

did not blush to beg bread of us, who were strangers and travellers on the road." At this expression, both the Kuirds \* instantly rose, and saying Ullah *Ismerladek* †, mounted their horses and rode off. They spoke Turkish but imperfectly.

The night being serene, two of us left the caravan, and passed onward by a plain open country, for about an hour and a half; and then over rising grounds until we came into the great road to Ulubad, which, for about four hours, runs along the delightful banks of the river Mikalizza, here a beautiful stream, and not of inconsiderable size: romantic and well wooded hills enclose it on all sides, sometimes overhanging the path, sometimes receding in gentle declivities. The verdure and the fragrance of spring surrounded us on all sides, and enlivened the whole of this beautiful scenery.

Having passed through the town of Ulubad, we stopped at a khan near a long wooden bridge, built over the Mikalizza, where Christians are expected to pay a toll of ten or twelve paras each. We had seen three villages before we arrived at Ulubad. Crossing the bridge, a few paces north of it, two roads part off, the one leading to the town Mikalizza, the other to Broussa. We advanced to Chatalor-Kué, which is a village situated nearly due north of the eastern extremity of the lake of Ulubad, or ancient Apollonia. This lake is bounded on the south by a chain of mountains, which seems to terminate in Olympus, whose snow-capped summit is distinctly visible. The lake is fresh, and said to be full of fish. We dismounted, and rested near a beautiful clump of large trees, a little to the right of the road. Broussa, where we arrived the following morning, has been before sufficiently described.

\* Kuird, according to the Turkish pronunciation, or as they are more commonly termed, Curds. — B.

† Allaha Ismarladuk, We recommend (you) to God. N. B. It ought to be thus written, and not Ullah Ismerladek. The words in Turkish are, *اللّٰه اِسمِرْلَدِك* allaha ismarladuk. The Germans say the same in taking leave: God befohlen. The French: adieu, i. e. nous vous recommandons à Dieu. The verb is *اِسمِرْلَمَك* ismarlamak, to recommend, &c. — From Mr. Usko.

I advanced, with only a single muleteer, from Broussa to Yenishehr ; the distance is computed at twelve hours, but it employed us rather more. The road, for two hours, lies among gardens and cultivated grounds, particularly those applied to the produce of silk, with flourishing trees in the hedge rows. Thence we entered a large grove of walnuts, casting around a thick shade, impenetrable to the fiercest rays of the sun. To this succeeds a valley, in which a mill copiously supplied with water, forms an agreeable and picturesque object. Soon after we reached the spot where two great roads diverge ; the one leading to Kutaieh, the other to Yenishehr. Having reached the foot of the mountain in about three hours, we commenced the ascent. The top of Olympus and the smaller hills around, presented themselves on the right, while the copious streams which issue from his snow-clad head or oak-mantled sides, rapidly descending among the loose pebbles which form their beds, now delight us with their clear currents and soothing murmurs ; but in winter alarm the traveler by their resistless force, and impede his progress by their depth and number. These all run to the north, and are at length discharged into the gulf of Moudania. The plain which I contemplated from near the summit extends from south-west to north-east, in length, perhaps, about four miles ; the breadth, on an average, a mile and a half or two miles. It is intersected by small streams, divided into cultivated fields and rich pastures, and adorned with many beautiful and useful trees, particularly walnuts. A small lake, due north of us, enriched the view ; above which rises a ridge crowned with sombrous verdure. Before noon we reposed under a lofty tree, and then, after a short descent, coming into a fertile plain, well watered, in which is a small lake, we arrived after thirteen hours at Yenishehr. The plain is in part cultivated, and the peasantry were employed in reaping. The ravages of the locusts have every where been felt ; and in some places the corn is cut unripe, to prevent its complete destruction by them. The harvest, however, is on the whole favourable. In going from the foot of the hill to Yenishehr, we were employed nearly five hours. We have to-day passed three villages, and

a large chiftlick, which formerly belonged to a pasha, whose oppression caused the plain around to be deserted and left waste.

Yenishehr is an agreeable town: the inhabitants are chiefly Mohammedans: the government is in the hands of a Waywode, who has not more than fifteen soldiers, and whose household consists only of five or six persons. His government is spoken of as mild; but it may be readily conceived that, with a force so moderate, tyranny could not be carried very far. When it is added, that his word once passed is sacred, and that his manners are simple, the praise is more appropriate, and consequently more valuable. The market is pretty well supplied with provisions; but the traffic is small, the city not being on a high road. The Katerdgis do not pass from Yenishehr to Scudar more than once in fifteen or twenty days. I therefore obtained a horse from the Menzilgi to Scudar; but having been obliged to pay the hire of him before my departure, the man who attended with the post-horse went away twice. The first time, which happened at Hersek, I brought him back by force; but we were scarcely arrived at Gebisé, when he escaped with the horse, and I never saw him more.

From Yenishehr I arrived at Nicæa, in four hours and a half. In this place the population is small, commerce inactive, and provisions are by no means abundant. The Mohammedans and Christians live in distinct quarters. The city, it is well known, is situated at the eastern extremity of the lake of the same name, on a flat of no very considerable extent. The walls have been massive and extensive; in many parts double, and flanked with numerous towers. Many of them consist of large stones; and Grecian mouldings, profiles and altars are every where visible. A very small portion of the space surrounded by these walls is now occupied by buildings; the remainder is in part divided into gardens; and is in part waste. The road from Yenishehr to Nicæa lies at first through a plain; and then traverses the extremity of a ridge extending from east to west, which terminates near the lake running a little to the south of it. During two hours, which we employed in crossing, various forms of over-

hanging rocks, mingled with verdant foliage, offered themselves to our view. Some streams, after meandering through the vale, fell into the lake. On emerging from the hills, we came by a descent of some length into the plain of Nicæa. The view of the city, at a distance, is imposing. One of the first objects which attract the sight, is a spacious white kiosk, belonging to the governor of Yenishehr, a little to the right of the road, on a small elevation.

In about five hours and a half from Nicæa we arrived at Kizderbend, and in four hours more at Hersek. The mountain which we ascended after leaving the lake, is of no great height; but in many places steep, and the passes narrow: low wood covers much of its surface. The rocks are of limestone, from which issue some small streams. The villages are few, and the population scanty. This land between the two gulfs is called Dillan, or Tongue, by the natives. The village Kizderbend consists of Greek Christians, whose situation appears in no degree enviable. Like Mart-rawan, in Syria, the place is remarkable for the facility with which the inhabitants give up their females to strangers. We obtained a scanty supply of eggs, bread, and sour milk: wine they had possessed in the preceding winter, but it was long since exhausted. The women were wishing that the Vizier might pass that way on his return; "as they should then get some money." This anecdote alone describes the character of the people; their wishes being in such direct opposition to those of all other Christian villages, who never fail to deplore the visits of Turkish soldiery. Hersek is also a wretched place, containing a single mosque, about twenty-five houses, two places called khans, and one coffee-house: no provisions or forage are to be obtained. Having crossed the ferry, for which an extravagant price is here paid, I proceeded to Gebisé, leaving Mallum, a populous village, on the right. Gebisé is a cheerful and much frequented town, nearly a mile in length. It furnishes a good market for all kind of provisions, and various other articles. The inhabitants are chiefly Mussulmen; there being only four or five Christians who keep shops. There are several mosques; and, as I was informed, fourteen khans.



Having passed several hours at Gebisé, a Muggrebine whom I had seen before accosted me: he had been dangerously wounded in the right side, while in the Vizier's army, by the explosion of a bomb. I found he had exhausted the powers of wine, brandy, opium, and hashish, until none of them raised his spirits; and his constitution was entirely, his intellects almost, destroyed. He boasted to me of the number of Frenchmen and Copts whom he and his countrymen (Barbaresques) had killed in Kahira, on the irruption of Nassîf Pasha, and the great wealth they had obtained by despoiling the houses. The heads of those whom they had murdered were put into sacks; and they received from the Pasha, according to this man's statement, eighty sequins for the head of every Frenchman, and fifty for that of every Copt. When Nassîf Pasha's party was obliged to withdraw, my informant left, if he said truly, 6000 dollars in specie or value, in his apartment at Kahira. He spoke very contemptuously of the Asiatic troops; of whom, he says, one Barbaresque is capable of beating ten.

I arrived at Cartal, through a heavy and continued rain, in something less than five hours. The town is about half a mile long; not ill built; has a market for provisions; but is in other respects only a place of passage. The eastern extremity is inhabited by Christians. In four hours more I arrived at Scudar: the master of the Custom-house, hearing that I came from Egypt, was very inquisitive as to the state of that country. The following day I proceeded to Constantinople.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS WRITTEN AT CONSTANTINOPLE,

1802.

NEITHER science, literature, nor any kind of knowledge is forbidden to a Mohammedan by his religion; a truth which might be abundantly confirmed by many texts from the Korân, the Hadîth, and other books. Why then are the different branches of knowledge not

cultivated? This is owing to the fatal prejudice which prevents them from being the means of advancement. No man is indebted to his learning or talents even for the humble appointments of Cadi or Imam; much less can these qualities raise him to any lucrative or honourable office. The same remark applies to the Christians of the empire; and superior attainments scarcely secure to the possessor the scanty provision of a Papás. As a speculative question (for such only it is), we may be allowed to enquire what would be the readiest way to restore a portion of vigour to this wasted empire? And it will certainly occur, that the first step towards improving the character of the people must be to make them aware of their own defects. No temper of mind can be more adverse to improvement than a calm and undoubting self-sufficiency. A national feeling of their own inferiority, and a disposition to emulate the improvements of their neighbours must first be excited; and these, if they could once become prevalent, would speedily produce the most salutary effects.

But though this may be regarded as the most certain and effectual method of working great national improvements, it is happily not the only one. Does not the example of the Russians prove that a state may be powerful, and, in a certain degree, civilised, the majority of whose citizens show little disposition to improvement? The simple circumstance of a change in the succession of the crown, by placing it on the head of a man of talents and enterprise, wrought wonders in Russia; and perhaps might not operate less favourably on the Turks. In a national view much has been lost to the latter by the succession of four feeble monarchs. A considerable reform might certainly be effected, if the throne were once filled by a man of judgment, experience, and firmness. The feminine and eunuchal cabinet, which has long governed not only the Seraglio but the Empire, would then be speedily annihilated: the army also might soon be placed on a respectable footing: the navy would be gradually organised. Indeed without the adoption of European tactics no reform would be effectual. To accomplish this, strong popular prejudices must be encountered; but though these are obstinate and inveterate, there is sufficient reason

to believe that they would not be found absolutely insurmountable by a wise and energetic sovereign.

After providing adequate revenues for the judges, the will alone of the monarch would be sufficient to purify the administration of justice ; and the advantages resulting from this important reform would be immediately felt.

The changes which are here supposed would unquestionably require some increase in the public expenditure ; but this would be sufficiently provided for by regulating the public and private revenues of the sovereign, both of which would become far more productive than at present, if a stop were put to some of those abuses which now absorb so large a portion of them in their way to the public treasury. An augmentation of imposts might be difficult in the first instance ; but the amount of the revenues would be increased by a better system of collection ; and, in due time, the people, whether Christians or Mohammedans, might perhaps be induced to pay an advanced price for additional security and a certain degree of independence.

Among the various causes which have contributed to the ruin of the Turkish provinces, the arbitrary and independent jurisdictions conceded under the names of *Mocatta* and *Iltezim*\* hold a conspicuous place : to understand their nature the following remarks may be necessary.

The revenues of a certain district, perhaps ten or twelve villages, are to be disposed of. The person who wishes to farm them, after ascertaining their value with all practicable accuracy, goes to a minister, and offers what he thinks proper for the term of one, two, three, or four years. As the government is always indigent, the offer of ready money is generally accepted ; and nothing more is required to enable the farmer to exercise unlimited authority over the district

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\* The word *mocatch* in its simple acceptation answers to the Latin *vectigal* ; *iltezim* to *conductio* : the former is for life ; the latter generally for a year. A new restriction has taken place respecting the former : the *Mocatteji* cannot now sell his interest if the value exceed five purses per annum.

in question, and to augment his revenue by every means of fraud, violence, and extortion. Thus, what was originally supposed to produce fifteen purses, he perhaps makes to yield forty. The peasantry is thereby ruined: but this does not embarrass the Mocatteji or Miltezim, who is concerned only with what the district will yield during the term for which he holds it. A more absurd system for the administration of provinces cannot possibly be imagined: it is adapted only to the possessions of a horde of rapacious banditti, who expected to be expelled in a year or two from the provinces they had overrun.

