

MEMOIRS
RELATING TO
EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC
(TURKEY;)

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPT JOURNALS,

BY

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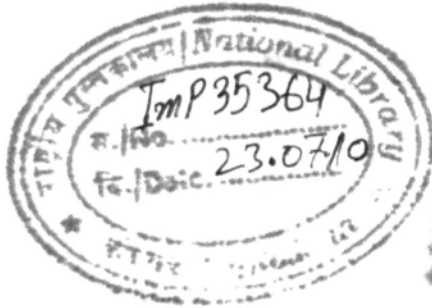


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PREFACE.

THE information derived from those who visit various provinces of the Turkish empire is of a very different nature from that which is collected in travelling through parts of civilised Europe. In the former case, we not only become acquainted with a people whose habits, institutions, religion, policy, and usages, are entirely opposite to those which we find in Christian Europe; but from researches connected with the geography and natural history of these countries we are able to explain many passages of the sacred writers, as well as of other ancient authors; the customs * also and modes of life which

* Travellers who have visited parts of Syria and Egypt make frequent mention of customs and habits of life similar to those which prevailed in the time of the writers of the Old and New Testament; but no one, before Captain Light, ever pointed out a singular opinion still existing in the east, and which was common in Palestine 1800 years ago, respecting the use of saliva in certain diseases of the body. See the account in this volume, p. 416., of the person at Ibrim in Nubia applying for a cure of the head-ache; and of the woman at Hermonthis in Egypt, who requested C. Light to spit on her eyes. "How far spittle was accounted wholesome for weak eyes," says Lightfoot, in his Hebrew and Talmudical exercitations on John ix., "we may learn from the following tale relating to R. Meir." We shall extract a part of it. "Is there ever a woman, said Rabbi Meir, among you, skilled in muttering charms over eyes? the woman said, R. I am not skilled; however, saith he, do thou spit seven times on my eyes, and I shall be healed." See Mark, viii. 23. and vii. 33.

The passage from C. Light's Journal should be inserted in any future edition of Harmer.

still prevail in Syria and Egypt, afford occasionally excellent illustrations of the Holy Scriptures; and coins, vases, inscriptions, throw light on the state of the arts among the Greeks, on different parts of their history; and on the palæography and dialects of their language.

But no person is qualified to pay equal attention to the various subjects which present themselves to his notice, in a journey through European and Asiatic Turkey; and any acquaintance with the geography, natural history, statistics, and antiquities of these countries is often obtained with great difficulty, even by those who are best prepared to direct their attention to such pursuits.

A selection, therefore, from the journals of different travellers, may be the means of bringing together in a single volume a greater variety of information than we can expect to find in the work of any individual.

Although the publications of our countrymen, as well as of others who have recently visited the Levant, have added many valuable materials to those which we before possessed, relating to different parts of the Turkish empire, yet the field of enquiry is so wide, that much remains still to engage the notice and attention of future travellers. Our knowledge of these countries is necessarily acquired by slow degrees; various circumstances occasionally interrupt the researches of those who explore them; some provinces in consequence of the want of an able and efficient system of government are exposed to the incursions of robbers and wandering tribes; through these the traveller is obliged to pass in haste; at other times, sickness, arising from the heat of the climate or from the season of the year, impedes his progress. The want of ready communication with the inhabitants, together with the ignorance and jealousy so frequently displayed by them, are obstacles to his acquiring the information which he seeks. To these, we must add the dangers he incurs in exploring the more uncivilised districts of the empire.

While, therefore, we are thus prevented from obtaining a more complete knowledge of these countries, it is hoped that an attempt to supply the deficiencies of it, according to the plan adopted in the present work, will be favourably received.

The observations of those whose papers are now published for the first time, are communicated either in the form of journals and letters, or detached essays. There are advantages attending each of these separate modes; in the former, the remarks of the traveller are given as they presented themselves to his mind on the spot, without any unnecessary amplification or expansion; and in adopting the latter method, the writer by subsequent reading and enquiry is able to bestow more attention on the subject than is consistent with the form of a mere narrative or journal.

There are, indeed, many subjects which have not been sufficiently illustrated, either in the present work, or in those already published, relating to the Turkish empire. Yet every information of an original kind, and drawn from authentic sources, is of importance; and if those Europeans who are settled in the great cities of the east would note down carefully their remarks, and institute enquiries on various subjects, we should soon be in possession of many new documents. A residence on the spot affords excellent opportunities for acquiring or correcting information. Materials for the valuable work of Dr. Russell were prepared in this manner; and during the twelve years which were passed by D'Arvieux in the Levant, he collected a greater number of facts respecting the Turks, their manners and customs, than Europeans in general have been able to acquire. There are many objects of research which the transient traveller, however inquisitive, cannot investigate fully; these may fall more properly under the observation of those who are resident in the country.

It is to be regretted that a plan suggested by the Editor of Russell's Aleppo, in his preface to that work, has never yet been adopted.

He proposes that a collection of books on astronomy, ancient geography, and natural history, together with a few instruments, should be placed in each of the commercial settlements in the Levant; and that heads of enquiry under the form of queries should be adapted to the respective stations. There can be little doubt that a well arranged plan of this nature would conduce materially to our knowledge of parts of Greece and Asia. It would stimulate enquiry, and direct usefully some portion of that time which might be spared by persons engaged in commercial pursuits, or by those who are resident as consuls in some of the cities of the east.

If this plan, or one similar to it, cannot be easily carried into effect, the Editor hopes, that at different intervals of time selections will be made, partly from the papers of those travellers, who, although they have been prevented by death from completing their labours, may have left behind them remarks too valuable to be forgotten; partly from the observations of others, who may have directed their enquiries to new subjects, or have examined less frequented districts of the Turkish empire. If the journals of these travellers should be judged by the authors of them too small to form separate publications, still they may properly find their place in a volume, which shall incorporate and connect them with the remarks of others relating to the same countries.

The Editor now proceeds to acknowledge the obligations which he has received from those gentlemen who have communicated to him the different papers and remarks which are published for the first time in the present volume.

An Account of a Journey through the District of Maina, in the Morea, p. 33.

THIS extract, from the papers of Mr. Morritt, relates to a part of Greece which has seldom been explored. Indeed an account so full

and so detailed of the character and manners of the Mainots* is nowhere to be found. The district of the Peloponnesus occupied by them is the portion of it bordering on the Messenian and Laconian gulfs. The spirit of piracy and plunder which made them so long the terror of the Archipelago and neighbouring seas, appears to have been softened in some degree by commercial pursuits. A traveller in the early part of the seventeenth century thus describes them:

* The Mainots are called by Constantine Porphyrog. κάστρου Μαΐνης δικήτορας, de Ad. Imp. c. 50. On the eastern part of the country occupied by them they are joined by the Tzacones descended from the ancient Laconians, and inhabiting a district of the Morea between Nauplia and Epidaurus Limera. Many Doric forms are retained by the Tzacones in their language; some instances of which are given by Villoison. They say ὄχθρè for ἐχθρè (in Sappho we find ἑρπετὸν for ἐρπετὸν), χάρκη for χάρτη; (the Dorians said ἄλλοκα for ἄλλοτε), also βουγάτηρ and ψουχά. They use νάυτα and προφήτα the Homeric nominative; instead of νάυτης; and προφήτης.—See the Prolegom. ad Hom. xlix. and his MS. notes on Pindar, referred to by Schæfer, p. 96. in Greg. de D. and Leake's *Résarches*, p. 200.

We learn from Mr. Hawkins, that the names of the villages of the Tzacconiotes are Prasto, Castanitzá, and Sitena; they have also a few hamlets or summer habitations under the name of Kalivia. All these belong to the province of Mistra, though they are situated in the Villaète of Agios Petros. Prasto, in respect to its Greek population, is nearly equal to Tripolizza, containing from 800 to 1000 houses. Except a few small plains on the sea-coast, the country of Tzacconia is entirely mountainous, and of course it is not productive of corn, but supports very numerous flocks of goats and sheep. Cheese, therefore, is the principal object of exportation; and next to this, Prino Cocci, or scarlet grains, which are gathered from the Prinari or Quercus Ilex. The inhabitants are celebrated for their skill in draining ground, and in conducting water; and are preferred to all others in executing works of this kind in the Ionian islands. A considerable part of the whole population not finding employment at home migrate either periodically, at particular seasons of the year, or for a certain time. Many, for instance, visit Patras, where they are occupied in attending to the currant vineyards. About three hundred leave Tzacconia every year for Zeitun near Thermopylae, where they are employed during three months in the cultivation of the rice grounds. It is computed that about the same number are resident at Constantinople, most of whom follow the occupation of Baccalides (grocers and purveyors of victuals). The bread-sellers in that city are chiefly Armenians; but the hirelings whom they employ to grind the corn in horse-mills and to bake the bread are Tzacconiotes.

“Agreste et ferox genus hominum lorica induti, arcum in manibus gestant, et nullius parent imperio; sed rapinis et latrocinii assueti obscuram ducunt vitam, Christiani nomine, sed reipsa barbari et exleges plane.” Cotovic, Itin. 61.

*Remarks added to the Journal of Mr. Morritt, illustrating Part of his Route through the ancient Messenia and Laconia:—from the Papers of the late Dr. Sibthorp, p. 60. **

“In the year 1784, Professor Sibthorp projected his first tour into Greece, and engaged a draftsman of great excellence, Mr. F. Bauer, to be the companion of his expedition; they arrived in Crete in 1786. This island and many other parts of the Levant were examined by Dr. Sibthorp in that and the following year; and he was enabled to collect a large mass of documents respecting the birds, and fishes, and plants of those celebrated countries, and to satisfy many enquiries respecting the state of agriculture and medicine among the inhabitants of them.

“Dr. Sibthorp’s constitution had suffered much from the fatigues and exertions undergone by him during his journey into Greece; yet sensible how much was still wanting to perfect the undertaking which he had originally designed, he determined to devote himself to the further prosecution of it, namely, the botanical investigation of Greece, and especially the determination of the plants mentioned by its classical authors.

“In 1794, he again set out for Turkey; and was joined at Constantinople by Mr. Hawkins, who had accompanied him during part of

* These remarks are published by the permission of Mr. Hawkins, to whom the Editor is also indebted for many communications, which are properly noticed, wherever they occur, in this work.

his former tour. They visited the plain of Troy, the isles of Imbros and Lemnos, the peninsula of Athos, passed some time in Attica; proceeded on their journey to the Morea, where they spent two months, examining the most interesting parts of that province.

“They reached Zante on the 29th of April, and there Dr. S. parted from the faithful companion of his journey, whom he was destined never to see again, but in whose friendship he safely confided in his last hours. Mr. H. returned to Greece; the Professor left Zante for Otranto; on the voyage he was detained by a contrary wind at Prevesa, and visiting the ruins of Nicopolis caught a severe cold, from which he never recovered. It seems to have proved the exciting cause of that disease, which had long been latent in the mesenteric and pulmonary glands, and which terminated in a consumption. He arrived in England in 1795, and died at Bath in 1796, in the 38th year of his age.

