney*. ‘Mr. *Wright* (continued he) and the other had been to visit the Chiefs of the *Druzes*, had made arrangements with them, and had even returned with some of the Princes to *Acre*, and Sir *Sidney* ought certainly to have prevented this communication. however (said he) I am not offended with him.’ In short, in his extreme anger, he frequently contradicted himself. *Leake* and myself smiled upon some observations between ourselves. *Djezzar* became furious. ‘I, who have been a Pasha of three tails these five years; I, (said he) who have defeated twelve thousand *Druzes* with twenty horsemen, am I to be insulted in this manner? —I am speaking seriously. Am I to be laughed at and derided?—

I am

Ismael is described by *English* travellers, who have since visited *Acre*, as a very amiable man, and in every respect the very reverse of this *Herod* of his time.

After our last interview with *Djezzar*, we

‘I am an old man: you are children. Look at my beard.—I am choleric; I know not what may be the consequence! Had I not been in my own house, I should instantly have bursted forth and died with indignation! I am now in such a rage, and have talked so much, that I can neither see nor distinguish any of you!’ His mouth, at different times, was so parched with anger and exertion, that he took large draughts of water, and remarked, that he had never drank so much water in his life. After a violent conversation of two hours, in which the cruelty, the tyranny, the ingratitude of this monster were displayed in their blackest colours, we took our departure; telling him, that we would repeat our visit in the evening.

“In the course of this morning’s interview, he told us, that he was a just man, and fond of order and regularity. ‘If my soldiers touch me, or have the appearance of offering the smallest insult, I immediately order them to be beheaded. If a man insult a woman, his punishment is the same. If I desire a man to sit down in my presence, and I go out of the apartment, and he quit his seat before my return, the loss of his head is the consequence.’

“In the afternoon, we again landed, with an intention to visit the Pasha; but we were told by the Dragoman, that he had gone into his Charem, and would not be visible this evening: we therefore returned to the ship.

“*April 15th.* After breakfast we went ashore, with an intention to visit *Djezzar*; but we were told by his Dragoman, that he had issued orders, at the gates of the Seraglio, to refuse our admission. We then inquired if it were possible to hire horses, to pass by land to *Tripoli*: the Dragoman answered in the negative; for there would be no security for our persons. We then determined to get under weigh, and proceed to *Tripoli* by sea. At one P.M. we were unmoored, and got out of the bay, with a small breeze from the northward.”



A C R E.

CHAP.

I.

Further
Account of
Acre.

made a final survey of the town of *Acre*, particularly of its market, which is well supplied with most of the *Eastern* commodities. Cotton is the principal export. Its tobacco is very highly esteemed; and coarse muslins, remarkable for the durability of their dye, are sold at a low rate. The inhabitants make use of wooden tubes for their tobacco-pipes, garnished with a swathing of silk or linen, for the purpose of absorbing water. This, being kept moist, cools the smoke, as it rises, by the constant evaporation. This method of smoking tobacco is less deleterious than the *Arab* custom of using the *hooka*, which generally consists of nothing more than a hollow gourd containing water, and two pieces of cane; but the whole of the smoke, instead of being drawn into the mouth, is thereby inhaled upon the lungs; a practice which sometimes causes asthma, where it has been long continued'. *Mariti*, in the account of his journey

(1) *Shaw* mentions this custom (*See Travels*, p. 234. *London* 1757. *Vol* 9). He says the *Arabs* call it *Shrob el Doukhan*, that is to say, "drinking of smoke." It is a universal practice, not only in the *Levant*, but over all the *Mediterranean*. Like other intoxicating habits, when once acquired, it is not readily abandoned. The effect produced resembles that of a dram; causing, at the moment, distention of the nerves and vessels of the head, particularly of the eyes. The *Greek* who travelled with us, after thus conveying all the smoke he could collect from a well-kindled pipe into his lungs, could retain it there

from *Acre* to *Mount Carmel*, mentions the exportation to *Venice* of the sand of the River *Belus*, for the glass-houses of that city. "It is," says he, "to this river, *Belus*, that we are indebted for those magnificent plates of glass which *Venice* manufactured, to embellish the apartments of *Europe*." The *Arabs* call this river *Kardané*. In *Acre* we observed several individuals engaged in manufacturing the kind of leather known in England under the vulgar appellation of *Red Morocco*; and as the whole process was publicly exhibited, it may be regretted that we did not pay more attention to the articles made use of in preparing the dye, which produced the most lively and brilliant scarlet we had ever beheld. The skins were constantly exposed, during the operation, to the hottest beams of the sun, in the most sultry season of the year.