The farmer must oppress in order to reimburse himself for his enormous expenses; or he must fail. The peasant being rated in proportion to the *gross* produce of the lands he cultivates, cannot possibly do more than glean a scanty subsistence, which may be obtained by slight exertions and the most wretched system of husbandry; and thus, whilst there is, on the one hand, a strong positive motive to oppress, the stimulus to production, on the part of the landholders, is the most feeble and negative that can be imagined. The practical effects of this system are seen in the depopulation of the country, and the increase of robbers and rebels, the great body of whom, it is known, are composed of peasantry and other subjects of the Porte, who have been thus stripped of their possessions.

Various attempts have been made, with as various success, by European writers on the Turkish empire, to ascertain the amount of its revenues. But as it rarely appears from what data their information is derived, their statements cannot be received with implicit confidence. The registers of what is paid at the capital are simple, perspicuous, and to a certain degree authentic; but it is very difficult to obtain accurate information of public transactions in the provinces. Arrears of revenue occur in some places; anticipations in others; and the truth is involved in an inextricable labyrinth of error and obscurity. With a due regard to the various difficulties which surround this subject, the following statement may perhaps be considered as something like an approximation to the truth:—Before the Nizam

el gedid or new regulations, the entire revenue of the Porte is said to have been 46,000,000 piastres, which at 15 for the pound sterling, give 3,066,666*l*. The new regulations of taxes on articles of consumption, importation of corn, &c. &c. are supposed to have doubled it; and the sum is now said to be full 90,000,000 piastres, or 6,000,000*l*. sterling.

According to the new Nizam, or order, the government purchases all the corn for the supply of the capital. The prime cost is very often not more than sixty paras the kilot; but that quantity is never sold for less than three and a half or four piastres. The pretence for the government taking into its own hands the importation of grain, is, that the city may be well supplied; but the real object was an augmentation of the revenue. The profits of government, on this article alone, amount, it is said, to 15,000 piastres daily; which, at a moderate computation, is equal to 300,000*l*. per annum. The poor, it is true, have not much fear of corn rising to an exorbitantly high price; but they have, on the other hand, no hope of the commodity becoming cheaper. This, however, is not the only evil; the quality of the grain is bad; many frauds are practised in its passage to the capital, such as causing the grain to swell by wetting it with salt water; increasing the quantity by adding other substances; all which are very practicable, as it is laden, not in sacks, but in bulk. The hopes of the cultivator of the soil are crushed; and the officer who is employed to make purchases in the provinces obtains a lucrative job.

Among the little and ineffectual expedients adopted in a falling empire, the depreciation of the current coinage is generally one. This has been rapidly progressive during the two last reigns in the Ottoman empire. It is superfluous to add that none of the currency goes out of the territory: its value is very various, even within the limits of it. The fendoukli and mahbûl are exchangeable in some parts of Asia for a less number of paras than in the capital; in Aleppo for a greater; but their highest value in exchange is in Kahira: in the Upper Egypt they pass for something less. Foreign coinage, particularly Venetian sequins, Dutch and Imperial gold, and Imperial and

Spanish silver, are sought after with great avidity. In Antioch and Aleppo, in 1801, the Venetian sequin passed for a sum much exceeding what an equal weight of pure gold would have been exchanged for. The gold of Selim III. contains one-fourth part alloy ; but some means are used by which a better colour is given to it than that of other gold ; marine acid probably enters into the wash used for this purpose. Its indented edges are produced by filing, and not by milling. The nominal silver, it is believed, does not contain much more than a third of that metal ; even the paras have been depreciated during the present reign. I was disappointed in endeavouring to obtain more satisfactory details respecting the mint. An English guinea, in 1801, was worth seventeen piastres and a half.

It is perhaps worth remarking that the receipts for the Miri, in Anatolia, were within the last two centuries given in a manner similar to the Exchequer tallies among us. The intendant of a pashalik, at the beginning of the year, caused a number of small sticks to be prepared, exactly resembling each other. One was given to the person of whom the Miri was demanded, and a notch was cut for every payment he made of it. The whole being paid; the second stick was delivered into his hands, which served as an acquittance.

Although the Ottoman government be provided with an arsenal, founderies for cannon and other requisites for carrying on war, such is the supineness, ignorance, or criminal negligence of those who direct that department, that they are quite inadequate to the purposes for which they were intended. Among other instances of the defective state of their ammunition, I am credibly informed that, when the Vizier marched against the French, no bombs were ready, and they were cast and sent off to the army, a hundred at a time, warm from the furnace, to Nicomedia ; that on their arrival before El-Arish, the balls and shot were so bad, that instead of making a breach in the wall, they were shattered into fragments as soon as they impinged on it.

In Constantinople there are now ten offices where the customary duties are received on the following articles, viz. wine, tobacco, dry fruit, green fruit, grain, and various kinds of miscellaneous merchan-



dise. The duty on wine is at present four paras the oke; and the sum collected on that article, in the first year after the duty was imposed, amounted to four thousand purses; almost as much as the whole of the duties on all the other articles of consumption. If there be no misrepresentation, this makes the annual consumption of the city 20,000,000 of okes of wine; forty okes per head for each inhabitant, taking the number at 500,000.

The mode by which the tribute of the provinces is transmitted to the Imperial treasury, may be new to some readers. It is first put into bags, containing each five hundred piastres; and each of these is called a *purse* (kis). A certain number are then sewed in canvass, and the whole laced together with cords, forming a net-work. One of these is slung on each side of a horse or mule, who carries nothing else. The two together may weigh about two hundred weight English.

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At the Tibaa-Khané, or printing-house, which adjoins the Muhendis Khan, I found them, on the 14th of June 1801, preparing to reprint the Arabic translation of Euclid, by Nasned-dîn el Tousi; but without corrections or emendations. An impression of a recent English Atlas was also meditated, with the names in Turkish; part or the whole of which is reported to have been since executed.

The æra of the introduction of printing into Turkey, was 1139 of the Hegira (A.D. 1761): the works then printed, according to the learned author of the book *De Fatis Linguarum Orientalium*, whose report I have since for the most part verified, were the following:

1. Ketab Loghat Wankuli. — An Arabo-Turkish Lexicon, A.H.  
2 tom. in folio, - - - - - 1141
2. Tuhfat el' Kubâr. — A History of the maritime wars of  
the Ottomans, - - - - - 1141
3. Tarikhes Seyah. — A History of the wars between the Ag-  
whans and the Persians, - - - - - 1142
4. Tarikh el Hind el Ghurbi. — History of America, - 1142

5. Tarikh Timûri. — History of Timur leng, - - 1142
6. Tarikh Misr kadîm we Misr gidîd. — History of ancient and  
modern Egypt, - - - - 1142
7. Ghiulsheni Chulifa. — History of the Chalifs, - - 1143
8. A Turkish and French Grammar, - - - 1143
9. Nizam el umen. — (Qu. ?) A treatise on government, 1144
10. Feiaz el Maknatissié. — On the load stone, - - 1144
11. Gihan Namé. — An atlas, - - - - 1145
12. Tekwimi Tawarikh. — Chronological tables, - - 1146
13. Tarikh Neima. — Ottoman annals, - - - 1147
14. Tarikh Rashid Effendi. — Ottoman annals, - - 1153
15. Tarikh ahwali ghazawat Diar Bosna. — History of the war  
with the Austrians, - - - - 1154
16. Firkenghi Shuri. — A Persian and Turkish Lexicon, - 1155

In the year 1155 (A.D. 1777), the use of the press was discontinued, in consequence of the death of Ibrahim Mutefarika, the intelligent and active supporter of the institution.

The war with the Austrians, in 1158, effectually impeded any farther progress.

Another firman was afterwards issued for its restoration by Abd-el-Hamid, when the only books printed, were,

1. Tarikhi Sami, we Sachir, we Subhi. — Annals composed by these  
three public historiographers.
2. Tarikhi Yzzi. — Another of the same kind.
3. An Arabian and Turkish Grammar, by Ibnel Hajib.

In consequence of the subsequent war with Russia, want of expert hands, new types, and other causes, the press was stopped from 1786 to 1797. New types were then cast by an Armenian; since which time there have been printed the following books, according to a list which I received on the spot:

1. Burhani Katé. — A Persian and Turkish Lexicon, published, however, without corrections or improvements.
2. Tehfa Wahbi sheraî heiati Afendinin. — A vocabulary.

3. Leghé Loght. — Another philological work.

4. Loghat Wancuil, was in the press.

Here let me acknowledge my obligation for various kinds of information to Mohammed Emîn Effendi, better known in Constantinople by the name of Rijani Effendi, who is distinguished by zeal in the acquisition and propagation of useful knowledge; and whose mild and conciliating manners give effect to his patriotism and benevolence. Some such characters still exist in the capital of the Osmanli; but, alas! their number is too small, and their voices too feeble, to awaken their countrymen from the degrading and oblivious slumber in which they have been so long buried.

There are in Constantinople twelve Maddrassés, or public academies, each of which bears the name of its founder. The same regulations and the same course of lectures, with slight exceptions, prevail in all these establishments. The salaries of the professors are not considerable, though more than proportionate to the effect of their labours. Their holidays are Tuesday and Friday in every week; three days of Beiram, which succeeds to Ramadân; and the ten days devoted to Courban Beiram; lastly, part of the month Rajib; and the whole of Shabân and Ramadân. The Mektebs, in which reading and writing only are taught, and which answer to our day-schools, are very numerous. These, and the Maddrassés, or superior academies, may be said to comprehend the whole system of education at Constantinople: if we add the instructions given at the mathematical school at the arsenal and the new marine school at the bottom of the port; instructions, it must be observed, rather nominal than real.

Exclusively of the library spoken\* of in the Seraglio, which I have never seen, there are twelve public libraries:

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| 1. That of Agia Sophia. | 3. That of Mohammed II. |
| 2. ——— Suleyman.        | 4. ——— Kiupruli pasha.  |

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\* See Professor Carlyle's letter, in the first volume of this work, respecting the Seraglio library.

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| 5. That of Walidé.     | 9. That of Bayazid.   |
| 6. ——— Seid ali pasha. | 10. ——— Osman III.    |
| 7. ——— Ibrahim pasha.  | 11. ——— Abd-el-Hamid. |
| 8. ——— Atêf affendi.   | 12. ——— Rughib pasha. |
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## MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

It is a ride of about nine miles from Boyuk-dere to the place where the coal appears ; the country is picturesque and interesting. The strata, externally, are shallow and unpromising : perhaps at a greater depth better veins might be found. All that is visible has decidedly the appearance of wood, more or less bituminated. The dip, westward, is about  $15^{\circ}$ , and there is also an inclination inwards. It is long since the coal was wrought ; and it appears that the workmen contented themselves with what was to be found near the surface. A supply of it would doubtless be advantageous near the capital, for culinary purposes, blacksmith's work and various coarse arts, as well as for heating the baths, since wood is rising in price. But in regulating the temperature of habitable apartments, it could never be used without a totally different arrangement in the edifices ; and it may be doubtful how far the exhalation of fossil coal would be agreeable to nostrils accustomed to the more grateful odour of wood.

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At Yeni Capu, the new gate, on the south side of the city, is seen a range of coffee-houses, raised partly on ground recovered from the sea, partly on piles. These were constructed by order of Sultan Mustapha. They are spacious, neat, and convenient ; an ample awning of canvas protects the head from the sun, and it is open below to the sea-breeze. This place is much frequented by those whose leisure permits them to employ much of the day in idleness. On a Thursday, and during the month Ramadân, respectable persons

assemble there ; on a Friday, those of an inferior class. Where indolence is considered as happiness, it may be supposed that such a recreation is in no small esteem ; numbers, therefore, consume the day in listening to the mueddahs, or professed story-tellers. A greater variety of musical instruments is observable here, perhaps, than in any other part of the capital. Of the former, the following are the most conspicuous :

1. Tambûr ; an instrument with eight strings.
2. Sheshadâr and Santûr ; a species of harps.\*
3. Nei or Duduk ; a flute like the German.
4. Kemân, of two or three kinds, resembling the violin, and viola gambo.
5. Dairé ; a circle covered with skin, and having jingling pieces of brass round it.
6. Mescal, a Syrinx, i. e. reeds of canes of unequal length, sometimes to the number of twenty-three.