“The posthumous benefits which Dr. S. has rendered to his beloved science are sufficient to rank him among its most illustrious patrons. By his will, dated 1796, he gives a freehold estate in Oxfordshire to the University of Oxford, for the purpose of first publishing his *Flora Græca*, in 10 folio volumes, with 100 coloured plates in each, and a *Prodromus* of the same work, in octavo, without plates. His executors, the Hon. T. Wenman, J. Hawkins, and T. Platt, Esquires, were to appoint a sufficiently competent editor of these works, to whom the MSS. drawings and specimens were to be confided. They fixed upon the writer of the present article, who has now nearly completed the *Prodromus*, and the second volume of the *Flora*. In preparing the latter work, the final determination of the species, the distinctions of such as were new, and all critical remarks have fallen to his lot; he has also revised the references to *Dioscorides*, and with Mr. Hawkins's help, corrected the modern Greek names. When these publications are finished, the annual sum of 200*l.* is to

be paid to a professor of Rural Economy, and the remainder of the rents of the estate above mentioned is destined to purchase books for him." *

Journey in Asia-Minor : — from Parium to the Troad : — Ascent to the Summit of Ida : — the Salt Springs of Tousla : — the Ruins of Assos. — From the Papers of Dr. Hunt, p. 84.

IN this journey, Dr. Hunt was accompanied by the late Professor Carlyle. In their survey of the Troad, they were conducted by their guides to a part of the country which no traveller has yet visited. Of the magnificent ruins at Assos, there has been hitherto no published account ; they are slightly mentioned in the Voyage Pittoresque of M. de Choiseul.

The Editor acknowledges his obligations to Shute Barrington, Lord Bishop of Durham, and to George Tomline, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, for the letters of the late Professor Carlyle, addressed to them from Constantinople and other parts of Turkey, p. 152.

Various and contradictory reports had been circulated at different times, respecting the contents of the library of the Seraglio. Toderini, (T. 2. Letterat. Turches ;) was informed that it contained many volumes in the Oriental dialects, and some manuscripts of the Greek and Latin writers. In answer to the enquiries of the Abbé Sevin, it was said, that the MSS. had been burnt. Dositheus, in his History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, printed in 1715, mentions the library of the Greek emperors as still existing. The late Pro-

* The account in the text, relating to Dr. Sibthorp, is taken, by permission of Sir J. Smith, from a more enlarged memoir printed in Rees's Encyclopædia.

fessor Carlyle was requested by Mr. Pitt and the Bishop of Lincoln to direct his attention particularly, during his residence at Constantinople, towards obtaining some satisfactory information on this subject; and one of his letters contains a very detailed and valuable statement, the result of his researches and personal enquiries.

The accuracy of the account given by Mr. Carlyle, has been strongly confirmed by the publication of some part of the journals of M. Girardin, who was ambassador from France at the Porte, in the year 1685. It appears from the enquiries that were then made, that the Greek MSS. and books in the library amounted to about 200. A renegado Italian, in the service of the Selictar, the chief officer of the seraglio, brought away * from it many of the works at successive times; and fifteen of these volumes, written partly on vellum, partly on paper, were selected by Besnier, the Jesuit, and purchased by him for the ambassador. The remainder of the Greek works were sold at Pera; *ils ont été vendus sur le pied de 100 livres chacun : ainsi il n'en reste plus de cette langue dans le serail.* This account †, (with which Mr. Carlyle was entirely unacquainted,) corresponds with the statement given by him to the Bishop of Lincoln. He found in the library many works in the Oriental dialects; but none written in Greek. ‡

* The plunder of the library had already commenced in 1638, as we learn from a letter of Greaves: "I have procured, among other works, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the fairest book that I have seen; stolen by a Spahy, as I am informed, out of the King's library in the seraglio." Vol. ii. p. 437.

† It was not published in the life-time of Professor Carlyle. See "Notice des MSS. du Roi." T. viii.

‡ An Arabic translation of a lost work of Aristotle, *πολιτεῖαι πολεών*, existed at Constantinople so late as the 1089th year of the Hegira; and is quoted by Hadjee Kalfa, who lived at that time, in his *Bib. Orient.* See Villoison, in *Ac. des Inscr.* xlvii. 322. The discovery of this MS. would be a literary acquisition of some value.

Of the MSS. which were procured by M. Girardin, and were afterwards brought to Paris, two were consulted by Wyttenbach and Larcher; a manuscript of Plutarch, by the former; and one of Herodotus, by the latter.

Mount Athos, from the Papers of Dr. Hunt, p. 198.

At the time when the capital of the Greek empire was in danger of being attacked by the Turks, the most valuable of the manuscripts of the learned Greeks were taken to Mount Athos, as a place of safety. The libraries of Paris, Vienna, and Moscow, contain many which have been brought from that peninsula*; and persons have been sent at different times to procure others, which are preserved in some of the convents. We have, however, no recent or authentic account of the actual state of the monastic institutions at Athos. Dr. Hunt and professor Carlyle, during a residence of three weeks there, collected much information relating to them, and examined with particular attention the different libraries† on the Holy Mountain.

Remarks on Parts of Bœotia and Phocis; from the Journals of Mr. Raikes, p. 297.

* Some have supposed that the entire copy of Livy was to be found at Athos.—Gibbon's *Miscell. Works*, Vol. iii. p. 375.

† Many of the MSS. in these libraries were probably written by the monks who exercised the office of calligraphs; others were given as presents on particular occasions. Maximus gave a manuscript of Chrysostom with some books to the monastery of Dionysius. Gregory, Bishop of Elasson (the ancient Oloosson in Thessaly), presented a manuscript of the Gospel of St. John to the convent of Pantocratos.—*Mém. de l'Institut*. 1815.

The Plain of Marathon, from the Papers of the late Colonel Squire, p. 324.

IN the year 1802, Colonel Squire was engaged with Colonel Leake and Mr. Hamilton in a tour through parts of Greece; the plain of Marathon, the defile of Thermopylæ, and the site of the battle of Plataea were particularly examined by them; and plans of these spots, so celebrated in the history of Greece, were taken.

“The surveys, to use the words of Colonel Squire*, were made from a base measured by a chain; the principal points being ascertained by angles observed with a theodolite.” It is probable, that the delay of publishing these plans arose from a desire of collecting some additional details, and thus rendering them more full and perfect. The topographical sketch, which is now engraved from the papers of Colonel Squire, however incomplete, will serve to illustrate the observations made by him and his companions on the spot. More accurate geographical information respecting this and other parts of Greece, may be shortly expected from Sir W. Gell, Mr. Hawkins, and Colonel Leake, who have applied themselves with great industry, to a survey of different districts of this country. *Nos meilleurs cartes de ce pays ne sont encore que des cartes hypothétiques.* Translation de Strabon. T. iii. 101.

* John Squire, late Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Corps of Engineers, was an officer of distinguished talents. His death is sincerely lamented by his relatives; and by those who had various opportunities of being acquainted with the excellences of his heart and understanding. He served his country in Egypt, South America, Holland, and Spain; and died at Truxillo during the Peninsular war, A. D. 1812, in the thirty-third year of his age, the victim of excessive fatigue and exertion.

Ἡ μάλα δὴ περὶ σείο λύγρον πότμον ἔκλυε πάτρα.

The extracts from Colonel Squire's papers are printed by permission of the Rev. E. Squire.

Observations relating to some of the Antiquities of Egypt, from the Papers of the late Mr. Davison, p. 345.

NATHANIEL DAVISON, Esq. was British consul at Algiers: he accompanied Mr. Wortley Montague to Egypt, in the year 1763; resided eighteen months at Alexandria; as many at Cairo; and from that place visited frequently the pyramids of Giza.*

During his stay in Egypt, he made some excursions in the vicinity of Alexandria with the Duke de Chaulnes; they afterwards embarked together on board of the same vessel for Europe. While they were performing quarantine in the Lazaretto at Leghorn, the Duke contrived by means of a false key to obtain and copy Mr. Davison's papers and drawings.† Coming afterwards to London, he advertised a publication of his own researches with drawings by Mr. Davison, whom he called his secretary.‡ The design of the work was laid aside, in consequence of a strong remonstrance on the part of Mr. Davison, conveyed in a letter to the Duke, Sept. 9. 1783, the very day on which the latter expected an engraver to wait upon him. A proposal of a joint publication was then made to Mr. D., which he declined. Two plates from Mr. Davison's drawings are engraved in Sonnini's travels, and must have been communicated by the Duke.

* Mr. D. died in 1809. His Journals, Plans, and Drawings are in the possession of his widow, Mrs. Davison, of Alnwick, in Northumberland, and his nephew Dr. Yelloly, of Finsbury-square. From these papers the Editor has been permitted to select the extracts now published for the first time in the present volume.

† This is stated on the authority of Mr. Meadley (the author of the life of Paley), who was well acquainted with Mr. Davison.

‡ This tract, in which Mr. D. is called the secretary to the Duc de Chaulnes, is in the possession of Mr. Meadley.

The merit of the discovery * of the room in the great pyramid at Giza, over the chamber which contains the Sarcophagus, is due solely to Mr. Davison: no traveller before or since his time has examined it; nor has any one been induced by curiosity to descend so far into another part of the same building. Very little was known of the catacombs of Alexandria before he examined them: they seem to have been scarcely noticed by preceding travellers. He was the first who surveyed the whole of these extensive cemeteries; and the plan of the Necropolis among his papers, is nearly as full and complete as that which was afterwards made by the French.

Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Modern Inhabitants of Egypt; from the Journals of Dr. Hume.

Journal of a Voyage up the Nile, between Philæ and Ibrim, in Nubia, in May, 1814, by Captain Light.

On the Topography of Athens; communicated by Mr. Hawkins.

On the Vale of Tempe; by the same.

On the Syrtis of Strabo, and the Bridge over the Euripus; by the same.

* Mr. D.'s discovery is mentioned by Niebuhr and Bruce: the former says, "Je ne fus pas assez heureux pour y découvrir une chambre, jusqu' alors inconnue, et qui fut découverte après notre départ par Mr. Davison." Vol. i. p. 161. The latter says, "Mr. D. discovered the chamber above the landing place." Vol. i. p. 41. Maillet had been forty times in the pyramid, and had no knowledge of the chamber.

Panoramic View of Athens, illustrated by Mr. Haygarth.

Letter from Mr. Morrit to Dr. Clarke, respecting the Plain of Troy.

The Architectural Inscription brought from Athens, explained and translated by Mr. Wilkins.

CORRECTIONS.

- Page 5. line 2. put a comma after *Pasha*.
9. note §, dele the inverted commas.
18. note †, dele the inverted commas.
35. line 17. for *Cactūs*, read *Cactus*.
130. note, for *Sicula*, read *Sicilia*.
207. line 17. for *Thusos*, read *Thasos*.
304. line 20. for *Eubælus* (*in Athena*), read *Eubulus* (*in Athenæ*).
312. line 22. for ἀνιχώρησιν, read ἀνιχώρησι, and for ἰσίδυσαν, read ἰσίδυσαν.
323. note *, for ΤΟΙΔΕΙΜ, read ΤΟΙΔΙΕΜ.
332. note *, put a semicolon after *Stephanus*.
340. note *, for λάλον, read λάλον.
370. note *, for ε, ε, ω, read ε, ε, ω.
592. note †, for σπογγυλοειδής read σπογγυλοειδής.

The Remarks in pp. 392, 393. relating to the Ethiopian and Circassian women, and the Harem of Hassan, are communicated by J. R. Hume, Esq. who was on the Medical Staff of the British Army in Egypt.