Before we conclude our remarks upon *Acre*, it will be proper to state, that the pointed arches

for a few seconds, and sometimes drink a glass of water, before he rendered back the smoke, in curling volumes, through his lips and nostrils. The *Mohammedans* are so delighted by the effect of inhaling smoke, that, when they have emptied their lungs of it, they exclaim, "ALHANDILLAH," *God be praised!*

(2) *Mariti's Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine*, vol. II. p. 124. Lond. 1791.

CHAP.
L

Existence
of the
Pointed
Arch in
the Holy
Land.

and else-
where in
the East.

of a lofty building represented in the *Vignette* of this Chapter, belong to the edifice noticed by *Le Bruyn*¹. The *pointed arches*, so accurately delineated by that very able artist, have been a stumbling-block in the way of some modern theories, respecting the origin of *Gothic architecture*². But these are by no means the only examples of the *pointed style* in the *Holy Land*, which refer to an earlier period than the erection of such arches in *England*. The author has already enumerated other instances, as old as the age of *Justinian*³, if not of *Constantine*. There are similar remains, of equal antiquity, in *Cyprus* and in *Egypt*. It may indeed be matter of surprise that such works should have been ascribed to the labours of *English workmen*, in the time of the *Crusades*, when foreigners, or the pupils of foreigners, were employed in *England*, for every undertaking of the kind, so late as the reign of *Henry the*

(1) See the engraving in *Le Bruyn's Travels*.

(2) And will continue to be so. *Acre* was taken by the *Saracens*, A. D. 1291; the *Christians* have never been permitted to gain a footing there since that event; therefore the pointed arches noticed by *Le Bruyn* belong to an edifice which has been a ruin during the last six hundred and twenty years.

(3) The author of "*Munimenta Antiqua*" notices pointed arches in an aqueduct of *JUSTINIAN*. See Vol. IV. p. 75. Note 1. Lond. 1805. The pointed arch is also seen in aqueducts built by *TRAJAN*.

Eighth; nor can any hypothesis be formed more CHAP.
L
 liable to dispute than that which deduces the
 origin of any style of architecture from the *North*
 of *Europe*; "whence nothing ever came but the
 sword and desolation". Six *Oriental* cities
 may be named, where this kind of architecture
 was formerly in use: these are, *Nicotia* in
CYPRUS; *Ptolemæus*, *Dio Cæsarea*, and *Jerusalem*,
 in the *HOLY LAND*; *Rosetta*, and *Cairo*, in *EGYPT*.
 In all these cities, there are remains of the
pointed style, which relate to a much earlier
 period than its introduction in *England*. A
 further acquaintance with *Oriental* architecture
 will, assuredly, bring to light many other
 instances than those which have now been
 adduced. In the *north* of our island, indeed, a
 greater degree of antiquity may be claimed for
 the *pointed arch*, then even the advocates for its
English origin have ever assigned to it. *Masons*
 were first brought into *England* by a monk, the
 preceptor of the venerable *Bede*, about the
 middle of the *seventh* century, together with the
 arts of painting and of glazing¹. About this

(4) *De Chateaubriand's Travels*, vol. II. p. 124. *London*, 1811.

(5) "Benedict the Monk, and master of the reverend *Beda*, brought first the crafts of Painting, Glazing, and Masons, into this land." *Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England*, pp. 27, 28. *London*, 1598.

CHAP.