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An instrument, similar to the bag-pipe, is in use in European Turkey ; it consists of an entire goat-skin, which, when sounded, is placed on the breast of the performer. The sound is far more agreeable than with us ; and the drone is avoided.

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The mosque dedicated to Aîûb (whom the popular voice at Constantinople reports to have been the prophet's standard-bearer, I know not with what reason,) which had fallen into a state of decay, has been rebuilt by Selim the Third ; and though not among the most capacious edifices, is elegant and richly adorned. The internal structure is composed of marble, and numerous lamps of silver ; some of

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\* " Gitterns, harps, and recorders, are their principal instruments." — Sandys' Travels, p. 56.

which are gilt, and depend from the roof. The floor is spread with sumptuous carpets. The structure is at the bottom of the port ; and not far from it is an Imaré, a spacious school and many shops. A vast pile, intended for barracks, and situated at the east end of the arsenal, is also due to Selim the Third, whose buildings seem to be more numerous than those of any former prince who has filled the seat of Othman.

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There is a kind of fine porcelain, or China-ware, much esteemed in the East, from the prevalent credulity which is common there respecting its supposed properties. It is distinguished by the name of *Mir tabân*, and is said to indicate poison, if any exist in the food. From this prejudice, a plate or other vessel, composed of this material, is sometimes sold for three or four hundred piastres. The absurdity of the idea is evident ; but it might be curious to know how it originated.

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It is well known that the usages of the country do not admit of the intended bride being seen by the husband before marriage. The woman may, however, more easily satisfy her curiosity regarding the person of the man ; though even that is not always possible. This state of restraint gives rise to several practices, tending to facilitate mutual approximation. Among them are to be enumerated the existence of professed *match makers*, who make the occupation profitable to themselves, in a manner not difficult to be understood. The excellent qualities of the future bride and bridegroom are repeated to the persons concerned, of course with great exaggeration. Accordingly, if the parties be credulous or inexperienced, a connection takes place, which, in many cases, is terminated by divorce in a few days afterwards.

Some account of the forms which are observed, with little variation, in matrimonial contracts, may not be wholly uninteresting.



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6. *Mescal*, a *Syrinx*, i. e. reeds of canes of unequal length, sometimes to the number of twenty-three.

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An instrument, similar to the bag-pipe, is in use in European Turkey ; it consists of an entire goat-skin, which, when sounded, is placed on the breast of the performer. The sound is far more agreeable than with us ; and the drone is avoided.

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The mosque dedicated to *Aiûb* (whom the popular voice at Constantinople reports to have been the prophet's standard-bearer, I know not with what reason,) which had fallen into a state of decay, has been rebuilt by *Selim the Third* ; and though not among the most capacious edifices, is elegant and richly adorned. The internal structure is composed of marble, and numerous lamps of silver ; some of

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\* " Gitterns, harps, and recorders, are their principal instruments." — *Sandys' Travels*, p. 56.

which are gilt, and depend from the roof. The floor is spread with sumptuous carpets. The structure is at the bottom of the port ; and not far from it is an Imaré, a spacious school and many shops. A vast pile, intended for barracks, and situated at the east end of the arsenal, is also due to Selim the Third, whose buildings seem to be more numerous than those of any former prince who has filled the seat of Othman.

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There is a kind of fine porcelain, or China-ware, much esteemed in the East, from the prevalent credulity which is common there respecting its supposed properties. It is distinguished by the name of Mir tabân, and is said to indicate poison, if any exist in the food. From this prejudice, a plate or other vessel, composed of this material, is sometimes sold for three or four hundred piastres. The absurdity of the idea is evident ; but it might be curious to know how it originated.

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It is well known that the usages of the country do not admit of the intended bride being seen by the husband before marriage. The woman may, however, more easily satisfy her curiosity regarding the person of the man ; though even that is not always possible. This state of restraint gives rise to several practices, tending to facilitate mutual approximation. Among them are to be enumerated the existence of professed *match makers*, who make the occupation profitable to themselves, in a manner not difficult to be understood. The excellent qualities of the future bride and bridegroom are repeated to the persons concerned, of course with great exaggeration. Accordingly, if the parties be credulous or inexperienced, a connection takes place, which, in many cases, is terminated by divorce in a few days afterwards.

Some account of the forms which are observed, with little variation, in matrimonial contracts, may not be wholly uninteresting.

Each of the parties chuses a wakîl, or procurator, and two witnesses, who are to agree before the Imâm, or priest, on the sum to be given by the man, towards furnishing at least one room of the house with cushions, carpets, and other necessary articles; and likewise on the Nikah, which is not paid immediately, but is demandable by the woman in case of a divorce. The paper, setting forth the particulars of this agreement, is drawn up and signed by the witnesses; hence the married woman is called *kitabîé*, *wife by writing*. The Imâm receives a proper present; often a *benish*, or outer vesture: the other parties are gratified by presents of smaller value. From this time to the day of marriage, a fête is celebrated; and the house of the bridegroom is kept open to every person of the *mahhâl*, or parish; and even strangers are allowed to enter. Sometimes dishonest persons gain admission, and carry off such portable articles as are exposed to their depredations; they have been known to slip off the amber mouth-pieces of the pipes, and escape with them.

The common expenses of a marriage, in Constantinople, costs a man, on a moderate estimate, a full year of his income, and sometimes more. Thus, to a person of middle rank, they will amount to 2000 or 2500 piastres.

When the day of marriage arrives, the bridegroom is conducted to the apartment of the bride, by the Imâm, and the rest of the company; the Imâm places his back against the door, and commences a kind of prayer, to which, when terminated, the company present reply, *Amên*; after which they all retire to their own houses.

The bridegroom knocks at the door three times, which is then opened by the *Yeni chatun*, or bride maid, who replies to the "*Salam aleikum*" of the bridegroom, conducts him to the bride, and puts her right hand in his. She then quits the room to bring in the *Suffra*, or eating table, which is placed near at hand; furnished commonly with a roasted fowl and some other trifles.

While she is absent, the husband tries to uncover his wife's face, which is overspread with a long veil; to the removal of which the established rules of decorum require that she should offer some resistance.

He presents to her some ornament, generally of jewellery, which she accepts after proper hesitation ; and at length consents to abandon her veil. They sit down at table, and the husband divides the fowl with his hands, offering a portion to the woman, which she receives. Much time is not consumed in eating, and the *suffra* being removed, they wash. The *Yeni chatûn* then brings the bed, which she spreads on the floor. She takes out the bride to her mother and the women, who are in the next room, where she is undressed ; after which the *Yeni chatûn* brings her back to her husband, places her right hand in his, and leaves them together.

The last ceremony is that of the bride being conducted in form to the bath. This takes place at the expiration of six or seven days.

The custom of *throwing the handkerchief* is frequently in the popular mouth, and supposed to be reported from undisputed fact. I have never been able to ascertain that such a practice was in use in the Harems of the Great, or among any other class of women at Constantinople, or in any of the towns of the East. In the West of Turkey, indeed, a custom prevails, which, transmitted by report through the medium of the Germans or Venetians, may possibly have given rise to the prevalent opinion on the subject.

In a part of Bosnia, young girls of the Mohammedan faith are permitted to walk about in the day-time, with their faces uncovered. Any man of the place, who is inclined to matrimony, if he happens to be pleased with any of these girls, whom he sees in passing, throws an embroidered handkerchief on her head or neck. If he have not a handkerchief, any other part of his dress answers the same purpose. The girl then retires to her home, regards herself as betrothed, and appears no more in public. I learned from a Bosniak of veracity, that this is an usual preliminary to marriage, in the place where he was born.

An idea has very generally prevailed in the West of Europe, and has been countenanced by some respectable travellers in the East, that marriages of a temporary nature, termed *Kabîn*, are in use among the Mohammedans of the Turkish empire, and are deemed valid by

their public law. I have even been personally assured by an Italian of intelligence and veracity, who had resided many years in the island of Cyprus and in Syria, that in the course of a long conversation with a Mulla, on the comparative advantages and conveniences of the Christian and Mohammedan laws relating to matrimony, the latter had insisted strongly on this valuable prerogative of his countrymen.

I mean not to apply terms either of censure or approbation to the sentiments expressed by the Mulla respecting the advantages of such a practice; but I must remark that after searching for traces of such contracts in books of jurisprudence, and making repeated and careful enquiries among intelligent Mohammedans at Constantinople and in other parts of the empire, I have found no reason to believe that such engagements had any legal validity; on the contrary, passages from the juridical writers have been quoted to me to prove that usufructuary marriages, *nekah el metaat*, and temporary marriages, *nekah el muwokat*, which are esteemed nearly the same, are decidedly illegal. The English reader will find this confirmed, by referring to vol. i. p. 92. of Mr. C. Hamilton's Code of Mohammedan Laws.

I therefore conclude, notwithstanding the popular and current opinion on this subject, that when such a practice obtains, it has no other sanction than it would receive from the agreement of the parties, as might happen in any other country; and that it cannot be considered as permitted by the jurists, or recognised by the tribunals.

Kabûn is a Persian word, which literally signifies *promissio donorum sponsalitorum*, (see Ferhenghi Shauri); but has not the import commonly assigned to it.

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As a sequel to the foregoing Extracts it will not be deemed improper to subjoin a short Account, derived from authentic sources and, in part, from Mr. Browne's own papers, of the Life of their estimable Author; whose labours have extended the bounds of geographical knowledge, and whose

melancholy fate, in the prosecution of further discoveries, cannot but be interesting to the reader of these pages.

WILLIAM GEORGE BROWNE was the son of a respectable wine-merchant in London, the descendant of an ancient family of that name in Cumberland, and was born at his father's house on Great Tower Hill, on the 25th of July, 1768. Being originally of a feeble constitution, his health was, for many years, an object of constant anxiety to a tender and affectionate mother. His education, till he went to Oxford, was entirely private; and was principally conducted by the Rev. Mr. Whalley, known as an editor of Ben Jonson's works; a man of considerable taste and learning, to whom he always acknowledged himself to be under great obligations. At the age of seventeen he was sent to Oriel College, which did not then enjoy that high reputation, which it has since deservedly acquired. He frequently complained in after life, that although, on his entrance at the University, he had a decided taste for literature and a strong desire of improvement, he met with no encouragement and little assistance, in his academical studies. He applied himself, however, with great diligence to a course of classical reading; and went carefully through the whole of the Greek and Latin historians. He also made some progress in mathematics, and took a wide range in miscellaneous and general literature. His industry, at this time, was such, that he used to read from twelve to fifteen hours a day; by which his health was sensibly affected.

After the usual period of academical residence, it was necessary to think of some plan for his future life; and his genuine love of learning, combined with a grave and studious disposition, naturally directed his attention towards the Church; to which indeed he had been originally destined by his family. But the instinct of adventure, and a certain passion for arduous enterprises which he even then secretly cherished, suggested to him the idea of some active employment; and he turned his thoughts for a short time to the Army. A little reflection, however, convinced him of the inexpediency of following a profession, to which he was, in other respects, little inclined, and for which he was not at all suited by his character and habits. Law and medicine remained; and after deliberating a short time between the two, he made choice of the former; and, taking chambers in the Temple, he for some time kept his terms, and attended the courts at Westminster. But, after a certain period, he deliberately relinquished that arduous pursuit; and contenting himself with the moderate competence of which he had become possessed on



his father's death, lived afterwards without any profession or regular employment.

The interval between the time of leaving the University and his expedition to Africa in 1791, he devoted principally to general literature. He improved himself also in modern languages, and cultivated, in a certain degree, a taste for the fine arts. What was most important, he acquired some knowledge of the general principles of botany, chemistry and mineralogy, which he found afterwards of the greatest use to him in his Travels. During the latter part of this period, his attention was strongly drawn to the early occurrences of the French Revolution; and he became zealously attached to the principles of civil liberty, which appeared at first to be intimately connected with that event. He adopted, and caused to be engraved on his rings and seals, the motto taken by the learned Selden, "*Περὶ παντος Ελευθεριαν*:" and he entered with the greatest warmth and interest into the political discussions of that eventful period. Extraordinary as this passion may seem in a retired and solitary student, such instances were far from being uncommon among the men of letters of those times. In most of them, indeed, the enthusiasm was only temporary, and passed away with the events which had given it birth: in others, it changed its direction, and, without any abatement of its original violence, went over to the opposite extreme. As Mr. Browne's opinions were more reasonable, they were more permanent; and his zeal, being tempered by knowledge and founded on conviction, underwent no material change during the remainder of his life.