The references to the Map of the Plain of Marathon are given in the Appendix.

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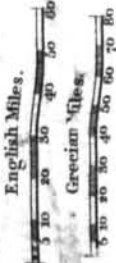
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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE CAUSES OF THE WEAKNESS AND DECLINE OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY,
AND SOME REMARKS ON THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT PURSUED IN THE
EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE.

THE history of no country has been distinguished by conquests so rapid and extensive, as those which attended the progress of the Turkish arms from the time of Othman to the establishment of their power over the fairest parts of Asia and Europe. The Christian world viewed their successes with alarm*; and the different states were exhorted to lay aside all mutual animosities, by the danger with which they were threatened.† The nations of Europe have derived strength and security from the general improvement of human reason, and the cultivation of the arts of peace and war; in the meantime, the spirit of military enterprise has declined among the Turks; the vigorous age of their monarchy is past; and the weakness of their empire has been exposed to their enemies, and parts of it have been invaded, or wrested from them.

* “The Turk,” says Lord Bacon, “is the most potent and most dangerous enemy of the faith.”

† Many treatises were written to rouse the Christian nations against the infidels. “J. Reusnerus, (says Bayle,) a recueilli plusieurs volumes de ces Harangues, qui ont été publiées pour exhorter les princes Chrétiens à unir leurs forces contre les infidèles.” Art. Mahomet. 2. Note E.

In examining the causes which have produced this decline, we may first advert to one deserving of more consideration, than it has generally received. We allude to the discovery of the navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Before that great event took place, the Venetians had formed establishments in the ports of Syria and Egypt, to which the productions and manufactures of the East were brought; they had received various privileges of trade from the Mamelukes, which Selim the First afterwards confirmed. The valuable commodities of China and India would have continued to reach these coasts, or would have been conveyed over land to the Black Sea, and thence by a short navigation to Constantinople. It was fortunate for the security and happiness of Europe, that the communication with the east was directed at that time into a different channel; the throne of Turkey was filled by sovereigns of great energy and enterprise, and the Christian states would not have resisted that power which the increasing wealth of their enemies might have enabled them to create and maintain. But when Turkey no longer continued mistress of the commerce of that age*, her national strength began to be impaired; her armies were no longer supported by the great means which were essential to the promotion and extension of her views against the peace of the Christian world, and her importance in the political system of Europe was greatly diminished.

2. The change occasioned by this circumstance has been followed by another in the constitution of the government of equal importance. The Turkish empire could only be supported by vigour and absolute power in the centre, by a promptness and decision which should pervade the whole system of administration, by a quick communication with the remotest parts of the provinces, by an army ready

* "About the year 1620, the voyages by sea to the East Indies had so lowered the prices of Indian merchandize, that the trade between India and Turkey, by the Persian Gulph and the Red Sea, having much decayed, the Grand Signior's customs were greatly lessened." Anderson, xi. 3.

to check and subdue the first symptoms of rising independence and insurrection. The author of *Oceana* * considered the policy and structure of all absolute monarchies in the East, to be not only contained, but meliorated in the Turkish government; and if we reflect upon the short duration of some of the Asiatic dynasties in Persia and India; if we consider that China has been four times subject to Tartar nations since the tenth century, we have reason to conclude that an empire which has now supported itself nearly five hundred years, has not been placed on weak foundations. While the Turkish Sultans were at the head of their troops, and kept in fear and subjection the different provinces, they could enforce and establish their ordinances; they were ready to protect or punish; they were rarely disturbed by the struggle of different competitors for power; the vigour of the armies was not suffered to relax. But a due regard to the extensive concerns and interests of the empire has proved a task too great for the degenerate successors of Selim, Mahomet, and Soliman. The stability of their monarchy depends on an adherence to those principles which first formed, and afterwards maintained it. The military ardour of the people is no longer nursed by fanaticism and enthusiasm; a decrease of reputation abroad, has been accompanied by internal weakness and decay. In proportion to the want of firmness and energy which have characterised the measures of the Divan, its authority has been disregarded, and the governors of various parts of the empire have had time to form their schemes of aggrandisement. While the customary tribute has been delayed by some, under various pretences, others more or less openly, according to the opportunities which present themselves, have disclaimed all allegiance; whole tracts are wasted in the wars kindled on these occasions; and in the nature and violence of the hostilities we are frequently reminded of those which belong to the history of the feudal times in Europe.

* *Art of Lawgiving*, 368.

3. The condition of the provinces has been also affected by an alteration in the mode of appointing the governors of them. Formerly they were bestowed on slaves who had received their education in the seraglio; who considered the Sultan as sole master of their destiny: pretended to no sovereignty over their districts but that which flowed from his good will, and were prepared to resign them at his command, and return into the obscure situation from which they had been taken.* But when the nomination to these principalities could be obtained by paying great sums to those who held power and office at Constantinople, many parts of the empire were exposed to plunder and oppression. The Turkish Pasha, like the Roman Proconsul †, is obliged to satisfy the rapacity of the officers in the capital; if the demands of the Porte increase, the provincial governor must comply with them; the continuance in his district must be purchased by new contributions, or by sharing some part of the treasure accumulated by him for the purpose of procuring another government, upon his removal from that which he possesses. Uncertain, in the meantime, how long he may enjoy his present dignity, he is regardless of gaining the attachment or approbation of his subjects; his time is not employed in projecting works of public utility, or forming schemes for the general improvement of the province, or for securing and facilitating the intercourse between different parts of it.

4. The labour and industry of every country, whether they are directed to agricultural or commercial pursuits, are regulated by the manner in which wealth is diffused among the inhabitants. The very unequal distribution of it in Turkey, forms a great impediment

* Russell's Aleppo, i. 335.

† "The governors of the Roman provinces, were, if I may use the expression, the Pashas of the republic." Montesquieu, B. 2. These rapacious governors acquired vast wealth. "Even Cicero," says Melmoth, "who professed to conduct himself with exemplary disinterestedness in his province, was able in the course of a single year to acquire as much as 17,600*l.* of our money, and that too from a province by no means the most considerable of the republic's dominions."

to any advancement of prosperity or general civilization.* In and about the great cities of the empire, where the Pasha Mohassil, and other officers of high situation reside, and to which manufacturers or merchants are attracted, some degree of industry and cultivation may be observed. But as we proceed through the more distant parts of many of the provinces, we find little appearance of wealth or comfort. This inequality of property is a consequence of the insecurity of the possessions of those, who are in inferior situations in life. If we except some families of feudal rank, the most opulent people in every province are the officers of government, those who hold situations under the Porte, or Pasha of the district. All of a class below them, are checked and impeded in their exertions to raise themselves. If their occupations are agricultural, they do not possess that interest in the land which would encourage them to industrious exertion, in increasing the quantity or improving the quality of the productions of it. Their territorial assessment is nominally fixed; but they are exposed to heavy and fluctuating exactions. If their means of subsistence are derived from commercial sources †, an incautious display of wealth would subject them to extortion and plunder. Under such a system of mischievous policy, it is not surprising that various modes of concealing property are practised. In the large towns it is not necessarily so much exposed to the eye of the government, as that wealth, which is derived immediately from the produce of the land.

Such is the favourable situation of some of the provinces of

* "Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies of a state be not gathered into few hands. For otherwise, a state may have a great stock and yet starve; and money is, like muck, not good, except it be spread." Bacon. Essay, 39.

† "The Christians of Aleppo," says Russel (in a remark, which admits of general application to the Christian subjects of the Turks), "find it prudent to avoid the ostentation of wealth, from fear of attracting the attention of their rapacious governors. They are under the necessity of contributing largely to the support of the poor of their respective nations, as likewise to the payment of *Avanias*, or unjust exactions demanded from them," ii. 46.

Turkey, with respect to the great markets of Germany and Italy, that the merchants of this empire are enabled even in times of war, when the communication by sea is interrupted, to maintain an active commercial intercourse by land. The territorial wealth of this country is so great, the climate so various, that few parts of the world would enter into competition with European and Asiatic Turkey, if a better direction and a greater encouragement were given to the industry of the inhabitants. The activity of the Greek and Armenian merchants would extend the internal trade, and open new sources of prosperity. But the spirit of enterprise and commercial speculation, is checked by the insecurity of property, and by the defects and abuses of the administration of the affairs of the provinces. It is only in those where the Pasha exerts himself to maintain order and tranquillity, and where he feels himself secure for a time from the intrigues of the Porte, that the interests of trade or agriculture are regarded. The want of punctuality in the fulfilment of pecuniary engagements, and the difficulty of recovering debts occasion the rate of interest for money to be very high. In Constantinople, and Smyrna, it amounts to twelve *per cent.*; in many parts of the empire to twenty *per cent. per annum.* As a great portion of the commerce of the country consists in the exportation of unwrought articles, there is little encouragement given to those various occupations which in Europe excite the industry and ingenuity of the artist and mechanic. Of the sums collected by the Pashas and other powerful individuals, some part is hoarded or concealed, and thus withdrawn from general circulation; some is annually sent out of the provinces to the great officers of the Porte.

5. The transportation of goods through different districts of the empire is slow, and often obstructed by the intestine troubles of the provinces; frequent interruptions arise in parts of Syria, and the northern and eastern extremities of Asia Minor. The independent Sheiks of the tribes who frequent one of the routes from Basra to Aleppo, all maintain equal pretensions to demand from the merchant, as the price of his safety, some portion of his goods. The

caravans are obliged frequently to accept the escort which some neighbouring Sheik or Pasha offers to them, and the expences of the merchants are multiplied by the delays and obstructions which their protectors purposely occasion. (Niebuhr. i. 339.) According to the measure of their strength and force, the Arabs and other tribes resist or obey the authority of the Turks. By extraordinary energy and vigour, a Pasha may sometimes be enabled to repress the encroachments of the Arabs, and confine them within certain limits; he prevents them, until they have paid the tribute which is due, from entering the great cities for the purposes of traffic, or exchanging different commodities; but the expences of raising levies and troops, active and numerous enough to watch their conduct, and threaten them with punishment are so great, that the governors, who consider their residence in the provinces as uncertain, are seldom disposed to maintain an army which can inspire the Arabs with fear and respect. The inhabitants of the villages, in the meantime, are left to a vicissitude of insult and oppression; they are kept in constant alarm by the incursion of these wandering tribes, and when the Pasha takes the field, they suffer not less injury from the vexatious insolence and disorder of the Turkish soldiers.

The internal trade of the Asiatic part of the empire has been diminished by another cause; the caravans of pilgrims or merchants, who assemble annually at the temple of Mecca, and on their return through the provinces of Asia and Syria, dispose of their various commodities and productions, are now less numerous than in former times. This is to be attributed partly to a declining zeal for Mahometanism, and partly to the fear of being plundered in those routes, which have lately been frequented by the Wahabee.

The decrease of the commerce* of this part of the empire is

* "It is a proof of the great European commerce carried on at Aleppo about the beginning of the 17th century, that the hire only of camels to fetch and carry goods to and from Scanderoon, the port of Aleppo, amounted at least to 8000 sequins a year." See P. Texeira, quoted by Russel, ii. 3.

proved by the decline of the mercantile establishments once maintained in some of the large cities. "It is worthy of remark," says a late traveller, who directed his attention particularly to subjects of a commercial nature, "that at a period not far distant, the Turks had many articles of exportation, of which they have now scarcely a sufficiency to supply their own wants. Silk, for instance, was once exported in considerable quantities; at present, hardly enough is to be found for the manufactures of the country, and that is at six times more than its former price. Every article of exportation has fallen off; the few which remain, are raised to such prices as to render exporting them a certain loss. This proceeds in a great measure from the extortion of the Agas, or governors of the provinces, and from the export goods being farmed by the rich destroyers of the state, who of course pay a small price, and prohibit the sale to any one else. Silk is at present farmed by the Reis Effendi, or minister for foreign affairs."

