

A MILITARY TOUR

1N

EUROPEAN TURKEY,

THE CRIMEA,

AND ON

THE EASTERN SHORES OF THE BLACK SEA:

ROUTES ACROSS THE BALKAN INTO BULGARIA, AND EXCURSIONS IN THE TURKISH, RUSSIAN, AND PERSIAN PROVINCES OF THE CAUCASIAN BANGE;

With Strategical Observations

ON THE PROBABLE SCENE OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. F. MACINTOSH, K.H., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.

WITH MAPS.

IN TWO VOLUMES .--- Vol. II.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1854.

LONDON: WRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER I.

Dono

Visit to Hu							0-
Tent—K dish Cav							
Kioi.			•	•	•	•	1

CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Khoi-Visit from the Governor-Visit to the Vizier-A Persian reception-Persian conversation-Visit to the Prince-Persian impudence-The Khan's sons-Plain of Selmas-Antiquities-Ancient Sculptures -Janissary Priest.

CHAPTER III.

Descendants of the Prophet-Sculptured rocks-Lake of Oroomia-Malek Kassim Mirza-Persian salt deserts-Zobeida's Tower-Suburbs of Tabreez-The city . 42

CHAPTER IV.

Soofian-Position-Merend-Zal-Terrific Thunderstorm -Ferry of the Aras-Quarantine-Important Pass-Capabilities of Defence-Fords of the Aras-Character of the River-Old Julfa-Nakshivan - Tradition of Noah -The Prince of Persia-Mountain Scenery-Erivan-Echmissia-Visit to the Patriarch-Tomb of Macdonald -Sirdarabad-Important Pass-Position-Goomri . 64

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Crimea-Kozlof-Jewish Synagogue Russian Travelling-Sympheropol-Tartar Races - The Garden Palace --Excavated Dwellings-Jafoot-Kalleh-Jewish Cemetery-Sebastopol-Defences of Sebastopol-Ships of War --New Docks-Bala-Klava-Monastery of St. George --Tartar Village-Ancient Pass-Aloupka-Salt Lakes. 217

CHAPTER IX.

Sebastopol-Mode of landing Troops-Point of Disembarkation-Plan of Campaign in the Crimea-Plan of Attack on Sebastopol. 254

Page

MILITARY TOUR,

ETC.

CHAPTER I.

Visit to Hussein Aga — Koordish Encampment — The Chief's Tent—Koordish Hospitality—The Chief's Sons —Koordish Cavalry—Koordish Repast—Departure from Chader-Kioi.

On the following morning, having made arrangements for continuing our journey, we set out, accompanied by a follower of the Pasha's, named Yusef Aga, and two other horsemen, extremely well mounted, and handsomely clothed and equipped. I was very desirous to see something of the Koordish tribes, and while with the Pasha, I asked him if he thought the state of affairs at Khooroo-Moosoon was such as to preclude the possibility of a visit to the Gelalser Koords, the Zeelanee Koords, his own VOL. II. B

tribe, being now almost all settled in towns, and not preserving the peculiarities of the regular nomade population. He did not seem to relish the idea, but said, that soon after crossing the Persian frontier, we should pass near the tribe of Hidraulee, the chief of which was his particular friend, and that Yusef Aga would continue with us till we had visited his camp, or, if I found it any convenience, would go on as far as Tabreez. I accepted the offer, and was accordingly attended by Yusef Aga. We were also accompanied by the owners of the baggagehorses on foot, instead of by regular Suragees, and they allowed them to run-about in every direction-the Pasha's people too high a sense of their own dignity to look after them; and at our very starting we were detained by a casualty to the baggage. All being re-adjusted we entered a deep chasm-like valley, flanked by a rocky mountain of no great height. A brook which we crossed flowed through a range of basalt, joined in a curious manner to the sandstone, the stratification of which was

very much twisted. Passing a Koordish encampment of thirty or forty tents, surrounded with horses, sheep, and cattle, we entered a fine elevated plain of grassy downs. The road was carried through the pass called the Kazlee-ghul; another pass by Makoo lay more to our left.

A heavy thunderstorm overtook us shortly after we had emerged from the pass, and I saw no more rain for several months. We found shelter at Klissa, a miserable village, surrounding an old and ruinous Armenian church, and certainly the poorest place I had vet seen. All the Christian inhabitants had emigrated to Russia. A fat Ket-koda, who had his beard dyed of a carrotty colour with henna,* received us with many professions of hospitality, and promised to procure horses with the least possible delay. The people all addressed us with the salutation of "Selam Aleikam!" which the Osmanlis never do to Christians. Notwithstanding

• This plant is much used in Persia for such purposes, although people of rank employ, in addition, the powdered leaf of the indigo plant, which is laid on subesquently, and produces a black colour. the courteous reception awarded us by the Ket-koda, it was clear that he had a design upon our pockets, as he not only contrived to get us charged a most exorbitant price for the horses, but to make them arrive so late, that we were obliged to pass the night at the village, by which means, as he furnished everything at a high price, he turned our visit to very good account. I have since heard that he bore the character of a notorious knave.

In the morning we started at half-past seven, much later than we intended, more than an hour having been lost in packing the baggage. We felt grieyously the loss of the Turkish Suragees, for, besides the tardiness and mismanagement of our new retainers in arranging the baggage, they did not appear with the horses till it suited themselves. At parting I gave the Khan a small present in money. He made a gesture as if surprised at my presenting him, with anything, but immediately slipped the depuceur into his pocket. The Persian dress became general at this point of our journey. The plain beyond Klissa was broken by volcanic-looking hills, rising at intervals from its surface; and many fragments of basalt were strewn about. Some hills to the right showed the basaltic rock under a stratum of red sandstone. We passed the village and castle of Zohraub, and entering a fine circular plain, enclosed by a double range of heights, saw a caravan of Persian merchants, encamped, accompanied by a Koordish horseman. A valley, watered by a broad stream, led to the left with a singular *ecroulement* of the red rock.

We continued down the valley, with a broad stream on our right, to Chader-Kioi, the encampment of the Koordish chief, Hussein Aga, where we arrived about noon. He had been prepared for our appearance by Yusef Aga, the Kavass, who had gone on before us, leaving the son of our Klissa host, who attended us armed and mounted in the Persian way, to act as our guide. The other two Koords had left us at Klissa,—one an old man, but a very good horseman, rode a grey Arab, which he had brought from the southern part of Koordistan; and as the price he put upon it was not high, I had offered to become its purchaser. Before doing so I wished him to take off the saddle, which was large and heavy, but to this he objected, and I have no doubt the poor animal had one of those almost incurable sore backs so common in this part of the world; the more so as Yusef Aga gave me a hint to have nothing to do with him.

We had expected to find the Hedraulee tribe at this spot in the force usually assembled round the chief,—that is, about 1200 tents, which, at five persons each, would amount to 6000 individuals. Unluckily, they had just moved for the sake of grass, and I was disappointed at finding only the large tents of the chief, and those immediately connected with him, which, however, still amounted to a considerable number. Some of his own tents, indeed, had gone forward to be prepared for his arrival; but among those that remained, a very large one of black horsehair marked his own presence. It was about 50 feet long, by 25 or 26 in width, and was open in the front, which was turned from the sun, and arranged as a hall of audience. The floor was completely carpeted; and at the extremity stood a handsome silk cushion, as large as a sofa, with a higher one behind as a back.

I was met a little way from the tent by the chief's eldest son, a very fine-looking man, about thirty, dressed in a kind of Mameluke costume, surmounted by a long dark-red cloak. His manners were exceedingly prepossessing, and he neither had the morgue or haughtiness of a Turk, nor the cringing artificial manner of a Persian. If he could only have spoken a European language, he would have been perfectly presentable at any Western Court.

Entering the tent we sat down on the cushion, the rest of the company remaining standing. Among those present were three younger sons of the chief, named respectively Achmet, Abdhi, and Kassim; and a few minutes afterwards the chief himself appeared. I rose to pay him my compliments, but he insisted, with an air of great hospitality and kindness, on my remaining seated, and took the place vacated by his son, who, as well as his own brother, a cheerful-looking man between fifty and sixty, now stood up, never sitting in his presence. His sons took their places nearest to him, and the rest of the assemblage formed a lane up to where he stood. All were clothed in different but very handsome costumes; and, as a whole, the scene was both very imposing and very interesting.

The chief made a great many inquiries after different diplomatic notabilities who had passed through his country, but his manner was by no means so intelligent or so pleasant as that of his son; and there was a considerable degree of severity in his countenance. Chibooks and coffee were brought in, and his younger sons took cups from the attendants, and presented them to us. This was a courtesy no young Turk of rank would have shown to any Christian; and, indeed, although the usages were still more Turkish than Persian, the demeanour of the people themselves partook rather of the suavity and good-humour of the latter race.

Having expressed a desire to see a wellequipped Koordish horseman before I left the encampment, the chief addressed a few words to his eldest son, who left the tent, and in a few minutes reappeared outside splendidly mounted and equipped, in company with his voungest brother, who, although only about eighteen years of age, was six feet in height. The eldest son rode a white Arab, upwards of fifteen hands high, which he had procured near Bagdad, and which, he said, was from the province of Nedjid. Half of the animal's tail was dyed crimson, in conformity with a custom very general in Persia. The other son was mounted on a bay horse of somewhat smaller size, but equally handsome. Their arms and accoutrements were of the best description, and the horse furniture was in part mounted in gold and silver. I saw on their horses, for the first time, the head-ornament called by the Persians reschma, consisting of a solid

chain, like a curb chain, on the head-stall of the horse-often, when the animal belongs to a Persian of rank, made of pure gold. Both carried the long slender Koordish lance, and that of the elder son was plumed with a bunch of black horsehair. The shaft of the lances carried by the Koords is formed of bamboo cane, obtained from the southern shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, none growing in the upper part of Koordistan. Its universal use shows that the communication between the different parts of the country must be constant. The condition of the horses and the state of the arms and clothing were very superior, and great attention seemed to have been given to cleaning and polishing the arms. The Koords, before proceeding to battle, pay the most scrupulous attention not only to their equipment, but to what in Europe would be termed a very particular toilet; a custom which, with the more effeminate practice of applying powdered antimony to the eyelids, is very prevalent among these tribes, being adopted even by the hardiest warriors, and alluded to in their

national songs. The young chiefs carried at the pommel of their saddles a slender steel javelin, fitted in a velvet case, and which, with a small steel battle-axe, is, I believe, the distinguishing mark of a chief. They were also furnished with a small round shield or target, covered with skin, and studded with metal bosses, which is used by Koords of all ranks.

When we had fully scrutinized their equipment, they began galloping about, and performed a kind of exercise called the Key-Kaj, following each other in turn, and enabling us to form a very good idea of their expertness as horsemen, and of the speed and action of their steeds.

The eldest son informed me that the number of horsemen in Koordistan, mounted and appointed equally well with themselves, was very great, which I can easily believe; for when leaving Persia, some time afterwards, I met part of the tribe a short way to the north of Teheran, proceeding under Achmet Aga, the second son, to join the Shah's camp before he went to Herat, and a

great many were, as his brother had said, quite as well mounted as himself. He asked whether I thought cavalry of that description would not be very formidable. if accompanied by a few light guns. I told him that in India the British Government maintained a great force of irregular cavalry who acted in conjunction with artillery; and that a similar Cossack force was employed in Russia, a part of which had light guns of their own. He said he had seen the Cossacks, and he thought it was impossible there could be worse cavalry; but the body he referred to were a very ill-mounted force. which I afterwards saw performing duty along the left bank of the Araxes, and I was alluding to the regular corps at St. Petersburg, belonging to the imperial guard.

After this display of horsemanship I was about to take my leave, but was informed I could not be permitted to depart without eating in their tent, and hence a short delay took place, when the repast appeared. It was composed of various pilaws and preparations of milk, as well as more substantial food, and the only person who sat down to partake of it with me was the chief's eldest son. It was an infallible indication of our being now so far in the East, that knives, forks, and spoons had altogether vanished.

The Persians always object to eating with those of a different religion, but the Koords are more liberal on this point. By eating with them, I mean using the same dishes; for in Persia, where every two persons usually have a separate tray or *sofra*, Europeans frequently join in an entertainment "without dipping the hand in the same dish."* This usage would appear to be one of great antiquity.

I expressed to Hussein Aga a wish for some introduction from him to any friendly tribes in the neighbourhood of Wan, it being my intention at the time to skirt the shores of that lake. He, however, soon made me understand that, from the unsettled

^{*} I may observe that basins, with soap and water, are handed round before and after all repasts, and water poured over the hands from ewers.

state of the relations between the various tribes, if I were to fall in with any at variance with those for whom I carried letters, I might become involved in serious difficulties; but he invited me to come, on my way back from Persia to the Chader-Kioi (village of tents), if pitched near my route, when he would send persons with me who would procure me a good reception everywhere during the journey.

I took a cordial leave of the friendly chief, and proceeded across the stream called the Khanzi-Chaï, and passed the villages of Aasu and Zackay. Reaching Kara-Eineh, a moderate-sized place, where the Menzil Khaneh is extremely small and poor, I passed the night in the open air, which began to be very agreeable. (15)

CHAPTER II.

Arrival st Khoï—Visit from the Governor—Visit to the Vizier—A Persian Reception—Persian Conversation— Visit to the Prince—Persian Impudence—The Khan's Sons—Plain of Selmas—Antiquities—Ancient Sculptures—Janissary Priest.

THE road lay over heights and vallevs. the latter broken by water-courses, chiefly dry, though a few were threaded by streams; and in one a river of some breadth ran past the village of Allah Sheik, which we saw to our left, and continued our course to Zaralu, another village, where we made a halt of a couple of hours in a garden. On again setting forward, we crossed a dry torrent bed, leaving on our right high peaked mountains, apparently of basaltic rock; and on the left a lower range, with a slope from their base to the road. Three villages appeared in an adjacent valley; and further on we entered the pass of Desta-dereh, where, at an old caravanserai, the road took another direction, and proceeded up a

ravine to the village of Coordooshe, a poor place, but pleasantly situated among green heights, with a mountain range rising in the distance.

Most of the villages in this region were embosomed in trees, which looked green and refreshing, but were not without their disadvantages, as they harboured mosquitoes and other insects, which wage constant war with the inhabitants. The air in the middle of the day was extremely dry and hot, with a great deal of reflection from the ground; and as our faces were turned towards the sun during the journey, it affected the skin and the eyes in a very disagreeable manner. We found the people at Coordooshe suspicious and distrustful. and as a sort of guarantee for our honesty, they carried off during the night Yusef Aga's lance, which, according to the custom of his countrymen, he had planted before the house previous to going to rest; nor was it restored until we paid liberally for everything we had had. The Reis-Sefeed (literally "white-beard, or "elder") who attended on us, and to whom, I believe, the house belonged, then assured me, "in the Persian way, that the village and the whole neighbourhood, as well as the inhabitants, were entirely at my disposal. The affair of the lance caused us some delay, but at length we took our departure, skirting the extensive plain of Khoï, till, in about half an hour, we reached the main road. Here a broad rocky valley led us to a fountain, an object we had not seen for some time; and to a traveller from Asia Minor, where fountains are so frequent, the absence of these welcome reservoirs was very striking. But the scene was soon enlivened by other cheerful features, and we passed many gardens surrounded by strong mud walls, and containing a number of fine fruit trees. The whole country, indeed, had now the appearance alternately of an orchard and a vineyard, dotted with houses, which gradually became more numerous, and at length we entered the suburbs of Khoï. Then we came in sight of the walls, which have more the appearance of a European fertification

than is usually found in the towns of the East, the portion nearest the country being furnished with bastions, curtains, and a ditch. These works were, I believe, executed by European officers during the Russian wars. Those round the town, although presenting a rather imposing appearance, are not really of solid construction, except at the gateways, which are built of yellow and black stone.

The buildings in the town, which we entered through a vaulted passage from the gate, corresponded very much with those of the suburbs, and, from being built of sunbaked bricks, had an earthy unsubstantial look. The rooms, however, are good and commodious, and the house assigned as my quarters by the governor was particularly clean. The governor was extremely attentive, and shortly after my arrival I was waited on by his nazir, or steward, with civil inquiries from his chief, and instructions to my attendants not to purchase any provisions, as everything would be furnished from the governor's house. Several persons came with presents of fruit, cucumbers, &c., for which, of course, I felt bound to make some return; and this led to such a torrent of presents of the same kind, that I was obliged to prevent their being received. Rather later some domestics arrived from the governor of the province, bringing a large tray of preserved fruits and sweetmeats. This proved to be a seasonable supply, as it was nine o'clock before my provider, the nazir, made his appearance with my dinner, when he marched in, followed by a number of servants, bearing pilaws of various kinds, cutlets, stews, fruit, and bowls of sherbet, but, as usual, no knives, forks, or spoons.

The following morning I was visited by the governor of the town, who was son of the Vizier of the Prince, who held the post of governor of the province.* He was quite a youth, probably under twenty; and I dis-

* When I became better acquainted with Persian etiquette, I discovered that the old Khan himself ought to have called on me, agreeably to the usages current among the authorities and our countrymen in Persia; but he evaded the ceremony, on a plea of lameness. covered that his family, that of Dumbeli, was one of the first in Persia. His father, Hatim Khan, had himself been chief governor of Khoï, until he was superseded a short time before by the Shah's brother.

In conversing with the governor of the town I expressed a wish to go to the selaum of the Prince governor, and he proposed that I should go to his father's house, and arrange with him respecting the visit. Readily assenting, we went out together, and repaired to the Vizier's palace, a large building in a court, where long reservoirs for water, running between rows of chinaur trees, supplied a number of jets which played in the centre, in front of the principal apartments. The old Khan received me with great consideration, and was extremely bland and courteous, evincing, in comparison with the Persians of rank whom I met subsequently, a more than usual'acquaintance with the ways and feelings of Europeans. 5 82

After some conversation he conducted the to the garden, where we mounted a kind of

*

20

Lat.

elevated stage or platform near the reservoir, surrounded by the chinaur-trees, which flung their grateful shade over the carpets spread beneath. We disposed ourselves on the nummuds, formed of a fine Persian fabric of soft felt of various colours, and which here take the place of the Turkish cushions. The Persians sat in the manner of the country, on their heels.

After the heats of a warm summer day, this refuge proved very agreeable, and, indeed, as far as my experience goes, Persia is the only warm country where the evening may be passed in the open air without danger or inconvenience from the chill produced by dews, or from other effects of the atmosphere. We had hardly seated ourselves on the nummud, when the party was augmented by many other guests, including several superior moolahs or priests, distinguished here by wearing a white turban, instead of the black lambskin cap. They were, as usual, received with many marks of consideration by the master of the house, who was himself a Hadgee, having made the

pilgrimage to Mecca, on which occasion he had returned by the route of Constantinople and Asia Minor. The platform was surrounded by attendants and other inferior persons, who all came close to us, and listened to the conversation, a custom very general in the East. The servants every now and then brought us tea, which was of very good quality, and prepared with a great deal of sugar, but no milk. We were also presented as frequently with the Persian water-pipe or kaliaun.

The conversation was kept up with great animation, everybody taking a part in it, a very agreeable change from the taciturnity of Turkish meetings of the same kind. The language chiefly used was the Turkish of Ader-bijaun, which is a different dialect from that spoken at Constantinople, although readily understood by a Turk of the capital, who soon gets accustomed to its idioms. One of the phrases which struck me at once as different, was *Chok yaghshes*, "very well," or "very good," which is never used by the Osmanlee Turks, who always employ for the same response, the words *Pek-ei*! I believe that most other expressions in the language vary equally, though both are recognized dialects of the Turkish. The Eastern dialect is understood and used all along the Araxes. as far as the Caucasus. on the southern shore as far as Tehraun. At the latter place it is spoken quite as generally as Persian, and even much further south. Turkish is the mother tongue of numerous tribes, including all the Eeliauts and the Kara Gozloos. whose name, in fact, is formed of two Turkish words, signifying black-eyed race. The Turkomans, who are widely spread to the east of Persia, and of the Caspian, all speak this tongue; and since the Kadjer family succeeded to the Persian throne, it has, although much disliked by the inhabitants of the older Persian provinces of Irauk and Fars, been the fashionable language of the court. Hence it is, on the whole, the mest^tuseful a traveller in the East can know.

At this pleasant reception, it was determined that on the following day I should go to the selaum of the Prince; and the young governor and his suite then very civilly escorted me to my quarters.

About noon of the following day I proceeded to the Dewaun-Khaneh, or hall of reception, where I was met by the elder Khan, attired in a robe of ceremony, and we entered together a long court, planted as usual with rows of trees, and having a reservoir of water, with a fountain in the middle. The Prince was seated in state near a large open bay-window, at an apartment looking out on the gardens. The Khan made his approaches towards him with great reverence, performing an obeisance, according to Persian etiquette, at all the prescribed corners of the court as he advanced, and at his last bow leaving his slippers on the threshold. It was a relief to me to find that, being in uniform, I was privileged to retain my boots. Ascending a few steps we entered the saloon through a purda or curtain, when we saw the Prince at the other. end of the room, seated in a high-backed arm-chair; another, placed at a little distance, was assigned to me. e# 3a

 $\mathbf{24}$

25

The prince's appearance was on the whole prepossessing. His costume, although he wore the Persian cap, had more of the Turkish character than is common among Persians. and over his under-dress he wore a long loose pelisse, apparently made of velvet. and bordered with fur. His complexion was very dark, and his countenance reminded me, in some degree, of the portraits of his great uncle Aga Mahomet Khan, but his features were more handsomeand manly, and their expression far more pleasing. His beard, according to the most approved mode among the vounger Persians lately advanced to office, was about half an inch long. In his demeanour he exhibited that great self-possession and composure which is to be noticed among Persian princes of all ages. He had received on the previous day a dress of honour from his brother the Shah—that I fancy which he wore—and I embraced the opportunity in alluding to the occurrence, to inquire whether the Shah was likely to be at Tehraun on my arrival there. He said he VOL. II. C

believed not, and that I would find him encamped in some cool situation to avoid the great heats which were now on the point of commencing. I asked if it would probably be at Sultanieh. He said no, that he believed it would be nearer Tehraun, probably at Ferooz-koh, to the east of mount Demawund. On my departure I exchanged a few words with the Khan, and promised to go to his house in the evening to take leave.

I had not been long at home, when I received a visit from the brother of the Koordish chief Houssein Aga, who had by accident met Yusef in the bazaar, and heard of my being in the town. He was a much younger man than the chief, and a fine, good-humoured, manly-looking fellow. The simplicity of his manners was agreeable, after the formality of the Persians, who, civil as they were, lacked the honest frankness of the Koord. He assured me, with a great appearance of candour, that I was in high favour with his countrymen, and urged me to revisit their tents and make

 $\mathbf{26}$

as long a stay among them as I pleased, adding that I might now go all through Koordistan "as a brother." He was on his way back to Byazeed from Tabreez, to which place, he said, he had been conveying several thousand tomauns for the Shah.

In the evening I proceeded, as arranged, to the old Khan's, where an incident occurred very characteristic of Persian habits. Before the young Khan took his leave, he asked me whether I thought it would be improper for him, as civil governor of the town, to wear a pair of epaulettes. I replied that it was impossible for me to say, knowing very little of the usages of a country in which I had only just arrived; but that I had remarked in Turkey that the officers of the Sultan, since adopting the European costume, were in the habit of wearing epaulettes. He took advantage of this to say that it would be impossible to do him a greater favour than to put him in possession of these appendages; and that as he was quite sure I must have more of them than I required, I could no c 2

doubt make him a present of a pair. I had considerable difficulty in evading this demand, as he seemed by no means disposed to credit my statement, that as I travelled with very little baggage, I had brought with me only such things of this kind as were absolutely necessary.

Some time afterwards, when at Sheeraz, I found a brother of the young Khan holding the appointment of Colonel of the Khoi regiment of regular infantry, a position, perhaps, which might have been thought more suited for the epaulettes than that held by himself. I am sorry to say I made the additional discovery that none of the family enjoyed an unblemished reputation; and before I left Persia, the old Khan was obliged to take refuge at the sanctuary of Kirbelah, in consequence of serious deficiencies in his accounts with the government.

The reception awarded me at Khoi was owing; in great measure, to the wish of the old Khan to conciliate the English, which at this time was a leading object with Persian officials. But it is only just the

 $\mathbf{28}$

observe that such hospitality is very general in Persia; and when the host possesses a good kitchen, it is not as in Turkey, where a greasy pilauf forms the whole meal, but the fare is sumptuous and abundant

• Having read in Morier's travels in Persia that there were some sculptured rocks near a town called Selmas, which he had not himself had time to visit, I determined, while pursuing my way to Tabrecz, to go in search of them. I imagined at the time that they had not been described by any European, and only learnt on my return to Europe that Sir Robert Ker Porter had paid them a visit, and given a drawing of the sculptures on the rock.

I left Khoi by a gate to the eastward; and as we were likely to meet with Koords I retained Yusef Aga with our party. On clearing the town we turned short to the right along the outside of the ditch, till we "reached a considerable ravine formed by a crack in the soil, which, as its surface was quite flat, and it extended some distance, was no doubt produced by one of the
earthquakes so frequent in this country. Such a natural trench would certainly save a besieging force a great deal of labour.

From this roint fields of ripe corn. groves of poplar trees, and gardens teeming with ripe fruit, extended for several miles over the plain. Our way was crossed by a torrent bed, and then by a stream, the latter spanned by a brick bridge of one arch, and flowing down near a mill. Another stream, running through marshy land, swept past the small village of Boolamass. The plain was well cultivated on both sides. and occasionally dotted with villages, and watered by streams. As we entered the gorge of some heights, I suspected, from the direction we were taking, that we were to the left of our road; and interrogating the guides, found they were keeping the direct route to Tabreez, instead of proceeding in quest of the sculptured rocks. The mistake arose'from the whole plain in that direction Being called Selmas. Neither my guides, nor anybody we met, knew in what part of the plain the sculptured rocks were situated,

but they said there were some ruins at a place called Eski-sher, or "the old town," and I determined to proceed there as the most probable locality. We accordingly recrossed the stream, and, passing the villages of Surgè Khan and Kenaï, reached some heights, one of which was crowned by an old Armenian burying-ground, and a small chapel. A number of rudely-cut blocks, having the appearance of tombstones, lay around. Soon afterwards we entered the road to Eski-sher, which we ought to have taken in the first instance. A fine old bridge of seven arches, having above them smaller arches springing from the piers, and all composed of solid brickwork, carried the road over the river, the banks of which presented a curious formation of sandy conglomerate, hardening on the surface, and, near the stream, it appeared to contain a vast quantity of different kinds of stone. ,On the right side the conglomerate extended about 100 feet above the centre of the torrent-bed, now threaded by a very scanty stream, and was coated with a layer

of sand, rising to about the same height. The road was good, and was bordered on the Tabreez side by two rows of large poplars, which afforded an agreeable shelter from the sun. A cross-road, uniting it with that leading to Tabreez, ran considerably more to the east. Passing the villages of Meman-Khaneh-deh and Shoroo-lu, the latter buried among sandy heights, we met some travellers, from whom we learnt that we were four hours from Eski-sher. At some low heights beyond, I observed on the surface an appearance of salt efflorescence; and quarries for extracting salt had apparently existed at this spot, but were now exhausted. Leaving behind us the village of Kara Tepèh, we ascended a mountainpass, from the summit of which we obtained a good view of Khoi. Below, on the other side, was a fine and extensive plain, which we descended, and found a fruitful soil. teeming with rich and luxuriant crops, while pleasant-looking villages, embosomed ... in trees, were seen in every direction.

As we advanced, the great salt lake, of

Oroomia was visible to the left; large, dry torrent beds ran towards it from the mountains, and intersected the wav. Drawing nearer to Eski-sher, we observed a single antique tower, standing at some distance from the walls. Its diameter was about thirty feet, and its height, as near as I could judge, between sixty and seventy. I afterwards saw, particularly at Tabreez, a great many ruins of the best period of Arabic masonry; but this, and another tower at Eski-sher, presented a peculiar appearance. different from anything that came under my observation. The tower was constructed with great solidity, of the finest brick, closely resembling, in form and dimensions, the brick of ancient Rome, resting at the base on four courses of stone masonry composed of large blocks. A great deal of enamelled brick of different colours, but chiefly of various shades of blue, was introduted into the upper portion of the fabric, which was surmounted by a low dome. It bore a sufficient resemblance to the tomb at Erzeroum, and to the buildings at Ani/ to lead

, ***** ,

c 3

at first to the conclusion that they belonged to the same æra, making allowance for such a difference in style as might arise from the materials; but I was afterwards assured that these towers are of the Seljookian æra, and if so, they are much more recent. The latest buildings of Ani would seem to have been erected about the time of Nushervan (or Chosroes the Great), who lived in the time of Justinian. and gained a victory over that Emperor, A.D. 531. The towers at Eski-sher are believed to be of the age of Chingis, and with the inscriptions, to be very fine specimens of the Kufic. The brick towers at Selmas. Tabreez, Rhch, &c., are supposed to be all of the Seljookian æra, and, consequently, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two lofty doorways, fronting to the north and south, are in nearly the same style as some at Ani, terminating in pointed arches, which are indented in a concave termination at the top in a similar style. The arched portion of the gateway is surrounded in by a square and lofty angular door-frame; of the

bably thirty feet in height. Above was a very rich cornice of the same workmanship, and immediately under the roof a second of greater breadth and richer materials. The interior was divided into compartments terminating in lofty arches.

This structure, like the ruin at Ani, is no doubt a tomb, but yet unopened; and I was confirmed in this impression, by observing at the base, where a portion of the foundation was visible, two small arched apertures, intended, apparently, to admit light and air into some subterraneous apartment. On entering the tower, I found the floor deeply covered with rubbish, and as there was no opening, was obliged to forego further researches. The walls of the interior were profusely marked with the open hand, a symbol connected with the Mahomedan faith, and those without were covered with inscriptions in the Arabic character, and, as I afterwards learnt, in the Kufic tongue.