As the most unexceptionable, and at the same time the most effectual, mode of promoting these principles, Mr. Browne had recourse to the press. He republished, at his own expense, several political tracts, with short prefaces. He also reprinted a part of Buchanan's treatise "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*;" and he projected a plan of publishing, in an elegant form, a collection of the best tracts on Government which have appeared since the revival of letters, with a copious introduction and occasional notes. The subsequent events of Mr. Browne's life put an end, shortly afterwards, to this favourite scheme.

From a very early period, he had entertained the hope of signalising himself as a traveller and explorer of remote or unknown countries; and many adventurous projects of this description had floated, at times, across his imagination. Among many others which were much more visionary, he had once formed a plan of making a complete classical survey of

Greece, then comparatively an unknown country. But he reluctantly abandoned this design, from an apprehension that his knowledge of the Greek language and literature was not sufficiently accurate or extensive to justify such an undertaking.

He had been a diligent reader from his early youth of Travels and Voyages ; but it was the publication of Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia, which gave the immediate impulse to his ambition, and determined him to lose no further time in carrying his long meditated designs into effect. The style and subject, no less than the contents, of that remarkable and, in some respects, highly interesting work, inflamed his curiosity, and called forth all his enthusiasm ; and he became impatient to follow the same course, to struggle with the same difficulties, and to pursue the same victorious career. He read likewise, about the same time, and with similar emotions, the first volume, then lately published, of the Proceedings of the African Association ; a book abounding with new and interesting views of the vast continent of Africa, and opening an unbounded field for enterprise and geographical discovery.

The perusal of these works led immediately to Mr. Browne's first expedition, and determined him to attempt a passage into the interior of Africa. His general qualifications for such an undertaking may be collected from the foregoing narrative. His physical and moral qualities he has himself thus shortly and correctly described, in a paper which he has left upon this subject : — “ Among the requisites for my journey, of which self-examination  
“ induced me to believe myself possessed, were, a good constitution, which,  
“ though far from robust, was, I knew, capable of enduring fatigue and  
“ change ; steadiness to my purpose, and much indifference to personal ac-  
“ commodations and enjoyments ; together with a degree of patience which  
“ could endure reverses and disappointments without murmuring.”

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Having determined on proceeding to the interior of Africa by the Egyptian route, Mr. Browne left England at the close of the year 1791, and arrived early in January at Alexandria. After gratifying his curiosity during a residence in that city of near two months, he took a journey westward into the desert to explore the unknown scite of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. With this view he proceeded, by a very circuitous direction and along the sea-coast, to the Oasis of Siwah ; where his attention was attracted to the remains of a

remarkable and very ancient edifice of Egyptian architecture. As tradition was entirely silent concerning these ruins, they afforded a ready subject for any hypothesis which the imagination of a discoverer might suggest; and few travellers in Mr. Browne's situation would have found it difficult to satisfy themselves that they had succeeded in the object of their search. He gave, therefore, an unquestionable proof of great candour and sincerity, and of that calm and dispassionate tone of mind which was one of his peculiar characteristics, when he determined, whether rightly or not, that the building in question was *not* the temple of Jupiter Ammon.\* After experiencing great difficulty and some danger from the bigotry and violence of the inhabitants, and exhausting all means of enquiry with regard to any other ruins likely to be found in that neighbourhood, he penetrated three days farther into the desert; but finding nothing which bore the most remote resemblance to the object of his enquiry, returned to Alexandria early in April 1792, after an absence of several weeks.

His health had suffered considerably from this journey; and after a month passed in recovering from its effects, he proceeded to Rosetta; where he beheld, for the first time, with the greatest astonishment and delight, the luxuriant fertility of the Delta, and "the unruffled weight of waters of the majestic Nile."† From thence he went to Damietta, and to the celebrated Natron Lakes, east of the Nile, which he examined with great

\* Major Rennell, who is justly regarded as the greatest authority upon such subjects, has decided this question in the affirmative. His opinion has been generally followed; and the place, where these ruins were found, is now known by the appellation of the *Oasis of Ammon*. But the judgment of an intelligent eye-witness is entitled to considerable weight; and the question may still, perhaps, be acknowledged to be somewhat doubtful. — The marked and appropriate praise which Major Rennell has bestowed upon Mr. Browne, with reference to the present subject, may be worth transcribing.

"The discovery of the temple itself, and the circumstances belonging to the Oasis which contain it, together with the operation of fixing its geographical position to a degree of exactness sufficiently critical to admit of a comparison with the ancient descriptions, could not perhaps have been accomplished otherwise than by the zeal, perseverance, and skill of an European. Mr. Browne is therefore entitled to great praise for his spirit of enterprize, which bade defiance to the hardships and dangers consequent on an undertaking similar to that which has been so much celebrated in the history of the Macedonian conqueror; and which was unquestionably performed with much more personal risk on the part of our countryman than on that of Alexander." — *Geographical System of Herodotus by James Rennell*. 4to. 1800. p. 608.

† See Mr. Browne's *Travels in Africa*. 4to. 1799. p. 31.

accuracy; and after visiting the Coptic Convents, embarked on the Nile, and arrived at Cairo on the 16th of May.

He established himself for some time in that city, where he resided at different periods, for the space of eleven months; and where, as he had before done at Alexandria, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the Arabic language and of Oriental customs and manners, in which he afterwards became so remarkable a proficient. He also acquired a very accurate and detailed knowledge of the different classes of which the Egyptian population is composed, and of the remarkable system of usurpation then established by the Beys, which had superseded the ancient Turkish government.

On the 10th of September he left Cairo, with the intention of travelling into Abyssinia, and sailing up the Nile as far as Thebes, employed some days in surveying those venerable ruins, probably the most ancient in the world, which extend for three leagues on each side the river, and shew the circumference of the city to have been about twenty-seven miles!

Proceeding farther up the Nile he came to Assûan (Syene), the ancient boundary of the Roman Empire. Here he visited the famous cataracts of the Nile, or more properly speaking, *rapids*; for instead of deafening the spectator with their sound, according to the fabulous accounts of antiquity, he found their noise scarcely audible.

At Assûan Mr. Browne endeavoured to penetrate into Nubia; but a war having broken out between the Mamlûks of Upper Egypt and a neighbouring chief, no person was suffered to pass from Egypt into that country. After many ineffectual attempts, he was obliged to abandon all hopes of reaching Abyssinia during that season.

Deeply mortified at this disappointment, he reluctantly traced back his steps towards Cairo; when, having proceeded down the Nile as far as Genné, he recollected the striking description in Bruce's Travels of the great quarries situated between that place and the Red Sea, in the direction of Cossîr. It happened from several causes, that a journey from Genné to Cossîr was attended at that time with considerable danger. But, by a successful assumption of the Oriental dress and character, he performed it in safety; and his curiosity was amply rewarded. He passed through immense excavations, appearing to have been formed in the earliest ages; from which many of the great Egyptian monuments were obtained, and which furnished statues, columns and obelisks without number to the wealthy and luxurious inhabitants of the Roman Empire, at its most flourishing period. He viewed with

astonishment those exhaustless quarries of granite, of porphyry, and of verd antique, (now abandoned and become the abode of bānditti or wandering tribes,) which supplied the most costly materials of ancient art, and to which modern Rome is indebted for some of her principal decorations.

It may be remarked on this occasion, that Mr. Browne was desirous of ascertaining from whence the basalt, so much used by the ancient Egyptian artists, was procured; but his enquiries on this subject were unsuccessful. He observed no quarries of basalt either in Egypt or any other part of Africa.\*

He returned to Cairo in the month of December 1792, and soon afterwards visited Lake Maris and the Pyramids; and in the following Spring took a journey to Suez and Mount Sinai.

Having now seen the whole of Egypt, it became necessary for him to form his plan for visiting the interior of Africa. It had been his original intention to endeavour to penetrate to the source of the great western branch of the Nile, (the Bahr-el-abiad, sometimes called the White River,) which, from being considerably longer than the eastern branch, explored by Bruce, was justly regarded by Mr. Browne as the true and genuine Nile. But the sources of this river are extremely remote, being laid down by geographers two hundred leagues farther south than the sources of the eastern branch; and, enterprising and adventurous as our traveller was, he considered the prospect of accomplishing such a journey, through unknown and barbarous countries, and in a tropical climate, to be altogether desperate. He had, therefore, determined to limit his views to Abyssinia; and to attempt nothing further than to go carefully, and with geographical exactness, over the ground already traversed by Bruce, to investigate the accuracy of his statements, and to take the chance of such farther discoveries as enquiry might produce, or accident cast in his way.

But the anarchy and desolation caused by the war which had prevented his journey through Nubia during the former year, still continued, according to the best information he could obtain, to oppose insurmountable obstacles to his passage through that country. Another route to Abyssinia by the Red Sea and Massouah was also stated, upon good authority, to be impracticable at that period; and Mr. Browne thought he had no alternative left but to accompany the great Soudān Caravan† to Dar-Fūr, a considerable

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Browne's Travels, p. 142.

† Soudān in Arabic means the Country of the Negroes. — Browne.

Mohammedan country, lying west of Abyssinia, and north of the sources of the White River. There was some reason to believe that he might be able to penetrate from thence into Abyssinia; and he might perhaps obtain important information regarding that unknown branch of the Nile, which had engaged so much of his attention. Independently of these considerations, the journey, by a new direction, from Egypt into the interior of Africa and the country of Dar-Fûr, which no European had ever yet visited, were in themselves interesting objects, and afforded a reasonable prospect of gratifying his curiosity and rewarding his exertions.

The caravan which Mr. Browne accompanied left Egypt early in May, 1793, at the hottest season of the year (the thermometer, during the journey, being occasionally at 116° in the shade); and, after inconceivable hardships and fatigues, arrived in Dar-Fûr about the end of July, when the great rains had commenced. It appeared, immediately on Mr. Browne's arrival, that he had been entirely misinformed as to the character of the government, which he had understood to be mild and tolerant. From his first entrance into the country, owing in part to the treachery and intrigues of the servant he had brought from Cairo, but principally from the natural bigotry and violence of the reigning sovereign, he was treated with the utmost harshness and severity; and this circumstance, together with the fatigues of his late journey, and the effects of the rainy season, (so formidable to European constitutions,) produced, very speedily, a dangerous and almost fatal illness, from which he recovered very slowly and with great difficulty.

His first object, after the partial restoration of his health, was to obtain permission to quit the country; for which purpose he attempted a negotiation with a principal minister of the Sultan, which was wholly without effect. After this failure, and after having been plundered in various ways of the greater part of his effects, he resigned himself to his fate; and establishing his residence in a clay-built house or hovel at Cobbé, the capital town of Dar-Fûr, he cultivated an acquaintance with the principal inhabitants, and acquired such a knowledge of the Arabic dialect used in that country as to enable him to partake of their society and conversation.

He renewed his applications, however, from time to time; and continued, more than two years, to be a suitor at the Sultan's court for liberty to depart. To attempt to give an adequate idea of his sufferings during this long period of captivity would greatly exceed the limits of the present narrative. In a



burning climate, without books or amusements, without society, and almost without resources, surrounded by dangers, and in utter hopelessness of escape,—it is wonderful that he did not entirely sink under such an accumulation of sufferings. That his health and spirits did not altogether desert him; still more, that he was able to collect much curious and minute information respecting the diseases, the natural history, the agriculture, the manners and language of the country in which he was thus detained, can only be attributed to that force of character, and invincible serenity and firmness of mind, for which he was doubtless very remarkable, and which place him on a level with the most distinguished travellers.

