concluded that, for some mutinous conduct there, I had been obliged to seek my safety in flight, I now threw myself upon the clemency of the Governor, as a brother soldier—pleaded poverty from my being obliged to escape in haste, but put twenty-five gold roobeahs, or about sixty shillings sterling, into his hand, at the time of my kneeling to kiss it, and this in so secret a manner, that no one could see the gift or claim a share. I was then ordered to be set at liberty immediately, and, distributing a few piastres among the servants, was quickly mounted and soon rejoined the caravan.

From the top of the hill above the town, we went onward in nearly an eastern direction, over a hard chalky soil, producing a long slender grass, and cultivated but very slightly in scattered patches. We saw here many large vultures, and some common hawks. The aspect of the country was dull and uninteresting, as there was neither mountain, valley, nor even plain; the whole being an unequal surface, like the high and long waves of a deep sea when subsiding from a tempest into a calm,—and not a tree any where in sight to relieve the monotony of the scene.*

As the animals and their guides were equally fatigued with the exertion of getting clear of the town this morning, our march did not exceed five hours, when we halted in a grassy dell to encamp for the night. The only place at which water could be procured, was from a cistern or tank, near a small hamlet, upwards of a mile off. From thence it was brought by asses, but we could obtain from its inhabitants no other supplies of refreshment.

As we were now reduced to our own resources, our supper consisted of boiled wheat, warm bread, baked on a fire of camels' dung

The description given of the Plains of Mesopotamia, by Xenophon, is strikingly accurate. "The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood: if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches, besides bustards and roe-deer, (antelopes,) which our horsemen sometimes chased." He then gives a lively description of the mode in which the pursuit was conducted, and its general result.—*See the Anabasis*, book i.

and steeped in clear melted butter, and some wild herbs, gathered from among the grass around us. This was followed by a pipe and a cup of coffee, and afterwards about an ounce of brown sugar, made into a round hard cake, was served to us out of a little tin case. This was the travelling fare of one of the richest merchants of Mousul, who had property to the amount of ten or fifteen thousand pounds sterling in money and goods embarked in the present caravan, and who every night fed, from his own table, not less than twenty poor pilgrims, besides his own immediate dependants.

JUNE 2nd.—We quitted our station just as the moon had set, or near midnight. From thence, until the day broke, our way was easterly, over a country similar to that which we had traversed yesterday, composed of swelling ridges of land, with a dry light soil, scantily covered by grass, and a few patches of corn in the hollows of the plain, but not a tree was any where to be seen.

About eight o'clock we came to a large ruined caravanserai, called Khan Charmellek. It was one of the largest and best constructed that I had yet seen any where out of the cities of Turkey, being constructed with excellent masonry, and furnished with every convenience in rooms, stalls, courts, &c. The pointed arch is seen in the great front door; but, in a range of smaller apertures on each side, the flat Norman arch is used. The roof was formed into a terrace running around the central court, and the cornice over the four sides of the outer front was purely Arabic. In a good building opposite, which is said to have been the station of the custom-master and his proper officers, for examining the goods as they passed, there is equally good masonry. Besides the pointed arch, there is here one window which is formed of three segments of circles; the two lower segments being those of the round arch, and the upper one being slightly pointed, which resembles the Gothic style; and yet these three kinds of arches in the same building are most indisputably contemporary.

There are fine Gothic windows in the Great Saracen Castle of

El-Hhussan, in Syria, of which the date is not known: and in the same place is an inscription in Gothic characters, which could not have been an Arabic work, even if the architecture were Saracenic. There is neither history nor tradition, however, regarding the possession of the Castle of Hhussan, by the Crusaders, though the inscription in the Gothic character renders this highly probable; and, if so, the architecture would be easily accounted for as a repair, or as an addition to the original Saracenic work. The whole history of architecture in these countries is clouded by a thousand doubts, on examining the monuments of the different races who have possessed them. Each style and order has had its day; but, instead of the remains of these elucidating, as might be expected, the history of their succession, every fragment seen tends only to make the rise, progress, perfection, or decline of particular styles and orders of architecture in the East, more obscure than before.

This khan, though very slightly ruined, is now entirely abandoned, as well as a small mud village behind it, the people of which no doubt subsisted, principally, by furnishing it with supplies.

From hence, we turned up on the left to a small Turcoman camp where we procured some milk, which was a welcome refreshment after our long morning's ride. The tents, though smaller, were similar in structure to those recently described.

The men of this camp, as I had noted elsewhere, were fairer, cleaner, better dressed, and more at their ease, than Arabs of the same class; and all of them wore turbans, which were generally of white cloth in broad folds. In most of the countenances that I had yet seen, there seemed to me to exist traces of resemblance to the Tartar physiognomy. The face is short, broad, and flat, with high cheek-bones, small sunken eyes, flat nose, broad mouth, and short neck, with a full black bushy beard. The Malay and the Chinese face are but exaggerated examples of the same cast of countenances seen here, and form perhaps the extreme, of which this is the first marked commencement. In the Arab race, the face is long, narrow, and sharp; the cheek-bones, flat and low; and all have large expressive

eyes, a prominent and aquiline nose, small but full-lipped mouth, long graceful neck, and generally a scanty beard. As a race or caste, the Turcomans are, therefore, widely different from the Arabs; though the same habits of life have brought them from the north and the south, to border upon each other.

The women of this tribe were quite as well dressed as those we had seen before. We noticed one, said to be newly married, who was driving goats to her tent, dressed with red shalloon trowsers and yellow boots, a clean white upper garment, a red tarboosh on her head, overhanging in front, and three rows of gold Venetian sequins bound around her brow. She was fair, ruddy, and her skin was not disfigured by stains; but, above all, she was remarkably clean and perfectly unveiled, two marks of more distinctive difference from the Bedouin women than even those which are noted as separating the male races.

The existing abhorrence of any imputation on their chastity, and the going openly unveiled, in a country where the contrary combinations are much more frequent, are also a singular feature of the Turcoman women; and this, like all else that we had seen of their manners, is strictly conformable to that of the earliest ages. It appears that, then, *harlots* only veiled themselves, to avoid, probably, the disgrace of ever being recognised or personally known; while *modest* females exposed their features to public view. In the story of Judah's unconscious incest with Tamar, his daughter-in-law, it is said, that "she covered herself with a veil, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place by the way-side,—and when Judah saw her, he thought her to be an *harlot*, BECAUSE she had covered her face."* After his communication with her in the public road, it is said, "she arose and went her way, and laid by her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood." When it was told him afterwards, that this same daughter-in-law "had played the harlot, and was with child by whoredom," as she was one over whom he had the

* See Genesis, chap. xxxviii. v. 14—15.

power of a parent, he exclaimed, "Bring her forth, and let her be burnt;"* so that the same jealousy of injured honour, and the same openness with which women appeared before men, existed then, as are still found here among the people now. The contrary customs and manners, which prevail in towns, may be considered, perhaps, as an effect chiefly produced by the seclusion which forms a constant part of the Mohammedan treatment of women.

From this camp, we went on for about an hour and half, when we came to a large cistern, constructed for the reception of rain-water; where we did not find enough, however, to supply our party. It was a reservoir of a circular shape, excavated out of the rock, to a depth of twenty feet below the surface, and was descended to by a flight of steps, hewn down also to that depth. The whole was stuccoed over on the inside, and it was both a useful and a well-executed work. It is called Saireej Kairaat.

About an hour beyond this, we came to a second reservoir, in a spot called Char Merz, where we encamped for the day.

JUNE 3rd.—We departed again with the setting moon, and had lightning and slight showers of rain, which made our way dark and disagreeable until the day broke. Our course was a point or two to the southward of east, and this brought us, at day-light, to a large reservoir for rain-water, with a place for prayer near it.

We were now come into a more uneven country than before: the height of many of the eminences gave them the character of hills; and they were, throughout, formed of lime-stone rock, of a rounded surface, and generally barren. In the vallies, were some few patches of cultivated ground, and the rest was covered with a long wild grass. This furnished sufficient provender, not only for the camels, but for all the mules and asses of our caravan, the horses only requiring corn. In our progress, the road became more stony and bare as we advanced, till, about ten o'clock, we turned out of

* See Genesis, chap. xxxviii. v. 24.

the way to halt by a cistern. There being no water in this, except the small portion yielded by the light showers which had fallen in the night, we were compelled to continue our way again, until we arrived, in about another hour, at a small hollow plain or Wādi, as it is called, where there was a large hewn reservoir for rain-water, and a smaller one of good masonry in the same plain, distant about a quarter of a mile. As the first of these contained an abundant supply for us all, we pitched our tents here for the day, though we were now not more than an hour's distance from Orfah.

Caravan-travelling, for one whose business required great despatch, was more tedious to me, than could be well imagined; and it was rendered still more so, by my having no hope of being able to avail myself of any other mode. To go alone, as we had already had sufficient proof, was highly dangerous; and, by leading to my being stripped in the way, might prove fatal to all my designs. Messengers of the government, accustomed to carry despatches, and acquainted with by-roads, which they alone frequent, were not to be met with during my stay at Aleppo; and as the government Tartars now go only from Constantinople, through Diarbekr to Bagdad, and Arab messengers directly across the Desert from Aleppo, there seemed no probability of falling in with either of these on the way. Our rate of travelling was so slow, that it scarcely exceeded twelve miles a day, on an average; the least distance being about ten, and the greatest fifteen. The time occupied in this, was from four to six hours, in one continued march, so that our average rate must have been, as nearly as can be estimated, about two and a half geographical miles per hour.

In walking my horse a gentle pace, if I mounted the last in the caravan, I could gain the head of it in two hours, though our line extended nearly two miles in length; when, as was the practice of most of the other horsemen of the party, we dismounted on the grass, suffered our horses to feed there, and either lay down or smoked a pipe for nearly an hour, until the caravan had all passed us again. This was repeated at every similar interval; so that, in

an uninteresting tract of country, where there was no picturesque landscape to charm the sight, not a tree to relieve the monotonous outline of the hills, nor sufficient verdure to clothe their rocky sides,—where either we were lighted only by the stars, or scorched by the sun an hour after its rising,—its tediousness may be easily conceived.

The only advantage to be counterbalanced against all these, is security. But with regard to supplies, as it is more difficult to obtain them for a large number than for a few, and as every one furnishes himself with what he may require on the journey, mutual help in these is scarcely ever thought of, or even practicable, without great inconvenience to one or other of the parties. It is the practice, however, of most of those who can afford it, to dress an ample supper at night, that sufficient may remain for the poor who are in the camp.

From the tent of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, there were not less than twenty such, who were regularly fed, besides those who sat down with him, and were looked upon either as his companions, or immediate dependants, and amounting to fifteen or twenty more. Among these was a Wahābee, from the Nedjed, in the heart of Arabia, who had been redeemed from his deistical and puritanical heresy to the orthodox Islamism of the Turks, by a wound which he had received in his face. This had injured his jaw-bones to such a degree, that he could not open them at all, so that, to enable him to eat, he had been obliged to have four of his front teeth drawn, to open a passage for admitting his food. He never failed, however, to consume his ample share of this, and that too very rapidly, from his losing no time in mastication. Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān had found this man at Mecca, a prisoner, taken from the Wahābees; and, on his return to the faith of his fathers, he had taken him into his service as his inspector of camels.