Eski^jsher, though a poor-looking place, retained marks of antiquity. Many walls, both of gardens in the neighbourhood and in the town, were composed of large sundried blocks of clay, containing pebbles of various colours and sizes, which gave them such a granitic appearance, that I was for some time under the impression that they were stone. We found the market-place crowded with Koords, many of them mounted and completely armed, riding to and fro. According to Yusef Aga, they were chiefly of the Hekaree tribe, inhabiting the country towards Wan, and were a very truculent and suspicious-looking set. Wan being only about thirty hours distant, we were not surprised to meet these Koords here.

Near the market-place was a minaret of brick, something in the style of the tower. It stood on a square stone basement, but half of it had fallen down.

The Ket-kodah of the village, for whom we inquired, was absent from home, and we experienced some difficulty, as well'as delay, in 'procuring lodgings for the night'; What when it became known that it was intended to pay for the accommodation, a' person among the crowd came forward, and/comducted us to a house, which appeared to have been recently finished. Though of moderate size, it was very clean, and had the additional attraction of a small garden, containing a number of rose-bushes in flower. It was the property of an elderly female, a widow, who bustled about, and put things in order for us, without stopping to don her veil. The females of the nomade races of the East are much less scrupulous on this point than those of the towns, and this was a symptom of our being again close to ' Koordistan.

We had not been long established in our lodging when the Sultaun, or captain, who had accompanied us a portion of the way from Constantinople, made his appearance. This was his native place, and he had come on to it from Khon, where he had arrived with the first division of our party about a fortnight before. He evinced no surprise at our appearance at Eski-sher, as Huropeans resident in Persia are in the habit of moving about in all directions, most of them being employed on service. On my inquiring if he knew anything respecting the sculptured rocks, he said that some rocks we had observed the evening before, surmounted by an old Armenian church, were carved with several sculptures, and that he would accompany me to the spot, if I pleased, the following morning. Accordingly he made his appearance soon after daylight, and we proceeded in a southwesterly direction towards some heights of a volcanic appearance, detached from each other, and on one of which, a basaltic formation, the church we were to visit stands.

It is a small but solid building, 25 feet in length by 20 in breadth, and is composed of large blocks of smooth stone. The body of the church is quadrangular, and over the centre is a round tower, of no great height, terminating in a cone. The entrance, a pointed arch reaching half way up the building, was to the west, and enclosed a doorway of about six feet high. Light: was, admitted by one or two small winks dows, resembling loopholes. Within stood a large sarcophagus of white alabaster. 4

lid was sculptured, and the most striking part of the device was a winged cross. above which appeared a star and a symbol which might be taken for the moon. These ornaments seemed to have some connexion with those I had observed at Erzeroum, and may possibly appertain to the symbols of the Pakradian kingdom when under Saracenic protection. Near the sarcophagus was a mounted figure, carrying a lance surmounted by a cross similar to that of St. George, and opposite was a group, including the Virgin and Child, the former bearing a branch upon her shoulder. The other two were in long robes, and the breast of one was marked with a cross.

These were not the sculptures we were in search of, and the Sultaun, on my explaining this fact, said there was another ruin at no great distance, but, as he had only seen it once, he would have some difficulty in finding it. We determined, however, to continue the search, remaining here only till I had taken the bearing of the north edge of the lake of Oroomia, of which we obtained

a good view from the heights. This done, we set off, and after wandering about for upwards of an hour, continually making inquiries of men who were watching sheep among the rocks, we at last discovered the Sultaun's sculpture. He had described it as the countenance of a man, but it proved, on a close examination, to be nothing more than a Greek cross on a knight's shield, a good deal effaced. This was poor compensation for so tedious a search; but it was a satisfaction to have the point cleared up, and we returned well pleased to the town, going round, in our way, by the second tower, which we found to bear a close resemblance to the other. It presented on the inside a diameter of 21 feet, and the walls were about two yards thick. Within the wall was a passage, lighted by arched apertures, and leading apparently to the top.

On returning to my lodging, I found that, during my absence, a Bektash, or Janissary priest, hearing we had arrived from Constantinople, had come to converse with my servant, describing himself as having taken refuge at this place, when his order was proscribed in Turkey, and that he felt very miserable till he could return to the Ottoman capital. He was anxious to know whether Khosrew Pasha, the late Seraskier, by whom the order for the destruction of the Janissaries had been carried out, was still alive, as he looked upon him as the greatest obstacle to his return. He informed us that a Frank traveller had, since his arrival at Eski-sher, been robbed and murdered by the Hekaree Koords at no great distance from the town, and that they brought his rifle, clothes, and other articles of baggage to Eski-sher and sold them there. This traveller, I afterwards found, was the enterprising Schultz, a German, by whose death much useful information relative to this part of the East was lost.

(42)

CHAPTER III.

Descendants of the Prophet—Sculptured rocks—Lake of Oroomia—Malek Kassim Mirza—Persian salt deserts —Zobeida's Tower—Suburbs of Tabreez—The city.

WE left Eski-sher at ten o'clock, and passing through the village of Loor, and over a road intersected by streams, entered Dilmaun, a walled town, with a stone gateway and large bazaar. There, having heard again of some sculptured rocks in a different direction, we made our way over fields towards another road, our guide professing to take us a short cut, instead of following the direct route from the town. This was far from being agreeable to the Sultaun, who was accompanying us to Tabreez, and he expressed his sentiments freely to the guide, who, however, instead of making excuses, became abusive, and finished by pelting, him with stones. The Sultaun and Yusef Aga bore this behaviour very

patiently, at which I was surprised; but as the guide continued foaming with passion, and seemed disposed to proceed to greater violence, I determined to interpose and rode at him, hunting whip in hand, on which he ran off across the fields, still continuing his abuse. I soon came up with him, and, to his evident surprise, applied the whip for some seconds vigorously across his shoulders, bringing him at once to order, and he returned to take charge of his animals, and conducted himself civilly. I found afterwards that he had presumed to act in this manner on the strength of his being a Saïd, or one of the reputed descendants of the prophet. who, as they are also of the race of Ali, the favourite prophet of the Sheeahs, are regarded here with much more reverence than in Turkey. This accounted for the forbearance of the Sultaun and Yusef Aga; and indeed I have seen a muleteer in Persia enter and seat himself close to the governor of a province, who has permitted this freedom in consideration merely of his green turban.

At length, after a short delay, we entered the road about 500 vards from the town, and rode on for some distance till we reached some steep and lofty rocks of grey marble, called Aliabad-dagh, near the village of a similar name. The Sultaun, who had been here before, pointed out the situation of the sculptures, which were perceptible at an altitude of about 50 or 60 yards, and were approached by an ascent strewn with loose stones and fragments. Morier had been informed that they represented a figure in the act of pointing to a mountain, supposed to be the repository of buried treasure. This description, however, is incorrect; as the sculpture comprises four figures, none of which is represented as pointing. Two are on horseback, and the others are delivering something into their hands; but as this portion of the piece is, in both cases, much effaced, it is impossible to precisely what it is intended to The sculptures are evidently

Samanian; and although in a ruder style and worst executed, than some which exist at Shapoor and other places in ancient Persia, are exactly the same in detail. The two mounted figures have the usual regal symbols, the helmet or crown being surmounted by a globe, and adorned with the streamer-like appendages which distinguish royalty; and hence may be intended for Shapoor, Sapor the Ist. of the Romans, and his son Bahram, or Varanes. The large tassel hanging from the saddle also indicates a royal personage. The only peculiarity I observed in the group, was, that the beards of the monarchs were very short and tied below the chin, like those of the gods of Egypt.

The mountain carved with this sculpture stands by itself in the plain, and seems one mass of fine grey marble threaded with white veins. It forms, with the mountains to the south, a narrow pass traversed by the road; and it is not improbable that some victory over the Romans may have been gained in this vicinity—possibly that of Narses, who defeated the Emperor Galerius, and conquered Armenia. The pedestrian figures appeared from their rshative situation to the horsemen, to be kneeling; but as their lower limbs were quite effaced, this could be only matter of conjecture. They may possibly represent Roman captives, like those at Shapoor. The figures, though not absolutely colossal, are of large size.

The distance from Eski-sher to this interesting vestige of antiquity is about ten miles, in a direct line; and perhaps the nearest village is Minas. I heard that the Frank traveller, Schultz, who was killed by the Koords, had visited the rocks just before his death.

Our road now was over the plain, which was green and smooth, though marble rocks rose at some distance on both sides. The lake of Oroomia was perceptible to the right, five or six miles distant. At Minas, the village recently mentioned, and a very small place, we made a few minutes' halt, and then, avoiding a tract of moist land, continued our way over the plain, passing several villages, and at length reached Yaoushaniu.

The plain of Selmas, over which we had travelled, is described with much quaintness by a Persian author, Hamdullah Moostapha Kasvini, dating from the year 725 of the Heiira, and his observations are not without interest at the present moment. "Selmas," he says, "is in the fourth climate in longitude from the Fortunate Isles. It is an extensive city, but its walls are now falling into decay. The Vizier of Hadgee-Tadjideen, Ali-Shah-Tabreezee, built it, and it is 8000 paces in circumference. Its climate inclines to cold, and its water rises from that Oodeca (valley), and from the mountains of Koordistan, and flows into the sea of Oroomia. It possesses gardens, and vields excellent fruit and grapes. Its corn also, and vegetable productions in general, are of a superior Its inhabitants are inveterate quality. Soonees, (curse be upon them!) and are constantly at war with the Koords. There is a deadly and perpetual enmity between them; a natural and hereditary blood feud which admits not of pacification. Its

revenue, payable to government, amounts to 39,200 tomauns."

This description of the city applies, I apprehend, to Eski-sher, although Dilmaun is now the principal place on the plain, which abounds with villages, and is very populous. There is another description of the district in the memoirs of Eben Haukul, an oriental geographer; and it is also mentioned in Osmane's Bibliothèque Orientale.

The road from Yaoushanlu conducted us over a grassy flat, a continuation of the plain of Selmas; and after a time we began again to distinguish the shores of the lake. The plain became very low and flat, appearing sometimes to be inundated, and a strong efflorescence of salt extended nearly all over the surface. Heights, a portion of the chain passing between Khoï and Tabreez, and which the guide called Kavasmass, rose about two miles to our left; and 'on the right we saw the lake, with an island and an isolated rock rising from its waters. As it was less than a mile distant, I rode down to examine it. The water was extremely saline, as it contains a third more salt than that of the sea, and from the constant deposition, the edges of the lake appeared to be covered with hoar-frost. There was no vegetation within three or four yards of the water, and it is said there are no fish in the lake, though many of the tributary rivers which empty themselves into its basin, contain great abundance, particularly of trout. I observed some large red birds, with very long legs, walking about in the water; and on examining them through the glass, I found they were flamingoes.

Leaving the shore of the lake, we proceeded to the village of Khaneh-Deh, and then crossed a broad torrent bed running from a ravine among basaltic-looking heights much decomposed, and which had a very volcanic appearance, the purple-reddish rocks resting on sand and clay. Here two roads leading along the shore of the lake separated, and the guide asked me which he should follow, observing that one was shorter than the other, but that there was no water upon it. I replied, "Follow the shortest, certainly," vol. II. as it conducted over the plain, not at the moment understanding his reference to the water. But we had now fairly commenced Persian travelling, where the want of the limpid element, particularly in the hot season, becomes a serious consideration.

At a long low point near us the water of the lake was shallow and discoloured: and we observed another island, or land resembling one, between the large isla d and the west shore of the lake. The day was excessively hot and oppressive, with a very strong sunshine; and both our horses and ourselves suffered much from want of water. The Sultaun's horse, which he had hired at Eski-sher., became fairly knocked up, and we saw no more of him till after we had reached Tabreez. The numerous headlands and promontories in sight, as we rode along, gave the scene the aspect of some parts of the Archipelago, and reminded me of Hydra and Spezzia, and other lower islands in the Gulf of Napoli. Not a single boat of any kind was to be seen on the lake at this end, although I believe some

miserable vessels of small size, keep up an irregular communication between the town of Oroomia and the opposite shore, towards Maraga and Tabreez. We crossed a salt brook running towards the lake with a great deal of deposit on the banks, which, as is usual with the beds of salt streams, looked like an abrupt crack in the soil.

Our progress over the plain might be estimated at about a mile in 17 minutes, being about 3; miles in the hour, which is rather slower, I think, than the usual rate of travelling in Persia, with horse or mule caravans. As we proceeded, a slight mirage was perceptible to our front and left.

We continued all day along the shore of the lake, which, there can be no doubt, might be made to open up **s** great deal of inland traffic, and during my stay at Tabreez, Malek Kassim Mirza, one of the younger sons of the late Shah, conversed with me respecting a design he had in view of building what he called an English vessel, near a place of which he was governor, on the eastern shore of the lake, and making a beginning in this direction. The Prince possessed considerable talent, and had picked up a knowledge of French and Italian, which, in a country where they are so little spoken, was really an astonishing acquisition, and as he had an excellent memory, he had, through the medium of books, become familiar with many matters connected with Europe, very rarely heard of in the East. At the same time he possessed all the dissipated habits, and that love of pleasure common to Orientals of rank, and evinced their customary craving after money, as providing the means of gratifying his propensities.

The person he employed to build the vessel, which he designed to accomplish such great objects, was a Maltese tailor, who had settled at Tabreez, and made uniforms for the British and Persian officers. The vessel, a cutter, was to be about 50 tons. Unfortunately for the Prince's object, however, it was never built, and, after an absence of several months, the tailor returned to Tabreez, having entirely reformed the Prince's wardrobe, though he had not even laid the keel of the cutter; and he declared that he had seen nothing in the shape of coined money the whole time, being merely paid for his excursion in pilaws, and other culinary delicacies, which he shared with the rest of the Prince's retainers.

As we still skirted the lake, a distant snowy range appeared towards Oroomia, and the soil presented numerous fissures, edged with crystallized salt. There was an appearance of a former shore, some feet higher than the present.

The plain might be looked upon as the most northerly which partakes of the character of the Persian salt deserts; and these wide perpendicular cracks are particularly conspicuous in that part of the great salt-desert lying between Koom and Tehraun, at the spot called the Malek-el-Moat, or Valley of the Angel of Death, the scene of so many superstitious tales 'among the Persians, which I afterwards crossed, and heard the usual stories of its being haunted by affrits and ghoules, the latter a kind of land mermaid, as it has been described, endowed with the Protean attribute of taking various forms.

Soon afterwards we came upon a hot, dry, but apparently fruitful tract, and found the country-people cutting the barley, which was very ripe, and appeared to be of excellent quality. A ruinous walled village to the left proved to be deserted; but at another, further on, we obtained fresh water for the first time since leaving the village of Khaneh-Deh, on the other side of this small desert. Being much exhausted with hunger after the extreme heat and fatigue of the journey, we also purchased a quantity of bread, which, though baked in the form of large, pliable, flat cakes, universal through the East, was prepared with leaven, and was very white, and of excellent quality.

About two hours afterwards, crossing a torrent-bed from some heights, we passed many gardens and a village, and at length reached Kuze-Khureh, where we halted for the night. The inhabitants, indeed, evinced some reluctance to entertain us, and, after a long peregrination, to the very extremity of the town, we were conducted to a house not only empty and deserted, but at a distance from any other habitation, and it became necessary to assume rather a high tone to procure better accommodation. This produced the desired effect, and we were admitted into the house of a Persian Rayat, which was comfortably arranged, but horribly infested with mosquitoes. It was, however, no small satisfaction, after the long hot day's journey to find a place where we could procure shelter, and have our food properly dressed, being unprovided with the apparatus for this purpose usually carried by travellers in Persia.

Our next day's journey was not so fatiguing. For some time we still skirted the shore of the lake of Oroomia, but ultimately left it behind, and turned towards Tabreez, passing large villages, surrounded by orchards and gardens, till at last we came in sight of the capital.

The first point of the city which we distinguished was an elevated building of brick, which, from the extreme clearness of the atmosphere, and flatness of the intervening country, was visible at a great distance. It rose to a considerable height above the trees, which formed a dense mass around it; and at first we conceived it to be one of the city gates. As we advanced, we could almost imagine it receded before us, as we seemed never to get nearer; and I at length determined to ride on briskly with Yusef Aga, directing the remainder of the party to join us at the residence of the British Embassy.

Galloping on, the structure, as we approached, resolved itself into an immense quadrangular tower, each front being eighty paces, while the height is said to be eighty feet. Its construction is ascribed by the natives to the celebrated Zobeida, the wife of the Caliph Haroun-al-Reschid. It is situated within the ark, or citadel, and is called a palace, but some believe it to have been a mosque. There are cracks in the tower as if caused by an earthquake. The gardens around the town, which extend

for several miles, are planted with vines and trees, many of them loaded with fine ripe fruit.

We reached the gardens about sunset, and passed on to the suburbs of the city, which appeared very populous, abounding with shops well supplied with excellent butcher's meat, and plenty of fine fruit, vegetables, and the principal necessaries of life. The exterior of the houses, however, had that earthy unprepossessing aspect, to which one can only be reconciled by custom, when we become familiar with their interiors, which are by no means incommodious, and generally clean.

The suburbs terminate in an open area of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, extending to the ditch which surrounds the walls of the town. In this space were several cemeteries quite unenclosed, and not adorned, as in Turkey, with cypresses or other trees. Beyond rose the town walls, which are of brick, connecting numerous round towers. We proceeded over a drawbridge to the gate, where we found a guard of Persian regular infantry, or Ser-bauz. As we entered the ancient city, the Royal band, which is only to be met with where the Shah, or one of his family, resides, was announcing, with their discordant music, the hour of sunset. Their instruments consist of a number of brass horns of great length, which appeared to me to give only one note, and an accompaniment of drums equally barbarous and monotonous. The practice of thus saluting the sun, however, is believed by the Persians to be of great antiquity, and is adhered to on this account, although they possess military music of a decidedly superior character.

As we passed along, the young sheeahs addressed many disagreeable epithets to Yusef Aga, who received them all with becoming indifference, and we ultimately arrived, without further interruption, at the Residency, a large building, surrounded by a garden, in the midst of the city. Here I found the other division of our party, who had gone on before us from Erzeroum, and were now comfortably established in the

TABREEZ.

Northern metropolis. The evening was of course spent very agreeably under such circumstances, and it was a satisfaction 'to find that the dangers and fatigues of the journey had made little impression on any of us.'

During the few days I remained at Tabreez on this occasion, I visited the bazaars, the great mosque, and the other public buildings. The bazaars were mean and dirty, compared with those of the large towns of Turkey, although they seemed abundantly supplied with every commodity, and were generally thronged with people. The latter were a turbulent set, and it was no uncommon sight to see the whole bazaar in an uproar, in consequence of an affray between two hostile parties, in which everybody joined, as in a row in Ireland, the only difference being that, instead of shilelaghs, the Persians fought with the formidable kummer, or short sword of the Caucasus, which is very generally worn in the north of Persia; and, in fact, these scandalous scenes made the inhabitants of Turkey

appear by comparison a civilized population.

At Tabreez I heard of an independent tribe, occupying the country between the Hekaree and Zaab rivers, who are Chaldean Christians, and whose religion, I was informed, on the authority of missionaries who had visited their country, differs but little from that of the Protestant church. They have their own bishop, or high-priest, at Julamerek, a town on the borders of their country, which is extremely mountainous and difficult of access, being generally 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and the highest point in Asia Minor. They pay tribute only to their ecclesiastical head, and permit neither Turk nor Persian to enter the country. They are said to be Nestorians, and have maintained their faith, in this isolated situation, uncorrupted for thirteen centuries.

About this time, a Mussulman Koord, who had offered some insult to a female, was killed in one of the Hekaree villages; and when the perpetrator of the deed was claimed by his relatives, the villagers resisted the demand, and drove them from the place. But the custom of delivering up a person who has committed a homicide to the relatives of the deceased, which was of such antiquity among the Jews, still exists in the East, and the relatives generally receive "the price of blood," as it is called, instead of punishing the offender. A revolting instance of this practice occurred while I was at Tabreez. Several men had killed another man in a brawl, and the ringleader was brought into the market-place, and bastinadoed, to extort the amount deemed an equivalent by the dead man's kindred. A large bundle of rods was placed beside him, and most of them were broken in carrying out the punishment, before he agreed to pay the sum required.

The old mosque at Tabreez, and several other buildings there, are believed to have been erected by Holokoo, an immediate descendant of Zinghes Khan, but are certainly the work of the Seljookian era, which was previous to that of Holokoo, who established the Mogul dynasty. The structures at Eski-sher, and on the plain of Selmas, as well as the ruins of Rhéh, near Tehraun, are of the same date.

There is a faussebraie beyond the small work enclosing the ark, or citadel of Tabreez. Inside are the wall and usual towers, and in their front a pretty deep ditch, having a small thin parapet wall and road behind, about 20 yards broad, and also bastions, with one gun in each face. The brick is all sun-dried, but bad and weak, tumbling in many places. In the left branch of a valley, without the town, at the base of the hills, I found an old ruinous structure, like a fort or castle. It is called the Kalay Raschid-"brave fort," but perhaps it may rather refer to the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. The interior is of unbaked bricks, but is faced with a stone revetment-a wise precaution, in a country where earthquakes are so frequent. Two towers below, now filled with earth, probably fallen fragments-as the whole country appears to have been torn up by earthquakes-are commanded by

TABREEZ

another above, which looks over the valley of Tabreez and the surrounding country. The castle may have been supplied with water by a current from the heights at some distance behind. On heights to the south there is a perfect position for bombarding the town. Water runs across it, but in other respects, it is dry and sterile. (64)

CHAPTER IV.

Soofian — Position — Merend — Zal — Terrific Thunderstorm—Ferry of the Aras—Quarantine—Important Pass—Capabilities of Defence—Fords of the Aras— Character of the River—Old Julfa—Nakshivan—Tradition of Noah—The Prince of Persia—Mountain Scenery —Erivan—Echmiazia—Visit to the Patriarch—Tomb of Macdonald — Sirdarabad — Important Pass — Position —Goomri.

It is not my intention in these pages to enter into a further narrative of the extensive travels I made at this time in Central Asia, which led me to the southern shores of the Caspian in one direction, and to Babylonia and the Persian Gulf in the other; but as I returned to Europe through the Caucasus, paying a second visit to Tabreez, I shall resume the account of my tour from that city; and as I followed the route to Tiflis, by Goomri, which I had approached within a mile, in the previous year, this will enable me to complete, from that spot, the description of the Erzeroum route between Goomri and the Caucasus, and to make a SOOFIAN.

few remarks on points of military interest between Erzeroum and the Russian frontier, as well as detail in my progress particulars of a similar nature connected with the southern bank of the Araxes.

I left Tabreez attended by several servants, and in three-quarters of an hour crossed the river by a long bridge of many arches, and proceeding towards a gap in the mountains, descended to an extensive plain.

The general appearance of the country was sterile, but it produces good crops. Villages were rare; the soil was salt, and the brooks were brackish. The camel-thorn was of frequent occurrence. The scene, for the most part, was a plain, with mountains in the background, more or less distant. To the left of Soofian there was an appearance of a rich tract dotted with villages. The road throughout was excellent.

Our first day's journey terminated at Soofian, which is a good village nestling under heights in a fine verdant country. At its entrance we passed Eeliaut tents, and many mares and cattle. The house where
we put up had a good Bala-khaneh, or upper story.

The road from Soofian led us up a valley between mountains, and a green and broad valley was reached by a gentle ascent. We crossed a stream, on which were two mills, at a distance of half a mile from each other; and soon afterwards passed a tumulus. looking like a heap of stones and rubbish. In the valley, which here and there was marshy, we saw some horned cattle, and goats and sheep appeared on the heights. To the north was a position. The road was all very good for carriages. At one point we commanded a good view of a long pass in our front, with a shorter range to the rear, and up a valley above us, but the spot being commanded from the west might be turned. Emerging from a deep chasm in the mountain we saw a fine old brick caravanserai, with four towers, faced at the base with stone, and the foundations of another building of old stone. A village called Kara-Tepeh was discernible up in the mountains, and the mountain-tops were

sprinkled with snow. A long descent, crossing occasional spurs, and branches of watercourses led through the village of Deeza into a valley. Merend, with its mud castle on a neighbouring height, was visible in front, peering from among pleasant gardens, watered by clear streams. The country here was much greener, though the trees showed some withered leaves; and the weather, among the hills, was very cool and pleasant.

We reached Merend before our baggage, and the Ket-koda's deputy was at first very uncivil. He pointed to a bad quarter in the place, near his house, without a court for horses; but we soon brought him to reason, and he then assigned us a better abode.

Merend is a much larger place than Soofian, and contains probably 1000 houses, with bazaars, &c. Its aspect is cheerful and agreeable in the extreme. The houses stand in pleasant gardens, containing many fruit, poplar, and other trees, and the fresh verdure around bespeaks frequent rain. We had, indeed, a heavy shower in the afternoon, and during the night there was a great fall. Things begin here to partake less of a Persian complexion, although the houses and buildings are still constructed in the same style. We were told that Zal was the only village between Merend and the ferry.

On leaving Merend we crossed a delightful and fertile plain, possessing a rich soil, highly cultivated, and the castoroil plant was seen in very large quantities. From an elevated plain beyond we looked down on Merend, and crossing a bridge, reached a commanding spot, whence we could see all the plain behind. Just beyond was a fine position, looking to the same quarter, but extensive, and destitute of wood. A fine wide flat, well cultivated, terminated in a gorge in the mountains, through which the road ran. Again descending, the road passed some hummucky heights, and over a small rich plain to the village of Zal, situated on the brow of a height. It is quite a mountain village, but not a poor one, and we were received well by people comfortably apparelled, and con-: 1

ducted to a clean cottage The situation is elevated and cold, as water boils at 202°. The soil, which is good and deep, is well watered, though we heard that apples were the only fruit produced, and there were but few trees in the village. We saw a number of ploughs drawn by four oxen, with a boy on the leaders. My host here, an Eeliaut, and a native of Fars, in the service of the governor of Mercud, was a very civil active fellow, and immediately offered me his house. dispossessing his wife without ceremony. and removing to another tenement. Before my baggage arrived he offered me his couch. and brought me a present of melons and apples.

The thermometer would make this place no higher than Tabreez, otherwise, from the coldness of the air and our general ascent, we could not but have formed a different conclusion. The first part of the day was cloudy, though without rain, but the afternoon was brighter. A dry easterly wind blowing all day parched the skin very much. In the evening there was rain with thunder. From Zal the road was not very bad, though sometimes stony. The valley on both sides is at this point well calculated for the erection of batteries.

Passing over a plain, highly cultivated and very fertile, producing great quantities of hemp, cotton, castor, &c., we encountered one of the heaviest thunderstorms I ever witnessed, with torrents of rain mingled with large hail-stones, and accompanied by a cold, cutting wind from the north, against which the tempest moved. The lightning was thrown, as it were, in handfuls from the clouds, spreading in every direction in long horizontal zig-zag lines, and the roll of the thunder resembled a continued heavy fire of cannon and musketry.

A thunderbolt fell in our front, near the road, and with such a noise and dazzling light that my horse, which was going at a hand gallop, drew up on his haunches, and, dashing off the road in great alarm, carried me some distance into the opposite fields. When I brought him back to the spot he stood snorting and trembling for some time, with his eye directed to the spot where the electric fluid had entered the ground, and I had considerable difficulty in getting him to pass near it. I can indeed say, from personal experience, that the reputation for violent thunderstorms, which is attached to the neighbourhood of the Araxes, is wellfounded.

Soon afterwards the road, before reaching the river, dipped among broken ground, and we found it slippery and difficult from the heavy rain, but as we neared the stream it became more gravelly and smooth. Close to the ferry, on the southern side, was a poor ill-constructed fort, in the usual Persian style, facing the Russian quarantine on the opposite bank.

Crossing the Aras by a ferry-boat, we presented ourselves at the quarantine, a group of ten or twelve miserable mud-huts, dug on the side of the bank. A Russian serjeant, who took possession of us, installed me in one of the huts. Our horses had to remain in the open air, as there were no stables at the quarantine. In the evening a senting was posted in front of the hut, where he continued during the night; and I heard him talking to himself and singing in the low tremulous style of the country, and occasionally uttering groans, yawns, and exclamations, and even laughing by turns, as different humours seized him.

The next morning was delightfully clear, and a sharp northerly wind was tempered by bright sunshine. The quarantine is nearly in the centre of a moderately-sized plain, picturesquely bounded by mountains. To the south is the range towards Persia, which here looked bolder than on the opposite side, and was now topped with snow. The mountain range to the north-east was covered nearly half-way down with snow, while lower ridges, in other directions, were bare to the summit, and still presented the burnt-ochry look so peculiar to Persian mountains, and first apparent on the Aras. This has a fine effect as the background of a landscape, giving it a warm purple tint; but removed from other objects it is dreary and distressing. In such a region vegetable

and animal life seem extinct, though both are to be found in these mountains. Eagles, hawks, the large mountain partridge, called the cubk-i-derréh, which is the size of a young turkey, and the small cubk, or redlegged mountain partridge, a beautiful variety of the European bird, but having the slate-coloured feathers of the pigeon blended with its plumage, are very numerous, as are many other wild fowls. Among the quadrupeds are the wild goat, or ibex, the wild sheep, wild ass, antelopes, wolves, foxes, &c.; and the vegetable creation is represented by various mountain plants, which thrive during the long droughts of summer, and in winter are buried under the snow.

The pass we had just traversed is one of great tactical importance to Persia, but is, as usual, quite neglected. If seized by Russia—which could easily be done by a coup de main—there is nothing to prevent a force from advancing direct to the capital of Aderbijan, without the trouble of the slightest détour; for the other heights between the Araxes and Tabreez, though defended by all the forces Persia could com-

mand, would be carried without difficulty by a more regular force. There is, no doubt, another pass, if not more, from the Aras towards Khoï, which an enemy could employ; but everything which causes delay. trouble, and loss to an advancing force in such operations is so much gained, and this furnishes a strong motive for closing direct routes, such as the one described, whenever it is practicable. This pass is capable of easy defence. In the first place, there is a good position for a strong force about three miles from the right bank of the river, consisting of the last and lowest range of heights, which a few redoubts would greatly strengthen. About three miles further back is the commencement of the pass; an excellent road leading between the two points above mentioned, over the plain. The mouth of the pass is flanked by some low glacis-like heights, and behind these it becomes a rugged defile, where columns could only advance with a very small front, while they would be exposed the whole way to the musketry fire of light troops on their finks, and be occasionally stopped altogether by the occupation of strong points to the front. Permanent fortifications would render it exceedingly strong, and the spot is one which a wise and active government would naturally select as a situation for a *place d'armes*. The great importance of the situation for checking an enemy's operations, the richness of the neighbourhood, and its vicinity to an enemy's country (at this spot not of very easy defence), being all borne in mind, it seems a most eligible site for a garrison town; and there are, no doubt, many other such points along the frontier the whole way from Mount Ararat to the Caspian.