Among the expedients he adopted to relieve his *ennui*, there is one which deserves to be mentioned. He purchased two lions, whom he tamed and rendered familiar. One of them, being bought at four months old, acquired most of the habits of a dog. He took great pleasure in feeding them, and observing their actions and manners. Many moments of languor were soothed by the company of these animals. \*

At length, owing to causes not sufficiently explained, possibly from mere caprice, the desired permission to quit Dar-Fûr was reluctantly granted; and Mr. Browne departed in the Spring of 1796, after a constrained residence of nearly three years. He returned to Egypt, travelling, as before, with the Soudân caravan, during the hottest season. When he arrived at Assiût, on the banks of the Nile, it was four months since he had tasted animal food; and he was detained there some time by a severe illness, the consequence of hardship and fatigue. Immediately after his recovery he proceeded to Cairo, where he remained till the month of December following.

In January 1797 he embarked at Damietta for the coast of Syria; and after visiting Palestine, proceeded, by Acre and Tripoli, to Aleppo, and remained there some weeks. From Aleppo he went to Damascus, where he was charmed alike by the excellence of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the beauties of the surrounding country. He continued at Damascus two months; and, after viewing the ruins of Balbec, returned to Aleppo, and proceeding through Asia Minor, arrived on the 9th of December 1797 at Constantinople.

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\* Travels, p. 262.

Having resided several months in that capital, he returned by way of Vienna, Berlin, and Hamburg, to England; and arrived in London on the 16th of September, 1798, after an absence of nearly seven years.

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During the course of his journey, and indeed before he left Egypt, Mr. Browne had lost, by several accidents, some of the most valuable journals and registers which he had kept in Africa, and especially during his residence in Dar-Für. But several important papers still remained; and he employed himself for some time in collecting from those materials, and preparing for the press such information as he judged to be new or important. He published his work in the Spring of the year 1800, under the title of "Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798."

It was a work of some expectation; and no labour was spared by its author to render it fit, according to his conceptions, for the public eye; but notwithstanding this labour, and the novelty and interest of the information which it contained, it had no success and has never become popular. The causes of this failure are sufficiently obvious. The style is abrupt, artificial, and not without affectation; and the work, considered as a whole, has little that is engaging or attractive. It contains some passages offensive to good taste, and a few that are more seriously objectionable. It is written throughout with a certain coldness and languor; and is altogether deficient, not only in that spirit with which great enterprizes ought to be described, but in those picturesque touches which give life and reality to a narrative, and especially to a book of Travels.

Such faults (and some of them are important) could not be overlooked by the public. But, independently of these objections, the work must be acknowledged to contain much that was new and valuable. It bears indisputable marks of industry, learning, and great accuracy. Many of the details concerning Egypt, although now superseded by the accounts of later travellers, were at that time highly interesting; and the information it supplies respecting the interior of the African Continent can never cease to be of importance.

It is the value and authenticity of this information, which constitute the essential merit of Mr. Browne's work; and whatever may be thought of his talents as a writer, he has certainly acquired a high rank among geographical discoverers. Upon this subject the testimony of Major Rennell is full and

explicit, and must be acknowledged to be altogether conclusive. The following is an extract from his *Geographical System of Herodotus*, which was published about the same time as the work in question.

“ Since this section went to the press the author has had the satisfaction to peruse Mr. Browne’s *Travels in Africa*; which he conceives will be classed among the first performances of this kind. The aids it brings to geography are great, and will probably lead to further discoveries; as it forms a link between Abyssinia on the east, and Bornou on the west. Moreover, it confirms, in a great degree, two positions advanced in the present system of African geography; first, that the Niger *does not* join the Nile; and secondly, that the most remote head of the Nile is *not* situated in the quarter of Abyssinia, but far to the south-west of it.” — *Geographical System of Herodotus*, 4to. p. 480.

Mr. Browne had no sooner completed the publication of his *Travels* than he began to prepare for another journey. He quitted England in the summer of 1800, and proceeded, by Berlin and Vienna, to Trieste. He remained there a short time; and early in the following year embarked at that port for the Levant, when he visited Athens and Smyrna, and afterwards went to Constantinople; and from thence, after some stay, proceeded by a land-journey to Antioch, and subsequently to Cyprus and Egypt. Here he remained a considerable time, and passed the greater part of the Winter at Cairo. In the Spring of the following year (1802) he went to Salonika, and took the opportunity of visiting Mount Athos; and proceeded thence, by Albania and the Ionian islands, to Venice, where he rested for several months.

From Venice, in the year 1803, he went to Sicily, which was then occupied by English troops, and employed a considerable time in viewing the antiquities with which that classical country abounds, and in examining every part of the interior. The neighbouring cluster of Lipari islands next engaged his attention; and after making a complete survey of that volcanic archipelago, he returned, at length, reluctantly to England.

After his arrival, and as soon as he was settled in London, he employed himself for some time in arranging the materials collected during his last journey, with a view to publication. He made a considerable progress in this undertaking; but afterwards laid it aside, whether with an intention of resuming it at some subsequent period, or from feeling the difficulty of throwing any new light upon countries so often described, cannot now be

ascertained.—It must be observed that the Extracts from Mr. Browne's papers, contained in this publication, are selected from the manuscript volume which he prepared on the occasion here alluded to.

The intervals between Mr. Browne's journies were periods of bodily repose ; but they were not passed in idleness. Since his last return to London he had resumed his former habits, which were those of a severe student. Oriental and classical, especially Greek, literature furnished regular employment for the greater part of his day ; and his hours of relaxation were dedicated to Voyages and Travels. He mixed little, if at all, in general society, saw few friends, and those men of literature or science ; and led the life of a retired scholar and recluse in the vast solitude of the metropolis.

His friendships, especially those contracted in the latter part of his life, were almost invariably founded upon similarity of studies and pursuits. Among these it may be proper to mention the connection which he formed about this time with the late amiable and excellent Mr. Smithson Tennant, a person much distinguished by his chemical discoveries, his attainments in science and literature, and his general talents for society. Although he had never himself travelled in the East, Mr. Tennant had a singular fondness for Oriental literature, and was remarkably conversant in the works of the best Eastern travellers. This induced him to pay some attention to Mr. Browne, whom he accidentally met in society, probably at Sir Joseph Banks's ; and an acquaintance, thus casually formed, was soon ripened into a sincere and solid friendship.

Some memorial of the intercourse between these two remarkable men has been preserved in an unpublished account of the Life of Mr. Tennant, which was circulated a few years ago among his friends ; and the following extract from that work may be inserted with great propriety in this memoir, as being not uninteresting in itself, and throwing a new light upon Mr. Browne's habits and manners.

" With the tastes and feelings resulting from his fondness for the East, it may easily be conceived that Mr. Tennant had a peculiar gratification in the society of Mr. Browne. He found in that distinguished traveller, not only an intimate acquaintance with those countries which so much interested his curiosity, but a considerable fund of learning and information, united with great modesty and simplicity, and much kindness of disposition. By strangers, however, Mr. Browne's character was apt to be misunderstood. Whether from natural temperament, or from habits acquired in the East, he

was unusually grave and silent, and his manners in general society were extremely cold and repulsive. Even in company with Mr. Tennant, to whom he became sincerely attached, he would often remain for some time gloomy and thoughtful. But after indulging himself for a few minutes with his pipe, his eye brightened, his countenance became animated, and he described in a lively and picturesque manner the interesting scenes in which he had been engaged, and to which he again looked forward. Of the impression left on Mr. Tennant's mind by these interviews, some idea may be formed from the following passage of a letter written by him to an intimate friend soon after he had received the account of Mr. Browne's death. 'I recall,' he says, 'with a melancholy pleasure, the *Noctes Arabicæ* which I have often passed with him at the Adelphi, where I used to go whenever I found myself gloomy or solitary; and so agreeable to me were these soothing, romantic, evening conversations, that after ringing his bell, I used to wait with great anxiety, fearful that he might not be at home.' " \*

The habits of Mr. Browne's life during the intervals of his journeys, and while he thus resided in London, were extremely sedentary. He seldom, indeed, quitted home, except for short and occasional visits to friends in the country; for he took no delight in travelling in England. The wild and romantic scenes to which he had been accustomed had taken possession of his imagination; and created in him a certain distaste for that monotony and tameness, which industry, wealth and improved agriculture, are apt to give to the face of a country. He was prevailed upon, however, by Mr. Tennant, in the summer of 1805 or 1806, to make a tour in Ireland; and he accompanied his friend through a great part of that country, on horseback, equipped with pistols and a long Turkish cloak, as he had been accustomed to travel in the East. He had anticipated little pleasure from this journey; but he found it very interesting. His curiosity was excited by many striking and characteristic features in the country and its inhabitants; the results, as he justly inferred, of particular circumstances in the government, and of an inferior state of civilization. He felt himself, he said, upon foreign ground, when he observed, in travelling through the southern provinces, the wild aspect of a great part of the country, the general want of enclosures, the vast extent of fertile and ill-cultivated land, and, above all, the idleness, the

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\* Account of the late Smithson Tennant, Esq. 1815. p. 30.

poverty, and the thoughtless and turbulent gaiety of the vast, overflowing population.

Mr. Browne likewise expressed himself with great pleasure, and in stronger terms than he was accustomed to use on such subjects, as to the picturesque merit of some particular places which he had seen in his Irish journey ; and especially as to the romantic and very peculiar beauties of the Lakes of Killarney.

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After several years had been thus passed by Mr. Browne, his ruling passion returned ; his present course of life became insipid and irksome, and he began to meditate new expeditions. His imagination naturally recurred to some of those adventurous schemes which he had formed in early life ; and he seems once to have had thoughts of applying, at this period, to the Directors of the East-India Company for permission to travel into Thibet. But after due consideration of this and other projects, he fixed at length upon the Tartar city of Samarcand and the central region of Asia around it, as the objects towards which his attention should now be directed.

Having made the necessary arrangements in this country for a long absence, he took his departure from England in the summer of 1812, and proceeded, in the first place, to Constantinople ; from whence, at the suggestion of Mr. Tennant, he made a diligent, but fruitless, search for the meteoric stone, which is mentioned by the Parian Chronicle and the Natural History of Pliny to have fallen at Egos-potamos in the ancient Thrace. † From Constantinople he went, about the close of the year, to Smyrna, where he had determined to pass the winter. ‡ He established himself for some time in that

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\* Mr. Browne mentioned these observations respecting Ireland to the writer of this memoir, in conversation, a very short time before he left England in 1812.

† Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 58.

‡ Before Mr. Browne left England he received from his friend Mr. Tennant a paper containing the heads of some subjects of enquiry to which he wished to direct Mr. B.'s attention. It is a hasty and imperfect memorandum, and the topics are sufficiently obvious ; but as the suggestions are very judicious, and contain much information in a small compass, respecting what should be considered as the principal duty of a traveller, it may be deemed worthy of insertion.

city, and was fortunate enough to become intimately acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Renouard, then Chaplain of the Factory, a man of learning, intelligence, and congenial studies, in whose society he passed many happy hours, and with whom he contracted a sincere and cordial friendship.

He left Smyrna in the Spring of 1813, and proceeding in a north-easterly direction through Asia Minor and Armenia, made a short stay at Erzerúm, the capital city of that province, and arrived on the 1st of June at Tebríz on the frontiers of Persia. No account of this long and curious journey, through a country highly interesting, but at present very imperfectly known, has been found among the few papers of Mr. Browne which have been recovered since his death; but some particulars may be collected from the following extracts of one of his letters to Mr. Tennant.

Tabriz, July 16. 1813.

"Aware of the little interest which will attach to my own materials, I have prepared a document which I obtained at Smyrna, and which will enable you to form some idea of prices at that place. You may judge of the difficulty of procuring any exact information, when I tell you that it took me three

#### "HEADS OF ENQUIRY.

"Prices of articles: to ascertain, as far as possible, the value of the coin by the weight of the precious metal it contains.

"With respect to ancient prices, to learn the rate of the depreciation of money.

"Price of labour; both rude and skilful, in country and in town.

"Rent of land; to be careful in ascertaining the measure, and to recollect that an English acre contains 4840 square yards.

"Rate of interest for money, and how often payable, whether at the end of one or two months, &c.

"Tenure and state of property in land and houses.

"Details of the modes of living and kinds of food, in the country and in towns.

"Extortion, what kinds practised upon different orders of persons; what degree of security of property.

"Moisture of the air to be ascertained by swinging the thermometer; first to get the temperature quickly, then again with a wet paper on the bulb; observing the degree each time.