There were, also, two Indian fakīrs from the Punjāb, who had been two years from their homes, having staid two Ramadāns at Mecca. They had come with a caravan straight from Muscat, in the

Persian Gulf, to that city, through the country of the Arabs; and described the face of it as generally desert and destitute of water, and the few tribes of Bedouins there as bad people, generally at war with each other. They had also found a friend in the venerable Hadjee, who offered to take them from Mecca to Mousul on their return, in his own train, free of expense. They walked on foot; but as they suffered nothing from the heat, and performed only short daily journies, this was no inconvenience to them; and they certainly ate, drank, and slept more—and did, in all other respects, considerably less—than any others of the party.

One of them spoke a little Hindoostanee, and told me that he had been at Bombay. He praised the English government very highly, and thought they did right in every thing but that of their flogging fakīrs, when they found them wandering naked in the streets.* It was observed, indeed, by many of our circle, as well as by myself, that these, and Indian Mohammedans generally, are more bigoted and fanatic than the believers in the same faith who come from other countries; and that they have more of the forms, with less of the spirit, of their religion, than either Arabs or Turks. It was thus that one of these men would repeat, for an hour together, in quick succession, the Moslem profession of faith, as many times as possible, in one breath; and another would count his beads and mutter sentences unintelligible to the rest, while neither of them ever washed or prayed, according to the prescribed manner. The more reasonably pious of our party were much scandalized at this, and held their practices to be tainted, as they doubtlessly are, with the idolatry of Hindooism.

The state of the thermometer, since our leaving Aleppo, had

* Aurungzebe adopted a more effectual method of terrifying the fakīrs into decency. "I was for a long time disgusted, (says Bernier,) with a celebrated fakīr, named Sarmet, who paraded the streets of Delhi, as naked as when he came into the world. He despised, equally, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zêbe, and underwent, at length, the punishment of decapitation, from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel."—*Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire.*

been tolerably regular, but was gradually on the advance. The air was extremely dry and light, and the additional heat was, no doubt, partly caused by this, and by the bareness of the earth's surface. During the day, our skies were clear in the zenith, but marked by lines of white clouds all around the horizon; and our nights were beautifully pure and brilliant, with the exception of the last night only, which was clouded between midnight and day-break. At sun-rise, we had the thermometer at 78°; at noon, it was 102° in the sun, and 96° in the shade of the tent; at sun-set, it stood at 88° and at midnight, at 76°. During the day, we had strong winds from the north, which considerably tempered the air, as these winds came from the lofty snow-clad ridge of Taurus; and, during the night, it was generally calm, without the slightest perceptible fall of dew, which contributed much toward preserving an equal temperature. There was, indeed, a freshness in the air, both by day and night, which made it as agreeable as we found it healthy.

In the course of the evening, several horsemen alighted at our tent, and were served with the cup of hospitality, as passengers on their way. We at first suspected them to be the spies of some Turcoman troop in the neighbourhood, who had come among us to ascertain our force. They all told the same story, representing themselves as adventurers from Diarbekr, going to seek military service at Aleppo and Damascus. We found this afterwards to be true; for, soon after they had left us, there passed a caravan going to Beer, the leaders of which confirmed to us the truth of their statement, and set our minds at rest. Our condition, indeed, was now more defenceless than before, and gave sufficient reason for alarm, since more than half the caravan, including the lightly-laden beasts, and the horsemen, who were merely passengers without goods, had gone on to Orfah, and left here but a small party encamped with us.

My host, Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, having made friends among those who had left us, by his hospitable treatment of them on the

road, they were grateful enough to return it, by sending out to us, from the town, a very excellent supper, composed of at least fifty dishes, besides two mules laden with ices for making iced sherbets, some white mulberries, quinces, and other fruits, forming altogether a meal and dessert for a sovereign.

We continued up late, in the enjoyment of as much festivity as our means would afford, by hearing the rude music and songs of some, and clapping our hands to the dances of others of our camel-drivers, around a blazing fire. We surrounded this circle, formed by the animals themselves, who, on being driven in from the hills where they feed, are made to kneel down, and are generally arranged in a circular form around the horses, the merchandize, and the people of the caravan, as an outer barrier for general security. Here, though our guards were set on the outposts of the camp, and we had each to relieve the watch in our turn, we sang and danced away our cares, and were as happy as the most sumptuous banquets or gorgeous palaces could have made us

CHAPTER IV.

ENTRY OF THE CARAVAN INTO THE CITY OF ORFAH.

JUNE 4th.—The effects of the preceding night's dissipation (if mirth so temperate as ours could be so named) kept us asleep until the sun rose, and it was not until a full hour afterwards that we commenced our march. The road now became more hilly and stony, than before; but, in about an hour and half, on arriving at the top of one of the eminences, and winding down a ravine, we came in sight of Orfah.

As it stood on a lower hill beyond us, and presented little to the westward, except a long bare wall running nearly north and south, the view of it from hence was uninteresting. On the hill itself, from which we first saw it, I remarked a pass cut through the rock, and leaving a perpendicular wall on each side; and from

hence, all the way to the city, a distance of more than a mile, led a broad paved road, winding down the side of the hill, and still in good preservation.

In the cliffs above us, we noticed, both to the right and left, several excavations, which had all the appearance of sepulchral grottoes. Some few of these were arched at their openings, like the tombs at Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes; but the greater number of them had oblong square entrances, like those in the Necropolis of the Egyptian Thebes; and they were all, no doubt, works of high antiquity.

On reaching the foot of the hill, which is composed of lime-stone rock, we went for half an hour over a cultivated plain of good soil, and began to ascend a smaller rising of the land, where the approach to the town is made through an extensive modern cemetery. The tombs were all in the Turkish style, with a tall stone at each end of the grave, and that at the head ornamented with a turban, by the character of which, the sex and class of life of the deceased may be known, even by those who are not able to read the monumental inscriptions.

I thought it remarkable, however, as all the people from this place, whom we had yet seen, wore the overhanging tarboosh of Syria, with a shawl wound high on its front, that the graves here should be decorated with the Turkish kaook, or high-ribbed calpac; which is, in general, peculiar to the Osmanlies, or Turks of Constantinople and its immediate neighbourhood.

The graves were not decked with myrtle by the hands of surviving friends, as at Damascus, nor apparently attended with so much pious remembrance of their silent inmates; but they were, in general, better built, and more expensively ornamented, than the former. The body of the grave, or of the tomb above it, rose in receding stages, one within another, for three or four rows, leaving on the top a space about the length and breadth of the human form, from each end of which rose the perpendicular inscriptive stones. On the sides of these receding stages, ran around sculptured friezes,

formed, invariably, of the little arched niche, so constantly repeated in Arabic and Turkish architecture. They were here, however, in every instance, reversed, with their points downwards; but whether such a reversion of this common ornament, in being peculiarly applied to the sepulchres of the dead, had any reference to the change of state, as well as habitation, of the beings whose remains they contained, I could not learn.

Among these tombs, I saw, for the first time, military trophies depicted. The inner surfaces of the head and footstones of the graves, which fronted each other, were flat; and these were inscribed with many lines, both in Turkish and in Arabic. The letters were cut in high relief, in some gilded on a white ground, and in others painted in black on a green ground; the former, as it was explained to me, being for virgins and youths, dying in a state of innocence, and the latter peculiar to the graves of shereefs, or other persons distinguished for their piety; green being the holy colour of the Prophet. The lines were engraved obliquely, or diagonally upwards, from the right to the left, in the manner of firmans, and other state-writings; and the characters were exceedingly well executed. The outer faces of these same stones were convex; and on them were generally represented various emblems, in gaudy colours.

It was on this part, beneath the turban at the top, that I saw depicted a sword, a shield, a mace, a battle-axe, and other instruments of war, as well grouped as the Roman devices of this kind generally are. They were, however, very imperfectly executed, from their being done in painting, an art of which the Turks are scarcely yet in the infancy. The execution of the turbans was much better, as they were wrought in sculpture; and there were some variations in the fashion of them, which decided the peculiar classes of society to which the dead belonged, as certain forms are worn only by certain ranks of men.

On arriving near the gate of the city, we turned down on the left, and, crossing a small bridge over a rivulet, halted at the Khan Koolah-Oglulee. This is a large caravanserai, set apart for the use

of those who do not bring their goods into the town, but who remain there only a few days, as passengers on their journey to some other place.

Our camels were unladen at this khan; but the numerous friends of my protector, who came out to congratulate him on his return from the Hadj, or holy pilgrimage to Mecca, would not suffer us to remain here. As soon, therefore, as all was safely unladen in the great court, and the servants were distributed in the chambers above, we quitted the khan, leaving only the favourite and faithful Abyssynian slave of the Hadjee to guard his master's property.

The invitations were so many, and so pressing, that it was at first thought necessary to refuse them all, for it was impossible to prefer one to another, without giving cause of offence; so that chambers were prepared for us in a large building, called Khan-el-Goomrook, or the Custom-house Khan, where our friends were to rendezvous. Here, indeed, we were quite as well accommodated, and as much at liberty, as we could possibly have been in any private dwelling, having each of us a chamber apart, and a small one besides, in which to meet our friends, though the congratulators were so many, that it was necessary to receive them on the outside.

This khan consisted of an open court, which was, at least, a hundred feet square, and was paved throughout. On two of its sides, were doors of outlet into covered bazārs; on the third, was a range of stables and cloaca; and all around, on the ground-floor, the intervals were filled up by small rooms: flights of steps there led to an upper story, in front of which were open galleries all around, and chambers, in which were carried on manufactories of cotton, as well as the process of printing them. Through the court below, ran a fine broad stream of transparent water, crossing it diagonally from corner to corner; and as it was descended to by long steps, it served for watering the horses, for the ablutions of the pious, and for the washing of the manufactures above, as they came from the workman's hands, before they were laid out on the flat terrace of the roof to bleach.

This same stream was made contributary, also, to another convenient purpose; all the cloaca being supplied from it with a branch running under them, while it fed a little fountain in each, for the filling a small square cistern, close by the left-hand of the person sitting; so that all impurities were carried off by the stream below, and there was running water always at hand, in which to wash, supplied from above. Another branch of this water filled a reservoir without, from which a supply was procured by cocks, for the convenience of those who might have occasion to use it only in passing. The plan and the arrangement of the whole was excellent, and the masonry of the building was well executed; yet, from the natural aversion of the Turks to labour, it was not so clean as, with all these advantages, it ought to have been.

Our day was almost entirely passed in receiving visits, which were chiefly from the most respectable merchants of the town; and, in the evening, we had to attend a supper-party, formed for us by the Hadjee's friends.

It was before sun-set that we assembled at the house of a green-turbanned descendant of the Prophet, to the number of about thirty persons. We were received in a very handsome room, with gilded ceiling, carpeted divans, furnished with silk cushions, and other marks of the occupier's wealth. Among our party were the two Indian fakīrs, who knew their interest too well ever to desert their patron, so that they constantly hung about his person. These men, clad in a bundle of loose rags, scarcely holding together, though bound with many cords and threads, and swarming with vermin, from their never having changed their garments, or perhaps washed their bodies, for the last three years, were seated among the rest along the sofa, and served with exactly the same attention as others of the company.