It is unnecessary here to enlarge further on the consequences of the loss of Aderbijan and Gillan (which must go with it) to Persia, as they must be apparent, and a glance at the map will show at once the extreme importance of their jealous preservation. In that frontier country, a large disciplined force; such as Russia could put forth, might go either into camp or winter cantonments at any time, secure of supplies, and on ground where they could act readily; and, from what I saw of the country between the Koflan-koh and Tehraun, I should say that it is one where a manœuvring (that is a disciplined) army would have greatly the advantage, as it possesses none of those strong points or difficult tracts, which bring combatants of a different character more upon a level. Between Tabreez and Oujan, indeed, there are some heights possessing strength, if skilfully occupied. From there to Miana the ground is all in favour of disciplined troops, such as Persia does not possess. The Koflan-koh pass is very defensible in itself, but it is asserted that both flanks may be turned. It lies between two rivers, the Kizzel Ouzan and a tributary stream.

The Aras is crossed on a kind of lozengeshaped raft, which can carry six horses and seven or eight men. It has sides of about a yard high, and is rowed across with oars. The distance is apparently from about 70 to 80 yards—Porter calls it 50; but the channel shows it is sometimes much broader. Its present depth was inconsiderable, and there were fords near us at a short distance. The current was rapid, probably six or seven miles an hour. The river is quite fit for pontoons; and the fullest breadth cannot, from the appearance of the channel, be so much as 200 yards. The channel is here well-defined, —even the limit of floods, to which the situation of the quarantine shows that it is not very subject. At Khagasman, where I had passed in the previous year, it is very broad, flat, and undefined, and the river is more rapid.

At this spot, the branches between the three islands and the shore seemed, at the present season, to afford practicable fords, and, indeed, the guarantine chief observed that that situation would not do for the quarantine, because the river there could be so easily passed. There are, however, heights on the left or Russian side, which could be easily fortified, and they command the fords and opposite shore, where advanced works, commanded from the left bank, would naturally be constructed at the same Below the quarantine the river time. is in general too deep to ford, and is too Higher up, it is bordered with rapid. heights, and therefore most available to a disciplined orce; and this would facilitate the passage of troops or the formation of pontoon bridges at the heights above the quarantine, from the Russian side. At old Julfa, on the contrary, the heights on the right side are quite impregnable from that of Russia, and command a view of everything occurring on it, while they hide the ground in their rear

I left the quarantine to visit the ancient city of Julfa, which I reached in about half an hour. It contains many stone buildings, and the remains of an old church and cemetery. A noble bridge, the work of Augustus, once stood here, of which only the abutments and four piers of polished stone remain. From pier to pier seemed about fifty yards. The river at present only passed between one pier on the right bank, and the abutment on that side.

About 300 yards from the bridge is an isolated building resembling a tomb, and evidently an old Armenian work. The interior was heaped with stones. The people said a Russian had caused it to be whitened inside. The style seems to have been a mixture of the Greek and Arabesque, or early Mussulman. The residents in the place, who are the melancholy remains of the ancient Armenians of Julfa, said that the tower and church were both built by a "virgin" — no doubt one of peculiar sanctity—and from pious motives. They resemble one another sufficiently to lead to the supposition that they were erected about the same time.

At the islands, as the river is so much divided, and its banks so low, no great body of water can ever be forced through any one channel, so as to render the passage difficult. Judging from the breadth of these divided beds, and the appearance of the ripple, they must be shallow generally. On the opposite side, all the flat is distinctly seen from the heights for a distance of two miles. A point just below the old bridge of Julfa seems best calculated for crossing the heights from the right bank to the left, the former being there all much higher than the latter. A passage up the valley, not, 1 think, within range of either ridge, proceeds as far as the road. Below the quarantine,

80 RUINS OF ST. STEPHEN'S.

the river is rapid, running in a deep channel. Both sides are flat, and the middle of the stream is the frontier line.

Having been informed that our probation at the quarantine had expired, we prepared to resume our journey on the following day. The morning was grey and a little cloudy, but the atmosphere was pleasant, and had that moderate degree of humidity which is agreeable to a European.

The chief of the quarantine, mounted on an active little Arab-looking horse, and attended by his Georgian interpreter, accompanied us as a convoy for an hour and a half. He pointed out, as we rode along, the ruins of an old castle or monastery, on the summit of a precipitous mountain over the Aras, beyond Julfa, which I imagine were those of St. Stephen's, shown in Monteith's map, lying, according to that authority, just at the junction of the Dereh Sham River, which flows from Khoï. High mountains continued on both sides, our direction being north by west; and we advanced up a gradual slope till the country, opening on our right, exposed a fine precipitous mountain, the Eelan Dagh, (mountain of serpents), in advance of a snowy range.

Here a descent began to a fine plain, watered by a river, and we came in view of Nakshivan. The plain is a fine rich tract, but the culture is very limited, and the villages are in no proportion to what ought to exist. The mountain scenery is picturesque, and the season causing partial showers to pass across their tops from time to time, added to this effect. The road, a splendid natural way over gravel, and quite smooth, is fit for carriages; and we met. what we had not seen for some time, a sort of open waggon, drawn by a pair of good horses. The road then varied a little occasionally, and low heights occurred. The river Aras, which seemed about four miles to our left, meandered through the plain. We crossed several streams and a watercourse, descending from the northward, the main branch of the Nakshiyan river, but now, from the season and from irrigation, quite dry. Near this

spot are the remains of an old brick bridge, of three arches, in a very dilapidated state. We met some hunters who had killed an ibex or mountain goat, as large as a fine fallow deer of eight years old, and having immense horns like a ram's. We bought the two haunches for two shillings, and it proved very good.

Nakshivan, where we soon afterwards arrived, presented a far worse appearance than similar towns in Persia, being in a ruined and very miserable condition. The police master was very obliging. He was enjoying the true Russian luxury of a fur-lined dressing-gown, covering a shirtless interior and unwashed skin: and when I reached his abode, about four o'clock, had probably just risen from the siesta usual among Russians in the south. A few soldiers moving here and there in rusty great-coats, and an occasional officer riding about with an important air, bespoke the presence of a battalion of troops. The country people adopt the Georgian dress, which, though picturesque, is rather fantastic; and the long pendant sleeves of the shortened outer garment,

give it even more the appearance of female costume than the Persian habit, and the men are more smoothfaced and beardless than those further south. Two customhouse officials made their appearance soon after my arrival, but gave no trouble. They were followed by some military visitors, who had all the brusque manner usual in Russian officers, without the suavity I had experienced in the little chief of the quarantine at Julfa.

The Armenians assign to Nakshivan the traditional renown of being the seat or residence of Noah after the Deluge, and say the word means the "first resting-place" in their ancient tongue. It is three days' journey from Mount Ararat, as persons of the country now travel; but its fine rich plain gives probability to the hypothesis.

Having heard much of the excellence of the Nakshivan melons, I sent for some: they were of the same kind as those of Tehraun and Ispahan, but greatly inferior in sweetness and flavour. Some grapes accompanied them, but though fine and large, they were not comparable in ripe rich flavour to the common grapes found in every garden of Tabreez.

In the evening various bands paraded the town with squeaking pipes and tambourines which, I fully believe, are the very same that were in use among the ancients in rural life, and a great din they made. They are very fit for such bacchanalian saturnalia as, from the accompanying shouts, I thought the performers were then celebrating, but it proved to be a marriage festivity.

Our road from Nakshivan led over the fine plain, keeping, at first, a little north of Mount Ararat, now in view, and afterwards passing on heights towards it. A Russian party of an officer and about twenty infantry were just before us; and most of the men, who were heavily loaded, halted frequently. The officer and his baggage-animal kept in advance, and we did not pass him for nearly an hour. About the same time we met some fine showy horsemen in Mussulman costume, in the Circassian style, with much scarlet in their own and their horses' equipments. We were afterwards told that these were followers of Hassein Khan, who,

84

when Sirdar of Erivan, delivered that place to the Russians, and entered the Czar's service, but ultimately died at Ispahan, in great want, having proceeded there to endeavour to recover his confiscated property.

After passing some table-land, strewn with quantities of squared stones, more than a yard in diameter, we entered the village of Gooran, and obtained a clean quarter at the Government stanitza, under the direction of a young Russian serjeant, apparently belonging to some good family.

The heat during the two or three hours previous had been most oppressive, but the road was good, presenting occasional heights over the plain, offering positions of passage.

In the evening, hearing horses ordered to be prepared with all dispatch for some one at the post-stanitza where we lodged, I made inquiries as to the cause, and found that a party of Russian soldiers (probably those we had passed) had taken a melon from a garden, or field, somewhere in the neighbourhood; on which the peasant to whom it belonged, had wounded one or them in the thigh with the kummer, of VOL, II. dirk, which they all wear: and as the man had to proceed on his march, no house being near, he had soon bled to death. The horses were for the officer, who meant to pursue the man, who had fled to Nakshivan, and to have him apprehended. The resolute resistance of the Mussulman population here, to any excess of the soldiery, evinces a wide-spread disaffection among them. T heard at Julfa that a whole party of soldiers were soundly beaten at a village by the peasants, for trying to obtain possession of water for irrigation; but, in this region, water is almost as valuable as the crop itself, and is dealt out to the agriculturists in shares, as in Persia.

The morning was again clear, but Mount Ararat, covered with clouds, was seen with difficulty. Crossing a plain flanked by distant ranges, a branch from the main road carried us down a valley among heights at first rocky, and afterwards gravelly, till we reached the river, when we skirted a flat covered with tumuli, and where we observed great flights of dun-coloured wild ducks. Hence we ascended a ridge with a high gravelly mound running down its centre, and ending in a bridge.

In Monteith's map, one of the best yet published, a good ford is marked on the Araxes, on a line between Nakshivan and Khurseh. This seems a good point for closing that road strategically. Monteith places the ruins of Artaxata at Sood-houd, close to the river, and near a bridge, about four hours off. The true site of Artaxata, in my opinion, still remains doubtful. From the vestiges we saw there can be little doubt that a town, much more ancient than the Mahommedan era, must have stood hereabouts. The blocks on the hill are very large and massive, and evidently old and timeworn. The bridge has been built of a hard sandstone without, and the inside of the piers filled with large lumps of basalt, fastened together with lime. Its situation, at a spot on the river where the banks are high, avoiding the construction of artificial approaches, marks a Roman, not a Persian origin. The same may be said of the structure of the arch, which is wider, and neither of the Persian nor Arabic form.

At the old bridge we found a Russian guard occupying a hut a little below; and the serjeant in charge, seeing us approach, came out and told us that nobody was allowed to cross the river there. This measure has been adopted to prevent emigration, and to compel all persons coming across the frontier to perform quarantime.

Our course was now towards Ararat, over a plain and the base of some counterforts, till we reached Shah-Tacht. Here we found an old stone fort, or enclosure, with towers, based, as is often the case at similar places in Turkey, on an old wall of large blocks. A fine stream passes near, and a castle of some kind, as various relics attest, had existed here previously to the present one. As we advanced over the plain, which has a fine rich soil, and is well watered and cultivated, many villages appeared in our front, and we passed through and near several. At Narashine we put up again at the poststation, which is usually the most convenient place on this route.

The next morning was cold and overcast, clouds covering the mountains, and a north wind blowing, awakened a feeling as of approaching snow. Before leaving Narashine I walked out by the brook which flows past, through a very rich alluvial plain. A fine large village, Zaiva-derbend, lies about a mile distant. At nine o'clock we mounted, and resumed our journey, and as there are two roads to Astarek, our next station from Narashine, I went, without inquiring particularly, on that which leads nearest the mountains, lying to the right of the other, as I had heard that the heir to the Persian throne, who had been to meet the Emperor of Russia, at Erivan, was to take that road on his return, and I wished to see him. I inquired as to his progress from the first people we met likely to know, and who, as it proved, were in charge of some of the Prince's baggage; and from them I learnt that he had gone by the lower road, on account, I believe, of his carriage. Accordingly, I struck across in that direction; but found the plain deep,

VOL. II.

89

and intersected with brooks and ditches. At last, however, after nearly an hour of heavy riding and occasional galloping, I caught sight of a cavalcade and a carriage, and made haste to intercept them. Having reached some good turf I was enabled to approach them rapidly; and crossing a ditch, entered the road close to the escort which accompanied the party.

The young prince, now Shah of Persia, with his immediate attendants, was on horseback some way in advance; and the carriage, drawn by four horses, was occupied by his maternal uncle, the Ameer-i-Nizam, or Commander of the regular troops, whom I had met before in Persia, and though it was probably the first journey he had made in such a conveyance, he, as well as a whiteturbaned Moolah who sat beside him, appeared quite at home. His reception was courteous and obliging, for the Persians are almost always polite; and he expressed regret that time and circumstances did not permit a longer interview.

He struck me as presenting a good speci-

men of an old Persian gentleman,-plain and neat, but costly in his attire; his beard and joolfs (side locks) carefully dyed of a brilliant black, contrasting with his clear wax-like complexion. The party generally looked very well, and probably included some Caucasians in Russian employ, for I observed that many wore the Circassian dress, so much in vogue even among the Russians themselves in those provinces. On the other hand, there is an evident tendency to copy Russian style among the Persian employés of Aderbijan. The halfmilitary half-Oriental costume of Russia is well calculated to attract the Persians. They admire its show and tinsel: for every thing addresses itself to the eye in Persia.

The road, which passed through a low gorge in the range, is excellent the whole way. Astarek seemed to lie just below the range bounding the plain; but the weather was so bad, with a furious wind direct in our teeth, and piercingly cold, and a thick dark atmosphere, that I could hardly distinguish objects at any distance, and galloping on, I determined to make the day's march short. But though the wind felt so bitterly cold, the thermometer only stood at 45° Fahr.

We reached the station at Astarek at one o'clock. A fine plain seem to stretch the whole way to Mount Ararat from behind the village. Other mountains, rising to a very considerable height, and covered with snow high up, were at no great distance. The cold increased in the evening; but the chimneys of the Stanitza were so intolerably smoky, that we were obliged to put out the fire.

After a severe frosty night, we had a beautiful sunny morning, showing Ararat most clear and distinct to the summit, as if not a mile distant. Its volcanic origin is very apparent from this spot, with the morning sun shining bright upon its crags, and even the great tracts now covered with snow, exhibited the same characteristics in a very conspicuous manner. Its form, from whatever point it is observed, is very imposing; and it is perhaps the grandest mountain I have ever seen. The smaller peak, which is 8000 feet high, looks very like Vesuvius. The great peak has some resemblance to Etna, but the latter is not so tapering, and has a broader base in proportion to its height. It is above 12,000 feet in altitude.

We left the station at Sadarek at nine o'clock, and at half-past four reached that at Ardisheer, a prettily situated village, formerly surrounded by walls and towers of hardened clay, in the Persian style, now much dilapidated, and indeed almost in ruins. It contains a church, which has recently been furnished with bells. Ararat makes a noble appearance from here, rising majestically and at once above the green plain, and having just enough of mountainous scenery near it to demonstrate its immensely greater magnitude.

At this place we found the people beating out their corn in the end of October, just as I saw them occupied in May in Persia, many miles to the south-east; but they keep it stacked in this country for some time previous to threshing it out. The plain here was again covered with villages, but as the one we were in was almost uninhabited, this was no sign of population.

Another delightful clear morning broke upon us, and, indeed, it would be impossible to imagine any weather in early winter more propitious and genial than we now enjoyed. The scenery continued grand and pleasing. The mountains, mantled half way down with snow, were dazzlingly white, while the plain below was perfectly green, and over all the sky appeared of the deepest blue. At night the frost was sharp, but as soon as the sun arose the cold was succeeded by a gradually increasing warmth equal to that of an English summer. In the morning there was not a breath of air. everything being perfectly still. Altogether it was one of the endless varieties of climate marking different regions of the globe, and which, like everything else, seem not to be precisely the same in any two instances.

After taking a sketch and some bearings on the plain, I once more mounted, and riding out of the village, crossed a fine river, running in many branches from the snowy range down a deep valley. Sloping heights exhibiting fine cultivation, and dotted with a great number of villages, were succeeded by a sterile valley, and as we ascended higher the country grew more barren and stony, though a rich plain, with many villages, and pasturing numerous flocks, was visible in our front. From a steep crest we obtained soon afterwards a view towards Erivan, which, after a descent, we entered at three o'clock.

Erivan stands in a strong situation on the left bank of the river Zenghi, an affluent of the Araxes. It is surrounded by old stone works, which, although incapable of resisting long a regular attack, would, if repaired, present a considerable obstacle to a Persian or Turkish army, though on the west side where the river flows between precipices, they were then altogether dilapidated, and seemed never to have been much beholden to art. A good stone bridge exists below, on which I remarked that several guns in the fortress were pointed. At a short distance on the right bank are heights, from whence shells might be thrown into the place from heavy pieces. From the bridge we proceeded to the northern portion of the town, which is large, and contains some pretty open spots, sprinkled with trees. There are also some fine mosques and tolerable bazaars, the latter roofed with wood, and containing a good assortment of commodities, principally of Russian fabrication. An old castle close by is overlooked by the town.

Leaving the town we walked towards the river, which flows through a most romantic and rich valley to the west. Its banks on one side are precipitous, and on the other rise in rocky terraces, covered with vines, and higher up, forming gardens. Beyond, a tract of gardens, vines, and wood, constitute, with the plains and mountains in the distance, one of the most beautiful prospects I remember. Here the Emperor Nicholas had not long before beheld, for the first time, the southern extremity of his mighty empire, extended thus far even in his own reign, the summit of Mount Ararat clearly marking its present boundary.

From Erivan two military roads conduct to Tiflis. The most direct, by Delijaun and Lake Goutcha, is about 150 miles in length. The other, going considerably round, skirts the frontier as far as Goomri, where it leaves to its left the road which passes through Akalzik to Redout-Kalleh on the Black Sea. It then takes a more easterly direction, passes over two mountain ranges, and joins the Delijaun road close to Tiflis. I determined to follow the road by Goomri, in order to examine the fortress which I had seen under construction from the opposite bank of the Arpachai river, on my previous visit to its vicinity.

On leaving Erivan we followed a broad and excellent road, which carried us through a very agreeable country to Echmiazin, which we saw, with its singular isolated churches, at some distance. I proceeded at once to the Procureur, as he is called, to

whom I had brought a letter, and found him in the amiable Russo-Georgian dishabille of the siesta. He was an intelligent cidevant, handsome man, with a bright Georgian complexion and snow-white hair. After some conversation, he accompanied me to the palace of the Patriarch, an enclosure of some extent, with walls and towers, and containing, besides the great church and the dwelling of the chief prelate, the senate house, the library, a printing-office, and a school, as well as a place of lodging for travellers and various other buildings, all clean and neat in appearance. The Procureur conducted me to the presence of the Patriarch. whom I found seated in much form, at the head of a large apartment on the patriarchal throne, under a canopy. In the room were various other high ecclesiastics, who occupied chairs on each side. The Procureur. as well as every one present, treated the Patriarch with an extraordinary show of respect, bowing most profoundly and kissing his hand, and the merchant (to whose care one of the letters I had brought from

Tehraun was addressed), presented it to the Prelate on his knees. The Patriarch, who was habited in long robes of purple velvet, wore on his breast a large star in jewelsa Russian order-and his stole, or head-gear. was adorned with a diamond cross. The room was luxuriously fitted up, the windows of stained glass, hung with curtains of damask, admitting a subdued light on the rich Persian carpets.* In a hall through which we passed, there were several daubed representations of Armenian kings, very handsomely framed, and said to have been taken from effigies, found in old manuscripts; and, at the top of the apartment, a portrait of the reigning monarch of Russia, now, I presume, considered sovereign also of the ancient Armenian kingdom, stood out from the wall -the eternal boots of the Czar in this instance peering from beneath imperial robes. The whole figure, a greater daub in execution

• I had lately an opportunity of observing at Jerusalem, and several other places in Syria, that the Armenian ecclesiastical establishments there, also under Russian protection, are similarly fitted up. than any of the others, had a mock-heroic air and expression rather ludicrous. The portraits of Futti Ali Shah and his sons. which abound in the Persian royal buildings, are in their own way greatly better than that of the Russian emperor.

It is interesting to compare the actual state of this ecclesiastical establishment with what it was when Morier described it, at the time of Sir Gore Ouseley's visit. The Patriarch and all his ecclesiastics, then humble and submissive, came out to meet the Ambassador on foot : now he received letters on a British Minister's business from a person on his knees. It is evident that a part of Russia's policy is to place the Armenian Patriarch on the footing of the highest dignitaries of her own church,

good policy it is; for the Armenians are much gained over by these marks of consideration. The disgust of the Mussulmans is in proportion, but to this no weight is attached, as the object of Russia is to establish on the frontier a population solely Christian.

The Patriarch was a venerable figure, though a long white beard, with his imposing costume, disguised a rubicund and somewhat ordinary countenance. He was very hospitable, and his manner was kind. He expressed a desire to meet fully the wishes of the ambassador respecting the monument of the late Sir John Macdonald, which is placed in a very conspicuous and honourable situation, near that of his predecessor in the patriarchal chair, on the right hand of the portico of the church, to which it is indeed ornamental, being a chaste and classical cenotaph of Carrara marble, with an inscription in three tongues, Persian, Greek, and English, as follows :--- "Ilere are deposited the remains of Lt.-Col. Sir John Macdonald. K.L.S., who died at Tabreez, on the 10th of June, MDCCCXXX., in the fiftieth year of his age, when Envoy Extraordinary from the Supreme Government of British India to the King of Persia. In testimony of their estimation of important services, ably and successfully performed, under circumstances of unusual difficulty, the Court of Directors have erected this monument to his memory."
No more becoming place of sepulture could have been selected than Echmiazin for the mortal remains of Sir John Macdonald—I believe his own choice; and all who have read the account of his wanderings through the Ottoman Empire,* and his Persian memoir, must, I think, consider it a judicious one. His ashes repose, as it were, on the threshold of Asia, the scene of his useful life, passed, as he himself describes it, "among the storms of fortune,"—and on the nearest spot where the Christian faith, though far from pure, is free and dominant.

The original church is said to be more than fifteen centuries old. The style within reminds one of the oldest Italian churches: without, it has the fretted semi-Gothic aspect of the buildings at Ani. The interior is dark, and requires repair. There are several pictures—one of Christ receiving the children, a gift from Sir Robert Porter, executed, I believe, by his own pencil, and

[•] He was better known as a traveller, under the name of Macdonald Kinneir.

a Madonna and Child, crowned and jewelled, presented by an Armenian artist. On the wall to the left is a stone with a Greek inscription, apparently sepulchral. It displays the Greek cross, surrounded by a scroll, invoking a blessing on all the people of God's church; below is another invocation, seeking pardon for the sins of His servant, the Archimandrite Daniel, with the Jewish monogram I.C.K. Behind the church I came on a row of very ancient stones, resembling tombs, curiously carved with crosses. At the east end of the building, in rear of the palace, stands the senate house. The laws of the Armenian church are preserved here, and on a table, in a gilded case like a Parisian clock, is the charter in Russian from the Emperor, conferring, I was told, various rights on the church of Echmiazeen.

I was very hospitably lodged in the portion of the palace appropriated to travellers, and the Bishop, * next in rank to the Intend-

^{*} In the Armenian church, neither the rank nor the functions of a bishop seem to correspond with those of

ant of the establishment, who was himself indisposed; and a talkative Bishop from Persian Julfa, who, I was afterwards informed, had been obliged to leave that ecclesiastical locality in consequence of irregularities in private life, did me the honour to keep me company at dinner.

The library contains some curious Armenian manuscripts, as well as many books in that language, several of the former were from 400 to 600 years old, and a number were illuminated, including some of the New Testament, executed 200 years ago at Constantinople. The old Armenian manuscripts are in the finest character. The character now used, it appears, was invented about 900 years ago, by a monk, who, it is said, also invented the Georgian alphabet, and two others. The collection had but few books, and was in other respects very slender. At the printing-office, which we visited next, we found several presses at work, printing theological productions. The

the same dignitary in the Roman Catholic and other western churches.

school, which was conducted by an Armenian brought up at Moscow, finished our round, and was not the least interesting visit. The schoolmaster had only arrived a month before, and pleaded this as the reason for his having so few classes at work. At present, the teaching was confined to Armenian; but Latin, Russian, and even French were contemplated. The rooms were clean and well kept, like those of such institutions at Petersburg, Moscow, &c. The master seemed an intelligent man, and intended, he said, to explore the old manuscripts in the library on Armenian history, an interesting and wide field for research.

After this agreeable halt we resumed our journey, and the road sweeping to the left, to avoid the higher ground, traversed a finely-cultivated tract, crossing several watercourses and brooks, and at four o'clock we reached Sirdarabad. Here there was a very good station-house, which was well fitted up, having been prepared as a sleepingplace for the Emperor on his journey, who dined and passed the night here. The best room had the unwonted luxury of window curtains made of green silk, and chairs covered with the same, brought here expressly for the occasion. The building, which was new, was larger than usual, and had probably been made of the exact size required for the Imperial suite. Sirdarabad has been walled with unbaked bricks like the Persian villages. The walls stand and have been repaired, but the town has disappeared. A few houses, indeed, still exist, inhabited chiefly, I believe, by Armenians from Byazeed.

In pursuing this route, it is evident, on reference to the map, what have been the motives of the Russian Government in tracing their frontier line with the vanquished nation; for as soon as the river Araxes becomes a bad frontier, from the plains extending on its banks, then, instead of a narrow strip of land at the base of mountains on the Russian side, Mount Ararat and its chain become the boundary on the plea probably of its having been part of Persian Erivan, but in reality in order that no remnant of Persia should remain between Russia and Turkey, so that she might be close to the passes leading into that country. To a nation advanced in the art of war, the possession of one half of a pass leading into the territory of a people who are not so, is nearly equivalent to possessing the whole. The pass, which we saw distinctly all this day immediately to the west of the great peak of Ararat, and conducting direct to Byazeed, by which route the Russians entered Turkey, is one of peculiar importance, being, from what I could see of it from both sides of the mountains, of very easy passage for disciplined troops, and to the south of these mountains the road forks into Turkey and Persia. In short, it conducts in one day's march or less from the Russian frontier to Byazeed, which point once gained, the communication between Erzeroum and Tabreez would be cut off by that road, and an easy passage secured for the Russians to either of those places.

The road on which I was now travelling continued excellent as far as Goomri, having

been made in a manner by no means expensive, and which might be adopted in most parts of Turkey and Persia to render the ways fit for carriages; for the rock in those countries generally lies very near the surface in the plains, and often above it in the mountainous districts. Where the ground was flat, the loose stones, often of large size, had merely to be removed from the surface, for a space of about thirty vards in breadth, leaving the gravelly soil beneath to be beaten into a hard way, which in so dry a country very soon occurs; and where the road crossed rocky heights the ground had been levelled with the pickaxe, gunpowder having been seldom required even in removing the larger masses.

This is the mode adopted by the Russians, chiefly with a view to the movement of troops, stores, &c., and I believe the whole route from hence to their nearest posts on the Black Sea has been thus improved. Even in its former primitive condition it was made available for forwarding reinforcements sent at short notice, by water, to act against the Persians, showing how important to Russia, even here, would be the undisputed command of the Euxine. Various roads branch off to the south-west towards Persia and Turkey by Byazeed, the passes of the Soganlu-Dagh, &c.

From Sirdarabad there is a gradual ascent which afterwards becomes steeper, but is still an excellent road, about thirty yards wide.

Crossing heights we arrived at an old fortress, in a fine commanding situation, near a small stream. On entering its octagonal enclosure, which has about 160 yards to each face, and is composed of the inferior masonry used in Turkish works, I observed that it was a far more recent fabric than an old building in its centre. There were a good many remains of small buildings, and the place is about as defensible at this day as many which in Turkey are reckoned tenable. A gateway, which enters through a tower, has three Persian or Arabic arches within, and in the centre of the area stands the singular building above-mentioned, which has evi-

dently been a place of great strength. It exhibits very fine masonry, and is surrounded by a succession of round towers and connecting walls, forming a smaller enclosure, like the outer one, but better executed. Within again is a building composed of round and angular towers, and nearly over a door on its southern side is an inscription-I think in Kufic. The door opens to a square arched cell of solid stone, with a stair conducting to the upper apartments, but now broken and blocked up. This ancient castle and the neighbouring remains have received from travellers the name of Talys, but was designated by our guide as Tali Boghli. Porter says there is an old Armenian convent ten miles to the westward on the Aras. From this ancient stronghold the lofty mountain of Ali Ghuz, which forms a marked feature in the landscape, bears about northeast. An area to the north has evidently been enclosed by masonry, and on leaving the fort, I observed there several strong old round towers in the same style; and an ancient cemetery full of tombs grown

110

POSITION.

over with moss, which are all that remains of the former city. At an hour's distance over a plain we passed an old town, still called Talyn, where there are two Armenian churches of large size.

Our course now lay over an elevated snowy plain, but where there was good wheat still uncut, and apparently a tolerable soil. Descending a ravine, we were overtaken by darkness while we were still on the plain, but soon reached a miserable Koordish village, full of cattle and dogs, where we passed the night. We had this day crossed some branches of Mount Alihuz, the summit of which, lying to the right, is 10,000 feet above the sea.