6. In countries, where the springs of industry and exertion are unbroken; the evils occasioned by plague, war, and famine are soon removed; but in Turkey the calamities they inflict are slowly repaired. The neglect of agriculture is one among other causes, which check the population of the country; nor is it difficult to assign the reason of the small esteem in which it is held in many parts. It is not only without any direct encouragement, but it has not that indirect assistance which an extended commerce always affords. The various tribes that wander over the deserted plains of Asia Minor and Syria, sometimes broken into small parties, at other times united in formidable numbers, remove according to the season of the year to districts where more extended pastures, or other advantages tempt them to a temporary settlement. The habits of life of all these hordes are unfavorable to a proper cultivation of the land. In addition to the Kurds and Bedoween Arabs, we may mention the Turkmans, the peculiar descendants of the Nomad Scythians, who are frequently met by travellers in Syria; we have observed their flocks, herds, and reeded tents on the western coast of Asia Minor. The

Rushwans are a tribe of wandering Kurds who inhabit the ancient Cappadocia, and in parts of the year establish themselves in the vicinity of Damascus and Aleppo. The Begdelees, a tribe of Turks, are described by Pococke as consisting of bodies of one thousand persons, and raising contributions on different villages. These wandering tribes increase in numbers, in consequence of the unquiet state of the country, and want of protection; peasants, Christians as well as Mahometans, being driven from the cultivation of their lands.

In policy, as in architecture, the ruin is greatest when it begins with the foundation. Under that very imperfect establishment of order and law, which prevails in some part of the European, as well as Asiatic provinces of the empire, the peasants are so depressed and interrupted in the exercise of their occupations, that the country is almost desolate. Five hundred villages are not found in the district of Mesopotamia belonging to Mardin, which once possessed sixteen hundred.* Cyprus before the conquest of the Turks contained 14,000 villages; in two insurrections great numbers of the inhabitants were slain; a dreadful mortality was occasioned by the plague in 1624, and in less than fifty years from that time, seven hundred villages only could be found.† Three hundred were once comprehended in a part of the Pashalik of Aleppo, now containing less than one-third of that number.‡ Many towns are mentioned in the history of the Caliphs, which no longer exist; the site of others may be traced on the route from Bagdad to Mosul. In consequence of the decrease of agriculture and manufacturing industry, the sums formerly paid to the government by some of its officers of revenue are diminished; 50,000*l.* was the amount § of

* Niebuhr, ii. 520.

† Rycant. State of the Greek church, p. 91.

‡ Russell, i. 339.

§ "Payments of money in the Turkish empire are made in purses; each purse containing 500 piastres. We find the payments made to the exchequer in the Greek empire were called 'folles.'" Clarke on Coins, 351.

the agreement made by the Mohassil of Aleppo in D'Arvieux time with the Grand Seignior's treasury; the contract in 1769 was fixed at a much lower rate. The reservoirs and canals by which the fertility of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, and Babylonia, under the time of the Saracens, and Mamaluke Soldans, was augmented and improved, have been neglected. The land throughout the empire is charged with a rent paid either to the Sultan himself, to the governors of provinces, or to those who farm the territorial impost, and other taxes: the amount of that levied on the Mussulman is a seventh or tenth of the produce; the Greeks on the continent and Islanders pay a fifth. But this tribute is not collected by any fixed regulations, and the inequality of exactions, and the want of just and proportioned impositions are the great political impediments to all improvements in Turkey. Great *avantias* are levied occasionally on the villages of Asia Minor and Syria, and as the land owners or renters delay that part of the assessment laid on the peasants and labourers, who cannot themselves pay it, from the small portion of the fruits of the earth which they receive, a heavy debt is always due from the latter to the former. In some parts, the **A**gas from improvident and extravagant habits of life have been unable to pay the *Miri**, or territorial tax, and have been obliged to quit the lands which they had hired. A long interval of time elapses before they are again occupied, and the peasants are forced to seek in the larger towns the means of support. The great cities are filled in this manner, because they afford a certain supply of provisions, as the governors are unwilling to expose themselves to those tumults which would arise in cases of famine, or dearness of corn. In the meantime, large tracts of country are deserted. A melancholy illustration of the depopulated state of them is afforded by the view of those extensive cemeteries so frequently passed by the traveller in his route. Scarcely any vestiges of the villages which

* Russell, i. 339. and 342.

once flourished near them are now seen. The incursions of robbers, the calamities of war and pestilence, have compelled the inhabitants to remove to other districts.* The countries between the Tigris and Euphrates, once distinguished for their populousness, are consigned to ruin and neglect; and the inhabitants retire to villages on the banks of the rivers, where they are less harrassed by the predatory attacks of the Arabs.

From the present rude and uncultivated condition of some of the provinces, we might be led to suppose that they were either barren, or incapable of affording any great produce. But nothing is wanted, except a greater number of inhabitants to draw forth by their skill and industry the productions of the soil. "If Nátolia," says Hasselquist, "was well peopled, active husbandmen would certainly make the hills turn to some account; here might be planted good vineyards of the fine vines that grow around Smyrna; here numbers of sheep might feed on places that agree well with them, where the sheep's fescue grass, (*festuca ovina*) grows sufficiently. Goats might feed here to a much greater number than are now found, there being plenty of food for them; and if all other places which here lie uncultivated, were turned into corn land, a careful husbandman might raise the finest crops on these hills." p. 35. From the testimonies of sacred Scripture and the writings of antiquity we learn that great multitudes were provided with subsistence in places which now support a very small population. Two millions and a half of persons followed the Jewish legislator into Palestine.† The enumeration

* "As long as insolation exposes men to personal danger, we can hope for the establishment of no equilibrium between the population of towns and that of the country." Humboldt, ii. 313.

† Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 99. Smith's translation. "The men able to bear arms somewhat exceeded 600,000, and including the Levites amounted to nearly 620,000. If according to the usual principle of calculation, we admit the whole people, women and children included, to have been four times as many, we shall then have nearly 2,500,000 souls for the amount of the population." Michaelis proceeds to shew, that within the limits of Palestine hereditary possessions and support were found for these very great numbers.

of the people of Israel in the time of David, if we take the lowest calculation, amounts, including women and children, to five millions; but that census embraces an extensive district. The remarks of Josephus and Tacitus respecting the fertility of parts of this country are confirmed by the observations of a native who examined it in the 13th century *, and by the accounts of more recent travellers. The wealth and populousness of Syria, as well as of Asia seem to have been considerable under the Christian emperors of Constantinople, if we may judge from the number of archbishoprics, bishoprics, convents, and churches which they contained. The religious faith of the actual possessors of Palestine has caused an alteration in one branch of rural industry; the prohibition of wine, which has now prevailed for ten centuries, has been sufficient to make a great difference between the former and present state of a country admirably adapted by nature to the growth of the grape. If we turn to Greece, we find only 20,000 persons in Attica †, and the population of the Peloponnesus does not exceed 350,000. The inhabitants of Egypt are calculated to amount to two millions and a half, a small number when we consider the resources of that country. ‡ The former civilization of many of the provinces of the empire is also proved by the temples, theatres, and public works which strike the attention of the traveller. A small part only of those numerous edifices can now be discovered in their remains. Whole towns in Asia and

* Abulfeda. "The country about Jerusalem," he says, "is one of the most fruitful in Palestine." Strabo (16.) informs us, "that it was unfruitful." Yet these two writers are easily reconciled. The latter alludes to the soil not being productive of grain; the former to its great produce in wine and oil. "An acre planted with vines or olives, however arid or rocky the soil may be, will very easily be made worth ten times as much as an acre of the richest corn land." Michaelis, iii 138.

† D'après les évaluations les plus justes. Beaujour. 1.

‡ This is Mr. Browne's statement. Volney assigns 2,300,000, and some of the members of the French Institute give the same number: but there is a difference in the quantity of cultivated land; the latter mention 1800 square leagues; in Volney we find 2100.

Greece have been frequently destroyed by earthquakes.* Athens and other cities on the coasts of Natolia and Greece supplied Constantine, and succeeding Emperors, with materials to enrich and adorn the capital.

7. "It is a consequence of the depopulated and neglected state of Greece, Asia, and Syria, that there is no considerable district which is not exposed in some degree to the effects of a bad and corrupted atmosphere. The putrid miasma, arising in the summer and autumn from bogs and marshes and irrigated grounds, is attended in the north of Europe with simple agues or intermittent fevers; but the Mal-aria is the scourge of the south of Europe; there the intermittents are of the worst description and so violent and obstinate, mixed perhaps with typhus fevers, as to be frequently mortal. The spots in Greece where the mal-aria is most noxious are salt-works and rice grounds; and we meet with a striking example of the influence of the former at Milo, where since the beginning of the last century, when the island was visited by Tournefort, four-fifths of the population have been lost in consequence of the establishment of a small salt-work. Patræ a place celebrated in the time of Cicero for the salubrity of the air has become unhealthy, because the plain around it is subject to irrigation. In Attica, a country once distinguished for the purity of its air † and climate, the effects of the disorder are felt at Marathon; and the streams of the Cephissus, which are wholly consumed in irrigation, diffuse it through the plain of Athens." (Mr. Hawkins.) In the most flourishing periods of ancient Greece, we find the people of particular districts suffering from fevers ‡, and

* Quoties Asiæ, quoties Achaïæ urbes uno tremore ceciderunt? Quot oppida in Macedonia devorata sum. Sen. Epis. xci.

† See the passages of Euripides and Aristides quoted by Casaub. in Athen. p. 405.

‡ "The people of Onchestus in Bœotia," says Dicaearchus, "though placed on a high spot were subject to fevers;" the miasma arising from the marshy plains on the borders of the Copais may have affected, Mr. Hawkins supposes, the health of the inhabitants. The site of Sparta was insalubrious, partly from the swamps in the vicinity

disorders peculiar to marshy situations ; but these were less prevalent, when industry awakened life and fertility throughout the country, than at present, when the inhabitants, living in tenements placed in unhealthy situations, nourished by scanty food, uncertain whether they can appropriate the fruits of their industry, have no motive to improvement. The climate of Egypt is affected at particular seasons by the neglect of the canals ; the plain of Scanderoon was in the time of Moryson " infamous for the death of Christians," and still continues to be the most unhealthy spot on the coast of Syria ; the inhabitants of Tripoli and Acre are subject to disorders arising from mephitic exhalations. In some parts of Greece the rivers, obstructed in their channels, overflow the banks, and spread into morasses. In the memory of the inhabitants of the present day new marshes have been observed in the vallies of Arcadia.* Leprous affections are becoming more frequent. In Asia and Syria, as well as Greece, the inhabitants are obliged to retire at particular seasons, into the mountains to avoid the diseases of the plains, and exchange the foeculent atmosphere occasioned by stagnant moisture and putrefaction, for the dry and elastic air of more elevated regions.