This practice of admitting the ragged and dirty to an equal place with the well-clad and clean,—as well as that of suffering the servants of the house to sleep on the divan at night, which equally prevails among the Turks,—occasions the houses of the rich to be

almost as subject to vermin as those of the poor. It is thus by no means rare to see the most wealthy and polite among them arrest the crawling intruder in his march over their benishes; and, rather than defile their nails by killing it on them, as is the practice with the poor in Spain and Portugal, they usually blow it off into the middle of the room. They say that they themselves thus remain clean, and there is but a chance at least of the little crawler's ever reaching them again: whereas, though the practice of killing it at once renders that impossible, yet, in their estimation, this act is in itself too grossly shocking to decency to be permitted.

Our supper was served on a large metal salver, highly ornamented with Arabic devices and inscriptions, and containing at least forty dishes; the central one of which was, as usual, a pilau, and the surrounding ones stewed meats, fruits, and various made dishes. Among our drinks were, iced milk and lebben; a fine iced sherbet, made with honey, cinnamon-water, and spices; and the iced juice of pomegranates of the last year, diluted with water of roses; so that one could not regret the want of wine to crown the banquet. The napkin which surrounded the salver, so as to leave a portion large enough to cover the knees of all who sat before it, was of fine silk gauze, embroidered at the edges and ends, and was in one piece of six or eight yards long by a yard broad. Water was served to us in a silver cup, called, in Arabic, "tassé;" and we washed afterwards over silver ewers. Our evening pipes and coffee were taken on the terrace of the house; which, being lofty, and seated nearly in the centre of the town, gave us a panoramic view of great extent and beauty.

After sun-set, we retired to the Khan Khoolāh-Oghlee, without the town, as the Hadjee still persisted in refusing to give the marked preference of a permanent abode with any of his friends. They all accompanied us, however, to the gate of the khan itself, where we separated. Here, too, we found a party formed for our entertainment, by the servants and charitable dependants of the worthy pilgrim; and, though of a humbler kind than that which we

had just quitted, it was much more vivacious, and equally entertaining.

The chief personages who figured in this assembly were two Christians, returning, from the Easter festival at Jerusalem, to Mardin, called, by the Turks, Mokhoddesy, and not Hadjee; these titles being derivative from the respective places visited.* The names of these pilgrims were Eesa, or Jesus; and Abdallah, or the Slave of God. The names of Jesus and Mohammed are borne only by the followers of their respective prophets; but Abdallah is common both to Moslems and Christians, though less frequent among the latter, where it is sometimes replaced by the name of Abd-el-Meseeah, or the Slave of the Messiah.

Eesa was crowned with a high-pointed bonnet, fringed at the edge, gilded on the sides, and adorned at the top with a bunch of small tinkling bells. Abdallah made a still more grotesque figure, as he was naked to the waist, and had contrived to decorate his head with coloured feathers and cotton wool, which, added to the blue stains, (the symbols of the holy pilgrimage,) with which his body and arms were covered, gave him an appearance somewhat between that of a savage Indian and an ancient Briton, as they are generally represented to us. To complete the resemblance, these men threw themselves into the wildest attitudes, like those of the aboriginal war-dance of America, and to as rude a music.

The band was composed of a drummer, who beat with the palm and fingers of his hands on a large copper pan, turned bottom upwards, and a fifer, who blew into the upper end of a long cane, holding it as a clarionet, and using six stops, as in a flute. These produced, as may be imagined, no sweet or seductive sounds, though

* The Arabic name of Jerusalem is El Khods, or the Holy: and, by the construction of the language, Mokhoddesy is a name formed to signify persons who have visited it in pilgrimage. In the same manner, El Hadj is the Mohammedan name for the pilgrimage to Mecca; Hedjāz, the name of the Holy Land; and Hadjee, one who has performed the pilgrimage.

they were sufficiently musical to charm most of the party, who kept time by clapping their hands, as is commonly done in Egypt.

Besides these, there was a little slave boy of the Hadjee's, born in his house, of Abyssinian parents, who, though not yet eight years old, had accompanied his master to Mecca, and was addressed by the honorary title of all who visit the Caaba. This child, and one of the camel boys, a lad of fifteen, sang to each other in responsive verses, which were again repeated, at stated intervals, by the harsh chorus of all the voices of the assembly.

The dance then sunk from savage wildness into the most lascivious movements; the men approached each other, by progressive and mutual advances, and, after an imitation of the warmest union, embraced more firmly, and cried aloud in an ecstacy of pleasure. The song and music followed this change, by more characteristic tones; so that the whole was rather like a Thesmophorian exhibition in honour of Ceres, than what one might conceive to be the sober amusements of a grave Moslem pilgrim, returning from the Temple of his Prophet; or the pious practices of Christians, still more recently come out from the Tomb of their Saviour, and from witnessing the scenes of persecution and suffering which preceded the death of their God.*

* The lascivious dance here described to have been performed by the Christian and Mohammedan pilgrims, for the amusement of a grave and pious merchant and his suite, is the same which the late Queen Caroline of England was so much reprobated for permitting her Eastern servant, Mahomet, to perform in her presence, during some portion of her travels abroad. It has always prevailed in the East, from whence, in the time of Augustus, it seems to have been introduced into Italy. The reader will, perhaps, remember the passage in Juvenal, which describes the effects produced by Bathyllus's dancing the *Leda Cheironomos*. It may be referred to, either in the original, or in Dryden's Translation, Sat. 6, v. 3; but cannot be transcribed. This dance, says the Delphin editor, which obtained its appellation from Leda, a famous dancer and mimic, was performed by certain gestures of the body and motions of the hand. It was thought to be the highest incitement and stimulant of lust, and was one of St. Cyprian's strongest reasons for denominating the theatre, where it was always performed among the degenerate Romans, "the Sanctuary of Venus." "The woman," says he, "who visits

JUNE 5th.—Our khan was crowded this morning by the arrival of a caravan, after a journey of two days, from Diarbekr, destined

these spectacles, approaches them, perhaps, with modesty in her heart, but leaves them a prey to impurity and intemperance. They move the senses, soften the heart, and expel robust virtue from the honest breast."—*Epist. ad Donat.* The Bathyllus, mentioned by Juvenal, was an Alexandrian, and, as some say, the freedman of Mecænas, by whom he was subjected to unnatural pollution.—*Tacit. Ann.* i. 54. This dance is performed by women in Egypt, and was introduced into Spain by the Moors. Volney speaks of it as follows:—"C'est une representation licentieuse de ce que l'amour a de plus hardi. C'est ce genre de dance qui, portée de Carthage à Rome, y annonça le declin des mœurs republicaines, et qui depuis, renouvellée dans l'Espagne par les Arabes, s'y perpétue encore sous le nom de Fandango. Malgré la liberté de nos mœurs, il serait difficile, sans blesser l'oreille, d'en faire une peinture exacte: c'est assez de dire que la danseuse, les bras etendues, d'un air passioné, chantant et s'accompagnant des castagnettes qu'elle tient aux doigts, exécute, sans changer de place, des mouvemens de corps que la passion même a soin de voiler de l'ombre de la nuit."—*Voyages*, t. ii. pp. 403, 404. The Fandango, as at present performed in Spain, is thus described by Swinburne:—"Our evening ended with a ball, where we had, for the first time, the pleasure of seeing the Fandango danced. It is odd and entertaining enough, when they execute with precision and agility all the various footings, wheelings of the arms, and crackings of the fingers; but it exceeds in wantonness all the dances I ever beheld. Such motions, such writhings of the body, and positions of the limbs, as no modest eye can look upon without a blush! A good Fandango lady will stand five minutes in one spot, wriggling like a worm that has just been cut in two."—Vol. i. p. 70. "There were, however, (at Cadiz,) many assemblies and balls of a lower class, where the Fandango was danced *a la ley*, that is, in all the perfection it is capable of. Among the gipseys, there is another dance, called the *Manguindoy*, so lascivious and indecent, that it is prohibited under severe penalties; the tune is quite simple, little more than a constant return of the same set of notes: this, as well as the Fandango, is said to have been imported from the Havannah, being both of negro breed.* I have been told that, upon the coast of Africa, they exhibit a variety of strange dances, pretty similar to these. Whatever may have been the birth-place of the Fandango, it is now so thoroughly naturalized in Spain, that every Spaniard may be said to be born with it in his head and heels: I have seen a child of three years of age dance it to the mother's singing, with steps and turns scarce to be credited in an infant of that age. Towards the close of the great balls given heretofore in the theatre, when all the company appeared drooping with fatigue and overpowered with sleep, it was a constant trick of the fiddlers to strike up the Fandango. In an instant, as if roused from the slumbers of enchantment by the

* This is an error—they are of *Moorish breed.*

chiefly for Aleppo. It had been thus long on the march, in consequence of the spring, when the mules, of which this was chiefly composed, halt every hour or two to graze. Diarbekr is said to be in nearly a north-east direction from this, and to be six good caravan days' journey off.

We went early into the town, where our day was passed in a round of visits to those who had come to welcome our arrival yesterday, which gave me an opportunity of seeing many of the best houses in the place, as well as many of the upper rank of females. As our train was large, wherever we went the women contrived to get a peep at us from the windows of their apartments, either as we entered or as we quitted the courts of the dwellings, and afforded me as good a sight of themselves in return. This, however, was as purely stolen on my part as on theirs; for as not one of our company ever directed their eyes that way but myself, it was necessary to be the more guarded, to avoid being discovered in the exercise of a curiosity which, however laudable in itself, is here only permitted

magic touch of a fairy's wand, every body started up, and the whole house resounded with the uproar of the clapping of hands, footing, jumping, and snapping of fingers."—Vol. i. pp. 354, 355. If the reader should be curious to see further accounts of this wanton dance, he may consult Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 222; and Lucian, *de Saltatione*. And in Bayle, art. "Bathylle," he will find some very curious particulars respecting its introduction into Italy. From the following passage of Lady Montague's *Letters*, it will be seen that movements, something very similar to those witnessed in the male performers at Orfah, constitute also a portion of the female amusements enjoyed in the privacy of the Harem:—"Her fair maids were ranged below the sofa, to the number of twenty, and put me in mind of the pictures of the ancient nymphs. I did not think all nature could have furnished such a scene of beauty. She made them a sign to play and dance. Four of them immediately began to play some soft airs on instruments between a lute and a guitar, which they accompanied with their voices, while the others danced by turns. This dance was very different from what I had seen before. Nothing could be more artful, or more proper to raise *certain ideas*. The tunes so soft!—the motions so languishing!—accompanied with pauses and dying eyes!—*half falling back*, and then recovering themselves in so artful a manner, that I am very positive, the coldest and most rigid prude upon earth could not have looked upon them without thinking of *something not to be spoken of!*"—Vol. ii. Let. 33.

to the weaker sex. Our constant passage from one quarter of the town to another gave me, also, an opportunity of seeing much of its interior, which it would have been difficult for me to have done otherwise, without a guide, and without the risk of exciting observation.

There was a liberality of conduct displayed towards me by my kind protector, that deserves to be mentioned as peculiar to him. It has been observed, that the term Hadjee is reserved for the true believers in the Koran only; and that Christians, although they have performed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, are called Mokhoddesy, from El Khods, or the Holy, the Arabic translation of the ancient Hebrew, and present modern name. The salute of "Salām Alaikom," and its answer, "Alaikom Salām," or, "Peace be upon you," and, "Upon you be peace," is permitted to be given and received by Moslems only; as well as the formula before commencing any action, however trifling, "B'ism Illah el Rakhmān el Rakheem." In the name of God, the great and the merciful.* My friend, however, permitted me to be addressed as "Hadjee Aga," or, as we should say, "Sir Pilgrim," by all those who did not know my name, and as "Hadjee Abdallah," by those who did; the latter being the name under which I travelled. When I ate or drank, or washed, or filled my pipe, I constantly repeated the Mohammedan formula; and, on closing the operation, whatever it might be, ended by the grave "Al humd el Illah," or, "To God be praise." This was so far from being thought an infringement on sacred privileges, that I never failed to have the usual blessings of "Aneeah," after drinking; "El Hawāf," after washing; or "Naiman," after rising from sleep; which was given to me by every one of the party, individually, and returned to them by the usual answers in the same way.