"Pearl-fishery in Persia; numbers employed; season; diving, how long under water; colour of the pearls; price by weighing or gauging; amount of annual produce.

"Nitre, whether made in Persia, and how; and to enquire whether ashes are added to the impure nitrous solution," &c. &c.



months to obtain this; and that it was completed only the day before my departure. † \* \* \* \*

† For the information of the reader, a copy of the document here alluded to is inserted. It was procured by Mr. B. at the desire of Mr. Tennant, who to his other acquirements added a considerable knowledge of political economy. He had found reason to believe that the rise of prices, so remarkable in Europe during the last fifty years, was universal throughout the world; and that it was probably occasioned by a general and permanent cause, namely, a gradual and continued increase in the quantity of the precious metals; the fact of such an increase appearing very probable, as he thought, from other circumstances.

“ PRICES OF COMMODITIES AT SMYRNA IN THE YEARS 1780, 1790, 1800, AND 1812.

	1780.	1790.	1800.	1812.
Beef, per oke, 6 paras	- - -	16 paras.	26 to 28 paras.	36, 40, 44 paras.
Mutton, per oke, 8 paras	- - -	18 paras.	34 paras.	42 paras.
Butter, per oke, 36 to 40 paras	- - -	66 to 70 paras.	2 piastres.	4½ to 4½ piastres.
Olive-oil, per oke, 12 paras	- - -	16 to 18 paras.	36 to 44 paras.	60 paras.
Wheat of Asia Minor, per kilot, 60 paras	- - -	3½ to 4 piastres.	5½ to 6 piastres.	14½ to 15 piast.
Fine flour, per oke, 4 paras	- - -	6 to 8 paras.	18 paras.	2½ to 25 paras.
Ordinary flour, per oke, 2½ paras	- - -	5 paras.	16 paras.	23 paras.
Black grapes for making wine, per quintal, 1½ to 1½ piastres	- - -	3 to 3½ piastres.	4½ to 4½ piastres.	5½ to 6 piastres.
Red wine, per oke, 3 paras	- - -	6 to 8 paras.	14 paras.	15 to 16 paras.
Six eggs, 1 para	- - -	2 for a para.	1 para each.	3 to 5 paras each.
A good fowl, 14 to 15 paras	- - -	25 paras.	35 to 40 paras.	70 to 80 paras.
Chickens, 4 to 5 paras each	- - -	11 to 12 pa. each.	25 to 30 pa. each.	40 to 50 pa. each.
Smoked tongues from Adrianople, 5 for a piastre	- - -	3 for a piastre.	1 piastre each.	60 to 70 pa. each.
Fresh fruit: grapes, 2 paras, figs, 4 paras, apricots, 6 paras per oke	- - -	4, 8, 12 paras.	6, 12, 15 paras.	8, 16, 20 paras.
Herbs worth 2 paras were sufficient for a soup for 5 or 6 persons	- - -	4 to 5 paras.	8 to 10 paras.	10 to 12 paras.
A salad which cost 1 para, sufficed for 6 persons	- - -	4 paras.	5 to 6 paras.	7 to 8 paras.
Egyptian rice, 2 piastres the kilot of 10 okes	- - -	4½ to 5 piastres.	5½ to 5½ piastres.	7½ piastres.
Fish, from the smallest to the largest, 8 to 14 paras per oke	- - -	18 to 36 paras.	24 to 50 paras.	50 to 80 paras.
Hire of a boat for 2 hours, 15 to 20 paras	- - -	20 to 40 paras.	40 to 60 paras.	2 to 2½ piastres.
A good horse for 2 or 3 hours, 30 to 40 paras	- - -	50 to 60 paras.	60 to 80 paras.	2½ to 3 piastres.
A labourer, per day, 20 paras	- - -	40 to 50 paras.	50 to 60 paras.	70 to 80 paras.
Rent of a fire-proof warehouse 120 to 150 piastres per annum	- - -	200 to 250 piast.	350 to 400 piast.	500 to 800 piast.
A dwelling on the Marina, 4 to 500 piastres per annum	- - -	1000 to 1500 pi.	2000 piastres.	2500 to 3000 piast.
A female servant, 20 to 80 piastres per annum	- - -	50 to 60 piastres.	100 piastres.	120 to 150 piast.
A nurse, per month, 4 piastres	- - -	8 to 10 piastres.	15 to 16 piastres.	18 to 20 piastres.
A cook, per annum, 70 to 80 piastres	- - -	150 piastres.	250 to 300 piast.	350 to 400 piast.
Any other domestic, 40 to 50 piastres	- - -	100 piastres.	150 piastres.	200 piastres.



“ If you see Sir James Mackintosh, have the goodness to inform him that the Chalfah and principal clergy of the monastery called Aitalmiazin, near Erivan, desire to offer him their most respectful salutations. They remember with gratitude the numerous benefits which their church and nation have derived from his integrity as a judge, and his benevolence as a man, during his residence in India ; and they implore him to continue his protection to them in an affair now agitating, which menaces their interests in that country with considerable danger. The fact is, that one of their principal dignitaries has embezzled a large portion of their property, which they entertain hopes of recovering by legal process. \*

“ I am here only till I can make the necessary preparations for proceeding further ; and I have hitherto seen no occasion to alter or to despair of the execution of my plan. The Ambassador is at present at Hamidân ; but I am in hopes that he will be here in a few days, as it is very desirable that I should see him. Major D’Arcy, an intelligent and active officer, who is his agent here, has received me with great politeness and hospitality. I shall soon be as much at home in Persia as in Turkey ; and I look forward with great hope to the future. \* \* \* \*

“ This had been written for some days, but no means of forwarding it occurred. Sir Gore Ouseley is now here ; and I flatter myself with being able to advance shortly. The accounts I have recently received of the state of Tartary are very discouraging ; but I am not given to yield or to despond. I hope to make my next letter more interesting. Adieu ! All well to the 24th of July.”

Writing upon some of the same subjects to another friend, he expresses himself thus :— “ In endeavouring to reach my destination, it will probably be necessary to take a circuitous route, first to Meshed, and then to Herat ; but if I can contrive to get into Tartary before the inclemencies of winter commence I shall deem myself fortunate. I do not fear the snows of Bactriana and Sogdiana, when stationary ; but reposing in the open field, I should not find them acceptable.

“ I was gratified with much romantic and beautiful country in passing the confines ; and indeed most of the route from Arzerûm hither is sufficiently

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\* This probably alludes to some appeal from the Courts of India then depending in England.

interesting. It is all classic ground; and almost every spot is connected with historical records. Volcanic matter is so widely diffused, that I am disposed to acquit Sestini of exaggeration in his route to Diarbekîr. Trap and pudding-stone and black granite prevail in this neighbourhood. Iron-ore also is common in various places: probably coal might be found. Nearer Turkey, besides the calcareous and schistose and porphyritic rocks which occur every where, I noticed volcanic glass and pumice. There is a considerable variety of plants near that confine; but my catalogue must be imperfect, for Turkish travelling is unfavourable to botanical research.

“ It seems to me that the sublime Ararat himself must owe a part, at least, of his grandeur to subterraneous fires. I was well inclined to attempt reaching his summit, discrediting the fables related of failures in that attempt. It would no doubt be difficult; as the trackless ascent of a lofty and snow-capped mountain always is. But why should it be more so than that of Mount Perdu or some of the Andes, which have been visited? One side at least is not very steep, but what ravines there may be I know not. The real difficulty, if I am not misinformed, consists in the lawless tribes from both confines, who inhabit the lower and middle parts of it. No guide is to be had; and if any know the way, they would not encounter the risk of being stopped by these mountaineers. The robbers, it seems to me, must be the guides, if any one is to attempt this ascent, which would surely be desirable.

“ There is a British officer commanding horse-artillery at Erivân; four serjeants with the men they have drilled at Nakjewân; and Major D’Arcy has the chief command here (at Tabrîz), having with him an officer from India. The hospitality and kindness of Major D’Arcy have been a great resource to me. He is an accomplished draftsman, and has a large collection of interesting views, taken in different parts of the Persian Empire. It is to be hoped that our mission will promote literary and scientific enquiry, and procure us a complete survey of the country.”

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Mr. Browne continued several weeks with Major D’Arcy at Tabrîz, in expectation of Sir Gore Ouseley, who at length arrived. He experienced from both those gentlemen the most marked and friendly attention; and received every assistance towards the prosecution of his journey from the latter which the influence of his public situation could afford. It is gratifying to record these proofs of esteem and attachment, which accompanied Mr. Browne through every part of the present journey. His name was well known, and

the object of his expedition had greatly interested his fellow-countrymen in the East. They received him every where with the greatest kindness; and the partiality, which it was natural for them to feel in favour of such a traveller, was justified and confirmed by their experience of his character and manners.

Towards the end of the Summer of 1813, having completed the preparations for his journey, he at length took his departure from Tabriz, accompanied by two servants, for Teheran, the present capital of Persia; intending to proceed from thence into Tartary. He passed on the second day through a part of the Persian army, which was encamped at the distance of 36 miles from Tabriz. What subsequently happened can only be known from the testimony of those who accompanied him. After some days, both the servants returned with an account that, after advancing to a place near the river Kizil Ozan, about 120 miles from Tabriz, the party had been attacked by banditti; and that Mr. Browne had been dragged a short distance from the road, where he was plundered and murdered, but that they were suffered to escape. They brought back with them a double-barrelled gun and a few other effects, known to have been in Mr. Browne's possession. At the instance of Sir Gore Ouseley, soldiers were immediately dispatched to the spot described; with orders to bring back Mr. Browne's remains, and to make a strict search for the murderers. On their return, they reported to the government that they had failed in both these objects; but that they had fully ascertained the fact of Mr. Browne's death, and had found some portions of his clothes, which, having been made at Constantinople, were very distinguishable from those generally worn in Persia. They added, that they had been unable to discover any traces or remains of the body, which was believed to have been abandoned to beasts of prey. Notwithstanding this report, the search for his remains appears to have been afterwards continued; and some bones, said to be those of Mr. Browne, were brought to Tabriz; which, having been deposited in a cedar chest, were interred, with due respect, in the neighbourhood of the town. The spot was happily chosen near the grave of Thevenot, the celebrated French traveller, who died in this part of Persia about a century and half before. \*

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\* The traveller here alluded to is "the accurate Thevenot," mentioned by Mr. Gibbon (*Hist.* vol. iii. p. 17. 8vo.), who has been sometimes confounded with the well-known compiler and publisher of *Travels* of the same name. He is said to have introduced the use of coffee in France. He died in Persia in 1667.

Every exertion was made by the English Ambassador to ascertain the circumstances of this melancholy transaction, but wholly without effect. Considerable doubts were entertained with regard to the fidelity of the servants; and some suspicion appears to have fallen on the Persian government. It is certain that Mr. Browne's appearance at Tabrîz had excited great attention; and that enquiries had been made by persons in authority, respecting his objects and destination; and, in particular, whether he was a military man or engineer. The Persians also, at this time, were at war with the Turcomans, and would naturally view with great jealousy the commencement of any European, and especially any English, intercourse with nations east of the Caspian. But these circumstances are too slight to give any colour to so serious a charge as the above suspicion implies; nor can any particular hypothesis be required to account for the commission of an act of outrage and cruelty by the lawless tribes who inhabit the Persian frontiers. Mr. B.'s preparations for his journey at Tabrîz were very public; he was reported to be possessed of considerable property; and the Turkish dress which he wore, rendered him particularly obnoxious to the bigotry and violence of the Persians.

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It remains only to give a short view of Mr. Browne's character, the leading parts of which have been already anticipated in the events and transactions of his life.

In his person he was thin and rather above the middle size, of a dark complexion, and a grave and pensive cast of countenance. His manners towards strangers were reserved, cold, and *Oriental*; but he could occasionally relax from this gravity, and his society and conversation had great charms for the few friends with whom he would thus unbend himself.

His moral character was deserving of every praise. He was friendly and sincere, distinguished for the steadiness of his attachments, and capable of acts of great kindness. Though far from being affluent, he was liberal and generous in no common degree. He was perfectly disinterested, and had high principles of honour; and (what is very important, with reference to his character as a traveller and geographical discoverer) was a man of exact and scrupulous veracity.