We set out in the morning for Goomri, which we saw bearing nearly north. Skirting a small mountain which extends along the right of the road, we passed in about a couple of hours through the village of Karaklissa near a stream, where there is a small position fronting Goomri, and soon afterwards reached the vicinity of that fortress. As it was Sunday, and the workmen

were absent. I determined at once to see as much of it as I could, feeling pretty certain that the authorities, when aware of my presence next day, would oppose obstacles to my doing so. I accordingly left the road. and striking across the country, ascended the plateau on which the fortress, then under construction, stands, near the horseshoe work I have before alluded to: and passed a Cossack guard within, who seemed doubtful as to whether I ought to be allowed to proceed-for I, as usual, wore a kind of travelling military costume, and they probably took me for a Russian. I rode along the interior of the southern front of the intrenchment until I reached at right angles its western enclosure, consisting of a large range of casemated buildings still unfinished, terminating the fortress on that side. Within this, some portions of the old castle, which formerly stood here, were being repaired as harracks.

I proceeded along the inside of the northern front, and having had an excellent view of the whole of the interior

112

of the works in progress, directed my steps across the ravine, separating the plateau on which the intrenchment stands from the height, on which is spread the old open town of Goomri. Entering the town, I repaired to the Post-house, where I dismounted, and then visited the Commandant. He received me with civility, conversing fluently in German, and invited me to dinner, where I met several officers and some Georgian ladies, with whom they had allied themselves. There was also among the company a Prussian gentleman named Koch, whom I imagine to have been the Caucasian traveller.

As the officer in command had, although receiving me with courtesy, declined giving me permission to enter the works, on the ground that it was forbidden, I devoted the following day to making a minute examination of them from without, so that I am enabled to describe the plan and progress of the fortifications at that period with tolerable exactness. The town itself stands on an eminence, and immediately to the VOL. II.

Ħ

south is a more elevated table-land, from which it is separated by a deep rocky ravine. Towards the east the ravine gradually becomes more open and less precipitous, and, turning southwards, is lost in the valley of the Arpachai. The south front of the plateau, which looks towards that valley, hangs over a steep edge of rock; and the west front, where I had entered the casemates on the previous day, may be looked upon as the gorge of the position, the ground here being perfectly flat, and connected, without impediment, with the rest of the elevated plain. The interior space is upwards of a mile in length, and may average something more than half a mile in breadth. The large stone work first mentioned, which stands at the south-east angle of the place, is a mass of excellent masonry. about 30 feet in height, as far as the eve can judge, and nearly 300 in diameter. As I have before observed, it is shaped like a horse-shoe, having embrasures pierced for cannon, distant about three feet from its base, and about thirty in number. The intervals were loopholed for small arms, and a second row of larger loopholes is seen above the embrasures, commanding the steep glacis, which, on the eastern side, commences five feet from the base of the building, without ditch or covert-way, and runs down to the road, distant about 20 yards; while on the western side the embrasures and loopholes sweep the interior of the intrenchment, of which this work may be considered the citadel. Its exterior wall is about five feet in thickness, and is composed of that description of masonry which is used for the revetments of the best fortresses. Having seen it in progress in the summer of the previous year, I may describe its roof as resting on arches, which are, most probably, bomb-proof. The work now finished was occupied as quarters for troops.

Immediately to the north of the horseshoe are two other works, the first of which will have the form of a bastion, or ravelin, and the second resembles the half of a star-fort; their gorges opening to the interior of the

great platform, and their faces commanding that part of the ravine which lies to the east. These two works are not revetted, but are strong and well executed. The south side of the enceinte was in an unfinished state, and apparently meant to be a line of alternate redans and small bastions, composed of earth, and brought to the edge of the natural scarp of rock which fronts the Arpachai river, distant about two miles. Workmen were busily employed, on the second day of my visit, in scarping away the front of this rock, so as to form it into a natural revetment below the earthen parapets, resembling, on a smaller scale, some which exist at Malta. The rock seems sufficiently solid, and will form a scarp, which it would be very difficult to batter down: I therefore imagine it is not intended to construct any counterscarp or glacis. The north front, then also unfinished, appeared to be constructing on a similar plan, directly over the deep ravine, and connecting the star-fort with the west front of the place, which contains the casemates,

116

and being the most assailable side, has been fortified with much more regularity than the others. It is constructed entirely of masonry, and is in the form of a hornwork, having numerous loopholes for musketry in the face of the north half-bastion, as well as in the curtain; and in the face of the south half-bastion are large embrasures for cannon, which will occupy the casemates on that side, and command the plain before them. In front of the curtain, a ravelin had at that time been traced out. the foundation being dug, but nothing more done; and this excavation enabled me to see that the rock lies here at a depth of about four feet below the surface. I imagine that the ravelin was also intended to be of masonry, but necessarily of less elevation, and to be also without a ditch; and what confirms the supposition, is the circumstance of the left half-bastion being pierced at its base, as I have said, with embrasures, which would be rendered useless if a counterscarp and glacis were to be raised ap in their front. As they then stood, they would command the ground before them, where approaches could be commenced by besiegers at a much greater distance than before the north demi-bastion, beyond which the ravine occurs, and would there interfere with an attack. The salient angles of both the halfbastions rest on precipitous slopes, but that of the ravelin will be assailable in the usual manner from the plain.

This intrenchment-for so it ought probably to be called-although not a regular European fortification, may be reckoned a strong and extensive place of defence, with reference to the country where it has been erected, and the condition of the military establishments of neighbouring States. Although the works at Goomri are constructed with a weak profile, and the masonry not covered by a counterscarp and glacis, there is little chance of this being turned to account by the Turks, who seldom besiege a place in form. On the plain on the western side there is sufficient earth to carry on an attack, but the surface is perfectly flat.

This place, there is too much reason to fear, will yet, with the fortress of Akalzik, give Russia military possession of the Pashalic of Kars.

It should be remarked, that to the northeast are heights detached from the other high ground, and almost as high as that on which stands the fortress. One of these is only separated from the horse-shoe work by a narrow gorge, through which runs a road to the ford. All are within cannon-shot. and are about the same elevation. On the south side are other heights of similar altitude, but behind which troops might be covered from the fire of the place. Within the area of the intrenchments it appeared that various strong buildings would be constructed for the accommodation of troops and stores. A considerable quantity of heavy artillery for the fortress had already arrived, and everything bespoke a determination to lose no time in bringing the works to a completion.

On the second day of my visit I observed that there was no portion of the works which

120 ANECDOTE OF THE EMPEROR.

was not crowded with workmen busily employed.*

I heard here of an occurrence which took place in this locality on the Emperor's visit, and which I can quite believe, being so perfectly in keeping with the Oriental character. A peasant was observed digging something like a grave close to the road, which attracted the Emperor's attention as he passed, and ordering his carriage to be stopped, he inquired what he was doing. "Digging my 'grave," was the reply; "for your governors have taken all I possessed." On which the Emperor is said to have inquired into and redressed his grievances. From all I could pick up here, my conclusion was that no general attack can be ever intended on Circassia, the subjugation of which was evidently looked upon as the work of years. It was stated that there was no supreme chief in that country, round whom all the

* No expense, indeed, was spared, and we know that *these works were afterwards completed; and that the new fortress, since called Alexandropol, is a strong place, at a point on the Turkish frontier, where there is nothing but the antiquated and dilapidated town of Kars to oppose it. tribes of the Caucasus could rally. Their arms were described by the officers as excellent, their rifles carrying twice the distance of the Russian weapons. One officer told me that if they had a few regular troops, and some artillery, they would be exceedingly formidable. To draw out his opinion, I said I had imagined that they were very irregular, and far from being formidable at present; but he replied that they were less irregular now than formerly, and were improving rapidly.

The Emperor's visit to Tiflis, some time before, had caused great consternation there. All had been prepared for rejoicing and parties of pleasure, but one of his first acts was to degrade Alexis Dadianoff, the Mingrelian Prince, and a General Officer, married to a daughter of the General-in-chief, whom he accused, in an assembled circle of troops, of "committing even greater abuses than others." The Russian service, he observed, permitted certain emoluments to Commandants of corps, in consequence of the smallness of their pay and allowances, and abuses even greater had been winked at in the Caucasus; but lately these had been carried beyond all reason and moderation. "I have heard all," he said. "The acts of none called so loudly for reprobation as those of the son-in-law, and aide-de-camp of the Governor-in-chief, although he was not alone." Whole corps had even been employed as shepherds and pig-keepers, and in driving the Emperor's horses in hackney-carriages in the streets of Tiflis, while he thought they were engaged in his service. The Prince was stripped of his epaulettes and decorations, and sent into banishment.

The range of the Soganlu-Dagh may be said to extend to the Araxes between Kaghasman and Hassan-Kalleh on the right, and by Barduse towards the Pashalic of Akalzik on the left. The passes are strong and difficult, and if properly occupied ought to arrest an advance towards Erzeroum from the plains of Kars, which are now thrown open to the Russians by the acquisition of Akalzik, Achalkalakeh, and Goomri.

Akalzik is described as rather intrenched

than fortified, and as having an enceinte consisting of a tower and four bastions, built of sun-dried brick, a very friable material, with some wooden towers, palisades, &c., and is armed with about twenty guns. On the banks of the Poshko river, on which the town is situated, there is an irregular citadel, with double walls and towers of stone, and to the west is an older castle. These works were furnished some years ago with forty guns, but all this may have undergone change since that time. Akalzik is a place of great importance to both Turks and Russians, as it stands at a point where the road from Poti and the Russian frontier on the Turkish side of the Black Sea branches out towards Tiflis and Goomri. If, therefore, the Turks could regain possession of this town, it would open to them the route from Batoom towards Georgia and Erivan, and serve as a base for operations against the Russians, while it would afford Kars a more direct communication with the sea. Russia, quite aware of these facts, covets very much the possession of Batoom, which commands the

124 DEFENCE OF THE ROAD.

valley of the Chorok as far as Baïboot, though that route is still bad.

If Russia were to acquire Batoom it would also open for her a direct caravan trade from the shore into Persia, without passing through any part of the Turkish territory, a great desideratum. But as long as she is shut out from the sea there is no danger of her adding that sea-port to her dominions; and in the event of peace, it is to be hoped that the treaty on which it would be based may rather diminish than extend the limits of her frontier line. Batoom, like many other places on this coast, is unhealthy, and any troops disembarking there should be sent up the country as speedily as possible.

The road which I took from Kars to Toprak-Kalleh might, with the co-operation of the Koords in its vicinity, be rendered unavailable for the Russians, if they should occupy Kars; and this would be important, as cutting off their communication with any parallel column, advancing by the Persian road from the direction of Erivan, the chain of Ararat afterwards intervening to the eastward between the two routes.

As regards Goomri, though it has probably been strengthened since my visit, a regular force would not be stopped in carrying on successfully its siege operations against that place, by either its natural position or its artificial defences. On the other hand, Kars, when I saw it, was only surrounded with old walls, built in an obsolete style and much dilapidated; but report says that it has recently been strengthened with works of a more modern description, erected in advance of its previous defences towards Goomri.

On leaving Goomri I passed over a fine flat with hills in front, and having a rich soil, well cultivated, and growing grain. 1 saw numerous villages, and from the crest of a counterfort, obtained a good view of a plain beyond, and of a valley full of cornstacks. Early in the afternoon we reached Beg-kend.

(126)

CHAPTER V.

Caucasian valleys—Ghergher—Difficult country—An Italian vagrant—Tiflis—The fort—Situation of the town —V1sit to the General—An Indian adventurer—Murder of Grebayadoff—Mitchexa—The Caucasian range— Geological chaos—Pass of Dariel—Vladıkavkas.

FROM Beg-kend the road proceeds eastwards over the plain. Two other roads across the top of a hill join on the other side. A descent, steep and zig-zag, passing Hamam-lu, a large village, afterwards takes an easterly course down a delightful mountain valley, and across a fine stream flowing between banks clothed with rough brushwood, and rapidly increasing in size. Picturesque hills and rocks here and there, with high mountains behind, covered with wood, form, with other points, quite a European scene. Several villages occur on the right bank of the river. A very narrow and rocky valley, threaded by a stream, is succeeded by an extremely steep and high mountain covered at top, where it was very cold,

with thick mist and hoar-frost. Hence we descended into a fine forest of oak, and at four o'clock saw before us two villages, on either side of a pointed height terminating two forks of a valley. Entering that to the left we found it was a Russian military station, built of wood, and occupied by at least 1000 men. The houses, many of which were painted white, were of wood, and the place had the appearance of a strategical point of consequence. Here for the first time since passing the Aras sentinels and soldiers were in full dressthat is, not enveloped in the dingy greatcoat and foraging cap. Finding no Commandant at hand to give information, and fancying that we were to the left of the Ghergher road, we made for the other village, a perfectly Caucasian one, the houses being in the ground, and I found myself riding over one, rather a dangerous, though not an unusual position in these regions. Alighting at another, I succeeded, with the Yuz-bashi's assistance, in establishing myself in the interior, and had plenty of wood put

on the fire, and the floor swept and covered with clean hay, making the place tolerably comfortable, notwithstanding the cold.

This village is Armenian; but there are some Mussulman villages in the neighbourhood. These fine valleys, if a specimen of the mountainous part of the country, give a favourable impression of it. They are something like those on the south shore of the Crimea and the mountainous part of Bulgaria, and the scenery retains nothing of the Asiatic character. The road, which is quite fit for carriages, though steep and uneven, shows a succession of strong points, forming a very difficult country. We met several tilegas, and some strings of horses, as well as a great many waggons loaded with forage and fire-wood for the garrison of Goomri.

Each house here pays two roubles annually, and the inhabitants must work at road-making, wood-cutting, &c., unpaid; but this is generally required in seasons when they are not employed in field-labour. The horses, cattle, &c., are subject to the same requisitions. There seems to be no

128

fixed rate for the payment of their horses when employed for the post on extraordinary occasions. Marriages pay a due to government, two or more roubles, according to the means of the parties, but, strangely enough, nothing is paid on births.

The neighbourhood of Ghergher has a fine soil, carefully cultivated, terminating in a succession of mountain ranges, enclosing valleys of considerable breadth, which abound in long grass, while the mountains are covered with wood. The situation of the two military stations is well chosen.

From the last station there is a post-road to Gelalogloo, and in a valley below the latter place we could perceive another station. We crossed by a good wooden bridge a river apparently fordable, running in a precipitous rocky ravine, which became still deeper below. Debouching on a plain, we passed up a highland glen, between smootherlooking mountains, where there were plenty of cattle. Hyderbek, an Armenian village, is considered half-way between Tiflis and Goomri, and 18 versts from Ak-kiopri. This

130 RUSSIANS AND GEORGIANS.

village is like Ghergher, built nearly level with the ground, on a slope. Only one house, that of the magistrate, has any stone masonry; and the room assigned to me was under the same roof as the cow-house, from which it was only separated by a wall three feet high. It had, however, a good chimney, and each compartment of the tenement had a hole in the roof to admit light, notwithstanding which it was dark, as well as smoky and dirty, and the whole structure was poor and decayed. The house at Ghergher had abounded in fleas, and this was, in that respect, equally well provided.

On our leaving Hyderbek it began to snow from the north, and grew very thick. Descending gradually from the mountains by a slope, over a rich muddy soil, we passed a miserable post-station, occupied by two or three barbarous Calmuck-looking Russians, and on the other side of the road, a cottage tenanted by Georgians, who appeared far more civilized. Reaching Oprit, the Yuz-bashi. after a little hesitation. assigned us a passable lodging. This was one of the ten villages to which settlers had been attracted by promises of land, &c., from Baiboot, beyond Erzeroum, by Paskiewitsch, and which are insured a free carrying trade. The people, who are Greeks, say they are very uncomfortable, and regret he change. The Greek they speak is much nearer the ancient (indeed, I believe, is almost all old words), than that of the Levant Greeks, as is that of the Trebizond neighbourhood.

This is again a difficult country. The road, although tolerably laid out, is badly made, but there are abundance of materials at hand for repairing it. A fine stratified limestone seems the formation. The road down the valley, after descending the mountain, passes through a rich forest scene, with patches of green turf now and then, like a highland park. One or two ruinous chapels and cemeteries attest that the country was formerly far more populous. The climate here became sensibly milder; many of the trees were green, and several were studded with pink blossoms, while hyacinths and crocusses attracted the eye, and the colours of the woods were as bright and various as in North America—brown, dark-red, and occasionally yellow and green patches, recalling to mind the autumnal tints of that fine region.

The people at this place were extremely ignorant in respect to distances, and seemed unable to compute either time or space. The introduction of Russian versts appeared to have added to their perplexity. We met here an Italian from Milan, travelling with two Russian soldiers on foot, and who asked us for charity, alleging that he had come as far as Erzeroum with two French naturalists, and had there lost his finger by a gun accident, and being frightened by an alarm of plague, was making his way to Tiffis.

From Oprit we passed into a wood, where by mistake we got out of the post-way, and found ourselves in a perfect slough. At length we regained the road, which entered a valley finely wooded, but every object was obscured by a thick fog and rain. At Shoolebereh, we found another barbarous post establishment, with two or three Cossacks and numerous pigs. I had obtained at Erivan Prince Bebatoff's order for posthorses, which now I wished to turn to account, so as to arrive the same night at Tiflis, but although we saw about twenty horses in the stable, the post-master refused to assist me. I was obliged, therefore, to continue the journey with my own jaded animals.

The country from this point was broken by heights and valleys, apparently of great fertility, planted with vines, and watered by streams. Numerous flocks and herds, the chief wealth of the inhabitants, were observed, and roads branched off in different directions. The population appear to be of Eeilaut descent.

We were obliged to halt for the night at Kizzil-Hadjee, a very poor Mussulman village, to the right of the road, and almost inaccessible from bad ways. We were assailed, as we approached, by some large and exceedingly

fierce sheep-dogs, but made our way to the house of the Yuz-bashi, whom the inhabitants, like the Persians, called the Ket-koda. He conducted us to a house occupied by several women, who, as we entered. were baking bread on a gridiron, laid over the receptacle in the centre of the floor, used for similar purposes in Persia, and for which a hole in the roof served as a chimney. They were very reluctant to receive us, pleading, as a reason, that there were only themselves in the house; but the Ket-koda was peremptory, and, as a compromise, we allowed them to finish their baking, and waited till the males returned and had eaten their supper. A promise of a present in the morning completely reconciled them to our stay.

Noon of the following day found us at Khoda, as miserable a place as we had seen, its white post-house contrasting strangely with old ruined towers, probably belonging to former walls. Verst posts, painted white, black, and yellow, now become more regular, announcing the presence of the TIFLIS.

superficial semi-civilization of the Russians; but the road was execrable. In other respects the country preserved much the same character.

At the ninth verst-post a castle presented itself, on the left bank of the river, which flowed rapidly down a valley, passing many points between bold rocks, well calculated for suspension bridges. Further on we saw wheels for irrigating the gardens and vineyards, with long conduits of wood, conducting water across the dry gravelly part of the bed. On the opposite side of the river was a range of whitened government houses; and just below, to the left of the road, was a buff-coloured building, which, from the sentry-boxes at the entries, also had the appearance of a government establishment. An immense beam, doing duty as a gate before an opening, in the style of Northern Germany and Russia, with a sentry-box at one side and a guard-house on the other, made us sensible that we were actually in the southern capital of the Czar. Everything was painted buff, black, and white; and,

like a Russian soldier in his parade uniform, looks stiff and constrained, the exterior making a considerable show, but all that does not immediately meet the eye is foul and neglected.

As we passed on through disorderly streets, and over a perfect slough of mud, with buff and green buildings on each side, looking strangely out of character to the eye of an Asiatic traveller. I could not but contrast the fine countenances of the Georgians, moving about in their picturesque and comparatively civilized costume, with the greasy dirty appearance of the Russians, and their common vulgar physiognomy. The latter, too, take care to show they are the masters, exhibiting an offensive assumption towards everything appertaining to the conquered nation. I observed that the Persian servant who rode before me, although much better apparelled than myself, yet looking like a native of the country, was spoken to very uncivilly by different Russian employés as we passed along; but when they saw my European forage cap, they immediately

136

uncovered their heads, and stood out of the way. As we progressed, Russia and its usages were recalled to mind at every step; droshkies, throwing up a shower of mud as they passed; while the large, clumsy carriages of the capital, drawn by four horses, were not wanting, and the rude warning of their conductors rang in the ear, admonishing the passers-by to clear the way.

I called on a General Officer for whom I had brought a letter, who returned my visit in a carriage and four, and resplendent with orders. He was on his way to wait on the General-in-Chief, and invited me to visit him, adding that I might talk English at his house, as he had English connexions.

The fort at Tiflis commands the bridge and town, and has a few guns. The bridge, which is of wood, crosses at a very narrow part of the river, but the town is accessible from several places on both banks. An old castle on the right bank is in ruins, and from heights on this side, the new Government buildings are within shelling range.

VOL. II.
A ravine cuts off the town from the country to the north.

The situation of Tiflis admits of its being attacked at any time when not regularly defended, by crossing to the left bank below the town, and turning the hills and descending on it. Its position is completely commanded from this side. from the old castle as well as at other points. In the vicinity of the German colony on the opposite bank the river might be crossed, and an attacking force effect an advance. A hill to the rear of the convent has a slope on the reverse side, which is broken off precipitously, forming an important point. This side, and the other to a greater degree, are pierced on the Russian map with roads, which can be discerned distinctly from the heights on the south bank.

The ground opposite the German colony is very precipitous, and commands the opposite shore, where the plain is narrow. Crossing above would be difficult, and this makes the convent more important. I paid a visit to the General-in-Chief, who appeared to be a kindly-disposed man, and gave me a courteous reception.

His palace is a handsome structure, and there was a large attendance of uniforms, with the usual amount of decorations. One of the General's aides-de-camp was a young Mingrelian Usbek. The General showed me many enormous long firelocks of the Caucasus, and everything I saw and heard, from those around, satisfied me that there was a decided inclination to extend the territory eastward, and that this is a general feeling among all Russians.

While at Tiflis I took many walks in and about the town, noticing the fortifications of the locality, and one day, when passing near the castle, I was struck by the extreme precipitousness of the rock below, dipping at once down to the river, which is much narrowed at this spot. Here the Lesghis, in former times, used to fire down with their rifles upon the town, which must, therefore, be within range of the surrounding heights.

12

The General at the head of the Engineer Staff was said to be a man of merit. He had founded the seminary, which, under his auspices, made considerable progress. He had also executed a survey of the Caucasian country within four years. He said the officers employed on this perilous service were frequently fired at by the mountaineers.

A young Indian from Lahore called upon me, and styled himself "an English subject," being the son of a certain nobleman of that country. His grandfather had been Vizier to Mahmoud, Shah of Cabool. After leaving Lahore, his family were, he said, coming to Abbas Mirza, at Meshed, accompanied by many camels loaded with their effects, when they were attacked and plundered by the Beloochees. On reaching Shiraz, they were offered service by the Prince Governor, but this they declined, and came on here. My visitor seemed not more than sevetneen years of age, and was of slight figure, and not very dark. He wore a kind of shabby uniform, belonging to the seminary, and, from all I could learn,

I believe his family are in the Russian interest

Immediately below the convent of St. David's, which is situated on the side of a precipitous mountain, is the tomb of Grebayadoff, the Russian Minister, who was destroyed at Tehraun with his whole suite. It is in a kind of arched recess, built in the face of the rock, and enclosing a bronze statue, which represents, I believe, Russia lamenting the loss of her representative.

By the provisions of a previous treaty Russia claimed at that period the surrender of all Georgian captives in Persia. A Georgian, named Rustem, informed Grebayadoff that two Georgian females were slaves in the family of the Ausif-el-Dowlat, the Shah's maternal uncle. The Minister demanded their release, and two females, stated to be those in question, were sent to his residence, by the Shah's order. The women themselves, however, stated that they were not Georgians, but Turkish Armenians—that they had become Mahommedans, and were married to Persians in the Ausif's service, and that they had no wish to change either their situations or their religious tenets. Rustem then declared that this was merely a stratagem—that these were not the females he had described —persisted in his statement, recommending that they should be detained until the real Georgians' were produced, and his advice was unfortunately followed.

The following day the two females expressed a wish to take the bath, and, on their way, finding themselves on the flat roof of one of the buildings of the Embassy, which commanded the street, immediately collected a crowd below by their cries, asserting that they had been grossly ill-treated, and called on their countrymen to rescue them.* A furious attack was soon commenced on the Minister's residence, and Rustem is said to have fired on those who assailed the gate, and killed a man. The crowd then became outrageous, burst into the residence, and massacred every indi-

^{*} A foster-brother of Grebayadoff, who was in his service, was much blamed.

vidual of the Russian embassy, including the Minister, who, it is said, was dragged from a chimney in which he had taken refuge, and brutally murdered.

At Tiflis I parted with my horses, several of which had by turns carried me from Tabreez to the shores of the Caspian, and by the way of Bagdad to those of the Persian Gulf, and again, on my homeward route, through Shiraz, Ispahan, and Tehraun, to the capital of Georgia. During my long journey in these regions not one of them had failed. I also dismissed here some Persian attendants; and purchased an antiquatedlooking vehicle, on horizontal wooden springs, which might have been imported into Georgia in the reign of its first Russian monarch, intending to pursue my journey in the more expeditious, though less agreeable mode provided by the Russian post. Accordingly, I procured the necessary order for post-horses, and, having made my other arrangements for a journey to Odessa, by the route of Stavropol and Taganrog, took my departure.

The first stage was over an elevated flat, where we met many tumbrils and carts with baggage, escorted by some troops in a very ragged state. After passing the village of Acktala, the road became bad. The scenery was generally beautiful, and sometimes romantic, including mountains and valleys, the latter green with corn, and abundantly watered, and many flocks were to be seen. On a mountain to the north was a striking old ruin, apparently a church; and further on was a station of Cossacks.

We passed many waggons loaded with merchandize, the old church still continuing in sight. Soon afterwards Mitchexa, the old capital of Georgia, came in view, its fine large church and stately towers rising over the ancient walls. The approach was through beautiful scenery over a good bridge, with lofty wooded cliffs receding towards the mountains. The road passed close by, carrying us on to the next station. Hence we proceeded to Dooshet, near which we met an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, travelling with two carriages, at a brisk pace. We now crossed a plain, succeeded by hills, forming fine scenery, with a soil fruitful of vines. Altogether the day's journey was a very agreeable one.

On leaving Dooshet there is a very defensible range looking to the front, from Tiflis, and a double-peaked mountain, called the Camel or Saddle mountain, is seen about eight or ten miles distant. A very steep descent into a valley was followed by another, after which we passed the former quarantine of Ananoor, a pretty-looking white building, and then came in sight of an old church, standing on a height, enclosed by walls and towers, and constituting a very picturesque object. In the valley of the Aragua is a fine mountain and wood scene, in the midst of which is a barrack and station. Valleys and mountains succeed, and the road, which is well laid out, and in excellent order, is at one place commanded and shut in by towers. The country throughout affords good points of resistance, except to the north and east, where it is not so strong. Further on there are the remains

of an ancient wall, when a snow-capped mountain is seen to the left. A valley leads to the station of Passanoor.

Here we were unable to procure fresh horses, those belonging to the station being now out, carrying on the daughter of Prince Dadianoff, and her attendants, who were proceeding towards Poland. We took up our residence in the fort, a clean white range, surrounded by thin walls. A wheel of my primitive vehicle had already got loosened, and though the damage was so slight, the smith at the station, a Cossack, demanded a silver rouble and a half for setting it right, an imposition in which he was supported by his chief, who probably shared the profit.

At the junction of the rivers here there was a small old tower, and just above, the united streams were spanned by a bridge of wood, leading to a path up the rock, the commencement of a new road, which, when finished, would save two stages.

We were detained at Passanoor till the next morning, when the driver, at starting,

146

upset the carriage, in turning short round an angle, but fortunately no one was hurt, and though our conveyance was somewhat damaged, we were able to go on.

I observed that artillery on the rocks, over a bend of the river, could close the pass to the right. The country, broken by steep ridges, afforded very fine scenery, at once singular and beautiful. We passed some ruined towers and numerous villages, and saw many mountains to the left. Vallevs opened frequently, and here and there an old tower or aruined chapel formed a striking object. At length the ascent of the Caucasian range, which we had so long been approaching, might be said to have fairly commenced. A steep road led through Kashanoor, a miserable little place, consisting of only a few houses and a barrack painted white, for a party of soldiers. There was a larger village higher up the hill, and on a mountain to the right was a round watchtower, looking down on a building below. A very steep ascent terminated in a tablelike summit, and rocks, valleys, and water

courses added varied features to the scene. To the right of the road stands a lofty cross, called Peter the Great's: it is planted on the summit of a mountain, which is hence designated the Mountain of the Cross. In a descent down a steep valley, with towering peaks rising on both sides, we observed the tracks of wolves in the snow. The whole pass is a deep mountain valley, having no other leading into it, so that it could be very easily defended. The country could furnish all supplies, but in this part of the Caucasus the climate must be a great obstacle to military operations. The weather was now very severe, and soon after we reached Kobi heavy snow began falling.

Next morning we were met at a station by an officer travelling towards Tiflis. He proved to be a Captain in the service, to which he seemed not to be particularly attached, and he spoke with interest of Afghanistan, Lahore, and Persia, as if anxious to take service in one of those countries, asking if it would be a good speculation. I told him much would depend

148

KASBEK.

on circumstances, and gave him what information I could, all unfavourable to his views.

I left Kobi at eight o'clock, when, as it had been snowing some hours, there was a considerable depth of snow on the ground. The road, which had been lately repaired for the accommodation of the Emperor, was not bad, though occasionally stony. It carried us up long slopes, whence we obtained, at intervals, commanding views, including numerous villages. On the summit of a bold precipice stood an old castle, with a church and a watch-tower, apparently designed as a beacon.

A fine road leads to Kasbek, opposite to which, on the left bank, is one of the old fortified villages of the country. Kasbek is the post-station, and as we approached it, we met two carriages, each drawn by six horses. In the yard of the station were the family of a Russian colonel, going towards Vladikavkas, and a troop of horses belonging to their escort, a party of Cossacks, with whom they soon rode off. In our way to this place from Kobi we saw some camels, with long hair on the neck, and two humps—a breed much prized, and usually kept for stock in Asia Minor. They are, comparatively speaking, handsome animals, and are sometimes seen in Turkey with nothing on their backs but an ornamented saddle, leading a caravan, to which they are considered a great adornment.

We were now in the great pass of Dariel. Since leaving the valley on the south, below the great ascent, the country has been destitute of wood, a terrible want in these cold and elevated regions.