* "J'ai lu que les Européens ont savamment recherché: num inter naturalis debiti et conjugalis officii egerium liceat psallere, orare, &c. J'ignore ce que les Mahométans ont écrit sur cette matière; mais on m'a assûré, qu'accoutumés à commencer toutes leurs occupations par ces mots, Bism allah errahman errachhim, ils disent la même chose ante conjugalis officii egerium, et qu'aucun homme de bien ne neglige cette prière."—*Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, 4to. p. 43.

It was thus that few knew of my being an Englishman, and still fewer of my not being a Moslem. There were, indeed, some among our party, who thought that Mohammedanism was the prevailing religion of our country. They had loosely heard that the English were not so stupid as the other Franks, in setting up gold and silver images in the churches, and perfuming their priests with incense; and they were sure that so brave a nation could not think that the Almighty was a vain and weak woman, which they think is implied in the Catholic notion of the Virgin Mary, who is worshipped as a being delighted with gold and silver, and easily charmed into compliance with our wishes, by seducing odours and sweet smells.

At El Assr, the hour of afternoon prayer, which is midway between noon and sunset, the Hadjee and his son wished to go to the Mosque, to pray; and I saw that they were evidently embarrassed how to dispose of me in the interval. As we walked together, however, towards the Mosque itself, which was near one of the most interesting parts of the town, I parted from them at the door, with an engagement to wait for them on the side of the lake, at the brink of which it stands, and where I reposed in the shade until their prayers were ended.

This lake, which is called "Birket el Ibrahim el Khaleel," from being in the native city of that patriarch, "Abraham the Beloved, or the Friend of God,"* is filled from a clear spring which rises in the south-west quarter of the town. It then forms a canal, which is two hundred and twenty-five paces long, by twenty-five paces broad; and generally from five to six feet deep. At the west end, where it commences, a room is built to hang over the stream; and at the east, where a small bridge terminates the greater canal, the waters run into a lesser one, which divides itself into many branches, and is dispersed in streams throughout the town, for the convenience of manufactories, private dwellings, and public khans. On the south side

* It was the birth-place of Abraham and his wife, as well as several of his family, who went out together from this city, Ur of the Chaldees.—See *Genesis*, chap. xi. v. 31.

of the canal is a long causeway, the brink of which is nearly level with the water's edge; and behind it are gardens full of large white mulberry trees, as tall and full in foliage as the largest of our English elms. On the opposite side, the eastern half of the northern bank is occupied by the grand façade of the Mosque of the Patriarch, whose name it bears; and its foundations are washed by the waters of the lake, which are also considered to be sacred to him.

The centre of this façade is a square pile of building, from which rise three large domes, of equal size, and a lofty minaret, springing up from amid a cluster of tall and solemn cypress trees. At each end of this central pile, towards the stream, are flights of steps descending to the water's edge, for the ablutions of the pious, each flight occupying the centre of two corresponding open arcades, composed of several arches each. The wings are terminated by two solid masses of building, perfectly uniform in design, and completing one of the most regular edifices of this kind, to be found, perhaps, in Turkey. Beyond this, and extending to the room at the west end of the lake, is a large garden, filled with mulberry and fig trees, and having smaller bushes overhanging the water's surface.

The Birket or Lake, from being considered as consecrated by devotion to the Patriarch, is visited as well from motives of piety as of pleasure, and seldom fails to have several parties on its banks. Like the one of El Bedāwee at Tripoly, on the coast of Syria, this is filled with an incredible number of fine carp, some of which are two feet in length, and of a proportionate thickness. As the water in which they float is beautifully transparent, they are seen to great advantage; and it is an act of charity, as well as of diversion, for the visitors there to purchase vegetable leaves and scatter them on the surface, by which the fish are collected literally in heaps. As they are forbidden to be caught or molested, they multiply exceedingly: and I certainly do not exaggerate in estimating their present number throughout the whole of the canal, and smaller stream, at twenty thousand at least; and their numbers are constantly on the increase,

it being regarded as a sacrilege of the most unpardonable kind, for any one to use them as food*.

There are some other delicious spots in the neighbourhood of this beautiful Mosque, in shady walks, gardens, and open places bordered with trees; particularly near another fountain and lake close by, called "Ain el Zilgah." In the Birket el Ibrahim, both men and boys were swimming, some of whom performed that exercise well; and in the lesser lake of Zilgah, we surprised a party of females bathing. The real and unaffected chastity, both of the Hadjee and his son, or at least their prudent exercise of it in all their public deportment, occasioned them to turn instantly aside, and obliged me to follow them, though we might have enjoyed this picture of natural beauty unobserved, and without disturbing for a moment the supposed seclusion of those who had chosen this retreat.

The Lake of Zilgah, as clear as the finest crystal, had its surface unagitated by the slightest breath of air, the calm that reigned becoming still softer and more balmy as the evening closed. Along its borders were full and verdant bushes, which overhung its waters, and cast at once a refreshing fragrance and a welcome shade around. These interesting combinations formed as fine a scene, either for poetry or painting, as any of the fountains of Greece could have done, though all the Naiads of the stream had been conjured up to aid its effect.

* There is every reason to believe, that this abstinence is a relic of the ancient superstition of the country, which taught men to worship Dagon, or Venus, under the form of a fish, and, consequently, to abstain from eating their God. It was somewhere in Mesopotamia, that Venus, flying from the violence of Typhon, was metamorphosed into a fish. See Manilius, *Astronom.* iv. Selden *de Diis Syriis*, Syntagm. ii. c. 3. "Timebant," says Selden, "ne sibi membra, si animalibus hisce vescerentur, à vindicta Deæ intumescerent, ulceribus scaterent, aut tabe consumerentur."—Ibid. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. and Xenophon, *Anab.* observe, that the superstitious inhabitants of these countries enumerated fishes among their gods: and Clemens, quoted by Selden, remarks, sneeringly, that the Syrophœnicians paid no less worship to their fish than to Jupiter Eleus.

We went from thence to an enclosed cemetery, called also Ibrahim el Kaleel, part of which was overhung by the rocky cliffs of the eminence on which the castle stands, and the rest darkly shaded by the interwoven branches of trees, literally impervious even to the mid-day sun. Besides many dervishes, both at prayers and at play, with chess-boards, shells, &c., there were also several parties of females, most of whom were unveiled, as in a retreat too sacred to be intruded on by men. We turned as abruptly from this as we had done from the former scene; and after halting at some of the coffee-houses in our way, we returned to our chambers in the khan.

We found here in waiting a servant of the Patriarch of the Syrian church, who came to congratulate me, in his master's name, on my arrival at Orfah, and to say that, having been informed by letters from Aleppo of my intended passage this way, his Reverence was desirous of seeing me at his convent.

I accordingly accompanied this man to the residence of his master, towards the south-east quarter of the town, to which the church and the burying-ground of the Christians is attached, and which is surrounded chiefly by Christian dwellings. On being shewn up into his room, I was received by a middle-aged personage, of more natural tranquillity than affected gravity of appearance, who did not move from his place, as is usual on the entry of a supposed equal, but desired me to seat myself opposite to him. His conversation was in so low a tone of voice that it was with difficulty I could understand it, although we were not ten feet apart: it turned chiefly on news, and the state of affairs in general; for, he asked about China, the New World, and the country of the Franks, all in a breath, and seemed more ignorant of them all than any Arab I had yet found.

We were soon relieved from this, by the entry of a Cawass, or silver-stick bearer of the Motesellem, the Turkish governor of the city, very gaily dressed as a Moslem soldier. My surprise was excited, when I saw him kneel and kiss the Patriarch's hand, until I was told, that though one of the Motesellem's personal guards, he

was known, and avowed as a Christian. This, and a similar instance at Tripoly, in Syria, are the only ones that have come to my knowledge, of Christians being allowed the same privileges of dress as Mohammedans, even when in the actual service of the government.

Soon afterwards, the priests began to assemble, all of whom kissed the hand of the Patriarch, raised it to their foreheads, and then kissed it again a second time. Some of them, when they approached him, even uncovered their heads,—an act of reverential humility not paid even to sovereigns in Asiatic countries, and observed by the Christians of the East only to their bishops and their God. There were but two of the whole number who could speak Arabic, they being chiefly from the north of Asia Minor, though most of them, except the Patriarch himself, had performed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

At sun-set, we ascended the terrace, where we enjoyed an extensive and commanding prospect of the town, from a new point of view, in which it looked still more interesting than before. We saw from hence many of the inner courts of Christian houses, with the females unveiled; among whom, one peculiarity was pointed out to me, namely, that while virgins, they wear a red cloth of cotton over their head, to distinguish them from Moslem girls; but, that when they become mothers, their having borne children entitles them to the same privilege as the women of the country, and from thenceforward they wear white muslin, as is done by Turkish females.

I had been so pressed to remain the night here, that it would have been an ill return for my host's kindness to refuse, so that I sat down with the rest to supper. Previous to the meal, a small plate of fried fish (stolen, it was admitted, from the Birket el Ibrahim,) was placed before us, of which all partook. Rakhee, or brandy distilled from dates, was then served from a rude image of a bird moulded in clay, the stream being made to issue from its mouth, and each of the guests drank from ten to twelve china coffee-cups of this strong spirit, before supper began. In

serving the Patriarch, the same reverence was shewn to him as had been done below. When the cup was given to him, or when it was taken away, when his pipe was presented, or when he wiped his mouth with a napkin after drinking, his hand was invariably kissed by the priests who attended him.

Our supper was composed of several good dishes, and a bright moon was the lamp by which we ate. Towards its close, a cannon was discharged to announce the execution of a Janissary, that mode of proclaiming their death being an honour reserved for their class, as beheading is for the nobility in England, while inferior persons, not belonging to this class, are here sent out of life without such a formality. One of the priests having unfeelingly exclaimed, "Ah! there is another child of the devil gone to his father's bosom," was followed by several others, saying, "Al humd ul Illah," or "Thanks be to God;" and all prayed rather for the destruction, and utter rooting out of the Turks, than for their conversion to a purer faith. In this the Patriarch did not actually join, nor did he, on the other hand, at all rebuke it. It led to a conversation of the most fanatic and blood-breathing kind, in which they seemed to pant only for an occasion to persecute their oppressors with more than tenfold return for injuries received.

From the library of the Patriarch, a sort of General History was then produced, describing in one volume the leading events of the world, from Adam down to the first taking of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans. This was written in the Arabic language, with the Syriac character, and called therefore, "Gurshoonee;" as the Arabic and Syriac are distinct languages, having each a distinct character, while in this dialect they are both mixed together. From this book, some horrid details were read of the cruelties practised on the Christians, and it was then asked, "What! if the occasion offers, shall we not revenge ourselves?" I answered, that the head of that religion himself had said to his followers, "Bless them that persecute you, pray for them that despitefully use you;" and, "if thine enemy smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other,

or if he take away thy cloak from thee, give unto him thy coat also." All of them knew these passages of Scripture well enough, but said they applied only to personal injuries, and not to those inflicted on the cause of their holy faith; an interpretation which, however ingenious, served only to prove how pre-eminent are the feelings of our nature over doctrines and precepts intended to counteract them.