8. The practice of polygamy †, so prevalent among the higher orders in this country, so contrary to the strict injunction of their law,

of it, partly from the great heat reflected by the mountains of Taygetus. Δυστραπελίαν τοῦ τόπου τῶν Ταυγέτου ἱρῶν ἀξολόγου πῖτος παρεχόντων. Jamblich. Vit. Pyth. 37. See also Plutarch *Opp. Mor.* "on Banishment."

* "A face furrowed with care, a body lean with hard labour and scanty diet, represent the portrait of a modern Arcadian. The residence of a number of hungry Turks, the vermin of the Pasha's court, continually oppresses this hapless people; and they seem to exist only to furnish food to their lazy masters. Among the most powerful engines, are the Codjà Bashees, the treasurers of the district, or rather the collectors of the taxes, and the bishops, whose places are all bought." From Dr. Sibthorp's MSS.

† Four is the extreme number of wives allowed by Mahomet. "Take in marriage of such women, as please you, two, or, three, or four." Koran, c. iv.—For the reasons which induced Moses to tolerate polygamy, as a civil right, though he did not approve it, see Michaelis, i. 277. The Jews, in the time of Solomon, did not imitate the example of their Monarch; polygamy was no longer practised.

has contributed to diminish the population of it. In the families of that class of Turks, who abuse the permission of their legislator, the children are found fewer than in those of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. "None of the women in the great Harems, (says Russell,) speaking generally, bear so great a number of children as the married women in the inferior ranks of life," i. 297. The remark of Bruce, who says that in the south and Scripture parts of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria he found the proportion to be two women born to one man, has not been confirmed by succeeding travellers. It will probably be found by those who in their future visits to these countries direct their attention to the question of the numerical proportion of the two sexes, that in the cases where the women appear to be in greater numbers than the men, they have been brought away from the neighbouring villages to the houses of the great and rich in towns and cities.

The general indifference shewn by the Turks to subjects of political arithmetic, renders it very difficult to obtain satisfactory accounts of the population of the great cities of the empire. There are only three modes by which any approximation to an accurate estimate can be obtained. The first is by ascertaining the weekly or yearly consumption of corn in a city †; the second is by taking a plan of different towns ‡, and comparing them with the size and dimensions of other places in Europe; the third is by consulting the registers of those who pay the capitation tax; but the number of Greeks, Jews, and Armenians only, could be obtained in this manner. Additional information would also be derived from knowing the amount of the duty levied on houses in some of the cities of the empire, and from the details which the priests of different

* This is the remark of Porter, the British Ambassador at Constantinople. Philos. Trans. 49.

† The calculation made by the Maronite priest of the numbers in Aleppo is partly founded on this method. Russell, i. 362. D'Arvieux gives the daily consumption of grain and other articles of provision, i. 6.

‡ This is the mode suggested by Niebuhr.

classes of Christians could give. The aggregate of the whole population of the empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa has been estimated at 25 millions, 330,000.* But whatever may be the real number, it is far below that which could be maintained in these countries, and this is to be attributed to the slow and certain operation of those measures of pernicious policy which have been long established †, and to the abuses of the provincial governments. These would have produced a greater diminution of numbers, and a more general and uniform decline of the power and resources of the empire, if they had not been modified by various circumstances. These we may now proceed to notice.

1. The exuberant fertility of the soil, and plentiful harvests of rice, corn, and maize, maintain in several districts, even under great imperfections of policy and order, a large population. In some provinces also, the territorial impost, capitation **tax**, and duties or customs upon commodities are farmed by the governor; but whether they are placed in his hands, or in those of any other person, an oppressive mode of levying them would be injurious to those engaged in the contracts. For the Porte is severe in demanding the fulfilment of them ‡; and if by harsh exactions, the villages are abandoned, the cultivation of the land is neglected; if any heavy imposition is laid on the merchants, the commerce of the district is lessened, and the caravans pursue a different route. In some provinces, the farmer general of these three branches of revenue, who is termed Mohassil, is a person of high situation; in the Pashalik

* See Humboldt. Pol. Essay on N. Spain. This is little more than half of the population of the Russian empire, which was estimated in 1805 at 40,000,000. The increase of numbers has been very great; for in 1763, the census gave 25,677,000: and in 1763, 14,796,000.

† The little security there is (says a very intelligent traveller,) arises from the superior ferocity of a few Pashas, which allows of no robbery save their own. The depopulation is gradual, constant, infallible, and indubitably arises from the extreme badness of the government. Browne, 418.

‡ Russell mentions more than one instance of persons ruined since the year 1760, by taking the farm of the customs, capitation, and land tax.

of Aleppo, he is next in the civil department to the Pasha, and under his protection those engaged in trade are more immediately placed. The Agas, also, who are renters of land, are able sometimes to defend their vassals from injuries which must, in their consequences, be prejudicial to themselves.

2. Some cities in the empire derive from their situation great facilities and advantages for carrying on an active trade. The position of Bagdad and Basra relatively to Persia and India, makes them the centre of considerable commerce. "Cairo is the metropolis of the trade of eastern Africa."* Large caravans are constantly employed in importing various commodities from the east, to supply the wants and tastes of individuals of a high rank in Turkey; and a considerable portion of the money brought† into the Ottoman dominions from Europe in exchange for the cotton, drugs, wool and silk, and other articles, is employed by them in the purchase of the muslins, and costly and ornamental productions of India and Persia. In each of the three divisions of Asia Minor, Karaman, Roum, and Anadoli‡, and in Syria, there are many populous cities; the various commodities which are imported from Europe are conveyed from these places to other towns of inferior note. Exclusive of the commercial relations maintained with Europe§, the different parts of

* Browne.

† Of the sum of 4,000,000 piastres, or 840,000*l.* which, it has been supposed, passes annually from Europe into Asia by the Levant trade, a great part is paid to the Turks. The exportation of silver from the Austrian monarchy alone, into Turkey and the Levant, is estimated at nearly 300,000*l.* Humboldt, iii. 442. Polit. Essay.

‡ D'Anville, *l'Empire Turc.* p. 15.

§ The general articles imported from Turkey into Great Britain, are, cotton-wool, carpets, madder, yellow-berries, goat's-wool, sheep's-wool, mohair-yarn, sponges, silk, cotton-yarn, safflower, gum arabic, assafoetida, opium, tragacanth, galls, whetstones, raisins, figs, valarrea, emery-stones, box-wood, liquorice-root, goat-skins, sheep-skins undrest, unwrought copper.

Those exported to Turkey are, muslins, calicoes, cloths, stuffs, and earthen-ware, clocks and watches, indigo, guns and pistols, hard-ware and cutlery, iron plates, sugar, tin in barrels, lead shot, red and white lead, wrought and cast iron, Brasil wood, tin-plates, lead in pigs, pepper, pimento, tar, rice, coffee.

Oddy's *Europ. Commerce*, 187.

the Turkish empire are constantly engaged in interchanging various articles. The rice and flax of Egypt are exported to Syria, whence cotton and silk* are remitted in return. Both these provinces receive annually from 10 to 15,000 quintals of iron from Smyrna. Coffee and Indian goods are sent to Constantinople, and from this city brass and copper manufactures are carried to Egypt. The influence of a great commercial city in humanizing and improving the manners of a people is no where so evident in Turkey as on the western coast of Asia. A sense of the advantages derived from a safe and regular communication with Smyrna stimulates the governors of the different towns to a discharge of their duty. The roads are rarely infested by robbers, and travellers have little reason to complain of the manners and general conduct of the inhabitants.

3. The trade of Salonica, the second city of mercantile importance in the empire, excites a spirit of industry in the provinces of the ancient Thessaly and Macedonia. The Turks at Constantinople, like the Romans under their Emperors, are so accustomed to a low and fixed price of corn†, that nothing excites murmurs and complaints in the city sooner than any rise or alteration of it. It is the business of some commissaries sent every year into parts of Greece, as well as to other provinces of the empire, to purchase wheat for supplying the granaries of Constantinople. After this, the orders of the government prohibiting the exportation of corn are without difficulty evaded; and large cargoes are sent out from different ports of Greece. This exportation‡ encourages the Beys

* "This article is brought from Antioch; more silk is produced in the neighbourhood of that city, within the circuit of 30 miles than in the rest of Syria. It is sent to Aleppo, and thence exported." *Parsons' Travels*, 77.

† "The neglect of agriculture in the vicinity of Constantinople towards the north, arises from the same cause that formerly discouraged tillage near Rome: it is owing to the quantity of corn sent from the provinces. The inhabitants of Rome were supplied with corn at sixpence a peck." *Adam Smith, W. of N. i.* 233.

‡ The evil consequences which arose in consequence of a strict prohibition of the exportation of corn from parts of the Turkish empire are stated by the author of the "Essay on the corn trade," 1766. "The Grand Vizir between 20 and 30 years ago

of Larissa and Salonica to bestow great attention on the cultivation of their lands; and in no province of the empire are the numbers of inhabitants so great as in these districts of Greece. The best peopled part of Macedonia gives 500 inhabitants to the square league. (Beaujour, vol. i.)

4. Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians are associated in many cities or corporations for the purpose of watching over their separate interests; and in this manner they are frequently able to check the Pasha in the dishonest exercise of his power. By their united exertions they have been able to obtain from the government his removal. The hand of violence is always suspended over the rich in this country, as nothing is to be gained from the inferior classes of subjects; pretences therefore for seizing the wealth of the great are readily admitted; and the governor is removed or obliged to part with some of his ill-gotten treasures.

5. Throughout the empire, those who dwell in mountainous districts enjoy a security and independence which are denied to the inhabitants of the plains. This is not only true with respect to the various tribes professing the Mahometan faith, and the numerous hordes of Yesidians, who remain yet unsubdued by the Turks, but

suffered a quantity of corn to be exported; 300 French vessels from 20 to 200 tons were on one day seen to enter Smyrna bay, to load corn: and wheat was then sold for less than seventeen-pence English a bushel, with all the expences of putting the same on board included. The Janisaries and people took the alarm, pretended that all the corn was going to be exported, and that they would be starved, and in Constantinople grew so mutinous, that at last the Vizir was strangled. His successor carefully avoided following his example; and suffered no exportation. Many of the farmers who looked on the exportation as their greatest demand, neglected tillage to save their rents, which in that country are paid either in kind or in proportion to their crops, to such a degree, that in less than three years, the same quantity of corn which in the time of exportation sold for not quite seventeen pence, was worth more than six shillings; and the distress was great; and guards were placed over the bakehouses and magazines of corn. An English ship in the Turkey trade was detained from sailing some time for want of bread. The ill consequences of these proceedings were not removed for many years; and the fall of the first Vizir was regretted too late."

many Christian communities, the Nestorians and Jacobites in Mesopotamia, the Maronites of Libanus, the Sphachiots of Crete, the Mainotes of Peloponnesus protected by the fastnesses and narrow defiles of their retreats, escape the depredations and destruction which are often inflicted on the more exposed parts of the country.