Soon after noon, the officer in command here, and the priest, in full costume, entered the house with attendants, holy water, pictures, brush, and crucifix, for the purpose of consecrating the new buildings, which was done by sprinkling the interior with holy water. The military party had previously returned from church, with drums beating. Their appearance and that of the military in the Caucasus generally was not bad; but they had probably all been newly clothed before the Emperor's visit. From a joviallooking traveller on his way to Tiflis with his family I learnt that the carriages we had met going towards Kobi, contained a nephew of the General-in-Chief, returning from Siberia, where he had been with ten other nobles, since 1826, when he was condemned to labour in a fortress beyond Tobolsk. He was now reprieved to the Caucasus, but could not be employed in a military capacity.

Horses being at length obtained, we started from Kasbek in the afternoon, passing through very wild scenery, on a tolerable road—still much indebted to the recent visit of the Emperor—to Durdur, a military station, where an iron chain barrier was drawn across the passage. Hence we went on to Larse, another station; and here, being unable to procure horses, we remained for the night.

The road from the summit of the range to this place, affords a large succession of spots, which could be made impassable. The slope being from Tiflis, that side,

of course, has much the advantage. The precipitous character of the scenery even ' exceeded my expectations, which, 'from the descriptions I had heard and read, had been raised very high. Near Dariel is the beau-ideal of savage rocky scenery, such as I have never seen existing to such an extent in any other place. All day it was piercingly cold. Rugged and peaked mountains, jagged into a thousand needles and pinnacles, rose up on every side, while masses sometimes hung as if detached, and at others reared themselves isolated on the highest summits, looking frequently as if shivered by gunpowder. The river swept in its course over huge rocks and blocks of granite, strewn about like pebbles. In short, the pass is a geological chaos, which the Russian posting gives no time to examine, especially amidst the storms of November in such a region.

The station here consisted of a few open houses. The house for travellers was old, but well kept by two or three soldiers, though in consequence of the high wind they were afraid to kindle the stoves, as the building being of combustible materials, they were apprehensive it would take fire.

Leaving Larse, we entered a narrow gorge, threaded by the rapid waters of the Terek, while on each side, romantic cliffs, nearly perpendicular, were backed by the towering mountains of the range. Passing a telegraph station on a steep ascent to the left, we moved very quickly through the bed of the valley. This, at times, forms the actual channel of the river, when swollen by the melted snows of the mountains, which bring down in their course blocks of stone and detached rocks, now lying in enormous masses everywhere around. As the valley became wider, the river flowed in a broader channel, sweeping past a village of true Circassians; and, crossing the bed of a torrent, a steep ascent close to the stream showed us the mountains stretching away to the east; and the valley, hitherto wild and naked, now became exceedingly picturesque, woody heights appearing to the right, and on the left the village and station of Reeding, while another valley opened to the east.

At the foot of the mountains the country became much flatter, and though lime rocks, with a village opposite to them on the bank of the river, still rose to the left, on the right we commanded a fine view, and, behind, the mountains presented bold precipices, the summits and fissures covered with snow. Crossing to the right bank of the Terek, we entered Vladikavkas, an open and straggling town. It possesses a citadel in palisaded earthen work, which, however, is commanded by heights to the south. The large barracks within were said to contain only three battalions of the three regiments stationed along the line. Russia is recalled to mind by a large green-domed church, but we met in our journey during the day many horsemen in the pure habit of Circassia, indicating that we were now approaching the Circassian border. Since leaving Kasbek we had, for the most part, been on a constant descent, the river flowing rapidly close to us. in a valley

154

generally narrow, thickly strewn with the large angular blocks before mentioned, and showing no trace of vegetation.

The citadel of Vladikavkas has a good bastioned rampart, armed with heavy guns in barbette at the salient angles. It is apparently a square or pentagonal work, lying, as it were, across the mouth of the pass. The range of the Caucasus, composed of snowy jagged mountains, stretches off behind, rising in a bold sierra, the large masses of glacier sparkling in the sun. The station was a beautiful spot, and warm and sheltered. Here certainly is the utmost natural limit of the Russian empire, and every step beyond is an aggression on her neighbours.

The General at Tiflis had given me an order to the Commandant of Vladikavkas for a Cossack escort, as the country from this point was often visited by hostile tribes; and without such an accommodation, we should have had to wait here for the periodical escort which always accompanies travellers. I sent in the order, and while

waiting the appearance of the Cossacks, was accosted by a gentlemanlike person in uniform, whose countenance I thought I recollected, and he proved to be a Count Orloff, formerly one of the Emperor's aidesde-camp, and whom I had seen at St. Petersburg-not a member of the Minister's family, but a Cossack Orloff. He told me that he was proceeding to Tiflis, having been dispatched from Cherkask by the Emperor to make a particular inspection of all the cavalry in Georgia. Before taking leave he furnished me with an introduction to the Commandant of the fort where I was to pass the night.

(157)

CHAPTER V.

Ardon—Caucasian plain—Cossack Cavalry—Anecdote of Sir Henry Bethune Lindsay—The White River—The Chenchenses — Ekaterinograd — Professional observations on the route from Tiflis—Russian operations in the Caucasus — Route to Stavropol — Visit to the Governor — Boundary of Europe and Asia — Russian hospitality — Don Cossacks — Taganrog — Nicolaif — Sanitary Cordon—Odessa.

CROSSING to the left bank of the Terek, the plains of Kabarda stretched before us, almost quite flat, and contrasting forcibly with the Alpine region to our rear. The ancient tumuli, so universal over the southern steppes, were here very numerous, and were converted into Cossack stations, surmounted by beacons, occurring every quarter of an hour. Our escort was relieved at each, and, as we were seen approaching, the relief galloped down to meet us, so as to occasion no stoppage.

Thirty-four versts from Vladikavkas is Ardon. The fort here, an earthen work,

with a ditch lined with fascines, measures one hundred yards inside, and besides a store-house and travellers' quarters, has a low barrack seventy vards long for the garrison, and a Commandant's and Adjutant's quarter and guard-house. There is a redan. with short flanks like those of a bastion, in each face of the square formed by the fort. The parapet, which is about nine feet thick, is just high enough to cover infantry, a very general construction in the smaller forts of the Caucasus. The gorges of these bastionlike redans measured fifteen paces, and the ditch is about ten feet broad at the top. In each redan there were a couple of brass field-pieces, apparently six or eight-pounders. and their limbers were kept under adjacent sheds, ready for use outside of the fort if required. The place is commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was extremely clean. and apparently in high order. Having made use of Count Orloff's communication I was installed in a good apartment, warmed by a stove, and affording a comfortable lodging.

The permanent Commandant was absent at Stavropol, and the officer actually com-

158

manding was the Lieutenant Colonel of the battalion in the garrison-a young man who had been nine years in the Imperial guards. Coming to my quarters he invited me to his house, which I found fitted up with excellent furniture. The Lieutenant-Colonel was altogether a favourable specimen of a civilized Russian, conversing fluently in French, and being quite a man of the world. He spoke of the good shooting in the neighbourhood, and the quantity of · pheasants; and described the surrounding country as very tranquil, and the inhabitants as "defenders" against the Circassians; but from what I saw of precautionary measures, and the alertness of the Cossack picquets, this appeared doubtful.

The range of the Caucasus, seen from this place, is very like the Pyrenees from Pau; but from its greater steepness and jagged, sharp features, it produces much finer effects. The foreground is a vast plain, covered at this season with long withered grass, formerly, we were told, the hiding-places of the Circassian man-stealers : and which walk now cut and piled up in

many places in a multitude of small hayricks, for the cattle and horses. The former are a fine short-legged handsome breed: the latter partake too much of the Cossack stiffness and ruggedness to be admired by a traveller just returned from Persia and the vicinity of Nediid. Both the men and animals, however, look serviceable and hardy; and once or twice after leaving Ardon, our escort galloped along for eight or ten miles in very good style, before they were , changed. They wore sometimes the greatcoat and forage cap of Russian soldiers, but were usually equipped with the Circassian cap and bourka, as Cossacks of the line. All carried the gun in a felt case, and the sabre without the cross-guard, like the handle of the Turkish yatagan. Sometimes they were armed also with lances, but of a much clumsier shape than those of the Koords. They wore no spurs, and were mounted in a plain stirrup. Comparing them with the chivalrous-looking, highlyarmed, and well-appointed cavaliers of Koordistan, individually so expert in the use of their weapons, and mounted on thorough-

161

bred and powerful steeds, often of Arab blood; it would be difficult to comprehend how they could have coped with them successfully, if it were not borne in mind that the efficiency of troops depends on the skill of the leader in the art of disciplining, and, when disciplined, of skilfully applying a combined force.

The Koords near Byazeed, some of whom, wever, are more attached to Persia than to Turkey, are very fine irregular horsemen. The family of Belool Pasha had great influence among their tribes; but I do not know whether Belool still governs at Byazeed, or even if he is alive.

While treating of this subject, I may remark that the Koords and Eeliauts appeared to me while in Persia, and on its western frontier, beyond all comparison the finest irregular horsemen I saw in that part of the East, whether in regard to physical strength and activity, or personal appearance, and their horses are a noble and hardy race of animals. The Turkomans, on the southeastern shores of the Caspian, are even

VOL. 11.

better mounted than the Koords and Eeliauts, but they are still greater marauders in their own plains, and less under control.

It appears to me that in our pending campaigns, our chief deficiency, numerically speaking, is likely to be in cavalry; and I cannot help reflecting that we may be in many situations where a good force of such cavalry, as I have alluded to here, would be very useful. The Shah of Persia possesses great influence over the Eeliaut and Koordish tribes near his dominions, and besides this, the mountaineers of the Kara-bagh in the late Persian and now Russian provinces near the Caspian, still look up to him in a great degree as their Suzerain,—a feeling watched with great jealousy by Russia.

The late Sir Henry Bethune Lindsay, formerly in the Honourable East India Company's Service, was long one of the officers, who about forty years ago resided in Persia for the purpose of organizing the Shah's troops, and being an artillery officer, was very successful in forming that branch of the service, and employing it against the Russians during our last short war with that empire, although its condition very soon deteriorated on his departure. Happening to be at one of the great camps of manœuvre in the south of Russia, a good many years after this, he found himself near a body of horsemen of the Kara-bagh in Russian employ, and accoutred like the so-called Circassians of the Imperial Guard, few of whom, however, are really Circassians. "What do I see!" exclaimed Sir Henry; "a band of Mussulman warriors from the Kara-bagh ' (Blackgarden)' tricked out in Russian dresses, and serving the Padi-Shah Orous?" The men were strongly moved, and seemed ashamed. They knew that the noble-looking soldier who was six and a half feet in height, was the man known all over Persia as Linjaun Sahib.* But there was a spy in their ranks, and in the evening the General was visited with a kind of discipline peculiarly Russian, when enforced towards a stranger of high

• Linjaun is a Persian province, and the people of Persia always supposed his name to be connected with it.

164 ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN PERSIA.

military rank. All the other foreign officers were invited to dine with the Emperor, but not so Linjaun Sahib, whose viséd passport was brought to him by an emissary of the police, with an unmistakeable intimation to set out for the frontier without delay.

I do not think we ought at such a crisis as the present to lose sight of our Persian influence. Although we are of old familiar with the character of that people, and are aware that their alliance is to be secured by those who pay the best, yet in operations in the provinces towards the Caspian, and also if a serious attempt were made to drive back Russia from the Caucasus, their co-operation with the Turks might be highly important, and even a cavalry force of Koords and Eeliauts sent by the shortest route to the Danube-and they are quick travellerswould be a valuable addition to that already there, especially as these tribes all speak a dialect of Turkish.

Sir John McNeill, late Her Majesty's Minister in Persia, and Colonel Farrant, formerly of the East India Company's Cavalry, and lately Chargé d'Affaires at Tehraun, are both highly qualified to give the best information relative to these warlike equestrian tribes—and to speak on other points of interest connected with the region they inhabit.

To return to the Cossacks: their history is well known. They are the descendants of the colony planted here by Catherine in the last century. They were before called the Zaperaguay, then the Tcherna Morski or Black Sea Cossacks, and now the Cossacks of the Line, that is, of the line formed by the Kooban and Terek. Their settlements belonged previously to the mountaineers, and this appropriation of them was one of their great grievances.

Resuming our journey we crossed the Beli-raitchka, or White River, by a long wooden bridge, the channel being 200 yards broad, although at this season the stream itself was not fifteen. The water is very clear, whence it probably derives its name. It joined the large river a little below, forming a striking feature in the scene, here diversified by hills and woods, while hay was cut and ricked in the fields, and to the northward the eye discerned some low tumuli, lending it a new interest. Passing green conical heights on one side, and a marshy jungle on the other, we crossed another river, the Doordoor, and rode on to Doordor, a military station, possessing a square earthen fort with bastions. Here I observed, what indeed I had frequently seen before, that Russian soldiers took off their hats in passing an officer's quarter, as they do in passing a church.

The road passes a stone five feet in height, with an Arabic inscription; and the mausoleum of an Ossetinian prince, also of stone, in ruins. Some distance on, the road enters the village of Minareh, where an old minaret, evidently of Persian origin, is still standing, giving name to the place. The village is a station, and on our arrival we were furnished with a fresh escort of four Cossacks. A woody plain beyond conducted us to a flat country, abounding in bush, and affording a good deal of cover in every direction. When invaded by the Circassians, it must be a very dangerous locality. The station, where there is a square fort with bastions, is called Urock.

While here, a Russian Cossack brought us a brace of pheasants alive, which he wished to sell, but my feelings as a sportsman would not allow of my making the purchase while they were still living. Just afterwards, a Moolah, dressed in a turban and robe, in the Constantinople style, and who spoke Turkish, came in from a neighbouring *****illage, with several Chenchenses, clad like Circassians, and escorting a man who had been wounded by a Cossack, to have the affair adjusted.

We had from here an escort of eight Cossacks, all wearing the Circassian cap, and so strong a force, with other symptoms, showed clearly that we were now near a very unsettled country. As we set out, our wheel iron gave way, causing a short stoppage, when we crossed a river, as before, by a wooden bridge, leading to a similar bushy plain. Gradually the scenery assumed quite an English aspect, the woods abounding with pheasants, and we saw troops of thirty or forty together, some of which we killed. From all I observed the greatest difficulty on this route arises from the hostile disposition of the Chenchenses who extend toward Daghistan, altogether to the right of the road. They are closely connected with the other Mussulman tribes, and, by the road passing near the Caspian by Bakoo, are quite accessible from Persia, though not easily reached by the roundabout route through Georgia. In fact, it is merely the possession of this road through the Dariel pass which gives Russia any power beyond the mountains, unless she could command water transit. If that road were held by either of the powers to the south, the whole of the eastern country beyond the Caucasus would be theirs; for the hardy races of this region are all Mussulmans, and their allegiance to Russia is wholly compulsory-a smouldering fire ready to burst forth at any time; and they are really, in every rank, a warlike semi-barbarous hard-fighting race. very dif-

168

ferent from the Asiatic Turks and Persians. This is sufficiently attested by the vigilance which they render necessary in this neighbourhood-the fortified stations, the chains of piquets, always on the alert, with beacons ready to fire and horsemen to dispatch at all hours. The country presents the appearance of the advanced posts of one disciplined army in presence of another, and it is idle for the Russians to assert that this is simply to keep up the habit of vigilance. The fact is, that the colonized Cossacks, who know that their homes are at stake, go in advance of their orders, because they see the necessity of it. Nor is it likely that, for such a reason, the authorities would send pieces of ordnance and a column of infantry a distance of several hundred miles through the mountains, once or twice a week, as a mere convoy to travellers. Such a convoy we actually passed at the entrance to the fort of Ardon, escorting some merchants. and the post is always accompanied by infantry-a great loss of time.

It became dark before we reached the

next station, and, after a short delay, occasioned by our discussing the possibility of passing the quarantine, which some alleged had been recently abolished by the Emperor, but others stated to be still existing, we pushed forward, with nine Cossacks, through the mud and rain, reaching the quarantine at Ekaterinograd about eight o'clock. Here our papers obtained us immediate admission, and we crossed a river into a dark straggling town, with muddy streets and wooden houses, one story high, looking gloomy enough under the mask of night. Nor did the place improve with the morning, which rose cloudy, chill, and damp; but the carriage having been much shaken by the rough roads, so as to require repair, and the smith declaring that he could not get it ready till the evening, we were obliged to make the best of circumstances, and prolong our halt.

From the belfry of a wooden church I obtained a tolerable view of the country. The town is surrounded by a ditch, which would be a good jump and no more. To the west lies the Ekaterinograd of former

times, consisting of a dilapidated barrack, within an earthen fort, which had never been faced with brick. It is approached through a large ruined gateway, having the appearance of a triumphal arch, and looking like stone at a distance, but on approaching it. I found it was plastered brick, in a mouldering state. The ramparts, composed only of sandy earth, have fallen into complete decay. They comprise bastions and redans. but, in their present condition, are quite contemptible as a fortified work. The river runs on one side of the fort, where it has some works at the south-east corner to fire towards the bridge. The remaining space is an earthy cliff over the channel, which at this time was dry for about one hundred vards between the fort and the stream.

I shall now make a few remarks of a professional nature respecting what struck me as I passed along the route from Tiflis to Ekaterinograd. Its whole extent is perfectly practicable for the passage of guns of every calibre, except when any temporary obstruction is created by avalanches, or a recent

tall of snow, which sometimes occurs even late in spring. At the time of my journey there were no fortresses, redoubts, or even batteries from Tiflis to Vladikavkas. The military posts were in this mountainous region, which is a continual pass, nothing more than slight barracks enclosed within a stone wall, with small flanking towers for musketry, capable, however, of warding off an attack made by irregular troops, if without cannon. At Vladikavkas is the first of the forts of communication, which connect the Pass of Dariel with the chain of fortresses of the line formed by the two rivers of the Kooban and the Terek.

The strength and importance of all these latter defences have been much exaggerated. They are, for the most part, mere earthen works of no strength of profile, and of small extent; that of Ekaterinograd particularly struck me as one that could have been entered anywhere over the parapet, by a well-mounted man on horseback. The barracks within are ruinous, and much exposed to the fire of an enemy. The smaller forts,

172

such as Ardon, Doordoor, &c., are nothing more than square redoubts of about a hundred vards front, sometimes made with small bastions in the centre of the faces, and sometimes with redans, each, like that described at Ardon, containing a couple of six or eight-pounders on field carriages. An attack on such places by even a small force, covered with a few guns, could not fail to succeed; but the want of guns by the mountaincers, and their possession by the posts, give the latter an overpowering advantage. The forts generally adjoin a small town, to which they are united by a ditch of no depth or breadth, having a fence of fascines on the inside.

The country between Vladikavkas and Ekaterinograd, is occupied by the Ossetinians, a tribe long subdued by Russia, and which has never been considered warlike. But the Chenchenses and Lesghis, who also border at no great distance the mountainous part of the road to Tiflis and occupy the territory immediately to the east extending towards Daghistan on the Caspian, cause
174 OPERATIONS IN THE CAUCASUS.

constant alarm. Their subjugation, if ever completely effected, will be gradual, and occupy much time. The whole country north of Gagra, on the coast, appertains to Circassia, which is bounded to the south by the central chain of the Caucasus: to the north and east by the Kooban, and to the west by the sea. Abkhasia extends no further than Gagra, and not along its shore as it is marked in many maps. Nor does the central chain run up so far as Anapa, but merely the secondary ridges. Circassia is nearly all of the same topographical character. and to its peculiar formation its inhabitants, in great measure, owe their independence. It is known to be composed of an immense number of elevated plains, of a very productive character, separated from the low country, and from each other, by precipitous ravines, which regular troops. even without cannon, find it extremely difficult to traverse, while the inhabitants move about from place to place with a quickness and facility which wear out their pursuers, who are often obliged to act on the defensive, and have as yet never made any permanent impression on the country. The bravery, and capability of supporting privation, which these mountaineers possess is well known, and is admired by none more than by the Russian officers who have acted against them, many of whom I heard declare, that so long as the Circassians can obtain arms and ammunition, there is no prospect of their being subdued. One year. the General who commanded only advanced a distance of twelve miles, and had afterwards to retreat and abandon the country. On this occasion several thousand Circassians, profiting by his absence from the neighbourhood of Stavropol, his usual headquarters, threw themselves unexpectedly upon Petigorsky, a district considered so far from the dangerous parts of the Caucasus, that the mineral springs there were the resort of many wealthy invalids. The incursion is described as having been completely successful, and occasioned great alarm at Stavropol. Not long afterwards an equally bold attempt was made on the town

176 OPERATIONS IN THE CAUCASUS.

of Georgrefski, where there is one of the forts of the line, and notwithstanding the resistance of a considerable garrison, the mountaineers succeeded in rendering themselves masters of the adjoining town, and kept it for several hours.

To illustrate further the Russian system of operations in the Caucasus, I may mention that in the April previous to my visit, a Russian camp of about 4000 men was defeated in Daghistan, and lost between 1100 and 1200 men, and a General Officer. This was followed in about a month by the defeat of a body of about 5000 men under a Swiss general, when the Lesghis took 700 prisoners, and killed more than 400 men. In May, the Russians crossed the Kooban with a large corps, said to have been about 13,000 strong, and sustained a very severe check between Gela and Zoli-Kodos, losing nearly 20 officers, of whom several were of rank, and about 500 men. On this occasion many Poles succeeded in deserting. A second action as obstinately contested, and also attended with loss, put the Russians in

possession of the bay of Pshad, to the south of Ghelendgik, where they succeeded, after repelling several attacks, in erecting a fort. While these operations were in progress in the north, the General-in-Chief was engaged with a corps of 8000 men in gaining possession of Cape Adler, one of the desired points of occupation on the coast. His disembarkation being unexpected, and supported by a flotilla, was only opposed by a small number of the natives, but still cost him a considerable number of men, while his opponents left no dead on the field, and lost no prisoners. The Circassians are stated to have done great execution on this occasion with their rifles, famous for taking effect at a great distance.

A corps of 4000 men was left at Cape Adler, under a Major-General, to construct a fortress, and the General-in-Chief returned to Georgia. The detached corps was surprised by several hundred natives, who issued suddenly from a defile then unknown to the Russians, and attacked the camp, which they captured, and only retired on the approach 178 OPERATIONS IN THE CAUCASUS.

of the flotilla. Among the Russians the number killed was said to have been large. On these occasions the only part of the Cape Adler corps, which could cope with the natives, is understood to have been the Mingrelian legion in the Russian service, whose arms and method of fighting resemble those of the mountaineers. The Russians subsequently made an advance into the mountains, but very soon abandoned the enterprise.

The new station thus added to the Russian possessions does not seem to have been more healthy than the rest, for I was informed by an eye-witness who was then in the fort, that 1200 men were in the hospital in October. The whole of the fortresses from Anapa to Soukoum-Kalleh were in an isolated state, and were described as being of such a construction as to be incapable of resisting a regular attack for the shortest period, and a piece or two of artillery on the neighbouring heights would, it was said, make that of Gagra, the key of the whole pass along shore, untenable. The troops were occupied at the time in improving the coast road near that spot, but the nature of the ground rendered this very difficult. The measure was probably adopted with a view to reaching the smaller indentation of the sea, frequented by light Turkish vessels, which could not be prevented from entering by the cruizers.

Our carriage was, after due exertion, got ready at last, and soon after five o'clock we left Ekaterinograd, and entered on a vast plain, from which a part of the range of the Caucasus was very distinctly seen to the left. The shadow, soon after sunset, enabled us to trace the whole wall of mountains, as far even as Mount Elboorz, with its altitude of 17,000 feet, and distant more than 80 miles.

The route continued over a flat or steppe, with very little variety. At one place a deep, muddy ravine, with a brook running through it, rendered the progress of the carriage extremely difficult. About midnight we arrived at Georgefsk, a poor fortified station, worse than Ekaterinograd. The next station was Sabley, a distance of 37 versts, the whole road being exceedingly heavy, and nothing but the whip of the postillion getting us along.

From Sablev the country was of nearly the same description-an extensive, bare plain, apparently with a good soil, and producing grass, but having no population. Ultimately the ground became more broken, and we ascended heights, commanding a view of the surrounding district, which was partly covered with wood. Soon afterwards we came in sight of the Cossack town, or large village of Alexandrofski, consisting, as usual, of straggling rows of low cabins, one story in height, and having thatched roofs. The streets were very deep and muddy, and there was marshy ground with ponds in the midst of the town. The comfortless life of these people surpasses imagination, inhabiting, as they do, the most miserable hovels, to which they have to wade through pools of mud. The cold is often intense, and wood far from abundant. The horses taken from our carriage were absolutely plastered with mud, and their drivers no less so.

180

Leaving this place in a fog, we made our way to Ketafka, where we passed the night. Λ clean room, in what is called the Crown quarter, and a comfortable fire, made this arrangement very acceptable. It was excessively cold, and the fog was of that heavy kind which saturates the ground as much as rain. During the 22 hours from Ekaterinograd, we had travelled about 186 versts, at little more than eight miles an hour, which, as we had galloped all the way, appeared very indifferent progress.

The fog continued in the morning, with a bitter cold wind and hoar-frost, but we set off about eight o'clock, and it gradually became clearer and milder. The road was gravelly and good, and we covered the ground with greater rapidity, descending by a succession of long slopes to Serhefski, an open straggling place, under heights to the north-west and west, rather more abrupt than we had seen lately. The next station was Sheftska which is approached over a plain, but still on something of a descent. Here the weather again became cold, and the fog returned. Our postilion was a complete white Tartar, with eyes à la Chinoise, and a small goat's beard. He carried us on to Pazoli, galloping nearly the whole way over an excellent road. Pazoli is a single street, leading up to a church. The post-master, who was from Riga, had been courier in the time of the Emperor Paul, and was fast approaching fourscore.

On quitting Pazoli, the road fell off, the fog and cold increased, and it began to snow. Passing a large bar and guard-house. we entered Stavropol, and proceeded down a long, wide, and muddy street, with occasional large buildings, to an inn, to which I had been recommended by the post-master at Pazoli. The supplies here, though dear, were of a good quality, but the apartments were miserable. The carte presented a variety of wines, &c., including champagne, at 16 paper roubles; and porter, five roubles per bottle. I was satisfied with some excellent old sherry at the same price as the porter. The snow increased, and in the morning, Sunday, there was a good deal in

182

the streets, and on the house-tops. The weather, and the circumstance of its being the last day of the carnival previous to Advent, determined me to stay here till the following day.

Finding the General in command was very unwell, and saw nobody, I went to pay my respects to the Civil Governor, who transacted all the business during the General's indisposition. He invited me to dine with him at two o'clock, and at that hour I found a party assembled at his house, including his wife, and severa' other ladies. The Baroness spoke a little French, and plenty of German. The dinner was very good, and his house was well furnished and arranged. Most of the guests were officers, who had been sent here, on one ground or another, as a sort of punishment.

The Civil Governor was a Swede, of Scottish descent, his mother being of the branch of the Douglas family (Count Duglas) settled in that country. No one could be more kind or hospitable; and these are qualities I have also observed in the Germans in the Russian service. The Baron was a bird fancier, and I saw at his house a very pretty bird, a tame ruff, walking about the room, and a pair of the Cubk, or mountain partridges, in a cage. Among other natural curiosities he showed me a pair of wild sheep's horns, equal in size to a large ox's, and quite round, wholly unlike those of a goat. The animal had existed till very lately in this neighbourhood, and is still very abundant in the Caucasus.

For some distance after leaving Stavropol the roads were very rugged, but ultimately improved; and the fog clearing, showed a tract studded with brushwood, which we got over pretty briskly. The station of Moskofski is thirty versts from Stavropol. It is composed of only a few houses fronting a rocky eminence, or bank, several hundred feet in height, and having a hollow to the south. The road being reported good, we now took only three horses for the carriage, instead of five, and hurried on, passing a pretty large village and a fort, which seemed quite destroyed, the ditch being filled up. The whole ap-

184

pearance of the country is old; and the villages, often embosomed in high trees, have a better aspect, and the people are more comfortably clad.

The road continued good past the station of Donskaia, to that of Paisawadna, when it again became rugged, and the country changed to a dead flat, wholly denuded of wood, extending to the stationi of Progradna. This was a small village, but possessed an inn, a comfortless cottage, full of Cossack travellers. The flat still continued. resting to the right on a river, which traversed a low, marshy, and rough tract beyond. Twenty-five versts further on is the station of Serione, a village similar to the last, and approached over a river, said to be the boundary between Europe and Asia. The character of the ground was unaltered as far as Vergneski. Finding no horses here I left the carriage at the post-master's, and proceeded to the house of the priest, which seemed a good one, though small. The rooms adjoining that where he received me were full of crying children,

VOL 11.

L

already in bed, though it was only seven o'clock, and aroused by our arrival. The priest informed me that this was the first station in the Don Cossack country. He was a very civil person, and had great mildness of manner, which I have before remarked, on certain occasions, among the Russian clergy. Whether this is merely superficial I cannot say, but even if it be, it has an agreeable effect.

Next morning we procured fresh horses, and pursuing our journey past the station of Batafski, came in view of the right bank of the Don, which is greatly higher than the left, and we could perceive it was streaked with snow. The town of Axai, a large Russian-looking place, but without any public buildings, stretched along the face of the hill opposite, and old Tcherkask, showing several steeples, was visible some miles to the north. The Don was approached over a very low track, covered with reeds, and a long wooden bridge, of floating pieces, connected the two banks. Above the bridge the river was covered with ice, though of no thickness or solidity. One or two poor-looking brigs and some open boats lay at anchor below, where the stream was still flowing. In the market-place were some shops and a few good houses. The population is all Cossack.

I at first intended to pass the night at Δ xai, in order that I might inspect its antiquities, and the functionary who provides such accommodation conducted me to a tolerable house; but the host, a most fierce, unsightly, barbarous-looking Russian, with beard and national costume, swore it was not his turn to lodge the traveller, and aided by the females of the family, gave such a warm reception to my conductor, that he was glad to beat a retreat. He then took us to a much smaller and worse house. where I saw such a poor prospect of hospitality that I determined merely to go and see the principal church, and then make my way out of the town. The church proved little worthy of a visit, being a poor building of brick, plastered in the customary manner, and the interior was daubed over like the

L 2

churches of Moscow, with silvered pictures. A bas-relief figure of Christ in the sepulchre, rich in silver, embroidery, and pearls, was exhibited in a glass case. In fact, much money had, as usual in Russia, been lavished here with exceeding bad taste.