The remainder of our evening was passed in theological disputes, as bitter as they could well be, though between members of the same church, and on points held to be unimportant, merely appertaining to faith and doctrine, uniformity in which is considered far less essential than in ceremonial rites; for all were considered by this party to be orthodox Christians, who made the cross and took the sacrament in the same manner with themselves, however much they might differ from them in other respects.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF ORFAH—THE EDESSA OF THE GREEKS, AND THE UR OF THE CHALDEES.

I ENJOYED a night of delicious rest, in a clean bed and clean linen, with the additional luxury of being undressed, and free from tormenting vermin; as we slept on the highest terrace of the house, in the open air, while the priests reposed below.

Our morning pipe was smoked beneath a fine pomegranate tree, about twenty feet in height, in the middle of the court. Its rich green glossy leaves, contrasted with the fine scarlet flowers of the fruit just budding from their stems, looked fresh and beautiful; and its boughs were visited by black starlings, of which there were a great many here, as familiar and nearly as numerous as the sparrows of the country.

During the remainder of the day, my leisure was employed in arranging the notes which I had made to guide my inquiries in this town; and, after this, in visiting those parts of it which I had not yet seen, and completing the examination of it; in the course of which, I met every where with civility and respect.

Orfah is conceived, by all the learned Jews and Mohammedans, as well as by the most eminent scholars among the Christians, to have been the Ur of the Chaldees, from whence Abraham went forth to dwell in Haran, previous to his being called from thence, by God, to go into Canaan, the land promised to himself, and to his seed for ever.* The Jews say, that this place is called in Scripture Ourcasdin, that is, the Fire of Chaldea, out of which, say they, God brought Abraham; and, on this account, the Talmudists affirm that Abraham was here cast into the fire and was miraculously delivered.†

This capital of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Padan-Aram and Aram Nahraim of the Hebrews,‡ the Mesopotamia of the Greeks,§ and the Paradise of the Poets,‖ received, from its Macedonian conquerors, the name of Edessa; and an abundant fountain which the city enclosed, and called, in Greek, Callirrhoe, communicated this name to the city itself. In later times it was called Roha, or, with the article of the Arabs, Or-rhoa, and by abbreviation, Orha

D'Anville thinks, that this last name may be derived from the Greek term signifying a fountain; or, according to another opinion, it may refer to the founder of this city, whose name is said to

* Genesis, c. xi. v. 3, and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1, c. 6, s. 5.—"And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there."

† Pococke, vol. i. p. 159.

‡ Genesis, c. 28, and Josephus.

§ From μισος, medius; and ποταμος, fluvius.

‖ Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

¶ Cellarius *Geographiæ Antiq.*, lib. 3, c. 16.

have been Orrhoi, now retained, with some little corruption, in Orfah, or Urfah.

Pococke says, "This place seems to have retained its ancient name, as many others have done,—Edessa being the name given to it by the Greeks. However, the name of this city seems to have been changed in honour of the Kings of Syria, of the name of Antiochus, and to have been called Antiochia."† The famous fountain of Callirrhoe being here, distinguished this city from others by the name of "Antiochia ad Callirrhoen;" and there are medals which were struck with this name, though, if it had not been explained by Pliny, it would have been difficult to know what place was meant.‡

Niebuhr, however, observes, that the Turks still call the district here, El-Rohha; because a city of the same name, which had been for the most part ruined, was anciently the residence of the Pasha.§

For myself, I can confidently affirm that it is called Orfah by *all* the Turks, and by the greater part of the Koords and Arabs of the surrounding country; but Rohha by a *few* of the latter only, and these chiefly Christians. I could meet with none, however, among either, who were able to give a satisfactory reason for the retention of this last name,—all of them believing that Orfah was its original appellation in the time of Abraham's dwelling here.‖

* *Compendium of Ancient Geography*, v. i. p. 426.

† Pococke, vol. i., part i., c. 17, p. 159, folio.

‡ "Arabia supradicta habet oppida Edessam, quæ quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirrhoen a fonte nominatam."—Plin. Nat. lib. 5, 21.

§ Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 332, 4to.

‖ Mr. Gibbon erred in supposing Edessa to have been only twenty miles beyond the Euphrates, it being considerably more than that distance from the nearest part of the river in a straight line.—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

D'Anville says, that Edessa was placed in the lat. of 36°, and stood at the head of the river Scirtas; the latest authorities make its latitude about 37° 10′ N.

This author adds, regarding its name:—"On lit dans Pline, (ed. in folio, tome i. p. 268, note 8,) parlant d'Edesse en Osroène, nunc vulgo creditur esse *Orpha*, et alio rursum nomine *Rhoa*: sed verius citra Chaborem amnem, cui Orpha imposita est, fuisse veteram Edessam putamus. Quoiqu'il soit commun dans l'usage vulgaire d'appeller cette ville Orfa, cela n'empêche pas que son nom pur et sans altération ne

Edessa was thought, even by the early geographers, to be so ancient, that in the time of Isidore of Charax, Nimrod was named as its founder; and the traditions current among the people here, at the present day, ascribe the building of their castle to that "mighty hunter before the Lord."

Before the conquest of this city by the Romans, it was the capital of Osrhoene, an independent kingdom, which occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, and whose inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians.* This capital, which had taken its name of Edessa under the empire of the Seleucides, from that of a considerable town in Macedonia, still retained it under its change of fortune, as a Roman colony, when it became, from its position, one of the barriers opposed to the Parthians, and to the Persians of the Sassanian dynasty.

It was about the time of Christ that it ceased to be subject to its own princes, as Abgarus is said to have written a letter to Jesus, declaring faith in him, and desiring his presence to cure him of a disease. This same Abgarus was the last King of Edessa, who was sent in chains to Rome, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, when the Roman power was firmly established beyond the Euphrates.†

In the time of Julian the Apostate, or A. D. 361, the sect of the Arians flourished at Edessa, where they committed great disorders, for which the whole property of their church was confiscated; the money being distributed among the soldiers; the lands added to the general domain; and this act of oppression aggravated by the most ungenerous irony.‡

soit *Roha*, que la denomination Grecque, Callir-rhoe, lui a donnée."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 12.

* "The polished citizens of Antioch called those of Edessa mixed barbarians. It was, however, some praise, that of the three dialects of the Syriac, the purest and most elegant (the Aramæan) was spoken at Edessa."—*Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

† Gibbon, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

‡ "I shew myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans. Their admirable

It is asserted, that Edessa was re-edified, A. D. 545, by Justinian, the great builder of churches to Saints in the East, and during his reign was called, after him, Justinopolis. It was probably too the Antoniopolis, a city of Mesopotamia, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and so called from the assassination there of Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla. This son of the Emperor Severus—who killed his brother Geta in his mother's arms, married and lived publicly with his own mother, slaughtered some thousands at Alexandria, for jestingly calling him an Œdipus and his wife a Jocasta, and at last assumed the name and dress of Achilles, proclaiming himself the conqueror of provinces which he had never seen—was assassinated at Edessa, by Macrinus, A.D. 217, in the forty-third year of his age, and, on his body being sent to his wife Julia, she also stabbed herself on the spot.*

In the early ages of the Church, Edessa was famous for the possession of a certain image, thought to represent the genuine features of the Son of God, and held up as the Palladium of this honoured city. After a long imprisonment in a niche of the wall, where it had lain in oblivion for five hundred years, this image was released by a bishop, and presented to the devotion of the people. Its first exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of the Persian Chosroes Nushirivan; and it was soon revered, as a pledge of the Divine promise, that Edessa never should be taken by a foreign enemy. It had been exposed on the ramparts during the battle; and the final delivery of the city from its enemies was attributed to its influence; after which, the image itself was not only preserved with respect and gratitude, but hymns were even addressed to it in the full choir of the church.†

law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved, by my assistance, from the load of temporal possessions."—*Gibbon*, vol. iv. c. 23, p. 129.

* Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

† Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 49, p. 119.—The fallen fragments of another celebrated image,

Toward the close of the fifth century, the heresy of the Nestorians was received in the church of Edessa, after it had been driven from Ephesus and Chalcedon.*

Although Edessa had for a considerable period resisted the Persian force, it at length became involved in the common ruin; and after being relied on as the chief protection of the city for three hundred years, the "Palladium" was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Mussulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.†

It was in the reign of Heraclius, or about A. D. 637, that the Saracens, under the second Khalif Omar, completed the conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia, when the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor and Nushirivan, were levelled in the dust.‡

It again reverted to the Christians, however, some centuries afterwards, when Baldwin, one of the celebrated heroes of the first Crusade, founded there, in the year 1097, the first principality of the Franks, or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years on the western border of Mesopotamia.§

the Colossus of Rhodes, were sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass.—Vol. ix. c. 51, p. 425.

* Gibbon, vol. viii. c. 47, p. 339.

† The prudent Franciscan, Pagi, in his Criticism, refuses to determine, says Gibbon, whether the Image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or at Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.—Vol. ix. c. 49, p. 122.

In the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, when the camps, both of Europe and Asia, were agitated with frequent and furious seditions, the enraged soldiers of Edessa pursued with reproaches, with threats, with wounds, their trembling generals; they overturned the statues of the emperor, cast stones against this miraculous image of Christ, and either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws, or substituted a dangerous model of voluntary subordination.—Vol. viii. c. 46, p. 205.

‡ Ibid. vol. ix. c. 51, p. 424. § Ibid. vol. xi. c. 58, p. 64.

It was during the existence of this principality, that the Counts of Edessa, from

It was then subjected to its present possessors, by the arms of Zenghi, the son of Ascansar, a valiant Turk, who had been so avowedly the favourite of his sovereign Malek Shah, as to have the sole privilege of standing on the right hand of his throne. Zenghi gave the first pledge of his valour against the Franks, in the defeat of Antioch. Thirty campaigns, in the service of the Khalif and the Sultan, established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mousul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the Prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of twenty-five days, he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates.*

This event is variously fixed in the years 1142—1144; and thirty years afterwards, Salah-el-din, who had first come out from Armenia

whom the Courtenay family of France, and now of England, are descended, first arose; although a French knight of some opulence first founded the Castle of Courtenay, about fifty-six miles to the south of Paris. From the reign of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the Barons of Courtenay are conspicuous among the immediate vassals of the crown; and Joscelin, the grandson of Atho and a noble dame, is enrolled among the heroes of the first Crusade. He became attached to the standard of his cousin, Baldwin of Bruges, who was the second Count of Edessa; and after the departure of his cousin, Joscelin himself was invested with the county of Edessa, on both sides of the Euphrates. After a holy warfare of thirty years, in which he was alternately a conqueror and a captive, he died like a soldier, in a horse-litter, at the head of his troops; beholding, with his last glance, the flight of his Turkish invaders. His son and successor, of the same name, while enjoying the peaceful luxury of Turbessel, in Syria, neglected the defence of the Christian frontier beyond the Euphrates; and it was in his absence from it that Zenghi, the first of the Attabegs, besieged and stormed his capital, Edessa, and drove Courtenay himself to end his days in the prison of Aleppo. The Countess Dowager of Edessa retired to Jerusalem, with her two children: the daughter, Agnes, became the mother of a king; the son, Joscelin the Third, accepted the office of Seneschal, the first of the kingdom, and held his new estates in Palestine by the service of fifty knights. His name appears with honour in all the transactions of peace and war, but he finally vanishes in the fall of Jerusalem; and the name of Courtenay, in this branch of Edessa, was lost by the marriage of his two daughters with a French and a German baron.—*Gibbon*, vol. ix. c. 61.