6. There are many districts in Asiatic and European Turkey which are appanages of the great officers of the Porte, or part of the Imperial family. These as well as the Timars or fiefs held under the Sultans are not taxed so severely as other parts of the provinces. On the conquest of the country by the Turks, lands were appropriated to the maintenance of the church, and the ecclesiastical property of the nation since that time has been much increased. Many parts of the crown demesnes have been bestowed in this manner by different Sultans, and have become *Wakouf*. They were formerly rented by governors and nobles who were annual tenants, but in consequence of the great abuses which they committed, during their possession, an alteration took place in the mode of letting them, and they have been granted since the year 1759 on leases for lives. (D'Ohsson.) *

7. In the islands of the Archipelago, which are only visited by the Turks when the capitation money is collected, industry is not so much interrupted as in those where Turkish governors reside, and by arbitrary and injudicious regulations interfere with the employment of the inhabitants. Cyprus and Candia are ruled by Pashas; and the former is, perhaps, the most depopulated part of the empire. But in many of the islands, and indeed wherever the rigour of the Turkish government is relaxed, we find the Christian inhabitants active and laborious. The merchants of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus, the islanders of Scio, the sailors of Hydra and Spezzia, the Armenians of Constantinople and Smyrna may be particularly dis-

* "If, however, the church lands in Asia Minor are let in the exorbitant manner which regulates the leases in Egypt, the tenant of the mosque is not in a much better situation than the tenant of the government." Browne, 61.

tinguished. The religious establishments of the Christian subjects have had a very favourable influence on the agriculture of parts of the country. The cultivated state of the monastic lands of Athos, and other mountainous districts in Greece shews that the Greek priests when unmolested by the presence or interference of the Turks do not suffer themselves to be exceeded in industry by any class of their countrymen.*

8. Lastly, when a Pasha has been able to establish himself in a province for many years, to consolidate his power, and appropriate part of the neighbouring country to his family, the condition of the people is improved. He finds his own interests connected with those of his subjects; and the latter are freed from the vexatious and capricious exercise of tyranny, to which those are exposed who live under the dominion of governors desirous of amassing great wealth before they are removed to other parts of the empire, and therefore little scrupulous of sacrificing the welfare of their provinces to their immediate wants. The mountains of Albania†, and some districts of Greece afford a retreat to many bands of robbers, who still keep the country in a state of disquiet and alarm; but the effects of the regulations made by Ali Pasha, during his long sovereignty, for the protection and tranquillity of it, are visible in the improved industry and wealth of many of the Greeks. On the coast of Lesser Asia, in the antient Mysia, the long established government of Kara Osman Oglu is distinguished for its mildness and moderation, and for the security of property enjoyed by those who live under it.

* Travellers have remarked the fruitful and well-peopled condition of the lands in the neighbourhood of the convents of the Nestorians and Jacobites in Mesopotamia, 260. Kinneir. "The 200 convents," says Volney, "among the Maronites, so far from hurting population have contributed to promote it by increasing the produce of the soil."

† See Mr. Hobhouse's account of Albania, and Dr. Holland's Travels, and Colonel Leake's Researches. The Albanians speak a language derived from the antient Thracian, which appears to have been the same as the Illyrian. "*Utinam nobis Albanicæ linguæ ex vetere Thracica descendenti grammaticam quispiam impertiret; videtur et Illyrica vetus eadem ac Thracica fuisse.*" *De origine Linguæ, Caroli Michaeler, 478.*

Such are the circumstances which affect in a great degree the prosperity and condition of the inhabitants of this empire; and we learn from them in what manner the abuses of power are modified or corrected. The real cause of the unequal progress of industry is to be ascribed to the fluctuating system of policy which prevents any regular, consistent, and steady attention to measures favourable to general improvement. There can be no ground for expecting any change, while the administration of the provinces is conducted on the same principles.* The extent of this ill-modelled and ill-balanced empire prevents any accurate inspection of the conduct of those who are placed over remote parts of it. A large portion of the revenue of the Porte, and the great officers of it is derived from money paid by Pashas on taking possession of their government, or from occasional remittances made for the purpose of securing a continuance in their appointment.† This money is drawn from the labour, industry, and commerce of the inhabitants of the province. If these sums are not paid, as well as those expected from the farmers of the customs, land, and capitation tax, the latter are thrown into prison, and the governors lose their Pashaliks. If they are removed in a short time, the provinces are exposed to fresh exactions on the arrival of every succeeding Pasha. Some districts however, have extorted from the weakness of the Porte the permission of naming their own rulers. The Pashalik of Bagdad, since the time of Achmed, has been independent of the Sultan.‡ When the jealousy of the government is roused by any suspicion of dubious allegiance in a Pasha, or by any attempt to aspire at greater influence, different methods are adopted to check and counteract his rising power. The

* "The succession of a new governor may defeat all the plans of improvement suggested or carried into effect by a former one. Sheik Daher, the predecessor of Djezzar, had raised Acre from a village to a large town; and increased the population of the district. In the time of Djezzar, the large plain near Acre was left almost a marsh." Browne, 368.

† The Mohassil of Aleppo, in Volney's time, made his contract with the Porte for 40,000*l.*, and paid about 4000*l.* to the officers of the government.

‡ Kinneir, 307.

troops of some neighbouring province are compelled to march against him; the Pasha of Kurdistan was instigated by the Porte in 1810 to take arms against the Pasha of Bagdad; and the latter was defeated and put to death. Sometimes the government proceeds in a more summary manner; the lives of these refractory Satraps are taken from them by officers sent expressly from Constantinople.* In on part of the empire has the authority of the Porte been more disputed than in Egypt; and while the Mamelukes remained unsubdued, the Pasha of Cairo was able to exercise a very limited power in the country. Since the year 1791 a small part only of the revenue due to the Sultan had been remitted.† A proposal had been once made at Constantinople to massacre some of the most distinguished leaders among the Mamelukes, and thus put an end to all fear of future disobedience. The plan was at that time rejected; but in the year 1811 the measure was carried into execution, attended with circumstances of perfidy and cruelty not to be paralleled in the most barbarous and ferocious part of the Turkish annals. Bad as the government of the Mamelukes might be, the inhabitants of Egypt will find that they have derived no benefit from the exchange of‡ rulers. Whatever was taken by the former from this exhausted province was at least expended in it; more injury will be done by a succession of rapacious governors sent by the Porte, than if the same swarm of

* The officers of the Porte are not always able to execute their commission. The Grand Signior sent down more than one to take the life of Achmed, Pasha of Bagdad; but Achmed had his agents at Constantinople, who gave him timely intelligence. Nieb. 2. Mustapha, the father of Selim, wished to take away the life of a Pasha of Bagdad, and sent a Capigee or officer for that purpose. The Pasha cut off the Capigee's head, and sent it back to the Sultan. De Tott. 1. Some of the Capigees who were sent to take Djezzar's life, died suddenly of the cholic. Volney, 2.

† See Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, p. 425.

‡ See the remarks of Raige, Réynier, and Girard, on the nature of the different tenures by which property is held in Egypt, and on the impediments which exist to a further improvement of the agriculture of the country. *Memoire de S. de Sacy. Mem. de l'Institut*, 1815. t. i. Classe D'Histoire.

bloodsuckers had continued. Ἐὰν δὲ τούτους κυκοραῖστας ἀφέλῃ, ἕτεροι ἐλθόντες πεινῶντες ἐκπιούνταί μου τὸ λοιπὸν αἷμα. Arist. Rhet. lib. 11.

The causes of that great change in the situation of some of the states of Europe, during the three last centuries, are to be found in the commercial spirit by which they have been actuated, and the propagation of knowledge by means of the press. The intercourse with the Christian states must be very much enlarged before the condition of the Asiatic part of the empire can be affected by the former, and any alteration introduced by means of the latter will proceed by slow degrees. The little proficiency made by the Turks in subjects of a mathematical, geographical, and political nature, arises from the want of encouragement on the part of the government. Law and theology* alone occupy the attention of the students in the colleges or Médressés. Acquisitions of knowledge are not discouraged by the Koran. "The ink of the learned," said Mahomet, "and the blood of martyrs, are of equal value in the sight of Heaven." But the general improvement of the empire has been retarded by the custom of confining within the walls of the Seraglio the hereditary Princes of the Turkish throne, and thus secluding them from the world, and shutting out the means of acquiring knowledge. Literature seems to have met with more encouragement and protection from the Sultans of former ages. "Be the support of the Faith, and protector of the Sciences†," were among the last words of Osman the First to his successor Orkhan. In the sermon entitled Koutbe, a divine benediction is implored on the orthodox Caliphs who were endowed with learning, virtue, and sanctity. There are thirty-five public libraries

* "Theology and jurisprudence, comprehending scholastic divinity and the voluminous commentaries on the Koran and the Sonna, constitute the principal objects of Mohammedan study." Russell's Aleppo, ii.

† "It is a ridiculous notion which prevails among us," says Sir W. Jones, "that ignorance is a principle of the Mohammedan religion, and that the Koran instructs the Turks not to be instructed." Discourse on History of the Turks, p. 501. "Mahomed not only permitted but advised his people to apply themselves to learning," Id. See Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones, p. 501.

in Constantinople, none of them containing less than 1000 manuscripts*; in many are found more than 5000. The collection in the two libraries of the Seraglio exceeds 15,000 volumes. At the time when the Greeks were driven by their conquerors from Constantinople, the latter might certainly be ranked among barbarous and uninformed nations; but the Greeks of the nineteenth century are not warranted in applying the contemptuous expressions of their ancestors to the Turks of later times, who have cultivated some parts of literature, particularly those relating to their own history with great success, and have probably more real merit than many of the Byzantine writers. The use of the press was first introduced in Constantinople in the reign of Achmet the Third (in 1727); but in the interval of time which has since elapsed the copies of few works of distinction and name have been multiplied by it. This is owing, according to the opinion of Sir William Jones †, to the difficulty of understanding the classical writings of the Turks, without more than a moderate knowledge of Persian and Arabic. Manuscript volumes are also preferred to printed works. The French were accustomed to send to them books published in oriental types, but only a small number was purchased. Characters formed in writing are considered as more pleasing to the eye ‡, and as capable of being connected and combined in a more beautiful manner, than in printing. There are, it may be added, many hundred scribes and copyists §, who would lose all means of support, if books could be circulated at a cheap rate by the press. In order that knowledge should be diffused through the

* D'Ohsson. *Tableau General*.

† Teignmouth's *Life of Sir W. Jones*, p. 504.

‡ "Il est constant," (says Galland, in his *Discourse* prefixed to the *Bib. Orient.* of D'Herbelot,) "que ces nations ne trouvent point d'agrément dans l'impression. Les Mahometans ne voulurent pas recevoir les exemplaires qu'on leur porta. En effet, ils craignoient que dans la suite, on ne leur introduisit l'alcoran imprimé, ce qui auroit été regardé chez eux comme la plus grande profanation que pouvoit arriver à ce livre."

§ Niebuhr. i. 188. "Une infinité des personnes qui subsistent parmi eux en copiant des livres, auroient été réduits à la mendicité par cette nouveauté." Galland.

empire, it is not only necessary that the Sultans themselves should be favorably disposed to it, but the Oulemah, the body of lawyers and ecclesiastics, should also lend their assistance. In the mean time, whatever may be the real obstacles, it is probable that the general ignorance, and want of curiosity in the people contribute, in some degree, to the support of the religious, as well as civil constitution of the country. "For let us suppose that learning* prevailed there, as in these western nations; and that the Koran was as common to them as the Bible to us, that they might have free recourse to search and examine the flaws and follies of it; and withal, that they were of as inquisitive a temper as we, who knows, but as there are vicissitudes in the government, so there may happen also the same in the temper of a nation. If this should come to pass, where would be their religion? Let every one judge whether the *Arcana Imperii et Religionis* would not fall together." South's Sermons, i. 144.