In little more than half an hour from Axai we reached the post-station, and stopped for the night. As the Don Cossacks are now all in civil employment and retirement, there is little of interest to be seen at Novo Cherkask. These Cossacks are now, in fact, in peaceable times, no more than what our yeomanry cavalry are, although liable to be sent on active service in time of war. The advance of the frontier has changed their character, and though they furnish many regiments for the regular force, their ancient duties have been assigned to the Cossacks on the Line.

The station is at the entrance of an undulating barren steppe, succeeded by ascents, whence we obtained sight of the town of Nakshivan, an old settlement of Armenians. This was followed by the fortress of Rastoff, which we left close to our right, and then entered the town, a large place, and furnished with a post. The fort is well situated on a high piece of land, sloping to the north, and seemed from its profile to be strong and well planned.

The weather had now become very bad. dark, cold, and stormy, with icicles forming everywhere in a sharp drizzling rain; but we pushed on, and passing several stations, at length came in view of the Black Sea, where both the weather and the country underwent a sensible improvement. To the south and over the sea we discerned the first sunshine since our departure from Ekaterinograd, and the icicles wholly vanished. Trees again appeared round the villages. On a point of land, beyond a bay in the distance, we saw the white buildings of Taganrog, which continued in view, and crossing a tract of steppe, succeeded by houses and gardens, and the remains of several earthen works, we presented ourselves at the barrier and guard-house. Hence we proceeded to the residence of the

British Consul, and by him were installed at the Tractier Club, as it is called, a sort of réunion, where we fixed our quarters. We then went to see the house in which the Emperor Alexander died, which is now converted into a chapel, the scene of a yearly ceremony; and afterwards visited the old fortress, a large carthen work of Peter's time, commanding a view of the Mole and old harbour now only used by lighters.

Taganrog is separated from the next station, Koroog-Brod, by a steppe, and after leaving that place, a ferry carried us over a river in a shower of snow. The next day, between Koroog and Mariopol, we crossed another river, also by a ferry. Mariopol is a large town, near the sea, containing several churches, and is completely Russian.

As we proceeded, the country became barren and uneven, the snow getting deeper the further we advanced. At Nagaiski, where we stopped at a house kept by a German, I heard there were two or three other German families in the term, the neighbourhood of Mariopol there are:

190 ₁

sixteen German villages. Our inn was uncommonly neat and tidy. The family, who were from Dantzic, formed a striking contrast to the Russians, and we could not but compare the aquiline nose and good open countenance of our host with the strawcoloured physiognomics of the people along this coast, who are but little removed from Calmucks. Our old hostess amused me by her faith in her clock, which, on my impeaching its correctness, she protested was quite "accurat," as her husband had set it himself by the sun.

The atmosphere was so thick that it was impossible, as we progressed, to observe anything of the country. The sea of Azof appeared partially from time to time to our left, at no great distance. The houses were chiefly of wood, and one story high. The churches, of which there were no lack, had a superabundance of paltry steeples of wood, rising in four or five stories, and painted white, with green roofs. One church had four steeples, looking like the Chinese pagodas on tea-cups. 192 RUSSIAN STEPPES.

Novo-Alexandrinski, a large place, and a station in the village style, is rather pleasantly situated near a small river, with low heights beyond, crowned with windmills. The next stations are Moskopolsk, Sarabulak, and Anhalt-Cothen, where, at a bad tractier, I obtained some unpalatable fish and bread. At Kohafska, the next station, finding a clear room at the Post-master's, I determined to pass the night there. The cold all day was absolutely insupportable, both on the road, and within doors, for 'owing to the bad construction of the houses, and the scarcity of fuel, dry grass being chiefly used to heat the stoves, no warmth was to be obtained.

We passed Anhalt-Zubt, where the Duke of Anhalt-Cothen has an establishment for Merino sheep, and has founded a German colony. It seems to be planted in the very centre of the steppe, a very unsuitable spot, if what is said in Spain of Merino sheep be true. The Duke, it appears, resides in Germany; he is certainly not to be censured for his taste: for I think I never saw a more uninviting wilderness than the whole country from Taganrog to this place. Scythia appears fully to deserve its character for desolate dreariness. The salt deserts of Persia appeared to me to have something less unpleasing in them. They are at least bordered by distant mountains, which assures us they have an end somewhere, but here it is always the same endless flat.

After crossing the Dnieper at Barielaf by a ferry, the frozen roads became extremely trying to the wheels; and our off fore-wheel, which had been bound with rope in consequence of the iron having fractured, gave way altogether when we were about six versts from the station. While debating how we could proceed, a post telega came up from behind, and I determined to go on in it, and send back a wheel, if a suitable one could be obtained. But while I was seeking to effect that arrangement, the carriage was again set in motion, the half wheel having been turned into a sledge iron, so as to complete the ride. After a tedious ride over very bad roads, and in continual fear of breaking the wheel,

194 \ COMFORTLESS LODGING.

we reached the gate or barrier of Nicolaif. about two o'clock in the morning. Here a great delay occurred in examining the passport, when a dreary peregrination over frozen mud, and through broad ways bordered with houses, great and small, and few and far between, brought us, at last, to the inn where I had put up on my road from Moscow, on a hot August day, more than three years before. All in the house were asleep, and the place looked even. more forlorn in the chill and gloom of a December night, than it did on the occasion of my first visit. But not having broken fast since seven o'clock on the preceding. morning, I must say that I dispatched a couple of rather greasy dishes which were prepared for me, with some feeling of satisfaction, and the stove (thanks to a neighbour in the adjoining room) was warm, It was pleasant, too, to reflect that we should soon be at Stamboul, where we would have a glimpse of the sun now and then. I could now understand a Persian's disgust at its absence.

POSITION OF PASSAGE. / 195

Leaving Nicolaif in the afternoon, I began crossing the river in a clumsy scow, moved on by means of a cable, worked by men. Progression is effected by short slight ropes, and bits of wood, which catch the great cable of the ferry without the boatmen touching it, so as to preserve their hands from exposure to the cold.

Landing opposite, we went forward by an indifferent road to the first station, a handsome building with plate-glass windows, and a fierce-looking picture of the Emperor within, but with little other furniture, and very cold. From this we descended into a valley, passing the village of Kossloff, on the left bank of a large stagnant river, which we crossed by a sort of chaussée, terminating on a sloping ascent. This is a position of passage, and in a valley beyond, threaded by a nearly dry river, is another position, with heights on both sides, the lowest on that next Odessa. An isthmus separated the sea from a long lake to our right, and further on a second isthmus and lake occurred. Here, after going a short distance, our

196 (SANITARY CORDON.

hapless carriage met with another accident, breaking the thick pin which attached the perch to the front axle. We sent to some neighbouring houses for a fresh pin, and our messenger returned with a gun-barrel, the only substitute he could procure. With this, however, we contrived, by our united ingenuity, to repair damages, and once more set forward. Another isthmus had yet to be traversed, when a heavy and bad road, with a stony bottom, led on to the Neutral Ground, so called from being the boundary of the region in quarantine—for the plague had recently broken out at Odessa.

I was now bent on pushing forward, but at the station I learnt that it was very dangerous to enter Odessa after dark, as during the night the discretion of the sentries, in front of the cordon of troops round the town, was not to be depended upon; and such was the prevailing excitement at this time, from the dread of the plague, that they would, after nightfall, fire "even at a dog" whether he was coming into the town or going out. The temporary Police-master, ODESSA.

197

an officer of high rank, advised mostrongly to stop for the night at the station, in any place I could obtain, and I had no alternative but to adopt his counsel.

Next morning, however, I presented myself at the barrier, and was admitted into Odessa, where every precaution was now taken to exclude the dreaded contagion.

At that time Odessa was—and I believe is still-an open town, having no defences whatever towards the country, but being a free port, a system of detached barriers had been established at all the outlets in that direction, and these were found very convenient when it became necessary to enforce a rigid quarantine. The lazaretto stood above the cliff, on the western side of the town, and the works there, consisting of an inconsiderable fort, were by no means strong. The batteries on the moles, lately destroyed, were then unimportant, but would appear to have been greatly augmented since. There was also a fort, or battery, on the shore east of the town.

CHAPTER VII.

The Caucasian Shore—Beauty of the Coast—Line of Forts —Character of the Circassians.

I SHALL now revert to the Caucasian shores of the Euxine, beginning at Anapa, which was built by the Turks in 1784. Six years after its construction it was attacked by the Russians, but they were at that time repulsed, though in 1791 they gained possession of it after a siege of six wecks; and again in 1807 their squadron captured it in a single day. It fell into their hands once more in 1809, and lastly was captured by them in 1828, and ceded to Russia in the following year by the Treaty of Adrianople.

Anapa was then a simple parallelogram with bastions at its angles, resting to the south and west upon a high cliff, and to the north and east upon the plain. The number of mounted guns was said to be about 80. and the walls had undergone recent repairs, but with little addition to the strength of the place. Appearances, indeed, were such as to excite surprise that it should have held out five weeks against the formidable force which in 1828 was brought against it both by land and sea.

The country bordering the Black Sea to the east may be said to be bounded in that direction by the Terek, to the north by the Kooban, and to the south by the Phasis. The great chain of the Caucasus, covered with perpetual snow, and abounding in all the characteristics of the loftiest mountains, traverses this region from east to west, abruptly terminating on the coast of Abasia.

To the north secondary mountains rise to the height of eight or nine thousand feet, and are succeeded by other inferior ranges, declining progressively till entirely effaced on their approach to the Kooban. The summits of the latter mountains are peculiar, presenting, on the advance of summer, when the snow disappears, plains carpeted with the finest pasture. They may be otherwise de200 CAUCASIAN SHORE.

scribed as a vast "plateau" on an inclined plane, intersected and precipitously rent in all directions by narrow valleys or chasms, with torrents at the bottom, and which, unlike those of Switzerland and the Tyrol, are perfectly inaccessible. To the elevated plains, thus in a certain degree unapproachable, the native inhabitants, in the hot season, or whenever their lower pasture grounds are invaded, withdraw their flocks and their horses, so renowned for their admirable qualities.

The descent on the south side of the central chain is abrupt, and proceeds rapidly, with the interruption of partial and distant elevations, into the plains of Mingrelia, so that, from the intervention of the secondary heights, none of the highest mountains are perceptible from the coast on the north till we reach Gagra; although a few miles south of that point the whole of the grand range is suddenly turned, and becomes visible. On the southern side, therefore, Russia has been unopposed by any great physical difficulties, and being mistress of Georgia, Imiritia, and

Mingrelia, has been able to extend her influence in that direction, to the very foot of the central chain; and though her rule has never been firmly established, the inhabitants of the soil of Abasian race, little estimated in the mountains, have professed a dubious allegiance. But it is to the northern Caucasus that both good feeling and our own interest direct our attention : for there we find a brave and temperate people who prefer death to the loss of their independence; and, availing themselves of their natural defences. have, during a long course of years, resisted the whole power of a mighty empire, waging against them a war of extermination with unremitted pertinacity. In all that time the invader has gained no footing in their territory beyond isolated border forts. Nor has foreign domination from the remotest age ever been more to this brave race than an idle word, giving no right which could be alienated by treaty, as even the Sultan's suzerainty in the Caucasus was derived solely from his religious supremacy as head of the Mahommedan faith. Inroads have,

202 (THE CIRCASSIANS.

indeed, been made at different times, into parts of the mountainous country, through the larger valleys of the Mulka. the Podkomak, and the Upper Terek, when special grievances being urged as a pretext, neighbouring clans have looked on as spectators. Thus in 1829 General Emmanuel marched against the Kara-Chai, and reached the foot of Mount Elburz, which was ascended to the summit by some Academicians of St. Petersburg, but the retreat of the Russian General left no traces of conquest.

The native inhabitants have been distinguished by historians and philologists in a perplexing enumeration of races, but all may with propriety be classed under one denomination. The Tcherkesses, or Circassians, are the dominant nation, and people every part of the space within the central chain, the Kooban, the Black Sea, and the Terek. The several tribes recognize, it is true, no common authority; but I was credibly informed that they acknowledge in the princes of the two Kabardahs, the superior BEAUTY OF THE COAST. / 203

purity of their ancient race. No other name, in short, is used in the army and councils of the Russians but that of the *Tcherkesses*.

The traveller is struck by the unparalleled beauty of the coast, whereon not a sterile spot is perceptible, till the eye falls at length on the highest ridge of mountains which, even in the warm season, are clothed with rich grass, and hung with magnificent woods, down to the water's edge. The extent of cultivation, often carried to the very tops of the hills, excites astonishment, while the numerous valleys opening to the sea, and the vessels skimming its surface, or lying in the many creeks between Ghelenjek and Gagra lend the scene both animation and variety. The vessels frequenting the creeks are drawn over the bars of small streams, apparently into deep water, where they lie behind heaps of hewn wood, erected equally to afford protection against the sun's rays, and concealment from the Russian cruisers.

These coasting craft, known in Turkey

204 CIRCASSIAN HAMLETS.

by the name of "beheftas," come from Anatolia ; and from the traffic they carry on, it is reasonable to infer that the Circassians are disposed, if circumstances permitted, to engage in commerce, and to maintain relations of amity with friendly foreigners. The imputation of being irreclaimable barbarians has been cast upon them by Russia, and appears to have no foundation in fact, as they are certainly not wanting in those inherent virtues, which, under more auspicious circumstances, would afford a genial soil for civilization. Jealous of their liberty, they can, no doubt, become a ferocious enemy in defence of their countryaddicted to plunder, and thirsty for revenge; and such, perhaps, wanton aggressions and unprovoked ravages have made them on the frontiers of Russia.

Aouls, or hamlets, are dispersed pretty thickly over the country, the populousness of which may also be inferred from the fact, communicated to me on the best authority, that whenever one of the Anatolian vessels, already mentioned, is driven by a cruiser

out of its course, and forced to run upon any part of the coast, numbers of people are seen hastening down, without any kind of warning, to assist in discharging the cargo, and to place it in safety, often under the fire of its pursuer.

In the autumn of 1834, the Circassian chiefs of clans met in a general assembly, a rare occurrence in their history; and a similar congress was held in 1836—on both of which occasions there was an earnest conference on the subject of the aggressions of Russia, and the most stringent measures were resolved upon for the defence of the country. From the course thus boldly laid down the Circassians have never since swerved.

The Circassian mode of warfare is exceedingly harassing to the Russians, as the enemy in the field is seldom tangible; and, indeed, is often invisible, while he is always vigilant and daring. The Circassians are able, when a favourable occasion presents itself, to combine in masses for an attack; but this does not happen frequently; their real strength lying in incessant, partial, and even individual hostilities. By these the Russians are closely confined in all their positions, the sentinels being often shot in their intrenchments, and their foraging parties never return without loss; nor can any movements be undertaken with prudence, even within sight of their lines, except with a strong force, and supported by artillery.

At Sejouk-Kalleh, near the ruins of the Turkish fort, the Russians constructed a fortification, the bay being a frequent anchorage of the Russian fleet; and in a valley opening to the water, General Williamenoff raised an intrenched camp, which was repeatedly the scene of active warfare. Strong detachments sent out from the camp were employed on lines of communication in the rear, and in the formation of roads, on one side to Ghelenjek, and on the other to Anapa, both parallel to the shore; a work in some places of great difficulty, in consequence of the hills running in ridges to the sea. Some parties were likewise employed in clearing the surrounding country of its native inhabitants, and the aouls or hamlets in the vicinity of the camp were set on fire. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the Turks, when masters of Anapa, were never so entirely cut off in their communications as the Russians have been since they acquired it.

The next Russian station is in the bay of Sejouk-Kalleh, which for several years remained unoccupied. A few miles before reaching it is an extensive valley called Astarek, well cultivated, and apparently thickly peopled.

Of the line of forts from Oljinski on the Kooban, the first erected, at the distance of twenty-two miles, is named Abyn; the second, ten miles further, Nicolaefski; and the third, at an interval of twelve miles, lies within the intrenchments of a camp on the Doba, a small stream falling into the bay of Sejouk-Kalleh at its southern extremity. Thus a space, somewhat in the shape of a triangle, was enclosed, one side of which was formed by the Kooban and Russian frontier from Oljinski to the sea, measuring direct fifty English miles; the second, by the sea from the lake of the Kooban to the Doba, thirty-eight miles; and the third, by a chain of new forts from the Doba to Oljinski, forty-five miles. Every spot upon the shore where vessels could approach was subsequently occupied by a fort; but many of these posts appear, from recent accounts, to have been abandoned.

The bay of Ghelenjek, less spacious than that of Sejouk-Kalleh, and more enclosed, is, like that anchorage, open to all westerly winds, which, however, are seldom violent; whereas, the sudden gusts from the land are dangerous, the more so, as the anchorage is insecure, in consequence of the abrupt shelving of the bottom. Ghelenjek is the principal permanent naval station on the coast. The fort stands on low ground, within the bay, on its southern side, and is commanded by heights to the east. It consisted simply of a trench and parapet, breast high, on three sides of a square, the extremities of which, leaving the fourth open to the bay, were

usually defended by two gun-boats, though. I believe, there were not more than eight guns mounted on the walls. The situation is very insalubrious, which is in some measure accounted for by the proximity of a watercourse partially filled up. Though the post has been occupied since 1830, with a view to making it a naval rendezvous. there were a few years ago no buildings erected for the stores, which were still piled up in the open air, and covered only with mats. Hay was imported from Russia, though the fort looks round on a fertile valley ; but as the Circassians are numerous in the immediate neighbourhood, there was no safety for the garrison beyond the range of their own cannon.

The cliffs seen more to the north, now entirely disappear, and hills, covered with wood, sweep down to the sea, and rise in higher and bokler groups towards the south. Valleys, each opening from a small bay, and apparently populous and well cultivated, are also very numerous. The places where Russian settlements were contemplated, and

VOL. II.
afterwards established, were Pshad, Michelefsk, Tenginsk, Chardak, Wilhelminefsk, Lasarcfsk, on the Tuab river; Golowinski, on the Subashi; Shoodsh, Mamai, Adler, and Gagra.

Gagra lies at the foot of two lofty mountains of secondary formation, which constitute a narrow and dark gorge, closed behind by a steep mountain of the central chain, whose summit is covered with snow. This position is the key to the important pass along the beach, the whole breadth of which it occupies. The fort erected about twenty years ago was like all the others, a quadrangle; three sides being partly formed of the walls of a very ancient ruin-a convent probably of the Lower Empire, and the fourth, towards the sea, of fascines, with six guns. At the right angles, guns enfiladed the inland walls, and an English 18-pounder commanded the gorge; there were in all eighteen or twenty cannon. The garrison was then composed of a battalion with detachments, mustering 700 men. The situation is exceedingly unhealthy; and some vears since fever and dysentery prevailed to

such a degree, that, of eighteen officers, eight had died in the course of the preceding ten months. Their hospitals were miserable sheds, crowded with sick; and every one in the fort had a most cadaverous complexion. There was only one well in this fort, which occasionally failed; and though a rivulet flows out of the gorge close by, the garrison was often not strong enough to reach it, the Circassians being in great force in the neighbourhood, and enterprising in their hostilities.

From a mountain on the left protrudes a shoulder, commanding the interior of the place, and here the Circassians presented themselves, at a spot bare of wood, and directed a fire which obliged the garrison to keep under shelter. Men were even sometimes killed in the hospital; and so incessant was the risk of attack, that dogs were sometimes driven out at night to give the alarm.

South of the central chain, chiefly of the Abasian range, the natives are said to be friendly to Russia, but they are of a turbulent and faithless character. The coast is flat, low, and woody, the mountains being distant.

Nine miles south of Gagra, on a stream called the Bsyba, intrenchments were at that time thrown up. Two miles further on, and some way inland, is a noble ruin, and just behind this a cape, forming the left extremity of Pitzunda Bay, which is entered in a northeast direction. Here there is anchorage in twenty fathoms water close to the shore. The fort is a mile inland, and encloses the ruin already mentioned, seen from the sea, and a convent and church, apparently of more recent date than that at Gagra. No cannon were then visible from the sea, and the garrison only mustered about 120 men. The fort on the Bsyba is its dependency, and had a bad reputation for sickness; but Pitzunda itself is healthy. The country round is very fine and park-like.

At Bombari, eleven miles south from Pitzunda, and twenty-five from Gagra, the shore is low, with surf. Close to the fort was a small redoubt of two guns and sixty men, and containing two hovels. The fort

212

itself is two miles inland, and had a garrison of 600 men, with a few guns. It adjoins a small village, in which some traffic is carried on by Armenians and Georgians.

At a distance of two miles further inland is Lectra, the possession of an Abasian chief, who held Russian rank and orders. He lived there surrounded by dependents. Bombari is the head-quarters of the General commanding all the troops on the coast south of the central chain. Circassians have often made inroads into these parts from over the mountains, and once destroyed a village under the very guns of the fort, as well as an Abasian settlement, and carried off many prisoners. Bombari and Pitzunda were first occupied by the Russians in 1830.

Twenty-two miles beyond is Sekoum-Kalleh, a place well known. It stands in a bay, the anchorage of which is insecure, and open to the sea, and noted for violent and sudden squalls of wind, which descend from the heights behind—a mountainous group connected with the Caucasus. The fort, which is on the north part of the bay, was some years ago nearly dismantled, and in a dilapidated condition, having undergone no repairs since its capture from the Turks; and the garrison, about 400 strong, corresponded in their appearance with the desolation around, the environs being very unhealthy.

At another bay, three miles south, is Kelassour, where there are ruins supposed to be those of Doscurias, and two miles farther on, in the same direction, is Dranda, a small fort. Communication is not safe in the surrounding country, and the Russians never move without strong escorts, as the natives, although acknowledging dependence, are really hostile, and often commit outrages.

Anaklia, fifty miles from Sekoum-Kalleh, is on the coast of Mingrelia, an organized province of Georgia. Redout-Kalleh, on the river Chopi, once enjoyed considerable prosperity, and promised to become the inlet of great and important transit trade; but these expectations have not been realized.

Poti, on the Phasis, was usually garri-

214

sound only by a single company. It is a bad port, and has a bar of shifting sand at the entrance.

Since these lines have been penned, it is believed that other forts have been erected by the Russians along the Circassian coast, but as some have also been destroyed I have confined myself, in these observations, to the works which I know to have had existence.

The Turks, like the Greeks of the Lower Empire, originally visited the coast of Circassia merely as traders; and, in the character of strangers, craved the protection of native konaks, or protectors. Two or three isolated forts served no other purpose than as marts for their commerce; and the possession of Anapa never extended their authority into the country. A border clan, in a feud with more powerful neighbours, may, at times, have promised them allegiance as the price of intervention, but no more general submission to foreign supremacy has ever been recorded. The resolution of the Circassians is indomitable, and I may observe, in conclusion, that a few light guns, if they could be brought to work them efficiently, would render them very formidable. A single six-pounder would, by report, make Gagra untenable. The Circassians are excellent marksmen, but are said to be slow in reloading their rifles with the forced ball; hence arms, especially rifles of better make, are much in request, as well as ammunition. These, it is to be hoped, have now been abundantly supplied.

All parties in Russia, though differing as to the means, agree that the entire subjugation of the Caucasians is a political necessity, both in reference to the security of the Russian provinces beyond the mountains, and for the development of her power in Asia. The circumstance of an intervening region, inhabited by a warlike and independent people, through which communication is often impeded by their occupying a single defile, has ever been a subject of inquietude and mortification; and this obstruction may now be raising a more intense feeling, with the expectation of its becoming an insuperable barrier.

(217)

CHAPTER VIII.

The Crimea-Kozlof-Jewish Synagogue-Russian Travelling-Sympheropol-Tartar Races-The Garden Palace -Excavated Dwellings-Jafoot-Kalleh-Jewish Cemetery-Sebastopol-Defences of Selastopol-Ships of War-New Docks-Bala-Klava-Monastery of St. George-Tartar Village-Ancient Pass-Aloupka-Salt Lakes.

THIS WAS MY SECOND VISIT to Odessa, and after a short stay I left it to return to England by way of Constantinople. On the previous occasion I had made a tour in the Crimea, and though it was anterior in date to my journey in the Caucasus, this seems the proper place to introduce the result of my observations in that peninsula, with reference to its strategical characteristics, connected with passing events, because some parts of it will be more intelligible after the perusal of the former narrative.

The steamer in which I had determined to leave Odessa for the Crimca was detained several days by the repairs, which just as she was about to sail, it was discovered were required by the engine. Being a

Government conveyance no pains were taken to spare time and trouble to the passengers, and false alarms as to the hour of sailing were given again and again, so that, during her detention, we were kept moving to and fro from the vessel to the shore, half a dozen times in the day. As the steamer was anchored half a mile out. and it was blowing hard all the time, these trips were by no means agreeable; and one boat was swamped just as its passenger was leaving it, though he escaped with a good ducking. At length we really got under weigh. and steamed out of the harbour. Towards night we had rain, which continued for two days with a high wind, and as the engine was weak, and the vessel badly managed, we did not reach our port at Kozlof until the second morning.

Kozlof is situated on a bay, on the western side of the Crimea, and about half way between its north and south extremities. Close by is the large salt lake of Guilan, and the surrounding country consists of steppe and marsh. It is quite a Tartar KOZLOF.

town, traversed by narrow dirty streets, and has a bazaar with covered passages and open shops. There is, however, a fine mosque, several centuries old, which we entered without obstruction, and found the people at prayers. Their mode of worship, except when too much excited, was impressive. They prayed in silence, except when the word "Allah" occurred. They were all kneeling, but their bodies at the same time rested, as it were, on their heels.

Kozlof contains many Caraïte Jews, who have long been settled in the Crimea. An account of their belief and their history is given in the "Archives du Nord," by M. de Royaul, who describes them as being attached to the Old Testament, but rejecting the authority of the Talmud. They existed in Spain in the twelfth century, but were driven from that country by the intrigues of the Rabbinists. Members of the sect are to be found in Egypt, Volhiaia, and Lithuania. They dress like the Moslems, but do not shave the head. They are a handsome people, and have no resemblance to the other Russian Jews, being noted for cleanliness, probity, and respectability. We visited the synagogue, where there was a curjous cloister, of antique appearance, blazoned with Hebrew inscriptions, but the interior of the building presented nothing peculiar.

We were detained on board the steamer a great part of the day by various interruptions. occasioned by quarantine, custom house, and police officers, and on landing were stowed in a most wretched hostelrie, admitting wind and rain, until the post-master, a Jew, vouchsafed, after a considerable interval, to furnish us with horses. I was the more surprised at this delay, as I was accompanied by a Livonian major of hussars, who assured the post-master that we were both proceeding to visit the Governor-General. It was night before we set out, a very dark and disagreeable night, and the major and myself were squeezed into a tilega, and our two domestics into another. These conveyances, narrow open carts of about four feet long, mounted upon four low wheels, which almost touch each other, afford no support for the back: and from their short and inconvenient form, our knees were kept as high as our chins, while our heels were level with the part of the vehicle on which we sat. The horses, generally three abreast, go at a gallop, and in such weather the mud is thrown in showers into the tilega, covering both travellers and their baggage. Added to this, the inexperienced beginner in such travelling has enough to do to keep himself and his traps from being tossed out, which seems inevitable every instant. At first we were disposed to laugh at our situation, but the pains in our aching limbs, and the general discomfort we suffered, wrought a speedy alteration in our feelings, and we found it was no laughing matter. Indeed, I have seen Government couriers arrive in these tilegas at Odessa after coming the whole distance (1000 miles) from Moscow without stopping, with their heavy despatch bag fastened upon them with a lock, and they have actually been lifted out looking more dead than alive. We were not sorry to be stopped for a few hours in the middle of the night for want of horses, for though the post-house was of the most wretched description, we were able to stretch our jaded limbs. We were here about half-way between Kozlof and the new Russian capital of the Crimea, which has been christened Sympheropol, with the usual Russo-Greek termination. This place we reached about noon of the following day, starved and wet, though still in the month of October. We put up at a sorry hotel, as it was styled, kept by a French colonist, whose wife was a German.

The road to Sympheropol is equally flat and uninteresting. On the plains we saw large flocks of the curled Tartar sheep, whose skins, black, grey, and white, are in much request throughout this region for caps and pelisses, and are even used in trimming the pelisses of our English hussars. Near Sympheropol we met, for the first time in this country, several Tartar waggons, or arabas, drawn by a pair of camels. We afterwards saw great numbers of these animals in the flat part of the peninsula, and met a good many troops on the march towards the main land from Sebastopol. They were returning, it was said, owing to the absolute exhaustion of provisions in the peninsula. Ancient writers describe the Crimea as producing thirtyfold in grain, but if this was ever the case, it is now greatly altered. At least the crops had for two years utterly failed, and at the time of my visit there was a general dearth. The horses and cattle were nearly starved, and the people no less so. The failure of the crops was attributed to dry summers. Not a tree was to be seen, and during our whole journey we did not cross a single brook. Artesian wells were then making, but their construction requires the labours of a more advanced population.

Not far from the town of Kozlof are the mud baths of Sack, in which invalids sit up to the chin in mud for hours, but they are only used in summer. In the Crimea the Mahomedan and Jewish inhabitants wear the Tartar dress, very wide trowsers, looking

like a petticoat, a tight jacket of striped silk, or cotton of a dark colour, and without a collar, and a shawl as a sash round the waist. Over this the upper class generally wrap a caftan, or long loose gown, without collar or buttons; sometimes the sleeves are short, and it is generally worn open in front. Almost all the inhabitants of the Crimea. of every creed and nation, now wear a round lambskin cap, which is an excellent and convenient covering for the head, but the moolahs or priests, hadjees, muezzins, and other divines still wear the white turban, and that of the moolah has a high calpak, or inner cap of green velvet. The moorzas' or nobles' dress is in the Circassian style, a tunic of fine cloth, bordered with silver lace, and faced on the breast with cartridge cases of red leather; and trowsers and a cap of cloth barred with silver lace complete their equipment. This, I believe, is not a very ancient costume, and seems to be a step towards the adoption of the European habit, though the design from which it is borrowed, as still prevailing,

224

among the Circassians, is very old, dating from the Crusades, or earlier. The leather of the Crimca, used, among other purposes, to ornament the tunic, is thick, and very well prepared and tanned, dying beautifully, yellow, bright red, and sometimes green. The Crimea is celebrated for its manufacture.