He had no brilliancy or quickness of parts; but he was a great lover of labour, and cultivated his favourite studies with intense and unremitting

assiduity. He was a man of erudition, and may be ranked among the learned Orientalists of modern times. But that which principally distinguished him, and in which he was certainly unrivalled, was a familiar and intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of Eastern nations, and the minute details of their domestic life, extending even to their prayers and ablutions. It was this knowledge, the result of long and patient observation, which enabled him to personate the Oriental character with an exactness and propriety which has rarely, perhaps, been equalled.

Although a good classical scholar and an admirer of the best writers, he was certainly deficient in taste; a circumstance, which has detracted from his literary character, and been injurious to his general reputation. He was betrayed into perpetual faults as a writer by a constant effort to shine, and by an ambition of ornament, very inconsistent\* with his general character. The affectation of his style formed a singular contrast to the unassuming simplicity of his manners and conversation. \*

His sincere and excessive admiration of Oriental life (which was another of his peculiarities) admits of an easier explanation. It arose partly from long habits of residence in the East, and partly from the natural gravity, tranquillity and *repose* of his character and disposition. That a feeling of this description should influence his habits and give a peculiar colouring to his system of life was reasonable and naturally to be expected. But it had a considerable effect on his understanding, and must be said to have warped his judgment; since it produced the extraordinary and paradoxical Dissertation †, at the end of his volume of Travels, in which, after an elaborate comparison between the Eastern and European nations, with respect to wisdom, morality and happiness, he gives his decided preference to the former!

The leading principle of his character was a lofty ambition, a desire of signalizing himself by some memorable achievement. On opening his will, which was made a few days before he left England, a paper in his handwriting was found enclosed, containing a remarkable passage from one of

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\* It was generally believed at the time of the publication of Mr. Browne's Travels that he had been materially assisted in the composition of the work by a literary friend of very eccentric taste, to whom the peculiarities of the style were attributed. But it appears from Mr. B.'s papers that the report was without foundation.

† Travels in Africa, p. 425.



Pindar's odes, highly expressive of that generous ambition and contempt of danger and death, which are the true inspiring principles of great enterprises. Probably his most intimate friends had not been fully aware, before the appearance of this paper, of the real force of his character, and of those powerful and deep feelings, which the habitual reserve and coldness of his manners effectually concealed from observation.\*

\* The following is the passage alluded to:—

‘Ο μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος  
ἀναλκιν ἢ φῶ-  
τα λαμβάνει. Θανεῖν δ’ οἷσιν ἀνάγκη,  
Τί κέ τ’ ἀνώνυμον γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ  
Καθήμενος ἔψοι μάταν, ἀπάντων  
Καλῶν ἄμμορος; ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔτος  
Ἄλλος γ’ ὑποκείσεται. *Pindari Olymp. Carm. 1. v. 129.*

In the paths of dangerous fame  
Trembling cowards never tread;  
Yet since all of mortal frame  
Must be number'd with the dead,  
Who in dark inglorious shade  
Would his useless life consume  
And with deedless years decay'd  
Sink unhonour'd to the tomb?  
I that shameful lot disdain,  
I this doubtful list will prove.— *West's Translation of Pindar.*

# JOURNEY THROUGH SOME PROVINCES OF ASIA MINOR, IN THE YEAR 1800.

[COMMUNICATED BY LIEUT. COL. LEAKE.]

## CHAP. I.

*Difficulties experienced by the Traveller in exploring Asia Minor. — Little Knowledge hitherto obtained of the Interior. — Object of the following Journal. — Survey of Part of the Coast by Captain Beaufort. — Nature of the Information furnished by preceding Travellers. — Ancient Authorities respecting the Geography of Asia Minor. — Assistance to be derived from an Examination of the actual Remains of Antiquity. — Departure from Constantinople. — Katal. — Ghebe. — Temperature of the Climate. — Kizderwent. — Situation of the Lower Class of the Christian Population in Asia Minor. — Lake Ascanus. — Nicæa. — Site of ancient Towns between Constantinople and Nicæa. — Ruins of this City.*

AMONG the countries where the traveller, in tracing vestiges of Grecian art and civilisation amidst modern barbarism and desolation, illustrates history, and makes important additions to the science of geography, there is none so difficult to explore as Asia Minor. In European Turkey, the inhospitality of the Mahometan system is somewhat tempered by its proximity to civilised Europe, and its conscious weakness, and the great excess of the Christian population over the Turkish ; but in Asia Minor, the Christian must always feel that he is merely tolerated: the Turks are sensible that the country is still their own, and that they are a step further removed from those Christian nations whose increasing power keeps pace with the decline of their own race, obliging them to look forward to their expulsion

from those regions which they usurped from the Greeks when the Christian states were comparatively feeble, as to an event that must some day be fulfilled; while in the eyes of civilised Europe it is one of the most wonderful political phænomena of the present day, that countries so favoured by nature are still suffered to remain in their hands.

In Asia Minor among the numerous impediments to a traveller's success must be chiefly reckoned the deserted state of the country, which often puts the common necessities and conveniences of travelling out of his reach; the continual disputes and wars among the persons in power; the precarious authority of the government of Constantinople, which rendering its protection ineffectual, makes the traveller's success depend upon the personal character of the governor of each district; and the ignorance and suspicious temper of the Turks, who have no idea of scientific travelling; who cannot imagine any other motive for our visits to that country than a preparation for hostile invasion, or a search after treasures among the ruins of antiquity, and whose suspicions of this nature are of course most strong in the provinces which, like Asia Minor, are the least frequented by us. If the traveller's prudence or good fortune protect him from all these sources of danger, as well as from plague, banditti, and other perils incidental to a semibarbarous state of society, he has still to dread the loss of health from the combined effects of climate, fatigue, and privation, a misfortune which seldom fails to check his career before he has completed his projected tour.

Asia Minor is still in that state in which a disguised dress, an assumption of the medical character, great patience and perseverance, the sacrifice of all European comforts, and the concealment of pecuniary means, are necessary to enable the traveller thoroughly to investigate the country, when otherwise qualified for the task by literary and scientific attainments, and by an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people. Had Browne or Burckhardt been spared to science, all these requisites might, perhaps, have been applied to the examination of Asia Minor; at present, of the countries

which antiquity has rendered interesting, it is that in which there remains the finest field for the exertion of such talents.

Among modern travellers two only have yet traversed this country in different directions for exploratory purposes: Paul Lucas in the years 1705 and 1706, and Captain Macdonald Kinneir in the years 1813 and 1814. The rest have merely followed a single route in passing through it; and even the travels of the two persons just named amount only to a description of three or four routes instead of one; the state of the provinces and mode of travelling having rendered it impossible to make any of those excursions from the main road, without which the geography of an unknown country cannot possibly be ascertained. It even appears from the journal of Mr. Macdonald Kinneir that the difficulties of travelling in Asia Minor have rather increased than diminished. The principality of Tchappan-Oglu, which offered some security, has been broken up by his death; and there remain only a few dispersed chieftains, most of them in a state of doubtful allegiance to the Porte, in whose districts, by good management and previous preparation, the traveller might, perhaps, be allowed to explore the country in safety. In no other parts can he, unless with all the requisites above stated, and a great sacrifice of time, hope to effect more than a rapid passage along the principal roads, take a transient view of some of the remains of antiquity, and note the distances of places, the general bearings of the route, and the relative situations of a few hills or other remarkable objects on either side of it.

Under such circumstances, it is obvious that the geography of the interior of Asia Minor can only be improved by collecting together the journals of different travellers, and by endeavouring to make a gradual approximation to a detailed map of the country, by combining together the information thus obtained. It is with a view of contributing to this object, that the following journal of a route through the centre of Asia Minor, from Constantinople to the coast of Cilicia, is submitted to the public. The line is one of the most important in the province; and the latitude and longitude of its southern ex-

tremity\* having been lately ascertained by Captain Beaufort, it may now be laid down on the map with certainty. This, and two or three other lines †, of which the extremities are equally certain, furnish, together with a few observations of latitude in the interior of the Peninsula ‡, a good foundation for the skeleton of a map, where, however deficient we may be in filling up the outline, many points, at least, and the direction of the principal ridges of the mountains, may be fixed in a satisfactory manner. In our further progress, we shall be greatly assisted by the knowledge of the coasts already obtained; for it is observable that this part of the geography of Asia Minor is in a much more advanced state than that of the § interior. By several partial surveys, in the vicinity of Smyrna and Constantinople; by the observations of Beauchamp, in the Black Sea; but, above all, by the surveys made by Captain Beaufort, of the southern and part of the western coast, in the years 1811 and 1812, it may now be said that one half of the coast is accurately known in detail, and that of the other parts, no point of importance is much in error; so that future routes across the Peninsula, between two points of the coast, may be laid down with great accuracy, provided the traveller is attentive in noting his bearings, rates of travelling, and distances in time. It should be observed, that routes in a north and south, or north-east and south-west direction, are now become much the most

\* The position of its northern extremity, Constantinople, is known by a variety of earlier observations.

† The most important of these are from Satalia to Shughut, by General Kochler; from Satalia to Kassaba, near Smyrna, by M. Corancey; another from Smyrna to Satalia, through Allah-Shehr and Burdur, by Paul Lucas: the two last have the advantage of crossing the routes of Chandler and others in the valley of the Mæander.

‡ The places are, Adana, Tarsus, Erkle, Kónia, Afion Karahissár, Kutaya, Taushanlı, Brusa, Kesaiía, Uskát, Kastamúni. The observations were made by Niebuhr, Browne, and by Messrs. M. Kinneir and Chavasse.

§ Of the interior, on the contrary, (after having laid down all the published routes, and some others in manuscript, and after having rejected all the information for which there is not good authority,) I find that five-sixths of Asia Minor are still a blank. The skeleton, or essay, of a map, here alluded to, will shortly be published by Mr. Arrowsmith.

valuable: the frequent passage of travellers from Europe to India, or from Constantinople and Smyrna to Persia and Syria, or in the opposite direction, having multiplied the longitudinal routes, while we possess very few in the transverse direction.

It may possibly assist the labours of the geographer, if I briefly subjoin the several authorities upon which, in addition to those already mentioned, all our knowledge of the geography of Asia Minor rests. The elder travellers may be confined to Tavernier, Tournefort, Paul Lucas, Otter, and Pococke; for Bertrandon de la Brocquière, and Mottraye, Le Bruyn, and Griffiths and Capper\*, afford no geographical matter that is not contained in the others.

Tavernier informs us, in his introduction, that he began his travels by a visit to England, in the reign of James the First: he died in 1685. Although he crossed Asia Minor several times, in the way to Persia, where his commercial speculations carried him, he affords no geographical matter relating to the central parts of the Asiatic Peninsula, with the single exception of the caravan road from Smyrna to Tokát, which passed by Kassabá, Allahshehr, Afion Karahissar, Bulwudun, and across the Salt country to the Kizil-Ermak, which he passed at Kesre Kiupri. Though he appears to have travelled the road three times, at least, he has left scarcely any other remarks upon it, than the number of hours between the halting places, of which he has seldom even given us the names.

Tournefort traversed Asia Minor only in one direction, from Erzurum to Angora, by Tokat, and thence passing a little to the north of Eski Shehr, to Brusa.

Paul Lucas was sent out in the year 1704, by the same minister of Louis XIV. who employed Tournefort in a similar tour in the Archipelago, the Black Sea, and Armenia. But, unfortunately for our

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\* It should be mentioned that Capper certainly visited the valley of Doganlu, which the reader will find described in the following pages; but his drawing, and account of it, are very incomplete.

geographical knowledge of Asia Minor, Lucas's qualifications were very inferior to those of his contemporary; nor does he appear to have been very well adapted, by previous study, even for those branches of investigation to which his attention was particularly directed by his employers, namely, the collecting of coins and inscriptions.