The different symptoms of the decline of the empire could not have escaped the attention of the Sultans who have filled the Ottoman throne during the last century. Yet none of them, if we except Mustapha the Third, and the late Emperor Selim, made any endeavours to strengthen the foundation of their power, or were excited by the dangers of their situation to correct the vices and abuses of the government. Something would have been done towards repairing the breaches occasioned by the neglect and indolence of his predecessors, if Selim had lived to see his plans digested into order; but the exertions of this monarch were vain and unavailing. In the revolu-

* If little regard is paid to the literature of their own country by the orientals, it is not probable that the works of European writers will much excite their attention. Nor will this be a matter of regret, if such works only are circulated among them, as those which have been translated from the French into Arabic, by Basil and Elias Fakher, two persons employed in the French consulates in Egypt. "Il est fâcheux que leur choix ne soit pas toujours tombé sur des ouvrages dignes d'être propagés par la voie de traductions. Le *Contrat Social* de Rousseau, et quelques pamphlets de Voltaire contre la religion, sont-ils donc les premiers besoins des orientaux?" Mag. Encyclop. Janv. 1811.

tion which preceded his death, the Janissaries destroyed the mathematical school instituted by him. The prejudices and ignorance of these troops lead them to resist all plans of improvement; the endeavours of Bonneval and De Tott to introduce European discipline in the Turkish armies were opposed by them; and they have viewed with jealousy alterations suggested even by their own countrymen. Experience has confirmed the truth of this observation made by Harrington, "that the wound in the monarchy, incured and incurable, is the power which the Janissaries* have of exciting sedition." It is a power the more dangerous, as it is without controul; and while they continue to exist, the state contains in itself a source of weakness and decay.

The only method by which the Sultan of this empire could re-establish his authority in the capital and the provinces, check the incursions of those numerous hordes and tribes which infest them, and inspire the rebellious governors with respect, would be by the formation of an army †, modelled on the European system, and kept in constant pay. "There should always," says Montesquieu, "be a trusty body of troops around the despotic Prince, ready to fall instantly upon any part of the empire that might chance to waver." But the number of the Janissaries in the capital, and of those who in the different cities of the empire are enrolled in that militia is so great, that, as they might reasonably dread a diminution of their influence, they would continue to oppose such an establishment. The governors who are aiming at independence, unwilling to see themselves stripped

Mhrād the Third, dared not go out of the Seraglio for two years, on account of the constant sedition of the soldiers. D'Ohsson. "Il n'y a point de nation au monde, qui parle plus avantageusement de ses monarques, et de l'obéissance qui leur est due, que les Turcs; et néanmoins, si nous consultons l'histoire, nous trouverons qu'il n'y a point de monarques, dont l'autorité soit plus fragile, que celle des Empereurs Ottomans." Bayle. Dict. Art. Osman. Note B.

† "Whoever examines with attention the improvements which Peter the Great introduced into the Russian empire, will find, that they almost all resolve themselves into the establishment of a well-regulated standing army." Adam Smith's W. of N. vol. iii. p. 68.

of the power which they have acquired by profiting of the weakness of the monarchy, would also resist it. New taxes must be imposed for the purpose of maintaining the new troops, and a spirit of discontent would be thus excited. Lastly, the Oulémáh, whose property has been hitherto deemed inalienable and sacred, apprehensive that the Sultan might demand a portion of it, on occasions of great emergency, would add the weight of their authority, and interpose and obstruct the execution of such a scheme.

The causes, then, to which the feebleness and decay of this empire may be attributed, are the existence of a military government in the capital, the want of salutary regulations in the administration of its revenues*; the interruption of the peaceful habits of industry by the numerous tribes and hordes of robbers; the difficulty of attending to all parts of this over-grown monarchy; the national and religious prejudices which continue to operate on the great body of the people; the weakness displayed by the Porte towards the different Pashas, who defy its power; the indolence, ease, effeminacy, which, according to the Turks themselves, have been exchanged by their countrymen for the hardier and more manly qualities of their ancestors; and lastly, the indifference to science and art, and the little intercourse maintained by them with the civilized states of Europe.

While the habits, manners, and situation of the Asiatic provinces continue the same, a great alteration has taken place in the condition

* Mr. Rich, in his Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, has given a curious document respecting the annual receipts of the governor of Hellah, p. 12. After stating the sums, he adds, "he must see the most powerful members of the Porte from time to time, and yet be able to lay by a sufficiency not only for his own reimbursement, but also to pay the mulct that is invariably levied on governors when they are removed, however well they may have discharged their duty. And, when it is considered that his continuance in office seldom exceeds two or three years, it may well be imagined that he has recourse to secret methods of accumulating wealth, and that the inhabitants of his district are proportionally oppressed. The regulation of this petty government is a just epitome of the general system which has converted some of the finest countries of the world into savage wastes and uninhabitable deserts."

of part of the subjects of the European division of the empire. The improved state, and increased intelligence of the Greeks of the present day may be ascribed to their commerce and communication with the various countries of Europe. The extension of trade has been the instrument of much benefit to the nation; it furnishes employment to many thousand sailors distinguished for activity and industry. The Turkish governors are induced from motives of interest to protect the Greek merchants; and these, again, by their wealth are enabled to defray more easily the demands made upon them. The weight of that yoke "which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear," is in some degree lightened; and they have the power of promoting a great and valuable object, the institution of schools for the instruction of their countrymen.

We are reminded in some measure of the better days of Greece, when we contemplate the physical character of the modern inhabitants of that country. *This*, at least, has not been altered by the political degradation to which they have been long exposed. If the white complexion and long flaxen hair of the Vandals may be still discovered in the heart of the Moorish tribes, (Shaw); if the inhabitants of Normandy still resemble the Danes, whose ancestors, ten centuries ago, were fixed in that part of France, (Volney); if the Copts, though they have been mixed with other nations, still retain * the Egyptian conformation of face, we may reasonably suppose that the features and physiognomy of the modern Greeks bear a resemblance to those of the ancient inhabitants of the country. The steps which have been taken to diffuse education and literature among them must be attended with great benefits; but, after all, it is not mere instruction that can do much; the advantages to be derived from it must at present be confined within narrow limits. The character of man is formed by civil institutions; and any great national improvement is incompatible with the actual situation of the Greeks. Their political condition forbids the full exercise of those

moral and social relations comprehended in the term, country. They may be considered as presenting themselves to our notice under two general classes; the one, engaged in trade; the other, including many of the lower order of ecclesiastics, employed in the labours of agriculture. The path of commerce is distinctly pointed out to them by their situation under the Turkish empire; it is their necessary employment, for the same reason that it became the occupation of the Christians in the persecuting time of Diocletian, and is now that of the Jews in every quarter of the globe. The Greeks can receive in their present state no encouragement to direct their attention to objects of liberal pursuit; the finer arts, the arts of sculpture, architecture, eloquence, poetry, only flourish where a greater degree of liberty is enjoyed, than they can obtain. There is no walk of honorable ambition open to them. The very offices of trust and power which they hold enable the Turks to wrest by their means more easily from their oppressed subjects the fruits of their industry. The Greek clergy may be better instructed, and become better qualified to discharge the duties of their stations; but the cupidity and rapacity of the Porte* must be satisfied. The Turks will continue to expose the high offices of the Greek church to sale; and simony, and the arts of low intrigue will be the means of procuring those of an inferior degree. Even if we should suppose that literature might be generally diffused among the Greeks, we need not necessarily conclude that they will attract the attention of the enlightened part of Europe by their exertions in any branch of it. In the reigns of Vespasian and Nero, learning was common in the Roman empire: but we meet with no advancement or perfection of knowledge in those ages. In

* "The sport which they make of the miserable dignities of the Greek church, the little factions of the Harem to which they make them subservient, the continual sale to which they expose and re-expose the same dignity, and by which they squeeze all the inferior orders of the clergy, are nearly equal to all the other oppressions together, exercised by Musulmen over the unhappy members of the oriental church," *Burke on the Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics*, p. 537,

accounting for the literary degeneracy of the modern Greeks, it is not sufficient to state, that the form of government under which they live is arbitrary and despotic; there is another cause to which great influence is to be ascribed; the Greeks can never be blended with the Turks. When the Tartar nations invaded the empire of China, they adopted the habits and manners of their subjects; when the Goths took possession of the provinces they had subdued, they became associated with the inhabitants by customs, marriages, and laws; but since the subjugation of Greece by the Turks, a broad line of separation has been drawn between the conquered and the conquerors by the difference of religion and language; and the reciprocated feelings of aversion and dislike have been increased by the influence of the former. No country in a condition similar to that of modern Greece has ever exerted itself in letters or the fine arts. The Hindoos since the era of the Mahometan conquest have been inferior in philosophy to their ancestors. No literary production of note appeared in Spain while it was under the dominion of the Moors. In England no Anglo-Saxon composition was produced in the course of a century after the Norman conquest; but under Henry the Second the Normans and English were blended, and about this time, some poetry was composed in the English or at least the Anglo-Norman dialect. The most eminent works of modern Italy, France, and Germany were produced by writers living under various forms of government; none, however, of these individuals were placed with respect to the rest of the community in that distinct and separate situation which the Greeks now hold under the dominion of the Turks.

NOTE, respecting the Massacre of the Mamelukes (mentioned in page 23) by the Turks, in the year 1811. Extracted from a Letter written by a Gentleman in Cairo to the Hon. Frederic North, on the very day on which the event happened.

“ Nothing can be imagined more dreadful than the scene of the murder. The Mamelukes had left the Divan, and were arrived at one of the narrow passages in their way to the gate of the citadel, when a fire from 2000 Albanians was poured in upon them, from the tops of the walls and in all directions. Unprepared for any thing of the sort, and embarrassed by the want of room, they were capable of scarcely any resistance; a few almost harmless blows were all they attempted, and those who were not killed by the fire, were dragged from their horses, stripped naked; with a handkerchief bound round their heads, and another round their waists, they were led before the Pasha and his sons, and by them ordered to immediate execution. Even there the suffering was aggravated, and instead of being instantly beheaded, many were not at first wounded mortally; they were shot in different parts of their bodies, with pistols, or stuck with daggers; many struggled to break loose from those who held them; some succeeded, and were killed in corners of the citadel, or on the top of the Pasha's harem. Others, quite boys of twelve or fourteen years, cried eagerly for mercy, protesting with very obvious truth that they were innocent of any conspiracy, and offering themselves as slaves to the Pasha: all these, and in short every one, however young, and incapable of guilt, or however old, and tried in his fidelity, the most elevated and the most obscure, were hurried before the Pasha, who sternly refused them mercy, one by one, impatient until he was assured the destruction was complete. Here, then, is an end of the Mamelukes: and this is the Pasha who piques himself on his clemency. I know nothing in the whole of this miserable scene more distressing than the situation of the wives of the Bèys; for to distinguish in every particular this tumult from all others, even the harems have not been respected; and these unfortunate women, driven from their apartments which they thought a kind of sanctuary, and stripped of nearly all their clothes, deprived of every refuge, are still wandering, without a protector, without a home, and even without bread.