In wet weather the natives wear a cloak of felt and camel's hair, called a *bourka*, which is the best defence from rain I ever saw. Cold is provided against by a pelisse, a long wide gown of fur outside, turned inside, which the rich cover with fine cloth or camlet; and this forms an excellent covering, keeping the wearer warm in the most inclement weather. Near the Black Sea, however, the severe winter is gladdened at times by breezes from Asia, which make the air so warm, that furred pelisses are thrown aside till the cold again sets in.

The architecture of Sympheropol is as varied as the aspect of its inhabitants, being composed of ancient mosques, modern. churches, Tartar bazaars and hovels, and whitewashed Russian dwellings, with public offices and guard-houses. The streets are broad but unpaved, and usually very muddy, and the buildings seem to have been set down where they stand without any systematic plan. The town is situated on a river of good size. About fifteen miles to the south rises the Chater-Dagh, the highest mountain of the chain bounding the Crimea in that direction, attaining a height of 5000 feet above the Black Sea. Its summit is flat, and looks down on the country at its base, which is woody and picturesque.

The situation of the town is agreeable; and here we began to perceive that we were about to exchange for a while the dreary monotony of the steppe, for the muchpraised "South shore" of the peninsula—in short, the ugliness of Russia for the beauty of the Ottoman Empire.

The palace of the Governor-General is on this shore, but he was now residing at a house near Sympheropol, in order to be present at some races in the Tartar style, which were to take place in a few days. The Moorzas, or native gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and indeed all classes, had congregated in the town with the same view. As the Tartars seldom perform even the shortest journeys on foot, almost every one keeps a horse; and the horses of the country, notwithstanding their small size, and general poor appearance, are swift and strong. I was not sorry, therefore, to have an opportunity of attending the races, where the natives would be so characteristically employed.

We were on the ground early, and obtained a good view of the proceedings. The first two or three matches were conducted as much as possible on the English plan. In one, a horse of the Governor-General's, the offspring of a sire which he had brought from England, came off the victor, winning a handsome silver cup. The Tartars afterwards had races in the native style, for silk handkerchiefs. One of the party, with the handkerchief flying in his hand, galloped off at/full speed over the plain, followed by a crowd of others, who endeavoured to cut him off, and pull it from his hand. They were very expert in following each other, and avoiding collisions, which, in such an animated pursuit, was no easy matter. The handkerchief very often changed hands, and was finally adjudged to the horseman who retained it longest, and tired out the others. Some of the competitors had no saddles, and all rode very well, though, as the ground was rough and slippery, many got heavy falls. Sometimes four or five parties were seen scampering about at once, close to each other, and it required to be on the alert to keep clear of them.

During our stay at Sympheropol, we met the General who organized the military colonies in the south of Russia, and who at this time commanded the cavalry there, which is chiefly what is termed "colonized." Another of our acquaintances was a grandson of Suwaroff, who, however, inherited none of his ancestor's rough, warlike propensities, but he appeared to possess good talents, and was a great' musician.

228

The Emperor, we understood, had pressed him, as he does all men of family in Russia, to enter the military service, and he was about to do so, but with evident reluctance.

My companion and myself being desirous of visiting Sebastopol, we set out by a pretty good road, provided with bridges, intending to proceed afterwards to Aloupka, where we were to rejoin the Governor-General, whose principal residence and estates were in that neighbourhood.

We reached Batchee Seraï (20 miles from Sympheropol), with our party, early in the afternoon, and repaired to the ancient, but now somewhat ruinous palace of the Khans; where, although some preparations had been made for our reception, some of us were lodged quite d la Russe, my companion and myself being stowed away in a pigeon-hole of a place, without even the usual leather mattress to lie on; so we had to pass the night in our cloaks. Fortunately a supply of provisions had preceded us in a waggon, so we had no reason to complain of our fare. Among other things the tea, brought overland from China, was excellent, but we were a little surprised at breakfast, to observe some of the party tempering the refreshing beverage with an infusion of rum, which, though a common practice in Russia, is not an improvement.

Batchee Seraï is situated in an agreeable but rather rocky valley, of but little breadth, and lying at the base of the mountains, which begin here, and extend southwards to the coast. The name signifies "garden-palace;" and the old palace, even in its decay, affords a good idea of an eastern "Seraï." Painted and gilded rooms, with vestibules opening to gardens, in which vines, rose-trees. and cypresses abound, and where fountains throw up jets of crystal water, recal those descriptions of Eastern luxury and magnificence which we read in the pages of Byron and Moore. That of "Hassan's deserted palace," in the "Giaour," might have served for Batchee Seraï. Various detached buildings, such as kiosks, or summer-houses, adjoin the main building-a considerable portion of which had been the harem, which

word signifies neither more nor less than the private chambers of a dwelling, inhabited by the female members of an Eastern family, living in the retirement imposed upon the sex by the custom of those countries. The harem, however, is by no means a prison, at least among the middle classes; the females of whose families ramble about as much as they please, though veiled and concealed from general view by a yasmak, or hooded cloak.

The old town of Batchee Seraï is quite a Turkish place, and up to this time contains few or no Russian settlers. The streets are narrow and abominably paved, although not worse than those of larger Turkish cities. On each side are to be seen the shops, which in the daytime are quite open, in the usual Moslem style, exhibiting their whole contents. The owner is seen seated cross-legged on a low cushion in the centre of the place, which is usually of small dimensions; and he gravely hands the different articles to his customers, without rising, often regaling himself at intervals with a puff of his chibook.

232 EXCAVATED DWELLINGS.

After dinner we proceeded to the mosque in the garden, where a body of dervishes had been directed to attend and exhibit their coremonies. These consisted of the combined absurdities of the dancing and howling dervishes of Constantinople; the performers, so to speak, whirling round in a circle, and howling or rather groaning at the same time. The exhibition was anything but pleasing, and we retired somewhat disgusted, after each of the fanatics had received ten paper-roubles (about 8s.) as a recompense.

The following day proved rainy; but in spite of the weather our whole party set out about noon, mounted upon active little horses, to explore the valley up to the chief town of the ('araïte Jews, called Jafoot-Kalleh, or Jew's Castle. On the way we stopped at a very interesting spot, designated the Assumption, where a monastery, with its church, and many neighbouring dwellings (the latter now deserted), are cut out of the soft calcarcous rock of the valley, and placed at such a height on the, side of the nearly perpendicular cliff as to require ladders to reach them These excavations. which are of great antiquity, are believed to have existed long before the Tartar invasion, and were no doubt resorted to by the Christian inhabitants of that period as places of refuge from their conquerors, and may probably have been enlarged since, and rendered more defensible. The monastery contains a complete Greek church, cut into lofty vaulted aisles, and embellished with the usual paraphernalia. Several monks reside in the edifice, and show it to visitors.

The valley is traversed by a rocky causeway of difficult ascent, from which we soon obtained a view of Jafoot-Kallch, perched on a ridge at the termination of the valley, which, strategically speaking, it completely commands. A steep zig-zag path, which few horses from the plains could climb with facility, leads up to the town. The weather cleared just as we reached it, and we were rewarded, on gaining the summit, with a delightful frequency towards the Euxine and

VOL 11. 5

the southern coast, the mountains to the east, &c. In situation the place is quite a fortress, and has, no doubt, often been defended by its inhabitants.

We found the authorities prepared to receive us; and after taking a general view of the place, which is comparatively well built and clean, we entered the synagogue, attended by the chief rabbi and other principal men of the town. A very large and ancient copy of the Old Testament, in manuscript, was lying open, on a gilded metal stand, and I believe it to be one of the oldest and most curious versions of the sacred volume extant. Prayers were said in Hebrew, after which we proceeded to the chief rabbi's house, where we were regaled. with fruits of various kinds, wine, cakes, honey, and other sweetmeats, laid out on a round table, in an apartment of year moderate size, but thickly and richly cargeted in the Turkish style definition zonaded with handsome silk cushions, There were on chairs; and the gentlemin of our party made, rather, an aukward,

in their tight European dresses, disposed on the low cushions, from which several found it rather difficult to rise without danger to their strained garments: while those habited in the roomy Eastern costume dropped down and rose with perfect ease; and the ladies had also a decided advantage in this respect.

Our Jewish hosts conversed with much intelligence, through the medium of the interpreter: and we were struck with the propriety of their manners, and their generally prepossessing appearance. The countenances of the young persons were almost all handsome, and the seniors had a dignified and commanding air, while neither had anything of the ordinary Israelitish expression.

Before remounting we proceeded to their burying-ground, which is situated in an oakwood, and named by them the "Valley of Jehoshaphat," after the great cemetery of Jerusalents The graves, as usual in Jewish cemeteric in the Hast, were covered with a large build and a some of equal breadth and

N 2

depth, but not fastened in the ground; and this was inscribed with Hebrew writing. Many of the tombs appeared extremely old.

Retracing our steps down the valley to Batchee Seraï, I shortly afterwards set out, with the major of hussars, for Sebastopol, where we did not arrive till long after dark. We passed the remainder of the night in a straw shed in the suburb, as the want of a boat at that hour made it impossible to cross the arm of the sea which divides it from the town. In the morning we effected the passage, and found Sebastopol a great contrast to Batchee Serai, being a complete Russian town of recent construction. Having procured accommodation at a very indifferent little inn, we visited the naval officer in command at the port, for whom we had brought a letter, and afterwards called on an English engineer, employed on works then in progress in the harbour. It was determined that we should inspect these works next morning, and also go on board several men-of-war. We devoted the renainder of this day to an inspection of the

236

SEBASTOPOL.

port generally, and of the town and its immediate vicinity.

Sebastopol is certainly the most interesting, though not the most agreeable spot, in the Crimea; and although the construction of ships of war was at this time chiefly carried on at Nicolaief, upon the river Boug, near its junction with the Dnieper, it is the permanent station of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. It is situated about five miles to the north of Cape Chersonesus. the nearest point in the Russian dominions to the Bosphorus, and is only about three hundred English miles from Constantinople. Russia did not appreciate sufficiently the importance of this fine port for many years after obtaining possession of the Crimea; but at the moment of our arrival, great activity prevailed in improving the harbour and strengthening the defences, which, if carried through on the scale apparently in contemplation, would constitute a strong fortress. The town and inner harbour lie on the south side of the mouth of a small arm of the sea, about three and a half miles

238 DEFENCES OF SEBASTOPOL.

in length, and varying in breadth from one to three-quarters of a mile. Several branches from the main creek indent the shore, and two of these enclose Sebastopol to the east and west, so that it is only connected with the land to the south-a situation in this respect somewhat resembling that of the city and port of Malta. The eastern branch, which is upwards of a mile in length, forms the inner harbour, and, close to the shore, is of sufficient depth to allow of first-rate vessels lying at the wharfs, their crews passing at all times between the vessels and their barracks without using a boat. During the severe winter they live altogether in the barracks.

The north side of the main arm is flanked by heights which command its entry, and here I observed a fort, which was not then a strong work, being of some age, and of faulty construction. On both sides of the inlet, however, there were strong stone towers with batteries close to the water,—d fleur d'eau. Some of these had two tiers of heavy guns, and have since been raised still higher. The entry is very deep, and rather narrower than the basin immediately above it. Flag-staffs on each side pointed out small shoals, and a lighthouse of a peculiar form, and painted white, stood at the inner extremity of the main harbour, upwards of three miles from the town; while another of precisely the same form and colour was visible behind it, about three miles further up the country, and ought to be hid from view by the first, as vessels enter the harbour from the Euxine. These structures, if the Royal Navy plans are correct, still remain.

The western bay, called Quarantine Bay, where there is a landing-place for boats, is commanded by a strong battery in the town on its eastern shore. To its west are the remains of the ancient Grecian city of Chersonesus, presenting, however, only fragments of stone and marble strewn thickly over the surface of the open country. So far as we could judge by the tracing on the surface of the ground, it appeared as if the enceinte intended to enclose the town on

240 DEFENCES OF SEBASTOPOL.

this side, which was then quite open, was to be a series of bastions and curtains; and quarries were opened in the vicinity which it may be presumed would furnish materials for the masonry, as the thinness of the soil would not provide for earth works. Operations, however, were now suspended, as the troops, as soon as the repairs of the works on the water side were completed, were, as I have before observed, to be withdrawn. The rocky soil round Sebastopol is difficult of excavation, which, during a siege, is an advantage it would possess as a fortified place.

The construction of roads and bridges through the mountainous districts of the Crimea to Sebastopol, and other points of importance on the southern shore, had lately been commenced, and was carried on with vigour. This will, when finished, facilitate the conveyance of timber, with which the mountains abound, to the different ports, as well as greatly contribute to the general transport of commodities. A strong force could be easily concentrated at Sebastopol. The Russian expedition to Turkey in 1833 came from hence by water, and was encamped in a few days on the heights upon the southern shore of the Bosphorus. It consisted of about 20,000 men, who remained some months within sight of Constantinople.

The day after our arrival at Sebastopol, we proceeded, as arranged, about twelve o'clock, to visit several of the ships of war and the docks. We were in a boat belonging to the Government, pulled by ten sailors, and were accompanied by a Russian naval officer. A new ship of 110 guns, built with a round stern, was our first destination. She seemed a fine vessel, but had no men on board beyond a guard. Being intended for a flag-ship, a large suite of cabins was allotted to the admiral. A fine 84 lying near, was said to be fast rotting from the rapid decay which always prevails among the vessels in this port. It was to provide against this evil that the new docks were under construction, and as there is no tide in the Euxine, a plan had been

projected for producing an artificial efflux, by means of four locks on the canal which was to feed the basin. The proposed dry dock was to stand between the two upper locks, and above the level of the sea; and when a vessel had passed between the two lower locks, the third lock preceding the basin was to be opened, until the dry and the fourth docks were filled sufficiently to afford her flotation. The upper lock was then to be shut and the lower one opened, leaving the dock and vessel dry. To obtain water for this purpose a canal was being formed, communicating with a river some miles above by a very gentle slope into the dock, but sufficiently above the port to admit of the purpose contemplated.

In our way up the creek to Inkermann, we had a good opportunity of seeing this canal. It is about twelve feet broad and passes through two tunnels, one of which, piercing a calcareous rock, easily wrought, is a work of some extent, being about 1000 feet in length, and 16 in height. To save time the work had been begun at both ends. and the direction kept by compass. The workmen met exactly at the point intended, at which they were much astonished, and, it is said, attributed the result to magic. The whole harbour, we remarked, was very deep, and well sheltered all the way to its termination.

We found post-horses, with our baggage and servants, waiting near the caves at Inkermann, which, though not solarge, much resembled those we had seen at the Assumption; and mounting, we proceeded through a pleasant country to Bala-Klava, a port on the south shore, settled, in the first instance, it is believed, by the Genoese, and afterwards in the time of Catherine II. by expatriated Greeks, implicated in Lambro Kanzoni's unsuccessful attempt to throw off the Turkish voke. An old castle, which stands to the right of the entrance of the harbour, on one of the high rocks which enclose it on all sides, is reputed to have been constructed by the Genoese; but many of these edifices, existing at different spots on the shores of the Black Sea, and attributed
to the Genoese colonists of the middle ages, seem to be of an older date : and the socalled Genoese castle on the Bosphorus has the Greek cross, as well as Greek inscriptions, on several parts of its walls, a strong evidence of Byzantine origin.

The rock at Bala-Klava, on which the castle stands, overlooks the sea, at an angle nearly perpendicular, and is a key to the port and to the interior of the country; but it is in a dilapidated and dismantled state. The port is rather narrow, but very deep—sufficiently so to receive vessels of war of large size. When the wind blows from the shore, the water, in the vicinity of the harbour, is usually smooth.

We put up at the house of the major who commanded the Arnaout corps, permanently stationed at Bala-Klava, and holding numerous posts on the neighbouring mountainous shore, for the purpose of keeping a look out. The major himself was absent, but we were hospitably received by his family.

On the following day we proceeded, in a

light boat rowed by four of the colonists, to the Monastery of Saint George, situated among the nearly-perpendicular rocks, extending for four or five miles to the west of Bala-Klava, and which are composed of a reddish limestone, having much the appearance of marble. A few hundred vards from the harbour we had a magnificent view of the south shore of the Crimea, bounded to the west by Cape Chersonesus, only a few miles distant, but to the east stretching to a great distance, and exhibiting numerous bold promontories and headlands of various forms, but all lofty and picturesque. About a mile and a half from Bala-Klava is a landing-place, from which two paths branch off. one conducting to the vineyards of the convent, on the lowest portion of the slope; and the other, a difficult and precarious track, leading directly up the rocks to the building, which was again sheltered to the north by other eliffs. From the landing-place to the monastery the shore presents the same precipitous aspect, looking as if the hills which terminate the peninsula in this direction had been broken abruptly off at their highest point towards the sea, though they fall with a long slope towards the interior. The effect from the water was very grand; and after rowing some miles beyond the cape, a striking land-mark presented itself, bearing west, where a pointed rock rose from the sea close to the shore.

We landed in a small bay on the east side of the convent, exactly at a point where the red limestone rock meets the white sandylooking calcareous stone, which also lies under the soil at Sebastopol and Inkermann. The path, though steep and little frequented, is quite practicable for both horse and foot passengers, but is commanded on every side by steep cliffs, terminating about three quarters of a mile from the landing-place, in grassy downs, which slope towards the phanal, or lighthouse, north of the cape, and to Sebastopol and Inkermann. After visiting the convent-a white building in the form of a cross, with a church attached we ascended to the summit of the eliffs, where our horses, brought round from BalaKlava, met us. Here we had an uninterrupted view as far as Sebastopol and Bala-Klava, whither we returned in the afternoon by a very agreeable road, skirting the summit of the rocks.

On the succeeding morning we proceeded to Baidar, a Tartar village, situated in a pleasant valley surrounded by woody mountains, very steep on their southern slope, dipping down to the precipitous rocky shore, which is about six miles from Baidar, and four from the top of the hills to the south. We passed over an agreeable country by a winding path among the hills, and on arriving at Baidar, put up at the house of the Cadi, a snug Tartar dwelling, where we were kindly received. Hence I went on foot to the crest of the hills towards the sea. The scenery was very wild and fine, and many high cliffs rose above, with eagles soaring over them, in great numbers.

Next day we set out at an early hour by a new highway for carriages, intended to be continued along the coast. It was well laid out, being carried in a zig-zag direction down the face of the mountain to the shore, and formed an easy descent, but as yet was only completed a short distance. This pass is very strongly situated.

The whole coast is of much the same character with that already described. Vast cliffs terminating on the north side in a well-wooded slope, bound the narrow plain; to the south are fields and vineyards, interspersed with rocks, and intersected with numerous streams. At Mahaloutka, about ten miles east of Mechatka, the first village below the heights, is a curious ancient pass, called the Merdven, or Ladder, leading into the interior, and which cannot be ascended on horseback without difficulty. It winds up the crags, and the ascent is rendered somewhat easier by wooden steps formed of rough logs, laid across, and fastened among the rocks, which seem, from below, to rise like a wall above the traveller's head. We were carried up this rough ascent by the horses of a friend of my companion, an officer who had served much in Poland, having been an aide-de-camp of the Grand

ALOUPKA

Duke Constantine at Warsaw, and who had purchased land at Mahaloutka.

Aloupka, whither we next proceeded, is situated in a delightful spot, a few hundred yards from the Euxine, and a short distance from the romantic rocks bounding the coast of the Crimea. The olive, and many plants which thrive only in a warm latitude, are to be found here; and the trees were now covered with leaves quite green, while at the distance of little more than a mile behind the hills, it was comparatively cold, and the forest trees were stripped of their leaves. The Governor's residence, a large and handsome building, close to a Tartar village, is surrounded by English gardens, picturesquely laid out among the rocks.

A short way to the east of Aloupka is Simeis, where the Governor-General's property is situated. At this place the olive was again tried for the first time recently in the Crimea, and the Governor-General has engaged a superintendent from Languedoc, or Provence, to attend to its culture. The trees, which appeared very healthy and

thriving, were at this time loaded with very fine olives. There are many old olive-trees on the coast of great size, which, as well as the vines, were undoubtedly planted by the Genoese. The latter have run altogether wild, in some places growing to an amazing height and length; and the former, for want of culture, produce no fruit. The cypress thrives extremely well, and there are now a great many young trees of this species on the coast. The two first planted are supposed to be about fifty years old. Many may now be seen amidst the remains of an old fort at Aloupka. Higher up the mountain is another fort on an elevated rocky height, marked by a lofty wooden cross. This is a very commanding spot, whence the coast is seen a considerable way on both sides of Aloupka. The village of Aloupka is altogether in the Tartar style, the roofs of the houses being low and flat, and almost hidden by trees, among which the finest walnuts are conspicuous. This tree, which grows here to an immense size, produces a vast quantity of the finest nuts.

We accompanied a party to Oreanda, which also is beautifully situated, close to the sea. Here we breakfasted, and the largest portion of the party then returned to Aloupka, but we went on to Aï-Daniel, where are large vineyards, all raised since 1826. *Numerous different kinds of grapes are produced upon this property, and at this time an immense cellar was filled with large harrels of various wines which had been made here. Some of these were good, but in general they differed from those of Europe. though carefully made in the same manner. After dinner we proceeded by moonlight, with a guide, to the Governor's residence at Oursouf-an old half-Turkish house, built by the Duc de Richelieu, who was the founder of Odessa, and governor of that portion of the empire, and of the Crimea.

On the following day, in our way to Aloushta, a town situated at the termination of a valley which runs down from the Chatir-Dagh, we passed a singular detached mountain to the right called the Ayou-Dagh or Bear Mountain, as the natives imagine

that it resembles that animal, in a couching position, drinking in the sea. Our journey from Sebastopol to this place had been performed on the horses of the country-very surefooted animals --- chiefly over rocky paths. From Aloushta there was already a carriage-way to Sympheropol, over the range of the Chatir-Dagh, and post-horses were to be had, but as we had no carriage, we again betook ourselves to telegas, and the change was not for the better. A delay of several hours occurred, waiting for horses, and it was quite dark before we had crossed the mountains. The Chatir-Dagh here rises above thick forests to the north, which, near its base, are chiefly of oak and beech, and higher up of pine. We found the road good and broad, but the ascent was rather steep. These mountains are very picturesque, and are said to abound in deer. They are also frequented by wild hogs, which are supposed to have gradually returned to the savage state, when the Mussulmans, who permit no domestic animals of that race to exist near their residences, drove them out of the After suffering the usual amount of inconvenience which telega travelling entails, we arrived at Sympheropol, and put up at the French inn. From this place we set out in a better carriage for Odessa, whither we arrived after a journey of three days. The second night we slept at Pericop, at the post-house, where the narrow neck of land which joins the Crimea to the mainland, is passed, and near which are the salt lakes, where salt is manufactured, the water being, from constant evaporation, much stronger than that of the sea.

CHAPTER IX.

Sebastopol—Mode of landing Troops—Point of Disembarkation—Plan of Campaign in the Crimea—Plan of Attack on Sebastopol

HAVING mentioned the state of the fortifications at Sebastopol, at the period of my visit, I may observe that it is, perhaps, unfortunate that between that time and the year 1853, almost no attention should have been given in England to their condition and progress. It is true that it was visited soon after I saw it, in consequence of my having reported what was then going on, by officers who more than corroborated my views: but when the war broke out, we had absolutely no positive information in England as to whether or not the plan for fortiiving the land side of the great naval arsenal of Russia, on the Black Sea, had, in the intervening period, been carried to completion. So late as last year (1853) travellers, who, however, were not military men, reported that the town was still altogether open to the land side. Detached works may, however, have existed even then which escaped their observation; and there is little doubt that, since the occurrence of war, the Russians have been busied in extending the defences on that side. The landing-places near the monastery of St. George are too precipitous to be surmounted in the face of a defending force prepared for such an attempt,-and any force landing on the level shore between Cape Kherson and Sebastopol, would most probably find itself at once engaged in a general action, and would have to fight for a space large enough to encamp upon. I am, therefore, certainly of opinion that a descent made in the immediate neighbourhood of Sebastopol, even with a strong and well-appointed force, especially after so much time has been allowed to Russia to erect fortifications therethough these may be only field-works-and to collect forces for their defence, would be a very bold and indeed hazardous undertaking, and that while a subsequent hasty re-embarkation, should it occur, without any object having been attained, would, in itself, be inglorious, a great loss in men and matériel would hardly fail to attend such a repulse.

When we consider the great scale on which arrangement must be made for attacking even an imperfectly-fortified place, the heavy and cumbrous cannon and siege stores which it would be necessary to land here, the great quantity of provisions requi-, site for the support of the besieging corps, to last possibly some months, and which must be collected in a secure situation; and when we take into calculation what a large force ought also to be kept in front to resist attempts to raise the siege: when we consider further that the army must land on a level shore, commanded at no great distance by heights of very considerable strength, and that the area where it would have to make all its preparations, is too confined for the operations of so large a force as would be required for such an attack, I feel persuader

that my view of the subject will be admitted to be just by all who have had experience in such matters, though it may not meet the wishes of many who are too impatient that a blow should be struck at any cost in that direction. If the object, however, were to take permanent possession of the Crimea, as well as to capture Sebastopol and the flect, it appears to me to involve a mere question of the adequate magnitude of the attacking force, and the proportionate scale of the operations engaged in, with due perseverance, in carrying on the struggle.

In attacking an insular or peninsular territory by disembarking an expeditionary force from a fleet, one great difficulty which attends it consists in establishing a firm and permanent base on shore from whence to commence subsequent operations. For us, this ought to be effected in a situation affording a good harbour for men-of-war and transports, and the local configuration should be such that the troops disembarking might be able at once to take up a position **Covering their lodgment**—if I may use the VOL II.

258 POINT OF DISEMBARKATION

expression,—which would give them a secure basis for future proceedings, and shelter when making arrangements preparatory to their advance.

Kozlof, or Eupatoria, on the Odessa side of the Crimea, has a harbour and good roads, leading towards Sympheropol, the scat of government, as well as to Sebastopol. But this landing-place is too liable to risk, from its proximity to the mainland, and the roads pass over open steppes, where an enemy, the strongest in cavalry, would have greatly the advantage. I think, therefore, that Kaffa, sometimes called Theodosia, is preferable for a disembarkation. It is an excellent and capacious harbour, and stands at the entry of a minor peninsula,* in which a body of troops of due strength might, after a short struggle, establish itself, particularly if a simultaneous descent were to be made at Kertch. They might then even fortify the isthmus, preparatory to pushing forward ; for it will be understood, that I consider it would be by no hurried coup de

* The peninsula of the Kertch.

main, but only by a period of steady and continued warfare, that we could effect the subjugation of the Crimea.

As a most important preliminary step. it appears to me that Anapa, on the nearest part of the Circassian coast, should be taken and garrisoned, and in order fairly to liberate the tribes of that country, that any forts on the coast which may still be in Russian possession, should be forthwith reduced. The Circassians, who are very efficient irregular horse, and all other tribes of the Caucasus who could co-operate, should be invited to hasten to Anapa, and as the strait leading into the Sea of Azof is there narrow and shallow, the men and their horses could be passed over by means of rafts or lighters, of which there are many at Yeni-Kalleh and other adjacent places, and the native horses could even be swam across a distance of several miles astern of the boats, so as to pour into the Crimea a countervailing force to the Cossack and other cavalry of the Russians. Much the same course might be adopted for the intro-

duction of supplies of cattle and sheep from the Caucasian shores, for the use of the army.

As to a plan of campaign, although such suggestions as are matter of study at a distance are too often liable to objection. yet from what I have seen of these countries, I think I may, without risking the imputation of very great presumption, venture to point out the advantages of commencing and completing operations in the strongest part of the country, before risking a final advance. The district, called the "south shore" of the Crimea, consists of what is evidently a low and narrow continuation of the Caucasian range, rising above the sea to an occasional altitude of 5000 feet. Its southern slope is divided from the Euxine by a narrow and often rocky plain, indented by the harbours of Soudag, Oursouf, Yaita, and Bala-Klava, all of which are good. To the north the ridge rises in steep hills and often in rocky walls, wooded at the summit, and occasionally plerced with valleys, having roads leading

into the interior. The roads to the westward of Aloushta are much the best, and are now excellent highways.

I shall suppose that a strong force of the allied armies has effected a disembarkation. and having cleared the peninsula of Kertch of the Russian troops, raised such defences towards the mainland, and so effectually secured the sandy ledge of Arabat, as to be able, with perfect prudence, to leave the peninsula in its rear. I consider it might be possible for a column of light troops, accompanied by sappers and artificers, and supported by steamers, to pass along this shore, securing each strong point in the passes through the mountain, while the main column of the army would advance along the sloping northern face of the range, where it dips towards the steppes of the Crimea. As both columns, advancing parallel to each other, reached in succession the small passes leading across the heights, they would seize and fortify them sufficiently to secure the means of future retreat through them, if retreat should unfortunately be

necessary, as well as to prevent any attempts on their rear; and for these reasons the improvement of the roads through the passes would be very desirable. These measures would, in case of necessity, afford means of reembarking at whatever might be the nearest harbour on the coast, when a retrograde movement was called for, leaving only a sufficient rear-guard to cover the retreat in the strongest part of the pass, which, as we have supposed, would have been previously strengthened by field-works, so situated that the enemy could not make them available against the covering corps, when it abandoned them, or against the army should it again advance.

The routes along the shore near the sea, below the mountain range between Kaffa and Aloushta, were, unlike those to the west of the latter place, very rugged and unconnected at the time of my visit to the peninsula; and should they still be found too difficult for a column of light troops, descents might probably be made from the steamers at the landing-places opposite the

small passes, so as to co-operate with the main column above, as it reached the debouching points, which would possibly answer as well as the continued advance of a light column along the shore.