* Ibid. vol. xi. c. 59, p. 122.

and to whom Nour-ed-din, the Sultan of Syria, had confided the government of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, rendered himself master of Edessa.*

The early travels of the Jewish Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, which were commenced in the year 1173, mention Edessa under the name of Dakia, which would seem to be a Syriac corruption of Antiochia, a name it is said once to have borne.† The whole of Mesopotamia is called by this traveller the Land of Sennaar, as if intended for the Shinar of the Scriptures.‡ Dakia, the ancient Chalné, is spoken of by him as the commencement of this land, and is said, in his day, to have had many Jews there, with a synagogue, built by Esdras the scribe, on his return from Babylon. This is unquestionably the Orfah or Rahhah of the present day: and if any doubt remained on the subject, it would be set at rest by the fact of Benjamin's describing Hharran, the ancient residence of the Patriarch Abraham, as only two days' journey from thence.§

In the thirteenth century, during the invasion of western Asia by the Moguls or Tartars, from whom the Turks of Constantinople are descended, Edessa was sacked by them during three whole

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 14. 4to. Paris, 1779.

These scattered notices respecting Edessa, or Orfah, having been compiled with some care, are now given in a connected and chronological order, for the purpose of filling up the interval between its scriptural and its present condition, by the intermediate links of its history in the middle ages: especially as Orfah, or Edessa, is one of the cities of the East, of which less appears to be popularly known by readers of the present day, than any other that can be named. We shall soon pass, however, from research to description.

† Independamment du nom d'Edesse, cette ville aurait pris sous les Seleucides le nom d'Antioche. (Polybe, lib. 5.) Quoique, selon les auteurs très graves, comme on verra par la suite, la même denomination soit appliquée à Nisibis, plus reculée en Mesopotamie, le temoignage de Pline (lib. 5, c. 24) n'est point équivoque en faveur d'Edesse. 'Edessa,' dit-il, 'quæ quondam Antiochia vocabatur, Callirrhoen à fonte nominatam.'—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 12.

‡ This land, however, was south of Nineveh, and not far from Babylon, as may be seen in Genesis, c. x. v. 10—11.

§ Benjamin de Tudele, in Bergeron's Collection.

days; and two centuries afterwards, suffered equally from the armies of Timur Beg, or Tamerlane.*

The changes which it has undergone since that period are not easily to be traced. The earliest notice that I have met with of Edessa, in comparatively modern works, is that contained in the Travels of De Haiton. It is there called Rohais, and is said to be a city of the kingdom of Abgar, to whom was sent the image of Veronica, then at Rome.† This city is named, with the Euphrates, as the most western boundary of Mesopotamia, and close to Harran, the country from whence Abraham was called.‡ It is, therefore, undoubtedly the Rahhah of the Arabs, and the Orfah of its present governors, the Turks.

In the year 1644, it was passed through by Tavernier, on his way from Aleppo to Ispahan. He says of it, "Orfah is the capital city of Mesopotamia, built, as they say, in the place where Abraham lived, and where stood the ancient Edessa, where the people of the country report that King Abgarus held his court. There are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, from whence, they add, that the same king sent to Christ for his picture."§

In the summer of 1738, our own celebrated traveller, Pococke, visited it; and, at that period, it seems to have arisen from a ruined state to one of opulence—if the difference be not rather in the details of the narrators than in the state of the place itself. Tavernier had said, "The walls of the city are of freestone, with battlements and towers, but within, the houses are small, ill-built, and ruinous; and there are several void spaces in the city, which makes Orfah to look rather like a desert than a metropolis."‖ Pococke, however,

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 14.

† "Of the pictures chiefly venerated by the early Christians, the most ambitious aspired to a fraternal relation with the Image of Edessa; and such is the Veronica of Spain, or Rome, or Jerusalem.—*Gibbon*, vol. ix. c 49, p. 120.

‡ From Bergeron's Collection.

§ Travels of Tavernier. London, 1678, folio, p. 68.

‖ Tavernier, p. 68.

describes it as having a great trade in his time, and being very flourishing; and, on his visit to the castle, he says, "From hence, there is a very delightful prospect of the city, the water, the gardens, and the plain to the north, which make it, in every respect, a very charming place."*

In the spring of 1766, the Danish traveller, Niebuhr, passed through this town, on his way from Bagdad to Aleppo, and it was then in an equally flourishing state, though his stay there was too short to admit of his giving any minute details of its condition.†

Orfah is seated on the eastern side of a hill, at the commencement of a plain; so that while its western extremity stands on elevated ground, its eastern is on a lower level; and, with very trifling variations, the whole of the town may be said to be nearly flat. The wall by which it is surrounded encloses a circuit of from three to four miles, and appears to trace out, in its course, an irregular triangle; the west side of which runs nearly north and south; the southern side, east-south-east and west-north-west; and the third, or longest side, on the north-east, connecting the two others by a line of north-west and south-east. The length of the shortest of these sides is a mile, and the space within is well filled; there being few open places in the town, and where trees are seen, they are generally in streets or courts, or before coffee-houses or places of public resort.

The town is bounded on the west, by modern burying-grounds, gardens, hills, and vales; on the north, by rising land; on the east, by a fertile plain, terminating at the foot of a bare ridge of hills; on the north-east, by this same plain, extending to an horizon like the sea, where it runs into the sandy desert; and on the south-west, by a high hill, nearly overlooking the town, and crowned with the walls of a ruined castle. The houses are all built of stone, and are of as good masonry, and as highly ornamented, as those of Aleppo.

* Pococke, vol. ii. part 1, c. 17, p. 160.

† The outline ground-plan which he has given of the city seems to be tolerably accurate.—Vol. ii. p. 330. 4to.

They have mostly a small door of entrance from the street, with an open court, and divans, in recesses below; while the upper story is laid out in rooms of reception, more expensively furnished. Above this is the terrace, on which, in many instances, are raised central benches, railed around, so as to form sofas, or beds, as occasion may require; and it is here that the morning pipe is enjoyed, the evening meal taken, and the whole of the night passed, in summer, by the inhabitants. The Harem, or the wives and children of the family,—which that word strictly means, without reference to any number of either,—live here, as much apart from the males as throughout the rest of Turkey, generally occupying a small suite of rooms by themselves, at the other end of the court, into which there is no communication but by passing across that court, and thus being publicly seen by all the inmates of the dwelling.

The streets are narrow, but having a paved causeway on each side, with a central channel for water, and, being more or less on a sloping ground, they are generally clean. On the outer doors of many of the dwellings here, I had observed, as at Beer and Aleppo, the inscription of ماشالله (Mash Allah,) with a date beneath, which I now learned was a privilege granted to pilgrims only. The exclamation itself is one generally used in common discourse, to express wonder and admiration, and has here, no doubt, the same application. The date attached is that of the year of the Hejira in which the pilgrimage of the dweller was performed. In commenting on this practice, they never fail to compare it with what they consider the absurd usage of the Christians, who mark their arms and bodies with various figures of saints and angels, to commemorate a similar event. "Ours," say they, "is a confession to all who pass our dwelling of the pious work we have performed, and is never concealed even from the eye of the stranger, since we are not ashamed of the precepts of our Prophet. The emblems of the Christian, on the contrary, are not to be seen but when his body is uncovered, and then it is but to shew how men can deface the

beauty of the human form, which came in the perfection of excellence from the hand of its Maker."

The bazārs are numerous and well supplied, and are separated, as usual, into departments, each appropriated to the manufacture and sale of particular commodities. The shoe bazār is small, but peculiarly neat and clean, being wider than the others, and roofed over with a fine arched covering of masonry, whitewashed within, and admitting the light and air from without through grated windows at the top. Most of the other bazārs are also covered, and are always fresh, cool, and sheltered both from rain and sunshine. That in which muslins, cottons, and other piece-goods are sold, is equal to any of the bazārs either at Smyrna, Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo. It is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide, including the benches of the shops on each side, which are all fitted up as divans, with carpets and cushions. It is, at least, from thirty to forty feet high, and covered in throughout its whole length by a range of fine domes, in succession, admitting light and air by a sort of lantern-windows in the roof.

This bazār is amply furnished with the manufactures of India, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey, and with some few Cashmeer shawls and Angora shalloons; but English articles, which are held in the highest estimation, are extremely rare. I repeatedly heard, indeed, expressions of wonder, as well as regret, from dealers in this bazār itself, at the failure of the usual importations of British goods from Aleppo. Formerly, it appears, there were many English merchants established there, who furnished regular supplies of cloths, shalloons, printed cottons, arms, hardware, and glass. At this moment, there is not one of these establishments existing; and the few bales of cloth, which are to be had from the remaining Frank dealers of Aleppo, are complained of, as being of a much worse quality, and higher price, than those they had been accustomed to receive. If the English Factory at Aleppo should ever again recover from its decline, there is little doubt but that its trade would

be soon as extensive as ever, since the superiority of British goods, of every description, seems to have been better learnt by privation of them, than by their actual use.

The khans, or caravanserais, are numerous, and some few excellent. The Khan Khoolah-Oghlee, on the skirts of the town, in which the merchandize of our caravan was lodged, could accommodate, in its central court, a hundred camels, with their lading; in the stables around it, as many horses, mules, and asses; and, in the chambers above, nearly two hundred persons. At the head of it, is a good reservoir of water, replenished by a constant running stream, and overhung by a thick-foliaged tree, beneath which the passengers enjoy the pleasures of water, shade, and repose. The Khan-el-Goomrook, in which we were lodged in the town, has already been described. The chambers below and above could not be less than a hundred, many of them large enough to admit eight or ten persons to sit at a time, most of them furnished with mats, carpets, and cushions, and all forming convenient apartments for the stranger, during the period of his sojourning here. This khan communicates, by one of its gates, with the great domed bazār already described, and by another gate with the street. Over this last, is a mosque, expressly for the accommodation of the devout traveller, since it is never visited but by those within the khan, the passage to it being by flights of steps, ascending upward from its inner court. The stranger is thus furnished with every convenience he can need, without the necessity of quitting the walls of his abode; as he has stabling, water, lodgings, and food, close at hand, to be brought to him prepared in any way he may desire; with a house of prayer, in which to offer up his devotions to his Creator.

The mosques that are crowned with minarets, and seen from without, amount, in number, to about fifteen. That of Ibrahim el Khaleel has already been described: it is the most beautiful in its exterior, though not the largest; and it is also held in the highest reverence and esteem, from its lake teeming with the fish therein preserved in honour of that Patriarch.

The people here believe, that, even if these fish were taken, no process of cooking would make any impression on their bodies, or render them at all fit for food. On my first hearing this, I considered it only as one of the superstitions of the very lowest class, ingeniously imposed upon them, perhaps, to prevent their disturbing a source of supply to the tables of the higher orders of society; but in a party on the banks of the stream itself, composed of some of the most sensible, respectable, and liberal-minded men in the place, I heard this opinion gravely re-echoed from voice to voice, as one of the incontrovertible proofs of the care which the venerable Patriarch took of his native city, and of the approbation with which he looked down on their labours, to embellish, with spreading trees and running waters, the temples which they had reared there to his covenanted God.