“ They say, six or seven hundred are already killed, and a proclamation has been cried through the town, enjoining every one to deliver up any Mameluke, who may be concealed in his house, under pain of death, and the confiscation of his property.”

TRAVELS

IN

TURKEY

ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY

THROUGH

THE DISTRICT OF MAINA, IN THE MOREA.

THAT part of the ancient Laconia, now called Maina, though often incidentally mentioned by earlier travellers, had been scarcely, if ever, visited by any of them, when the course of my tour led me thither in the spring of 1795. The independence which the Mainiots had long maintained against the Pashas of the Morea, and the agents of the Porte, the jealousy with which they guarded their frontier from the intrusion of every stranger, who travelled under Turkish protection, the nature of that frontier, and their predatory incursions into the territory of their enemies the Turks, had not only opposed real difficulties to the intercourse of a traveller with the country, but had invested their character with so much terror, that it was almost impossible to ascertain from the report of their neighbours whether they could be visited with safety under any circumstances of precaution. Certainly they were described to us as robbers, whom no

consideration of hospitality could bind from the exercise of their profession, and the stranger who ventured within their frontier was taught to expect the loss of liberty, or even of his life, unless he redeemed them by a heavy ransom. Such were the representations of the Turkish governors in the Morea, which were echoed by the Greek merchants of Livadea and Napoli. It was easy to perceive much exaggeration in these accounts ; for sometimes we had met with small vessels commanded or manned by natives of the Maina, who carried on a coasting trade with other parts of the Levant, though not without the imputation of occasional piracy ; and we learnt from them that it was their policy to keep up as much as possible the alarming reputation which the fears and hatred of the Turks had conferred upon them. We determined on approaching the south of the Morea to use every means of procuring accurate information of the state of this almost unvisited district, and the result was that we not only passed its boundaries, but received great gratification in witnessing from the hospitality of its inhabitants a state of society very remote from that which falls under the observation of a traveller in other parts of the Levant. It should be remembered that I am describing Maina, as it existed in 1795, when many of its inhabitants had never seen a foreigner, and while they strictly adhered to their institutions and customs, on which they had founded their freedom and independence.

The Maina, as is well known to every traveller in Greece, included at the time I was there that part of Laconia between the gulphs of Messene and Gythium, bounded on the north by the highest ridge of Táygetus, from whence a chasm of rugged mountains descends to Cape Matapan, the southern termination of the country. We entered it from the Messenian side, after visiting Calamata, a small but populous town, inhabited principally by Greeks who were subject to the Pasha of the Morea. It was at this place that we procured the necessary intelligence respecting our further progress, and as there are some objects of classical interest in the vicinity of this little town, which have hitherto been imperfectly described, and the geography

of the ancients respecting this part of the Messenian territory admits of further elucidation, I shall begin the extracts from my journal from our arrival at Calamata on the 7th of April.

This town is situated not far from the sea on the eastern side of the beautiful and extensive plain of Messenia. This plain is watered by the Pamisus *, and extends along the shore for about fifteen miles from Ithome and the mountains that separate Messenia from Triphylia to Táygetus. Cotylus and Lycæus are the boundaries to the north-east and north, whence the Pamisus rolls its waters to the sea. Its sources are mentioned by Pausanias in the way which led from Thuria into Arcadia. Notwithstanding the slowness of its course it is the largest river in the Peloponnesus, and divides itself into three or four considerable streams, encircling small islands in its progress between the foot of Mount Ithome † and the sea. The whole plain is naturally fertile, and the eastern part of it near Calamata is a scene of rich and beautiful cultivation. The fields are divided by high fences of the Coctūs or prickly pear, and large orchards of the white mulberry tree, the food of silk-worms (of which the inhabitants of this part of the plain rear great numbers), are interspersed with fields of maize, olive grounds, and gardens almost worthy of Alcinous himself. Among these the small town of Calamata stands, consisting of perhaps three hundred houses scattered amidst the gardens and along the banks of the rivulet that now bears its name. This rivulet descends from Táygetus, and was anciently the Nedon described in Strabo, lib. viii. p. 360. as falling into the sea near Pheræ, or Pharæ. It has every character of a mountain torrent, an inconsiderable stream in summer, and even when we were there (in spring) it was almost lost in a bed of large stones and gravel of about one hundred yards in width, brought

* Now called Piri.ætza. Mr. M. confirms the words of Strabo, who says "it is the largest river (meaning the broadest, for in length the Eurotas and Alpheus exceed it) within the isthmus." Lib. viii.

† Now called Mount Vulkano; the ruins of Messene are near a spot named Mavromathia. See the French edition of Strabo, and Gell's Itinerary of the Morea.

down by its violence in the winter months. It falls into the sea at the distance of about a mile from Calamata, and the same devastation marks its course through the plain. Its banks are covered with brushwood, and its progress is interrupted by little islands of copse. Amongst these fringes of its banks, we sought in vain for the ruins of the town of Pheræ, which, according to Pausanias, stood at six stadia from the sea, in the way from Abia to Thuria, consequently at no great distance and probably on the very situation of the modern town of Calamata. This last derives its name from Calamæ, a village mentioned by Pausanias, lib. iv. ; which still exists and retains its ancient name, and is situated at the distance of about two miles from Calamata, and more inland. The cultivation of the plains, and the modern buildings there during the period when the Venetians possessed this fertile country, have tended to obliterate the inconsiderable remains of antiquity which might be expected to have come down to us from the age of Strabo and Pausanias.

The modern town is built on a plain not unusual in this part of the Morea, and well adapted for the defence of the inhabitants against the attacks of the pirates that infest the coast. Each house is a separate edifice, and many of them are high square towers of brown stone built while the Venetians had possession of the country. The lower story of their habitations serves chiefly for offices or warehouses of merchandize, and the walls on every side are pierced with loop-holes for the use of musketry, while the doors are strongly barricaded. A small Greek church stands near the Nedon in front of Calamata, and behind the town a ruined Venetian fortress rises on a hill over the gardens and dwellings of the inhabitants. The Greeks who lived there were rich and at their ease; the fields in the vicinity of the town belonged to them, and they had also a considerable trade, the chief articles of which arose from their cultivation of silk and oil. They were governed by men of their own nation and appointment, subject only to the approval of the Pasha of the Morea, who resided at Tripolizza, and to the payment of a tribute which was collected among themselves, and transmitted by a Turkish Vaivode, who, with

a small party of Janissaries was stationed here for that purpose, and for the defence of the town against the Mainiots.

While preparations were making for our journey into the Maina, we proceeded to examine the different objects of antiquity in the vicinity of Calamata. We mounted our horses, and proceeded northward along the plain to Palæo-castro, where from the name of the place we expected the ruins of an ancient city, and from the distance and direction those of Thuria. "Pharæ is at the distance of six stadia from the sea. From hence the city of Thuria is at the distance of eighty stadia, to a traveller who is proceeding to the inland part of Messenia. It is supposed to be the same city which in Homer's poem is called Anthea. The inhabitants of Thuria leaving their city, which had originally been built upon an eminence, descended into the plain and dwelt there. They did not however entirely abandon the upper city, but the ruins of the walls remain there, and a temple of the Syrian goddess. The river Aris flows near the city of the plain."* Strabo says that the ancient name of Thuria was Aipeia, a name derived from its lofty situation, though he also mentions the fact that some topographers placed Anthea here, and Aipeia at Methone.

Leaving Calamata we passed the village of Kutchukmaina, and skirting the mountain of Taygetus which rose on our right hand, we came in about an hour to the ruin of ancient baths, of which the buildings that remain are very considerable. The construction is of brick, and the principal entrance to the south. This leads into a large vaulted hall with groined semi-circular arches; on each side of the entrance are rooms which had rows of pipes in the walls for the conveyance of hot water, of which pipes the fragments still remain. The hall has a large arch on each side, and extends beyond the arches to the east and west extremity of the building. An arched passage between other bath-rooms corresponding with the entrance leads from the north side of the hall into a spacious saloon, the cieling of which

* Pausan. lib. iv. c. 31.

is also vaulted with groined arches, and the aspect to the north. In these bath-rooms remain contrivances for heating the apartments, and in one the wall is cased with tiles, perforated for the admission of steam. A small bath is at the end of the eastern suite of rooms, which has been lined with stucco. This has been supplied with hot water from the pipes. The water used here appears from the sediment near the pipes and on the walls to have been impregnated with sulphur. A detached semi-circular reservoir, still traceable to the east of the building, supplied the water for its use. The rooms to the north-east are in ruins; the rest, though stripped of the marble ornaments which once adorned them, remain entire. The bricks are of the size and feature of the Roman bricks, and probably the building itself must be referred to that people. I find no mention of it in any ancient author, but from the stile of the construction could not refer it to any more recent period; though it appears to have been used long after the decline of Roman dominion.

From hence we continued our journey to Palæo-castro, a village still inhabited, and surrounded with the ruins of an ancient city. They cover the space of nearly the circuit of two miles, and parts of the ancient wall of Thuria may be traced by the foundations that remain. These are all upon a hill at the foot of Táygetus, which retains many vestiges of the former town. Amongst them lie scattered several marble tympana of fluted columns of the Doric order; probably the remains of the temple dedicated to the Syrian goddess, of which at least we found no other indication. There is a large oblong cistern or tank hewn in the rock, and coated with a cement that still adheres to many parts of its sides, which we found on measurement to be twenty-three yards long and sixteen broad. The depth of it is now about fourteen feet: much soil having fallen into it. The walls are not so distinctly traceable as to enable us to ascertain the exact extent of this ancient city; the vestiges of that which was subsequently inhabited in the plain are far more indistinct. The soil there is rich and deep, and broken into platforms and angles of very singular appearance, by the waters from the mountains. Some of these are so

regular, as to present almost the appearance of a modern fortification. Here, however, the Aris, an inconsiderable stream, still flows to the Pamisus, and, while the ancient ruins are visible on the hill, the fertility of the plain has obliterated the more recent habitations of the Thurians :

Deep harvests bury all their pride has plann'd,
And laughing Ceres re-assumes the land.

We returned to Calamata through other villages nearer to the mountain than the baths by which we had come before, and through a country the cultivation of which attested the comfort of the inhabitants. The Greek proprietors of this little district could so easily remove themselves and their property into the Maina, that the dominion the Turks exercised over them was more limited in its nature, than in most other parts of the Levant ; and content with the annual payment of a sum of money, and occasional bribes to himself and his officers, the Pasha allowed them in peace to cultivate their estates, and sell the produce unmolested by the petty agents of despotism, who, as Agas and Vaivodes, exercised a subordinate tyranny through the rest of the Morea.

April 11th.—From Calamata our journey conducted us eastward round the end of the bay of Corone, and then in a southerly direction along the shore. We soon came to several copious salt-springs, which gush out from a low rock ; below them are two or three mills whose wheels are turned by their stream. These were anciently between the cities of Pheræ and Abia, and now divide the district of Calamata from the Maina. Abia is still pointed out on the shore to the south of the salt-springs. Near the mills we came to a square stone tower, the residence of a Mainiot chief. As I shall have frequently occasion to mention similar towers and their inhabitants, a general explanation of the government and state of the Maina at the time I saw it will best enable the reader to understand the occurrences which I shall have to relate.

The government of the Maina at the time I visited it, resembled in many respects the ancient establishment of the Highland clans in Scot-