L

time the monastery of *Ely* was founded, and the abbeys of *Abingdon*, *Chertsey*, and *Barking*, were builded'. The monastery of *Gloucester* was also established'. But before this time, *Iona*, upon the western coast of *Scotland*, was a seat of letters: the writings of *Adamnanus*, its abbot, have been often cited in these Travels. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that an abbey church existed in that island prior to the foundation of the monastery at *Ely*. *Adamnanus* was born, in the beginning of the seventh century', at *Rathboth*, now called *Raphoe*, in the County of *Donegal*, in *Ireland*; which country he left when he became abbot of *Iona*'. As at that time the model of every *Christian* sanctuary was derived from the *Holy Land*, and generally from the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*', where the pointed style may yet be discerned in the

(1) *Stow's Summary of the Chronicles of England*, pp. 27, 28. *Land*. 1598.

(2) *Ibid*.

(3) A. D. 626.

(4) *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. IX. p. 303. *Edin*. 1799.

(5) Witness the interesting though almost unnoticed model of the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, called "the Round Church," in *Cambridge*, built by the Knights of *Jerusalem*, and shewing precisely the form of the building as it existed in the seventh century. See the Plan given by *Adamnanus*, apud *Mabilien*. *Acta Sanctor. Ordinis Benedicti*, Sec. 3. Par. 2. p. 505. *L. Par*. 1679.

superstructure covering the *Sepulchre* itself⁶, CHAP.
I.
it is surely probable that *Iōna*, whose abbot }
drew up so accurate an account of all the
holy places, would preserve something in imita-
tion of its most sacred edifices. The author
of these Travels once visited *Iōna*; and in the
numerous vestiges of ecclesiastical splendour
which he there observed, in the rude bas-reliefs
of its sepulchral monuments, in granite coffins,
but, above all, in the remains of the pointed
Gothic style exhibited in the ruins upon that
island⁷, a traveller there might rather imagine
himself viewing the antiquities of the *Holy Land*,

(6) See *Pococke's Travels*, and the Engravings already given in this work. The curious work of Bernardino, "*Trattato delle Pianta et Immagini de sacri Edifizi de Terra Santa*," published at Florence, in 1620, gives the rules and exact dimensions for the construction of sanctuaries after the model of the *Holy Sepulchre*, which, at the time of Bernardino's visit to Jerusalem, was entirely surrounded with pointed arches. The pointed arches of the *Mikias*, in the *Isle of Rhouda*, near *Cairo*, are of the ninth century, as will be proved in a subsequent Note. Many other instances might be adduced to prove that the pointed style of architecture existed in all the oldest Saracenic structures; but the Eastern origin of the pointed arch has been so satisfactorily demonstrated by WHITTINGTON, (*Hist. Surv. of Eccles. Antiq. &c.*) by HARGITT, (*Lett. on Gothic Architect.*) by KERRICH, (*Observ. on the Churches of Italy, Archæol. Vol. XVI.*) and by HAWKINS, (*Hist. of the Orig. &c. of Gothic Architecture*), that an obstinate denial of the fact is merely the struggle of ignorance against the acknowledgment of error.

(7) See Pennant's *Hebrides*, Plates xxii and xxiii. p. 253. Chester, 1771.

CHA. I. and of edifices erected by the mother of *Constantine*, than of an ecclesiastical establishment upon a small island in the *Hebrides*; and upon an island, too, which was already thus distinguished, before the inhabitants of *England* could be said to be converted to *Christianity*; at an æra when the king of the *East Angles* was actually sending into *Burgundy* for missionaries to preach the *Christian* faith¹. The state of *Iona*, indeed, at that period, can only be accounted for by the intercourse which was then maintained with the *Holy Land* by all parts of the *Christian* world. As a seat of learning, *Iona* was so renowned, that its abbot was appointed to act as ambassador from *Ireland* to an *English* monarch²; and it is well known that *Bede* borrowed his account of the *Holy Land* from *Arculf's* testimony, as attested by *Adamnanus*. We may therefore with justice ask, "Has it been proved, that, prior to the introduction of the *Saxon* arch in the southern

(1) *Stow's Summary*, &c. p. 27. Lond. 1598.