I could have assured them, that, only on the preceding evening, I had eaten of some of these fish, which had been stolen from the lake by Christians, who thought it less criminal to commit a theft than to sup without some of those delicate morsels, to relish the arrack, of which they drank so copiously before their supper began. Such a disclosure, however, would have brought them into trouble, and their religion, perhaps, into persecution—two evils, certainly not worth incurring, for the sake of undeceiving men in an error of so harmless a tendency.

The largest of the mosques at Orfah has a square steeple, and this form is also repeated in one of the smaller ones; at the top of which are open double windows in each face, as in the square towers of the Haurān; the division being here made by Corinthian columns, which would seem to mark it as an early Christian work. The general form, however, of the minaret, is circular, with a gallery of open stone work near the top, and the summit is crowned by a pointed cone, surmounted by the crescent of the faith. On many of these, a large bird builds its nest of reeds and bushes, to the size of the head of a small tree, and often as large as the whole diameter of the minaret itself. It is said to be a bird of passage, coming

here in spring to breed its young, and remaining during the summer; when, in winter, it goes away into a southern and warmer clime, either into the Deserts of Arabia, or to some region still more remote. It is called, by the people, " Hadjee Lug lug;" the former, from its making a yearly pilgrimage and building chiefly on mosques; and the latter, from the sound made by its broad and heavy wings when flying. I had seen the bird itself only at a distance, and from thence judged it to be a very large kind of stork; not, however, so large as the immense bird called the Adjutant, which makes similar periodical visits to the banks of the Ganges, and the lakes of Bengal.

The baths of Orfah, of which there are four or five, are large, and some are reported to be extremely good. The one into which I went, being the nearest to our khan, was spacious, but dirty and badly attended. It is true, that it was in the afternoon, when many of the male attendants were gone; as it is the custom in all the large towns for the baths to be open from daybreak until El Assr for the men, and from that time till sunset for the women. On our leaving it, the female attendants were already assembling in the outer room, preparing the beds and cushions; and at the porch without, were a large party of ladies chattering aloud, and expressing their impatience for our removal, that they might be admitted.

The manufactories of the town are confined chiefly to articles of the first necessity, among which cotton and woollen cloths have the pre-eminence in extent of consumption. The first of these are about the quality of coarse English dowlass, and are used in their original state for the shirts and drawers of men, for the inner garments of women, and for many domestic purposes. When printed, they are convertible to more various uses, as they are then made into gowns, or outer robes, for females, shawls for the head, and coverings for beds and sofas; and by being printed of a peculiar pattern, they are used for the fronts of the large cushions that surround a Turkish divan.

The process of printing their cottons is very slow and tedious,

and renders the cloth in that state nearly double the price that it bears when white. A number of men and boys were arranged along one of the upper galleries of the Goomrook-Khan, seated on the ground, and having before them low tables, perhaps a foot in height. Beside each person was a kettle, containing the ink, or dye, of the colour required. On his left hand was bound a block of wood, of the size and shape of a clothes-brush, and the under face of this was covered with the pattern to be stamped, like the printing blocks of the Chinese. This, being dipped in the ink, was placed on the cloth, the left hand closed into a fist resting above it, and by a blow on it with the fist of the right hand, the impression was made. As this was repeated for every colour, and every new form, and not more than from four to six square inches were printed at a blow, the patterns were, of course, imperfectly executed, and the whole process very slowly performed.

While examining this manufactory, I represented myself as a Muggrebin, or Barbary merchant, who had been in Europe, and described to them, as well as I could, the improved methods used among us for all these operations. Their admiration was very powerfully excited, and the director of the establishment made me an offer of a very handsome remuneration, if I would remain a few weeks at Orfah, to superintend such improvements as the mechanics of the town might make, under my direction. I would have gladly accepted it, had I been free from other engagements; as there is no way, perhaps, in which men can be more usefully employed, than in advancing the domestic arts, in improving the labours, and in increasing the comforts of their fellow-creatures, of whatever country, climate, or religion they may be. Missionaries dispersed into different quarters of the globe for this purpose, would do more in a few years towards civilizing and uniting the discordant parts of it, than all the merely religious societies have done since their first establishment.

The woollen cloths made here are of a still coarser kind than the cotton, and about equal to that used in England for sailors' winter jackets. It is mostly brown, from the original colour of the wool,

though sometimes it is dyed with indigo. It is used only for the commonest purposes.

A few carpets are made, of a very good quality; some hair-cloth, for sacks and bags; and silk bands and tapes, of an excellent kind. Every description of sadlery and smith's work is well executed; and the labours of the mason and the carpenter are equal to those of the largest Turkish cities.

The cook-shops and coffee-houses are abundant, in proportion to the size of the town. In the former are prepared, mutton, and sausages without skins, called kabaub; these last are formed of meat cut into small pieces, which are first strung on a thread, and then wound round an iron skewer, and roasted at the fire. Another kind of food, having a round ball of paste without, and mixed ingredients within, is called koobbé; besides which, are other little *pâtés* of minced meat. These are to be had at every moment; and at half an hour's notice, a meal may be prepared, of any dishes one might desire, and either eaten in the cook-shop, or at a coffee-house, a khan, or a private dwelling.

Among other vegetables abounding here, is a fine large lettuce, of which people eat at all hours of the day, without salt, or any other accompaniment; and leeks, or onions, in their raw state, are generally served up with meat.

In the coffee-houses, nargeels, an instrument for smoking through water, may be had, though the long Turkish pipe is in more general use; this last is always furnished by the smoker, which the nargeel is not, perhaps from the ease of carrying the former, and the inconvenience of bearing about the latter, from place to place. During all the summer, there is also an abundant supply of solid ice, brought down from the summits of Mount Taurus, in a journey of a day and night. About an English pound of this is sold at present for a para or a farthing, and is a cheap and healthy refreshment, accessible to the poorest of the people. Iced milks, and sherbets of honey, cinnamon water, and perfumes, are also made for the rich, and furnish a great luxury during the heat of the day. I sought diligently in

the ice-shops for some fragment of stone, which might have been brought down with the snow, for the sake of ascertaining of what material the range of Taurus is composed, but could obtain only some very small pieces, which were all of lime.

The fruits of Orfah are chiefly the white mulberry, the quince, the apricot, the fig, the pistachio nut, the grape, and the pomegranate; the three first of these were now in perfection, and the latter were just beginning to form. There are neither lemons, oranges, nor melons to be seen.

In the streets are often trees, beneath the shade of which the inhabitants repose—to take fruit or ice, or a pipe and coffee. Here they sing to the stream that runs by, accompanied sometimes by a Turkish guitar; or play at chess or some other game, and pass away their hours in great apparent happiness.

The population of Orfah may be estimated at fifty thousand inhabitants, among whom are about two thousand Christians, and five hundred Jews; the rest being all Mohammedans.

The Christians are chiefly Armenians and Syrians, each of whom have a separate church, and live in a separate quarter; and are so distinct, that, besides their different rites, their language, and the very character in which it is written, are totally unlike each other. The Armenian and Syriac tongues are confined, however, to their domestic circles and their religious duties; for in their intercourse with strangers, Turkish is the language chiefly used by the former, and Arabic the tongue spoken by the latter. Both the Christians and the Jews are merchants and traders; the one moving more frequently from place to place with caravans, and the other remaining stationary in the bazārs. I could not learn with certainty whether the Jews have a synagogue here or not; but should think, from their number, that they possessed some place of worship apart from their dwellings.

The tradition of the Image of Edessa, and the story of Abgarus, seem to be almost forgotten, both by the Christians and Jews; though the well, in which was placed the letter of Abgarus addressed to Christ, is still pointed out.

Among the Moslems, the men dress more like the people of Damascus than of any other town; the large overhanging tarboosh is universally worn, and the shawls are generally large, of bright and lively colours, and fringed and tasselled at the edges and corners. The "coat of many colours," with the reversed pyramid on its back and shoulders, is also worn here, and the whole of the dress is of corresponding gaiety. The only marked peculiarity which I noticed was, that the sleeves of the shirt, which in other places are usually cut round even at the wrist, have here one side cut away to a point reaching long enough to touch the ground. While walking, or using the arms in any way, these points are brought to meet, and are tied together behind the neck, by which means they keep up the loose outer sleeves over the arm. When sitting on the divan, however, they are loosened, and are then often used as a towel, or a handkerchief, to wipe the mouth and hands; though it is still the fashion here, as elsewhere, to carry an embroidered towel for that purpose, hanging from the sash, or girdle, behind. The women dress with white outer robes, and are veiled by a black stiff gauze, which projects several inches from the face, and gives them more liberty of air and sight than is enjoyed by those who wear the Constantinopolitan costume.

All classes of people resident at Orfah are extremely subject to eruptions in the face, like those which are common at Aleppo, but in a much more extensive degree. Among the inhabitants of this place, I did not see one in five exempt from it; while at Aleppo, not more than half the population, perhaps, have been affected by it. Here, too, the marks left by the eruptions were more numerous and deforming, sometimes covering the whole face, often preventing the growth of the beard in particular spots, and otherwise detracting much from the beauty of the people, who are, in all other respects, a well-made and handsome race. At Aleppo, this eruption, or the worm which occasions it, is thought to be engendered by the water, and here it is conceived to be done by the air; both, probably, vague means of accounting for what is but

imperfectly examined into, or known. At Orfah, other causes may contribute to it:—such as the quantity of ice consumed by all classes, from the lowest to the highest; the abundance of raw lettuces eaten at all times and seasons, without bread, salt, or other ingredient; the equal abuse of mulberries, eaten often in an unripe state; and the quality of the water of the Lake of Abraham, filled as it is by so many thousands of fish, which must render it less wholesome: but which of these causes may contribute most to the evil, it is not easy to pronounce.

The government of Orfah is under the Pasha of Diarbekr, who pays an occasional visit to it, with his troops, and in his absence deputes a Motesĕllem, or Governor, with a few personal guards. As at Aleppo, the great mass of the people are Janissaries and Shereefs, who predominate alternately, but who were, at this moment, both in tranquil subjection to the reigning governor—a man personally respected and feared by all.

The language of Orfah is mostly Turkish. In the bazārs scarcely any other tongue is understood; but Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Koordish, Arabic, and Persian, are all spoken by their respective classes of people. The native inhabitants, as far as I had an opportunity of seeing their manners, in their familiar intercourse among themselves, are well-bred, complimentary, yet perfectly at ease in the exercise of their politeness, and tolerant to strangers and men of different faiths.

June 7th.—After taking our morning meal, in a party of about thirty persons, at the house of a rich merchant, I embraced an opportunity, while they were discussing some affairs of business, to steal away from their society, and make a visit to the castle, as much for the purpose of enjoying from thence a more extensive view of the town, as of seeing the ruins of that edifice itself.

The castle is seated on the summit of a long narrow hill of rock, on the south-west of the town, near the Birket Ibrahim el

Khaleel, and the Ain el Zilkah. The ascent to it, on the north-east, is by a very steep and winding path, scarped in some places into steps, in the side of the rock. The entrance is by an arched gateway, and a paved passage; but the whole of the interior presents only a scene of confused ruins.