I imagine that the whole mountain tract of the south shore might thus be taken possession of from Kertch to Sebastopol; but it is, of course, to be expected that some hard fighting would occur before this result could be attained; and even afterwards the flat country of the Crimea might become the theatre of a very severe struggle. But while the allies would have in their rear a strong country bordering on the sea, from whence they could draw their supplies, the Russians would have a flat country without a single position to retire upon; and in the event of being beaten, they would be forced back upon the isthmus of Pericop, and driven over it beyond the limits of the peninsula. Their supplies, too, in the Crimea, must all pass over this isthmus, as our supremacy affoat would enable us to stop all water transit, not only over the sea on the Odessa side, but also on that of Azof, as small steamers, gun-boats, and the very launches of our ships of war might, I have been told by good naval authority, enter that shallow inland sea, and sweep it clear of every description of vessel.

The capture of the town of Sebastopol, from the land side, would not be a serious undertaking to a victorious army, supported by a powerful fleet, and its sea batteries and the ships in its harbour would then fall easily under their combined fire. For this purpose siege-guns might be required on shore: but Bala-Klava and its excellent harbour would then have fallen, and would afford facilities for landing, if no nearer place should be available. Numerous ships and many troops would be requisite for these operations; but without such a force, all thoughts of disturbing the Crimea to a serious extent must be abandoned. While advancing along the south shore, the allied column on the north side of the heights, as well as to the south, would have the advantage of manœuvring in a country where a

large proportion of cavalry would not be indispensable; but on advancing across the steppes towards Pericop, a field eminently calculated for the employment of that arm would begin: and it is to be hoped that by that time we might assemble a strong force of cavalry for the purpose.

The foregoing seems an approximation to the best plan of operations which could now be adopted in an attack on the Crimea from the sea; and as a large Russian force, if not already on the spot, would certainly be hurried into the peninsula when it was known to be threatened, there is no denying that it is an undertaking of great magnitude, and of no little difficulty, especially if the passes through the mountains of the south shore should have been lately strengthened; which, as the possibility of such an attack, in the event of a rupture with the western powers, has long been quite obvious to the Russians, is by no means improbable.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX .--- No. 1.

Extract of the Communication alluded to at p. 4, Vol. I., relative to the expediency of defensive preparations in Turkey, dated Therapia, near Constantinople, 6th July, 1853.

"I VENTURE to submit a few reflections which occurred to me when formerly in this country, connected with its defence on the side towards Russia.

"In the first place, the line of the Danube is so extended, and the nature of the country in its immediate vicinity so favourable for a large manœuvring army, if opposed to one in such an imperfect state of training as that of Turkey,^{*} that it seems almost hopeless that they should meet their opponents successfully in such a locality, unless powerfully supported.

At the period at which this communication was written, not above 40,000 Turkish troops had been collected towards the frontier. " It may therefore be submitted that the best plan of operations would be only to garrison the fortresses on the Danube, and, as soon as possible, duly to strengthen the line of the Balkan, as the best situation in which the Turkish army could receive its assailants.

"With this view everything should be done to put Shumla and Varna in as complete a state of preparation to receive their garrisons as possible; and, moreover, all the passes leading through the mountains in their rear, should be artificially strengthened with field-works, looking towards those fortresses. It would be impossible to prepare such works at a period when active operations might be going on in the field, and the expense would be greatly diminished by employing the troops already in that neighbourhood, in their construction before their dispersion renders this impossible. There is a range of mountains called the Lesser Balkan, behind the great range looking towards the sea, the passes through which near Faki, should also be strengthened with a view to their occupation, as a force landing behind the passes through the Balkan, which lie in rear of Varna, might otherwise turn the main position, and penetrate from thence into the country.*

* The allied figets were at this time still in Besika Ray.

"Should the enemy succeed, as before, in reaching Adrianople, it is believed that Constantinople might still be defended by occupying positions which EXTEND FROM THE CREEKS OR LAKES CALLED BUYUK CHEKMAGEE AND KUTCHUK CHEKMAGEE, ON THE SEA OF MARMORA, TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA. These positions, however, ought also to be artificially strengthened.

" Lastly, the peninsula on the European side of the Dardanelles, ought to be strengthened against a land attack BY WORKS RAISED ACROSS THE NARROW-EST PART OF THE ISTHMUS NORTH-LAST OF GALLIPOLI. as most of the batteries on that side of the strait could easily be carried from the heights behind them, if left as they now are. It would also be very desirable that the Gulf of Saros, behind that peninsula, should be accurately surveyed, and the soundings near the isthmus correctly laid down, a favourable opportunity for doing which is, I presume, afforded by the presence of the fleet. I say this in the belief that no such survey at present exists. In the event of our ships having at any period to act there, and possibly to land troops, this would be found of great utility. Works are to a certain extent in progress in rear of the batteries on the Bosphorus, which was a precaution much called for. The other localities I have adverted to would require the careful examination of scien-

APPENDIX.

tific officers of engineers,* who might afterwards lay down the works and superintend their execution, and I fear that the Turkish military establishment does not afford a sufficient number for this undertaking, and it is indeed the impression on my mind that the whole staff arrangements in this country are still very deficient, which has led

* I believe that the distinguished commission which visited Gallipoli some months after this communication was made, having reconnoitred very particularly the whole length of the isthmus, selected, as the most suitable position for a line of works, the narrowest part of it, which lies six or seven miles above Gallipoli, and where it is about three miles broad, and presents the favourable features pointed out in my communications of the 6th July and 11th October, 1853, as given above. As perceived from the first, it was very advisable to select the shortest line, if otherwise suitable, because the labour and expense of erecting even field-works here would be thereby greatly diminished; and it must be borne in mind that the construction of permanent fortifications may be afterwards adopted, with a view to leaving Turkey, at the conclusion of the war, in greater safety from fresh attacks on the part of Russia. On this account, and to make the works defensible by as small a force as possible, fine positions several miles higher up the strait were rejected, and the works are now constructing at the narrowest part of the isthmus on a plan which will admit of their being ultimately rendered permanent. Though they do not form quite a straight line, but retire on the left, they keen along the high ground. owing to the configuration of the shore and of the heights. and are shorter than a line would have been drawn at that point directly across the isthmus.

me to point out, though in a manner which may perhaps be considered very crude and imperfect, the expediency of these measures. I presume that it is ascertained that the Bays of Bourgas and Varna would afford practicable stations for our ships of war, but I am informed that the shores of the Black Sea generally are not very well known to any navy, unless it be that of Russia, and its various harbours, which are, I believe, difficult to find except by running along shore, are not accurately laid down. Some previous examination of the ports of the Turkish shore, made while it may be practicable, might, I should suppose, prove very useful if our squadron were hereafter to enter the Black Sea, which could at present be best done, perhaps, by British naval officers, assisted by some able seamen, on board a good Turkish steamer, with a commander and men generally acquainted with these coasts.

"If the principalities are to be forcibly occupied by Russia, it is very probable that troops may frequently be sent by water between the peninsula of the Crimes and the opposite shore, to which our cruisers in that sea might cause great interruption, and by assailing Odessa (which I believe still only possesses an insignificant fort), as well as other open places on the coast, they might draw forth

APPENDIX.

the Russian squadron from its stronghold of Sebastopol.

" I wrote some account of that harbour* and its works then finished and in progress, when I was there, and of Bala-Klava near it.

"The memorandum was entitled 'Remarks on the operations of Russia near the Black Sca.""

APPENDIX,-No. 2.

Extract of a second communication relative to the expediency of defensive preparations in Turkey, made after returning to England, 11th October, 1853.

"WHEN I was at Constantinople in summer, apprehensions existed that the advance of the Russians would not stop at the Danube, which caused me to make some suggestions upon that subject of a professional nature.

"Having formerly passed a considerable time in the provinces and capital of Turkey, I am enabled to speak of the country from personal observation; and as there is again apparently a renewal of agitation in the East, I would observe, that I think that even though the Russians were to be the con-

* Sebastopol.

querors in case of hostilities with the Turks.* and even though they were to effect the occupation of Constantinople, the Dardanelles might still be held by a power having the command of a fleet, even though that fleet might not be on the very spot at the moment; but this could only be done if that position were to be augmented in strength on the land side. On the Asiatic side of these straits, forts were crected about the time of Mehemet Ali's defection, from a fear of his advancing and seizing on that important channel; but when I last passed through it, no new work had been even commenced on the European side, which is a peninsula connected by a narrowneck with the mainland. In case of a land attack, it could not be defended by the old Turkish castles or batteries, chiefly on the water's edge; and if the peninsula were once occupied, they must themselves very soon fall into the hands of the assailants

"To prevent such an occupation by a force passing over the neck or isthmus, I would propose that a strong line of defensive works should be erected across its nurrowest part, which is only a few miles broad, and at which point the slope of the land is favourable for the purpose. It

* At this time the formation of an Allied Expeditionary Force had not been publicly discussed.

APPENDIX.

lies some miles above (that is, north-cast) of Gallipoli.

"As the fortification of the isthmus would require time, and as the winter there is usually not so severe as to prevent such works from being proceeded with, it might be worthy of consideration whether they should not be commenced as soon as the risk of hostilities in spring may appear to be imminent.

"If the Russians were enabled to advance on Constantinople, there is no doubt they would make a simultaneous movement on the Dardanelles, and would easily carry the batteries on the European side by the gorge—I say, the gorge, as the works have only thin walls on the land side.

"Constantinople itself is so extensive, that an army might occupy its inland portions without fear of being dislodged by a fleet, though it might bombard and batter the districts near the water. A struggle of this kind would cause the entire destruction of the city, but mere operations from the sea would have little other result."

APPENDIX.-No. 3.

Extract of a communication similar to the preceding one, dated November, 1853.

"ON the Adrianople side the country resembles the rest of the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople, but at the distance of two hours it ascends considerably, and beneath the last height in that direction lies the lake of Kutchuk Chekmagee. This lake is separated from the sea by a marshy tongue or isthmus, narrow, and divided by outlets from the lake, which is brackish. The breadth of the lake is here about three-quarters of a mile, but it increases higher up, and at the distance of three or four miles divides into a fork, that nearest Constantinople receiving the river which anciently bore the name of the Bathynias.

"At the Great Lake, about two hours further on, beyond a country of heights and valleys, is also a position which looks down upon the lake and isthmus of Buyuk Chekmagee; the latter of which is reached by a zig-zag road, descending from the crest above into the town of that name.

"The spot is very strong, but nothing has been done by art to render it stronger. A few works on the heights above, and to the left of the town near a burying-ground, would command the isthmus, and close the road from Adrianople, or even a couple of Martello towers in advance of the bridge, not immediately commanded from the heights in that direction, might possibly lead to the last-mentioned result. As it is, there is not a gun near the spot, and the country is generally smooth and open. Nothing seems done with judgment, on any side, to cover the capital, so strongly situated by nature.

"The lakes in question form the left of a strong defensible line, which has its right on the fort of Kara Bornoo on the Bluck Sea, which is again strongthened by the proximity to its front of another large salt lake. Between this fort and Domusdereh, near the entry of the Bosphorus, there is no practicable landing-place for a hostile force. The town of Chatsalda is about ten miles from the passage over the marshy ledge which separates the greater lake (Buyuk Chekmagee) from the sea. That lake is gradually lost in marsh near Chatsalda, and the advance of troops might be rendered very difficult by taking advantage of the country immediately east of that place, and strengthening it artificially. The distance from Chatsalda to the Black Sea is about. thirteen miles, and a little to the north-east the range of the Little Balkan begins, which runs

pretty steeply down to the shore of the Bosphorus, but slopes more gradually towards the Black Sea. The routes through it are difficult and unmade, and there can be little doubt that this line, if properly strengthened and defended, would put Constantinople beyond the risk of capture. It would cover effectually the great bends or reservoirs on which the city depends for water, and the country which would be enclosed by it might be rendered prosperous and fruitful, so as to yield supplies to the capital.

"The unfavourable treaty of Adrianople in 1829 was hurriedly concluded to save Constantinople from the presence of Diebitsch's army, the advance guard of which had reached Chatsalda. The facts which I have represented in this letter I lately communicated through an influential channel to the proper authorities at the Porte, but I know not whether they have profited by the suggestions."

APPENDIX .- No 4.

Memoranda of Excursions in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus.

LEAVING the north end of Buyukdereh, I proceeded up the cliffy valley which runs north-west from the back of the village, towards the Black
Sea, and which is, on both sides, very abrupt, particularly on the right hand, while the country round is bushy and broken. After an ascent of more than a mile, by a very practicable horse-road, which, with a little trouble, might be made available for carriages, I reached the crest of the heights from which the Black Sea, distant about five miles, is distinctly seen. At the back the view embraces the Bosphorus, from Buyukdereh to the turn above Roumeli Hissar, and the country towards Constantinople. A range of heights, forming the northern enclosure of the Bosphorus, rises to the right, overlooking the forts which border the strait, and which lie directly beneath. Rounding a rocky eminence, a turn in that direction brought me on to the ridge, along which I proceeded till I reached the lighthouse at Fanaraki on the Black Sea, just where it receives the waters of the Bosphorus. The heights are, in surface, nearly flat, with a slope towards the sea; but, on the other side, descend very abruptly to the Bosphorus; and on the left is a deep narrow valley, having a similar but lower ridge beyond, running out into counterforts, or bastion-like hills, with considerable command. The road being sandy is at all times very good for wheels, and many paths branch off in different directions. The heights must be a complete key to the weak forts

on this side of the passage, and indeed command several on the other side at the narrowest parts, at least with shells; yet, if I except some wooden blockhouses erected here in 1853, no attempt has been made, by crecting works along this chain, to cover the rear of the forts: for such an object certainly cannot be effected by the fortress of Karibjeh, a small tower or two, and a circular battery of masonry in decay, which stand behind the second fort on entering the Bosphorus, and which is extremely ill-placed. There is a fine view from the lighthouse, to which I was unable to gain admission on my first visit, as the keeper, who was said to be at Stamboul, had gone off with the keys; but, on a second occasion, I was more fortunate, and ascended to the top. The shore is very rocky and abrupt, and I was informed that there was no road all the way along the Bosphorus to Buyukdereh. To the north of the town and lighthouse, quite on the Euxine, is a small bay and creek, and here I saw large fishing-vessels hauled ashore on the gravelly beach. Beyond, close to the sea, is the fort called Roomeli Bornoo, merely surrounded by a good stone wall. The ground near is a little higher than it.

On returning from the village, I passed down a rocky descent to the bay below this fort, instead of going back by the road I had come upon. Cross

ing the creek at its top, by a wooden bridge of some length, which appeared to be at the mouth of the valley, and keeping the Bosphorus in the rear, I proceeded along the shore, to the fort or castle of Killia, whence there is a full view of the Black Sea, on which, indeed, it stands. The structure, which has several bastions, but no ditch or glacis, resembles the defences on the Bosphorus, though it is of better construction, and, for the kind of work, seems pretty well executed. In line near it are three high narrow square towers, forming a suterazee for the supply of water, which might be easily destroyed. The space between the castle and the lighthouse is indented by several small bays terminating the valleys, and having a gravelly beach, sheltered by rocks.

Turning back to Buyukdereh by a good road with occasional fragments of old causeway, I crossed the deep valley between the heights, keeping on past the lighthouse till I regained the rocky eminence behind Buyukdereh, from which I had first descended. I observed that the shore was very imperfectly covered by the two castles, which are about five miles apart; and Killia could easily be taken, and be converted into a sort of *point d'appui*. The whole country, like that behind Buyukdereh, is bushy and very undulating—indeed abrupt, but not rocky or difficult to cross. It offers KILLIA

favourable ground for light infantry, or even light cavalry; and has some good villages and farms. and plenty of water and wood.

From this point the heights first described present a still more position-like appearance, and good redoubts or Martello towers, with ditches and glacis, would make them very strong. I passed through the villages of Scombrie Kioi, Sakara Kioi, &c.; and not far from the route was the range which supplies water to Constantinople, by the bends or reservoirs. The following is a state ment of the time occupied by the excursion :--

			1	lours
To the lighthouse .			•	14
To the last fort (Kilha)				1
Return to Buyukdereh	•	•	•	13
Total				4

This includes stoppages; and my pace was the ambling canter of the country. The distance, as afterwards measured, on Sebastopulo's map. is 18 miles as the crow flics.

On a second excursion, instead of keeping so much to the right, as the rocky eminence ascended before, I proceeded by a better road leading over the height to the left of it, and which makes an acute angle with the position, looking well down the valley to the north in its front. Hence I

ing the creek at its top, by a wooden bridge of some length, which appeared to be at the mouth of the valley, and keeping the Bosphorus in the rear, I proceeded along the shore, to the fort or castle of Killia, whence there is a full view of the Black Sea, on which, indeed, it stands. The structure, which has several bastions, but no ditch or glacis, resembles the defences on the Bosphorus, though it is of better construction, and, for the kind of work, seems pretty well executed. In line near it are three high narrow square towers, forming a suterazee for the supply of water, which might be easily destroyed. The space between the castle and the lighthouse is indented by several small bays terminating the valleys, and having a gravelly beach, sheltered by rocks.

Turning back to Buyukdereh by a good road with occasional fragments of old causeway, I crossed the deep valley between the heights, keeping on past the lighthouse till I regained the rocky eminence behind Buyukdereh, from which I had first descended. I observed that the shore was very imperfectly covered by the two castles, which are about five miles apart; and Killia could easily be taken, and be converted into a sort of *point d'appui*. The whole country, like that behind Buyukdereh, is bushy and very undulating—indeed abrupt, but not rocky or difficult to cross. It offers

KILLIA.

favourable ground for light infantry, or even light cavalry; and has some good villages and farms. and plenty of water and wood.

From this point the heights first described present a still more position-like appearance, and good redoubts or Martello towers, with ditches and glacis, would make them very strong. I passed through the villages of Scombrie Kioi, Sakara Kioi, &c.; and not far from the route was the range which supplies water to Constantinople, by the bends or reservoirs. The following is a statement of the time occupied by the excursion :---

To the lighthouse					Hours. 14
To the last fort (Killia)					
Return to Buyukdereh	•	•	•	•	13
Total					4

This includes stoppages; and my pace was the ambling canter of the country. The distance, as afterwards measured, on Sebastopulo's map, is 18 miles as the crow flies.

On a second excursion, instead of keeping so much to the right, as the rocky eminence ascended before, I proceeded by a better road leading over the height to the left of it, and which makes an acute angle with the position, looking well down the valley to the north in its front. Hence I

could see the castle of Killia directly to the north, -the heights near the European lighthouse being, as far as I could guess, north-east. The commanding eminence from whence I enjoyed this extensive view, covers the valleys behind, and is an advanced point in the position. It is probably two and a-half miles from Buyukdereh Proceeding a little to the left I opened northwards a square old castle-Ovid's Tower, also on high ground, to the right of a small wood, and constituting a good landmark. To this I bent my steps, passing through the Turkish village of Sakara Kioi, and crossing a grassy valley with gentle slopes, from which the tower is about a mile distant. On coming up I found a Roman-looking building 50 feet by 30, formerly three stories high, but now without a roof. Apparently, however, it might be sensity repaired, which is very desirable, as it has a fine view over the country, including Scombrie Kioi, though the castle of Killia on the sea is not well seen from it, but must bear about 20° east of north. Turning to the south, or left, of the small wood, I proceeded up the valley, which continues for some way presenting a fine undu-lating country, partially wooded and well culti-Just before evering the forest of Belgrade, t about half a mile m Ovid's Tower, is another ne view. 🖻

 $\mathbf{284}$

After riding about a quarter of an hour through woody hilly ground, I opened the valley of Batchi Kioi. This I did not enter; but inclining to the right, through the wood, in a quarter of an hour more reached the bend or reservoir of Sultan Mahmoud. Thence, shaping my course a little west of north, I pushed through the forest, and, in ten minutes, came in sight of the village of Belgrade, at the bottom, and passed through it, ascending the valley towards the right, to the Buyukdereh aqueduct. The bend lay still further to the right, while the village of Batchi-Kioi was a little on my left. Passing under an arch of the aqueduct, which spans a good road partly paved, I descended the valley to Buvukdereh.

On a third excursion, I crossed the Bosphorus from Therapia, and landing at Hunkier Skalasi, proceeded up the neighbouring valley, passing the Sultan's kiosk on the right. This is an excellent place for a camp, affording wood, water, and fine turf; and was occupied in 1833 by a Russian corps of 20,000 men, which came to Turkey from the Crimea. The position is extensive, and overlooks the Bosphorus; but a corps posted here could not interfere with an occupation of the heights on the west side of the strait, which I visited-in my two previous rides, as the passage across the Bosphorus ' would be extremely difficult.

About a mile up the valley I turned to the left, and ascending the heights, in about an hour and a half gained the summit of what is called the Giant's Mountain, a commanding spot, marked by a building called the Tomb of the Giant, from whence the whole Bosphorus is as fully seen as from any other point. A deep valley, without roads, separates this hill from that surmounted by the large ruinous building, usually called the Genoese Castle, about a mile higher up. A détour, on a good road, exposed some flat ground behind fit for encampment. From thence to the lighthouse of Asia, which may be rather more than six miles by the road, the country is more hilly and difficult, and covered with brushwood, while deep valleys run through it down to the Bosphorus. The lighthouse is protected by a small fort, and from its top commands a good prospect of the Black Sea and Bosphorus. As far as the eye can • reach there is no castle or fort visible on the Asiatic side of the Black Sea. Koom-Borneo. a point about a mile and a quarter distant, would be a good situation for one; but the nearest fort in that direction is Riza, a distance of about four miles.

My route back was over the country to Hunkier Skalasi passing near many heights, and across many valleys, a very woody and intricate district. The road, however, was good, striking into a causeway in the valley, which reaches the Bosphorus below Beikos, and which also leads to the village of Injir Kioi.

In my former excursion I passed at Yeni Mahalleh, on a crest above the Bosphorus, and nearly on the summit of the heights, a single high tree, visible at a great distance, and marking a point very well calculated for the site of a Martello tower or other work. Works near the Tower of Ovid would cover three of the bends or reservoirs, viz., Mahmoud, Validi, &c., which are now quite open and undefended. They would command a view of all the coast.

From the height on which stands the old ruinous castle or convent on the European side, some way to the east of the tree mentioned, and above the batteries of Roomeli Kavac, the guns in these batteries might be dismounted without returning a shot, and shells might be thrown into the opposite fort of Anatoli Kavac from the same place, as it is not more than a mile from it.

Roomeli Kavac was built in the time of Sultan Mahmoud IV. to repel the attacks of Cossacks who then infested those seas. The batteries of Deli Tabia, Fil Bornoo, and Yousha, a large work below the Giant's Mountain, were constructed in the celebrated Hassan Capitan Pasha's time by Mounier, a French Engineer, in 1794.

On a height, close to the wall of the European lighthouse, one gun might dismount several of those in the works below.

APPENDIX.-No. 5.

Excursion to the Walls of Constantinople.

I TOOK advantage of a very agreeable January day, after a thaw which had followed a fortnight's frost and snow, to make the circuit of the city of Constantinople; and setting forth with the Kavoss Mustapha, we descended through the small cemetery to the place of embarkation, immediately beyond the northern gate of Galata, called the Meit-Kapoo, and proceeded in a cayique to the port of Eyoob. In this suburb is the mosque in which the Grand Seignor, on coming to the throne, is invested with the sword of Othman—a ceremony equivalent to coronation in the case of European sovereigns.

In our progress up the harbour we had passed the fleet, which at that time was always brought into the stream in winter, close to the nage arsenal, and dismantled; and in spring was again equipped for sea and anchored in the Bosphorus; freshly rigged and painted, with its batteries of brass guns highly polished. The ships certainly

presented a fine appearance, but the crews were miserable.

Having landed in the city, we procured horses, which carried us better than their appearance promised, over wretched ways. Preceded by a Suragee, or postilion, we passed through the thickly-peopled streets near the Aivan-Serai-Kapoo, or gate of the post-horse office (literally of the castle of animals-meaning horses), and immediately after leaving the gate we turned to the left and skirted the walls, on an old paved road of about fifteen feet in breadth, and in an execrable condition, leading to the sea on the other side of the peninsula, near the castle of the Seven Towers. Nothing could be more impressive and picturesque than the scenes through which the old causeway passes, although they possessed little variety. To the left were the ancient walls, of great height and thickness, faced with solid masonry, having at short intervals towers of various forms, but all of the same height-some being round, some square, and some polygonal. They have probably been little changed by the hand of man since Mahomet II. entered the city, nearly 400 years ago, by a breach near the Top Kapoo, which is still visible ; but they have not escaped so scathless from the ravages of time, and by this they have probably gained in

the picturesque. Their colour is a reddish-grey, or light-brown, as the marble-looking limestone is mixed with Roman brick, and overgrown in many places with ivy. They may be compared to a succession of Gothic or Norman castles, extending for half a dozen miles; some of the towers being quite as large as those of such ancient buildings.

The whole give a grand impression of the power by which they were erected, even without placing implicit faith in several old Greek inscriptions chiselled on white marble tablets, which are to be seen high up the walls of several of the towers, and which assert that they were built by the Emperor Theodosius, in "twice thirty days." This, I presume, must allude to the particular towers which bear these inscriptions, and not to the entire wall of the city.

Such a ride by the ruined walls of one of the greatest seats of empire which has ever existed, but where now the population is so reduced that hardly a dwelling is to be seen or a passenger met with, presented melancholy evidence of the mutability and perishable character of all terrestrial things, and was in keeping with the scenery towards the country. A black forest of noble cypresses, forming a rough and neglected labyrinth of the gloomiest description, stretched towards the west

on passing the old palace of the Greek Emperors, within the Egri Kapoo gate, while grey tombstones, the accumulations of ages, rose in myriads, looking, at first sight, like the stumps of felled timber; though when closely inspected, they are discovered to be almost all of marble, curiously carved, and covered with inscriptions, surmounted as usual with turbans of various forms. As we passed the Top Kapoo (gate of cannon), which will be remembered as the scene of the affecting death of Agnanosti, in Hope's "Anastasius," T observed a bier beneath, supporting the remains of some pious Mussulman. Both the bier and coffin were covered with drapery, of red and other bright colours; and at the head was a large turban of white muslin, wound round a crimson cap. The Kavoss Mustapha, explained that this was a common practice, and that the body would remain at the gate until certain prayers had been offered up-probably till next day. Further on, at the gate of Silivria, beyond which is the burying-ground of the Greek and Armenian Christians, we came up with the funeral of an Armenian, attended by priests chaunting their burial service.

The Eastern Christians bury their dead a very few hours after their decease, in open coffins, clothed as during life; and as their robes are ample, and give great dignity of appearance, there is nothing very unbecoming in the usage. The Portuguese and Neapolitan catholics have the same custom; but their mode of clothing the corpse in a gay suit of clothes, and placing it on an open bier, is extremely revolting.

We soon passed the cemeteries; but there was still less of the busy hum of men without the land walls of Stamboul. We saw only a few labourers employed in the gardens, which here are very numerous, and were at that season teeming with fruit and vegetables—oranges and figs hanging on the trees till the middle of winter. Now and then, indeed, we met a party of passing horsemen, but they hurried along like ourselves without stopping.

After an hour's ride we found ourselves at the Seven Towers, and turned through the Yedi-Koolleler-Kapoo, as the gate is called, to examine that famous castle, once the terror of Christian ambassadors, when impending war with the barbarous race of Othman sometimes led to their incarceration in this prison till the restoration of peace. We entered the porch without distnounting, but not having taken the precaution of procuring an order from the Seraskier Pasha (Commander of the Land Forces), we were refused further ingress, and were obliged to confine our survey to the exterior. There are no longer seven towers standing; and we could perceive that two of the number had lately been patched up in slight paltry masonry, daubed over with a greyish wash, which gave them, notwithstanding their huge and massive proportions, something of the aspect of a castle in a cockney's garden. The others stand unaltered.

The Golden or Beautiful Gate is believed by some to have stood at the Seven Towers; it is even said that it still exists there, though concealed by the masonry of the more modern castle. Its having occupied this site, however, is disputed. Hammer (who quotes the Chron. Alexand. in Phoca.) remarks (p. 213, I.). that the μ_{earn} , or great central street, led from the gate in a right line to the Imperial Palace, which stood on what is now called the Seraglio Point. We passed through some gardens within the walls, situated among vaulted ruins of fallen towers and buildings, resembling those among the remains of the palace of the Cæsars at Rome.

Opposite the Gate of Silivria is a row of five tombstones, erected by an Albanian as a tribute of gratitude to the family of the Pasha of Janina, well-known to many British officers stationed in formerdays at Corfu, and mentioned in the pages of "Childe Harold." They mark the spot where

the heads of old Ali, his sons Mouchtar, Sahleh, and Veli, and his grandson Mahmout (Veli's son) were committed to the earth, after having been exposed as usual, in such cases, at the gate of the Seraglio, in consequence of their revolt. The Albanian had bought them from the head executioner, who, among other perquisites, claims the heads of delinquent Pashas.

Lord Byron refers to the cemeteries of Constantinople in a letter to his mother given in Moore's life. The passage is as follows :-- "The walls of the Seraglio are like the walls of Newstead gardens, only higher, and much in the same order ; but the ride by the walls of the city on the land side is beautiful. Imagine four miles of immense triple battlements, covered with ivy, surmounted with 218 towers, and, on the other side of the road Turkish burying-grounds, the loveliest spots on the earth, full of enormous cypresses. I have seen the ruins of Athens, of Ephesus, and Delphi, I have traversed a great part of Turkey, and many parts of Europe, and some of Asia; but I never beheld a work of nature or art that yielded an impression like the present on each side of the Seven Towers to the end of the Golden Horn."

Singularly enough Byron speaks also of the unfortunate grandson of the Pasha of Janina, whose head, as I have just stated, lies buried with

those of four elder relatives, in one of the cemeteries he has mentioned :—"1 remember," he says, "Mahmout Pasha, the grandson of Ali Pasha, at Janina (a little fellow of ten years of age, with large black eyes, which our ladies would have purchased at any price, and those regular features which distinguish the Turks) asked me how 1 travelled so young without anybody to take care of me. This question was put by the little man with all the gravity of threescore, &c."

Mr. Walsh, who resided long at Constantinople as chaplain to the Embassy, says that the basis of the walls, near Blackarnes are Cyclopean; but I saw no masonry that was not in horizontal courses, which cannot, properly speaking, be termed the Cyclopean method.

THE END.

.