(2) *Bede*, as cited by *Mabilon*, mentions the embassy of *Adamnanus* to *Eadfrith* (called *Aldfrid* by *Bede*), king of the *Northumbrians*, a short time before the abbot's death, in 708. "*Adamnanum mortuum esse postquam legationem ad Aldfridum, anno dccv defunctum, teste Beda in lib. v. cap. 19. anno regni sui vigesimo necdum impleto.*" (Vide *Mabilon. Acta Ord. S. Bened. Sec. 3. Par. 2. p. 500. L. Par. 1672.*)

provinces of our island; no instance of the *pointed style* adorned those ecclesiastical establishments in the north, which, having no connexion with the Saxons, were erected at an earlier period, and after a different model? It is conceived that this question cannot be answered, by urging that the *pointed style* originated in our country from the intersection of circular arches. The fact of the existence of *pointed arches*, before the period assigned for their invention in *England*, is a plain document, which cannot be superseded: it rests upon the evidence of *pointed arches* situate

(3) See the very recent but most satisfactory elucidation of this subject, by the Rev. T. Kerrich, read before the Society of Antiquaries, May 11, 18, and June 1, 1809, and since published in the XVth volume of their *Archæologia*. Speaking of the supposed *English* origin of *Gothic* architecture, Mr. Kerrich says, "The late Mr. Gilpin, I believe, first broached this notion, (*See Gilpin's Northern Tour*, vol. I.) at least he first delivered it to the world in print: he had never been out of *England*: he was therefore excusable: but how people who had travelled, and had visited the other countries of *Europe*, could patronize such a notion, is really surprising: they must know, unless they voluntarily shut their eyes, that, throughout the Low Countries, from ST. OMER's to COLOGNE, the old churches are all *Gothic*; and many of them immense structures, and wonderfully beautiful; such as the cathedrals of *Antwerp* and *Mechlin*, *St. Gudule's* at *Brussels*, and *St. Bavo's* at *Ghent*, and numberless others. The whole of *France* is covered with them, from *Calais* to *Lyons*, and quite to the banks of the *Rhine*, where the cathedral of *Strasbourg* is eminently light and beautiful. The cathedral and church of *St. Nicise* at *Rarims*, the cathedrals of *Amiens*, *Reims*, and *Evreux*, are also well known as buildings of extraordinary dimensions and elegance in this style of architecture. According to *Pons's Voyage en Espagne*, and the

CHAP. I. in countries then unknown to *Englishmen*; as in the Tombs of *Oriental Tartary*; also of *pointed arches* in *Egypt* and in the *Holy Land*, in the examples already alluded to; and there are others which have not been adduced. The roof of a chamber in one of the pyramids of *Saccára*, in *Egypt*, is so constructed, that the section of it would exhibit a *lancet* form; the sides being inclined at an angle of about sixty degrees¹. But even with reference to buildings erected in the *twelfth* century, and especially to the mosque and sepulchre of Sultan *Zahir*, near the eastern gate of *Cairo*², will the assumption be deemed sufficient to account for the *pointed arches* they

the writings of other travellers, the case is the very same in every kingdom of SPAIN." Mr. *Kerrich* then proves its existence, and describes its remains, over all GERMANY and ITALY. See *Observations on Gothic Buildings and Architecture*, by the Rev. T. *Kerrich*, Principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge, M. A. F. S. A. *Archæologia*, vol. XVI. p. 299, et seq. Lond. 1811.

(1) The author himself saw this roof, in his subsequent visit to those *Pyramids*; but having neglected to notice it in his *Journal*, and preserving only a doubtful recollection of the fact, he consulted his friend *Burchhardt*, now travelling in *Egypt*, upon the subject of its existence. The following is an Extract from a Letter, dated *Cairo*, July 10, 1815, containing Mr. *Burchhardt's* answer. "There is a large room in one of the *Pyramids* to the south of those which are commonly called '*Pyramids of Saccára*,' the roof of which is formed by the inclination of the two sides; which meet above, at an angle of about sixty or sixty-five degrees." *Burchhardt's MS. Letter*.

(2) Vid. *Museum Asiaticum*, p. 87. Lond. 1794. Caliph *Zahir* lived in the *twelfth* century.

exhibit; that "the *Caliph* who built them, perhaps employed some *Christian slaves* in the work." The supposition itself involves an absurdity; for if an intolerant *Moslem* had given such a preference to *Christians* who were his slaves, these men must have been supernaturally inspired with "architectural knowledge for the undertaking.