By assuming the medical character, he secured a good reception at several of the provincial towns, and protection from the governors, as far as their authority extended; but the banditti which at this period infested every part of the country obliged him always to travel in haste, and often in the night; and he was not qualified to derive as much advantage from journies made under such circumstances as a more experienced and more enlightened traveller might have done. He was generally careful in noting the time employed in each stage; but the names of places are often disfigured by his careless mode of writing. His ignorance and credulity made him delight in repeating the absurd tales which the traveller so often hears in these half-civilised countries; at the same time that he omits the insertion of many useful observations which he cannot have failed to make. In some instances he has repeated the fabulous accounts of the natives as if he had himself witnessed them, and has thus rendered himself liable to the suspicion of having wilfully imposed upon his readers. There can be no doubt, however, that his itinerary, abstracted from his narrative, is as correct as he was capable of making it. The geographical results, when connected and compared with those of other travellers, are a sufficient proof of this fact; and Lucas, with all his faults, has furnished us with a greater number of routes than any other traveller in Asia Minor. 1. He went from Constantinople to Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Brusa; 2. from Brusa to Kutaya, Eski-shehr, Angura, Kir-shehr, Kesaria; 3. from Kesaria to Nigde, Bor, Erkle, and Konia; 4. from Konia to Angura, Beibazar, Gheive, Nicomedia, and Constantinople; 5. from Smyrna to Sardes, Allah-shehr, Alan-kivi, Burdur, Susu, Adalia; 6. from Adalia to Susu, Isbarta, Igridi,



Serkiserai, and Konia; 7. from Konia to Erkle, and over Mount Taurus, by the Pylæ Ciliciæ to Adana and Tarsus.

Next to Lucas, Otter is the most useful of the early travellers. He was a Swede, sent to Persia by the Court of France in 1734; and he passed from Constantinople through Asia Minor, by Isnik, Inoghi, Eski-shehr, Ak-shehr, Konia, Erkle, and Adana. His narrative is chiefly valuable as being composed of the information extracted from some Oriental geographers, whose works are in the Royal Library at Paris, and from one Ibrahim Effendi, director of the press at Constantinople, whose information there is every reason to believe correct, as it accords, in regard to Caramania, with that contained in the works of two other Turkish geographers, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century: the eldest of these was Mustafa Ben-Abdalla Kalib Tchelebi, better known by the name of Hadji Khalfa; the other was Abubekr Ben-Behren of Damascus. Though little is to be derived from these authors with regard to the exact situations of places, their evidence on the orthography of the names, and their information upon the political geography are important.

Among our own countrymen, Pococke is the only traveller of the last century who has published his route with sufficient precision to be of any use to the geographer, but he has been extremely negligent in noting bearings and distances: his narrative is very obscure and confused; and his journey in Asia Minor is consequently of much less importance than it might have been made by so enlightened, learned, and persevering a traveller. In the year 1739, after visiting a great part of Ionia and Caria, he ascended the valley of the Mæander and its branches to Ishekli and Sandakli, from whence he crossed to Beiad, Sevrilissar, and Angura. From Angura he went to Constantinople, by the way of Boli and Nicomedia.

Niebuhr's route in Asia Minor in the year 1766, an account of which would have formed part of a third volume of his travels, had not a fire, which destroyed all the copper-plates of the engravings, put a stop to the work, was through Erkle, Konia, Karahissar, Kutaya, and Brusa. He made the observations of latitude which have already

been mentioned; and Major Rennell is in possession of a copy of the map of his route, struck off from the copper before the fire.

In the year 1797, Browne returned from the interior of Africa by the way of Asia Minor. From Aleppo and Aintab, he traversed the range of Taurus to Bostan, Kesaria, Angura, Sabanje, and Nicomedia. Mr. M. Bruce \* travelled the same route in 1812, and has given us a diary of names and distances not to be found in Browne's printed book of travels.

It was in the year 1797, also, that Olivier passed through Asia Minor, from Celenderis by Mout, Laranda, Konia, Ak-shehr, Afion Karahissar, Kutaya, Yenishahr, Nicæa, and Nicomedia.

Seetzen traversed Asia Minor from Constantinople to Smyrna, and from Smyrna to Afion Karahissar, Ak-shehr, Konia, Laranda, Ibrala, and across Mount Taurus to Karaduar, (Anchiale, the port of Tarsus,) from whence he passed by sea to Seleucia, the port of Antioch. The distances and the names of the places which he passed through, written with great care, have been preserved; but it is to be feared that the rest of his valuable manuscripts are irretrievably lost.

In the year 1801, Browne again traversed Asia Minor from Constantinople, by Nicomedia, Brusa †, Kutaya, Afion Karahissar, Ak-shehr, Konia, Erkle, Tarsus.

\* See the appendix to M. Kinneir's Travels.

† The following are among some of the observations of the latitude of places on the road from Smyrna to Constantinople, made by Mr. Browne. They are taken from his MS. papers.

				Latitude.	Longitude.
Smyrna	-	-	-	38° 28' 7"	27° 6' 48"
Magnisa	-	-	-	38° 41' 30"	
Demir Kapu	-	-	-	39° 49' 0"	
Balikesr	-	-	-	39° 32' 0"	
Ulubad	-	-	-	40° 9' 30"	
Michalizza	-	-	-	40° 16' 30"	
Brusa	-	-	-	40° 9' 30"	
Yenishahr	-	-	-	40° 12' 0"	
Kizderbend	-	-	-	40° 32' 0"	
Nicea	-	-	-	40° 21' 30"	

Among recent travellers, Captain M. Kinneir has made the most important additions to our geographical information respecting the interior of Asia Minor. His routes were, 1. from Constantinople, by Nicæa, Eski-shehr, and Gherma, to Angura; from Angura, by Uskat, to Kesaria; and from Kesaria, by Nigde, Ketch-hissar\*, and over Mount Taurus, by the Pylæ Ciliciæ, to Tarsus, Adana, and Iskenderun. 2. From Celenderis to Mout, Laranda, Konia, Ak-shehr, Afion Karahissar, Kutaya, Brusa, Mudania. 3. From Constantinople, by Nicomedia, Sabanje, Tereboli, Boli, Kastamûni †, Samsûn, Tarabizun, to Erzurum.

Mr. Kinneir was also one of the many persons who, during the latter years of the war, crossed the northern part of Asia Minor from Tokat, by Amasia, Osmangik, and Boli. This route has been laid down upon paper with considerable accuracy, but cannot be of great use in connecting the geography of the northern parts of Asia Minor, until the longitude of some of its points is known; and until we have some other routes intersecting it in a direction from north to south.

Another road which has been still more traversed, is from Brusa or from Maalitch, by Ulubad and Magnesia, to Smyrna; the latitudes of all the principal places on it have been determined by Browne. Of these and of several other routes in the ancient provinces of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, we have many descriptions in Smith, Wheler, Spon, Chishull, Pococke, Picenini, and Chandler, as well as in manuscript tours which would not be inaccessible to the geographer.

The authorities upon which our knowledge of the *antient* geography of the interior of Asia Minor is founded, are the works of Strabo,

\* This is probably an error for Kilissa-Hissar, which, according to Hadgi Khalfa, is the name of a castle near Bor. The bearing and distance of Mr. Kinneir's Ketch-Hissar from Nigde proves that it is the same place as the Bor of Hadgi Khalfa and Paul Lucas.

† Mr. Kinneir calls this place Costambol, but the Turkish geographers give it the name in the text.

Ptolemy, Pliny, Stephanus Byzantinus, the curious table or map of roads called the Theodosian or Peutingerian Tables, the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries, the Synecdemus of Hierocles, and the following historical narratives of some celebrated military expeditions: 1. The Journal by Xenophon\*, of the route of Cyrus from Sardes to Celænæ, and from thence to Iconium; and through Lycaonia and part of Cappadocia, and over Mount Taurus to Tarsus. 2. Arrian's Narrative of the March of Alexander the Great, from Lycia into Pamphylia and Pisidia, and thence to Gordium in Phrygia, and to Ancyra, and through Cappadocia and the Pylæ Ciliciæ to Tarsus.† 3. The account by Livy, of the marches of Cn. Manlius, in Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, and thence into Gallogræciæ, and to Ancyra.‡ 4. The march of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, from Constantinople to Iconium, in an expedition against the Turks, as related by his daughter Anna Comnena.

To these may be added, with regard to the southern coast, an anonymous Periplus, intituled, "σταδιασμός τῆς θαλάσσης," which was extract'ed from a manuscript in the Royal Library of Madrid, and published in a volume, called *Regiæ Bibliothecæ Matritensis Codices Græci MSS.* by the librarian Iriarte, in the year 1769. But the best and most numerous evidences of ancient geography are those which still exist in the country itself, in the ruins of the ancient cities, and in the inscriptions and other monuments which may be found there. When these remains of antiquity are thoroughly explored, and the results applied to the explanation of the passages of history just refer'ed to, they will probably lead to a system of Ancient Geography in Asia Minor, much more correct than we at present possess. For while we are still ignorant of the exact position of such important points as Gordium, Pessinus, Synnada, Celænæ, Cibyra, Sagalassus, Aspendus, Selge, Antioch of Pisidia and Isaura, it is a vain attempt to form any satisfactory system; the several parts of

\* Ante Christum, 401.

† A. C. 333.

‡ A. C. 189.

which must depend so much upon one another, and upon an accurate determination of the principal places.

On the 19th of January, 1800, I quitted Constantinople, on my way to Egypt, in company with the late Brigadier General Koehler, the late Sir Richard Fletcher, the late Archdeacon Carlyle, Arabic professor at Cambridge, and Mr. Pink, of the corps of Royal Military Surveyors, and Draftsmen. We were well armed, and dressed as Tatar Couriers, and the whole party, including servants, baggage, Turkish attendants, and postillions, formed a caravan of thirty-five horses. At this time, there were two roads across Asia Minor, used by messengers and other persons, travelling post between the Grand Vizier's army, and the capital; the one meeting the south coast at Satalia, the other at Kelénderi. We deferred deciding as to which we should follow, until we should arrive at the point of separation.

We left Iskiodar\* at 11 A. M., and travelled for four hours along the borders of the sea of Marmora, through one of the most delightful tracts in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; its beauty heightened by the mildness of the weather, and clearness of the atmosphere. On our right was the tranquil expanse of the sea of Marmora, as far as the high woody coast on the south side of Nicomedia, surmounted by the majestic summits of the Bithynian Olympus. In the midst of the magnificent basin were seen immediately before us the Princes Islands, with their picturesque villages and convents, amidst pine groves and vineyards. Our road led sometimes through rich pastures, covered with sheep, but, for the most part, through the gardens which supply a large proportion of the vegetables consumed in the city and its suburbs. Already the beans, and other productions of the spring, were in a forward state. The road was in some places muddy, but in general very good. Kartal, where we arrived at the end of four hours, is a small place upon the edge of the gulf, in the midst of a fertile and well cultivated district, and has a harbour for small vessels. Half

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\* In Greek, Σκουτάριον, Skutári.

an hour further is a Greek village, which preserves unaltered the ancient name Παντίχιον, pronounced Pandíkhi.

Jan. 20. — From Kartal to Ghebse \* five hours, passing through Pandikhi ; and at the end of three hours Tuzla, so called from the salt-works belonging to it. The road winds along the side of the gulf, which, as it narrows, presents a great variety of beautiful landscapes. The soil affords a fine pasture, in some parts of which appear rocks of blue and white marble, projecting above the surface ; and several remains of ancient quarries. We met a Mollah travelling in a Taktreván, lounging upon soft cushions, smoking his Narghilé †, and accompanied by splendidly-dressed attendants on horseback. His baggage-horses were loaded with mattresses and coverings for his sofas ; valises containing his clothes ; a large assortment of pipes ; tables of copper ; cauldrons ; saucepans ; and a complete *batterie de cuisine*. Such a mode of travelling is undoubtedly very different from that which was in use among the Turks of Osman, and Orchan ; and the articles of the Mollah's baggage are, probably, for the most part, of Greek origin, adopted from the conquered nation in the same manner as the Latins borrowed the arts of the Greeks of a better age. In fact, it is to Greek luxuries, with the addition of coffee and tobacco, that the present imbecile condition of these barbarians is to be ascribed ; and “ *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit* ” applies as well to the Turks, as it once did to the Romans ; for, though Greek art in its perfection may be degraded by a comparison with the arts of the Byzantine Greeks, yet in the scale of civilization, the Turks did not bear a higher proportion to these than the Romans did to the others.

Ghebse, called by the Greeks Κίβυζα, is a Turkish town, having a few Greek houses. The only remarkable object in it is a fine

\* The rule observed in writing the Turkish names is, that the vowels should be pronounced as in Italian, and the consonants as in English. Gh, Dh, and Kh, are intended to express the aspirated forms of G, D, K.

† A kind of pipe in which the smoke is made to pass through water : used in every part of the East.