The enclosed part of this hill is nearly a quarter of a mile long, though not more than one hundred yards broad. It is defended on the south and west by a ditch, in many parts full fifty feet deep, and about twenty wide, hewn down out of the solid rock, and presenting a work of great labour. On the other quarters, it is secure by the steepness of its ascent. The wall, which rises in some places from the side of the rock below, so as to form a casing to it, has every appearance of being Saracenic, from the style of its masonry and square towers. The rustic work is seen in some parts of it, but of that inferior kind which might have been executed in any age, except the present very degenerate one as to architecture, among the Turks.

The interior, which is now occupied by a few poor families only, presents a scene of the most complete desolation. There are two fine Corinthian columns with their capitals still erect, and these are seen at a great distance from every point of view. The people here called them the pillars of the gate of Nimrod's Palace, for which one may easily forgive them.† They are, evidently, however, the portion of some considerable Roman edifice, but whether of a

* This is most probably the Scirtos of the ancients, though it hardly corresponds to the description of this stream, by D'Anville. In speaking of the sieges which Edessa had sustained, he says, "Elle est exposée à un autre fleau que ceux de fer et de feu, qui est d'être submergée par un petit fleuve, qui, ayant reçu des écoulemens de vingt-cinq torrens, comme le rapporte M. Assemani, se répand dans cette ville. Il est appellé Daisān, en usant d'une terme de la langue Syriaque, qui répond au terme Grec, Skirtos; en Latin, Saltator, ou Sauteur."—*D'Anville sur l'Euph. et le Tigre*, p. 11.

† Pococke says, there is a tradition, that the throne of Nimrod stood on these pillars. It is certain, however, that Tamerlane erected some trophies on them.—*Descr. of the East*, vol. ii. part 2. p. 160. folio.

temple, or of some other building, there are not now sufficient remains left to decide. These columns are without pedestals, are executed in good taste, and of a proportion in height that pleases the eye, though they are upwards of six feet in diameter. A defect in their construction is, that their shafts are composed of many pieces, each perhaps thirty in number, like so many millstones heaped one on another; and from each of these, are left little projecting knobs of the stone, as in the Ionic circus and the Corinthian colonnade at Jerash. The proportions, however, being chaste, the size large, the shafts standing without pedestals, and the capitals of good workmanship, there are, upon the whole, stronger marks of pure taste, than there are peculiarities of a defective nature to be seen in them. They stand from twenty to thirty feet distant from each other, and had probably a column or columns between them, belonging to a portico of which they formed a part. Behind them, some of the masonry of the lower part of the edifice to which they belonged is seen; this is smooth and good, and is of the kind generally used in temples, rather than that found in buildings of state or palaces.

Not far from this, I noticed a portion of a ruined building, with many small square and large circular windows in its walls, which, in the general style of its construction, resembled many of the ruined Christian churches in the Haurān, and was very probably itself an edifice of that kind, but of a still later age.

All the rest of the ruins are Mohammedan, the most perfect among them being a mosque, with its oratory, and niche of prayer in the southern wall, and its windows looking out on the deep excavated ditch which surrounds the castle.

On the north-east, this fortress completely commanded the town, and before the use of artillery was known, might be considered to be impregnable. At present, however, even if in its original state of repair, it would be of no defensive strength, as it is itself commanded by a higher hill on the south and south-west.

In the cliffs and sloping sides of this hill are either the ancient burying-places of the people of "Ur of the Chaldees," from among

whom Abraham was called, or the Necropolis of the Romans, when this was one of the settlements of their widely extended Empire. Those having their fronts in the perpendicular cliff, are mostly entered by oblong square door-ways, as the sepulchres of Thebes, at Gournou on the Nile; but some few of them are arched, and one particularly has a large central arch, with two smaller side ones, like the usual form of Roman gateways. Those in the side of the hill below are descended to by sloping passages, like the tombs at Oom Kais or Gamala, in the Decapolis; and others at Tartoose and Latikeea, on the Syrian coast. The whole of these grottoes may amount to two hundred in number, besides those noted to the west of the town, on the morning of our entering it.

The existence of the Roman ruins within, and of the tombs without, furnish great reasons to believe that the site of the castle itself was of Roman choice, unless it be carried back to the Chaldean age. The ditch, to the south of it, hollowed down to the depth of fifty feet out of the solid rock, is a work worthy of either, and one which, however ancient, would be likely to undergo very little alteration on a change of masters. With the castle itself, it would not be so. The original rock on which it was first founded still remains; but, except the columns and masonry within its enclosure, as already described—and, perhaps, some few fragments of work near the bottom of the wall, which may be Roman—the whole of the present structure is decidedly Mohammedan. Here, as in many other instances, the original work seems to have been almost entirely destroyed before the place was completely conquered; but the same advantageous site was again built on, to secure the position thus gained.

The view of the city from the walls of the castle, spread out, as it were, at the observer's feet, is extensively commanding, and exceedingly beautiful. The minarets of the mosques, the tall cypresses, the domes, the courts of the khans, all have an air of grandeur from hence, which they do not possess on a nearer view;

while the lake of Ain el Zilkah the fountain of Callirrhoe, and the canal of Abraham, seen amid the bowers that surround them, close to the foot of the rock, with the Corinthian columns and ruined walls and arches above, add, to the general beauty of the scene, a number of objects, all equally classic and picturesque. The town looks, from hence, to be larger than Aleppo can be made to appear from any one point of view; and is, I should conceive, in truth, nearly two-thirds of its size. In general character, it bears a nearer resemblance to Damascus, as seen from the heights of Salheah, than to any other eastern town that I remember: like it, the site appears from hence to be nearly a level plain, with slight elevations and depressions, and, on the south-east, it has a long range of trees and gardens, extending for nearly two miles in length, with but little wood in any other direction.

To the south-south-east from the castle, is a road leading across a plain, uninterrupted but by a few mounds of earth, until it terminates in the barren desert, where the horizon is as level as that of the open sea. It is in this direction that Haran, the ancient residence of Abraham and Laban with their families, is pointed out, at a distance of only eight hours from this place, the Ur of the Chaldees, from whence the Patriarch is represented to have journeyed thither.* The site is still preserved by a town of the same name; but from its being in the possession of Arabs, similar to those of Palmyra, it is difficult to visit it except in the company of some people of the place. A ruined town and wall are spoken of, with the remains of an old castle; but these are said to be much smaller than those at Orfah, by those who have been there, nor are there columns or arches of any kind, according to the same report.

This Haran of the earlier Scriptures†, is called Charran in the

* The Theodosian Tables place Charræ at a distance of twenty-six miles from Edessa, which is just eight hours' journey on foot.

† And they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.—Genesis, c. xi. v. 31.

later ones,* and, afterwards, Charræ, Carræ, and Carras, by the Romans.† In the first, it is celebrated as the scene of the interesting histories of Isaac and Rebekah's interview at the well, and of Jacob's serving for Leah and Rachel; events, which are as characteristic of the manners of the Bedouin Arabs of the present day, as they were of the people of that early age. Among the last, it is chiefly celebrated as the scene of the defeat and death of Marcus Licinius Crassus, who formed the first triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar. After crossing the Euphrates in his march against the Parthians, he was met in the plain of Carræ by the Parthian general Surena, by whom the Roman army was defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand killed, ten thousand taken prisoners, and the death of Crassus, their leader.‡

This city must have been in a state of ruin at a very early period; for, when the Rabbi Benjamin travelled through Mesopotamia, it seemed to be quite desolate.§ There did not then remain a single edifice standing in the place where Abraham, our father, (says the pious Jew,) had his dwelling. The Ismaelites, or Bedouins, however, came there often to pray, as they do now to shelter their flocks.‖

On descending from the castle, and passing by the lake of Ain el Zilkah, I was shewn a small white worm, about six inches in length, and the size of whipcord, in girth, which is used here

* The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan.—Acts, vii. 2.

† Cellarius Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 14. Mesopotamia. Genesis, c. xxiv. and c. xxix. and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 16—19.

‡ Plutarch's Lives, l. iii. c. 11. Lucan, l. i. v. 105. Pliny, l. v. c. 14.

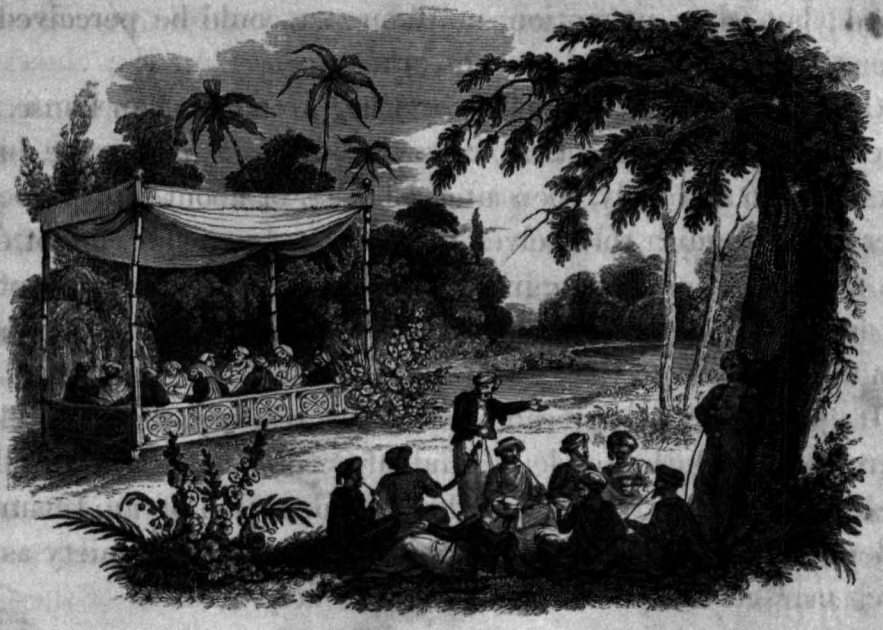
§ The following is a singular account given of the sort of masonry observed in constructing the buildings of Carrhæ, or Haran, which, if correct, might account for their early and total decay:—"At Carrhæ, a city of Arabia, all the walls thereof, as also the houses of the inhabitants, are reared and built of salt stones, and the same are laid of mason's work, and the joints closed and soldered by no other mortar than plain water."—*Pliny Nat. Hist.* b. xxxi. c. 7.

‖ Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele—Bergeron's Collection.

successfully as a leech, and found in great numbers in these waters. It attached itself by one end only to any substance on which it was placed; but when in motion, no difference could be perceived between that particular end and the other.

Our afternoon was passed at another Mohammedan house, in a large party, until sunset, as it is the fashion among the higher ranks here to sup early, soon after El Assr, or about four o'clock, in order to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, who cannot enjoy that meal until *after* Muggrib, or dark, when their labours of the day are over; so different are their notions of fashion, as to hours, from those which prevail in Europe.

It was cool and agreeable when we reached the outer khan, where we had hitherto slept; and after prayers, in which all the Moslems joined in couples, under the direction of an Imaum, or leader, our evening was closed with the same festive gaiety as that which marked the preceding ones of our stay here.



CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER DETENTION AT ORFAH: INTERIOR OF THE CITY, GARDENS, AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

JUNE 8.—The business of the caravan being closed, and all the purchases and sales, which had occasioned our detention here, effected, we were preparing for our departure to-night, when information was brought us, by some people who had themselves been robbed on the road, that the Beni-Saood, or Wahābees, had made an incursion to the northward, and were now encamped, in considerable numbers, by the way.

These predatory Arabs were represented to be, in their persons, dress, manner of living, and religious tenets, every thing that was hideous, frightful, and savage; their extraordinary capacity of going, like their camels, two or three days without food or drink,