Acre has been described as the scene of a very interesting story in *English* history, which may, however, be destitute of any real foundation in truth. It is related by *Speed*³, that *Eleanor*, wife of *Edward the First*, here drew the poison from her husband's arm, after he had been poignarded by an assassin; applying her lips to the wound. "Pitie it is," says *Fuller*⁴, "so pretty a storie should not be true (with all the miracles in *Love's legends*)! and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex; yet can it not stand with what others have written⁵,—How the physician, who was to dresse his wounds, spake to the Lord *Edmund*

(3) See *Speed's Hist. of Edward the First*.

(4) *Fuller's Historie of the Holy Warre*, book iv. chap. 20, p. 220. Camb. 1651.

(5) See *Fox's Martyrolog.* p. 337.

CHAP.
I.

and the Lord John Voysie, to take away Ladie Elenor out of the prince's presence, lest her pitie should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out, and wrung her hands, 'Madame,' said they, 'be contented: it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of *England* should lament a great season:' and so they conducted her out of the place." The tradition, however, which, after all, is not disproved by the evidence *Fuller* has adduced, has given rise to one of the finest specimens of modern sculpture existing in the world': and as it affords, perhaps, the only remaining proof of the surprising abilities of an *English* artist (snatched from the pursuit of fame in the very opening of a career which might have classed him with the best sculptors of Antient *Greece*), the author considers it a patriotic duty to pay some tribute to its

Anecdote
of Deane,
an English
sculptor.

(1) The work of *John Deane*, who, at a very early period of life, attained to a surprising degree of perfection in sculpture and design. He died a few years ago, at *Rome*, at the very time when the first proofs of his genius began to obtain the patronage necessary for its full developement. The particular work alluded to is a bas-relief, executed in the marble of *Carrara*. It was purchased by Sir *Corbet Corbet*, an *English* baronet, and belongs now to his collection. This brief allusion to a young artist, who would have been an honour to his country, is perhaps the only biographical document concerning him likely to be made public.

merit, and, thereby, to the memory of its author.

CHAP.
I.

Our voyage from *Acre* was as prosperous as the former one had been from *Egypt*. The serenity of the *Mediterranean*, at this season of the year, is surprisingly contrasted with the tremendous storms which prevail during the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. We steered for *Egypt* with every sail extended; but were impelled by such gentle breezes, that the motion of the frigate was scarcely perceptible. On the twenty-first of *July*, at seven o'clock P. M. we were under weigh, and about ten, came to anchor off *Cape Carmel*. The next morning, at four A. M. we made sail again, and continued our progress all that day and the following night, without any occurrence worth notice. On the morning of *July* the twenty-fourth, at seven A. M. the Island of *Cyprus* was visible, bearing N. N. W. distant ten or eleven leagues. At five A. M. of the following morning, the same island was still in view, and nearly at the same distance, bearing N. and by E.

Voyage to
Egypt.

July the twenty-sixth, at seven P. M. we hailed the *Thisbe* frigate. This day, being *Sunday*, we accompanied Captain *Culverhouse* to the gun-

CHAP.
I.

Accident
which be-
fel the
Romulus.

room, to dine there with his officers, according to his weekly custom. As we were beginning our dinner, the voice of a sailor employed in heaving the lead was suddenly heard calling "*half four!*" The Captain, starting up, reached the deck in an instant; and almost as quickly putting the ship in stays, she went about. Every seaman on board thought she would be stranded; as she came about, all the surface of the water exhibiting a thick black mud; and this extended so widely, that the appearance resembled an island. At the same time, no land was really visible, not even from the mast-head, nor was there any notice of such a shallow in any chart on board. The fact is, as we learned afterwards, that a stratum of mud, extending for many leagues off the mouths of the Nile, exists in a moveable deposit near the coast of *Egypt*, and, when recently shifted by currents, it sometimes reaches quite to the surface, so as to alarm mariners with sudden shallows, where the charts of the Mediterranean promise a considerable depth of water. These shallows, however, are not in the slightest degree dangerous; vessels no sooner touch them, than they are dispersed; and a frigate may ride secure, where the soundings would induce an inexperienced pilot to believe her nearly aground. In the