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LANDS,

CLASSICAL AND SACRED.

BY LORD NUGENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1846.

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1843

THE
HISTORY OF
THE
CITY OF
LONDON

The history of the city of London, from its first settlement, to the present time, is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished historians and writers of the age. The history of the city of London is a subject which is of great interest and importance to all who are interested in the history of the British Empire. It is a subject which is of great interest and importance to all who are interested in the history of the British Empire.

NOTICE
TO
SECOND EDITION.

THE present work is a republication of Lord Nugent's 'Lands Classical and Sacred,' published at the beginning of 1845, in 2 vols., post 8vo. The third chapter of Vol. I., which treated of the political state of Greece in 1843, has been here omitted.



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LANDS, CLASSICAL AND SACRED.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival in Greece—Patras—Gulf of Corinth—Loutrachi—
Isthmus—Peiræus—Athens—Temple of Theseus—Acro-
polis—Pnyx—Æschines—Hill of Mars—St. Paul.

I OCCUPIED myself for nearly six months, from the beginning of December, 1843, to near the end of May, 1844, in the fulfilment of a wish I had long formed, that of visiting Athens, Ægypt, the Holy Land, and Syria. On my way from Malta to Athens, I passed three very happy days among my old friends at Corfu; a sojourn made all the more agreeable to me by the hospitality and kindness of the Lord High Commissioner, Lord Seaton, —by the opportunity it gave me of forming his acquaintance, and by all which in that short time I saw of the measures in progress under his wise and good government for the benefit of a people whose many excellent qualities I so well know, and which deserve to be kindly cherished, frankly acknowledged, and affectionately remembered. As I eagerly closed with the warmly expressed invitation I re-

ceived again to visit Corfu and the islands on my way back from Syria, I postpone to the account of my return thither all notice of the observations I was enabled to form on subjects so interesting to me. I proceed to the main object of my journey.

On the 20th of December I left Corfu in an Austrian steam-packet for Patras. There, the next morning, I spent a couple of hours with Mr. Crowe, the British consul, breakfasting with him, and afterwards walking with him and his family over the town and the magnificent hill at the back of it, on which its ancient castle stands, and other ground on its outskirts, which he and I had traversed together nearly ten years before. About half a mile to the south-westward of the town, on the shore, are a small church and well, dedicated to St. Andrew, near the spot where, according to tradition, that apostle was crucified. We visited the school of Mutual Instruction (*σχολειον αλληλο-διδασκαλειον*), established and conducted by the Greeks themselves, but which has also derived great advantage from the attention bestowed upon it by the daughters of Mr. Crowe, whose hereditary talents* so eminently qualify them for rendering their assistance valuable in the advancement of such objects.

Patras is famous in the history of the Grecian war of independence, as the place where the vene-

* Mr. Crowe is son of William Crowe, formerly publick orator of the University of Oxford; a man whose memory is respected by all who were admitted to acquaintance with him, and whose taste and learning none are strangers to who have read from his pen some of the best lectures and treatises ever published on the subject of English metrical composition.

rable Bishop Germanos headed the first revolt against the Turks. Here he reared the banner of the white cross, unsupported but by the enthusiasm of the mountaineers of the surrounding district. The example soon spread to the opposite coast. It kindled a spirit of obstinate resistance at Missolonghi. This spirit was so organised by the genius of Lord Byron, and conducted by the devoted patriotism of Prince Mavrocordato, as to enable a small town hardly walled towards the land side, and almost without means of succour from the sea, to challenge all the means that Turkish Ætolia could bring against it, and, after enduring a siege of eight months, to beat back the Moslem force upon a country which this success had inspired with a kindred confidence, and had called forth to its allotted duties in the cause of Grecian freedom.

From Patras we stood up the Gulf of Corinth; scenery not altogether new to me, since, in former times, I had landed from thence at the Scala di Salona (ancient Cirrha), on an excursion to Delphi.*

We passed the castles of the Morea. We passed Lepanto on our left, which looks down upon the waters famous for that renowned sea-fight so well placed by Lord Byron as intermediate in history between Actium and Trafalgar. We passed Vostitza, with its humble pier, its flat-roofed houses, and stupendous plane-tree, on our right; and, on the same night, having seen a glorious sunset cast all its varied colours on the pine forests, rocks, and snows of the Parnassus range, we anchored at Loutrachi (the "little bath"), at the north-eastern end of the Bay of Corinth.

* See Appendix I.

The origin of the name of Loutrachi will easily appear to any one who will walk about two hundred yards along a low shelf of rocks overhanging the sea to the westward of a small custom-house, which alone marks the site of what was formerly a town. He will there, at the foot of the rocks, find three hot springs, each distant about ten yards from the next to it; the furthest, the most powerful, rising in a narrow cavern, and gushing in a strong stream into the sea. Each of these springs (I did not try them with a thermometer, but only by wading into them, the furthest reaching nearly to my knee) is of the temperature of certainly more than ninety degrees, I should think somewhere about a hundred, of Fahrenheit.

From Loutrachi, on the morning of the 22nd, I walked with some of the party from our vessel across the isthmus. Our luggage was carried on cars to Kalamaki, near to the ancient Cenchreïæ, on the opposite gulf, where another Austrian steamer waited to receive us. This passage is, in fine weather, much better made on foot than in a car with the luggage, and quite as expeditiously. The track, which is called the Hexamilion (six miles), but which, in truth, is not more than five in length, commands an expanse of rare beauty all along. During the first half of the walk, the Acro Corinthus and site of the ancient city stand full in view; * that city, the "friend of Sparta, and rival of Athens," the last stronghold of the Achaian

* I do not break in upon the order of time in my narrative, by describing places which I did not visit till subsequently to the time of which it treats. Some months afterwards, I had an opportunity of passing a few hours at Corinth.

league, once famous above all other cities in Greece for the extent of its commerce, the beauty of its coinage, and the skill of its artisans ;—Corinth, the queen of seventy prosperous colonies, and, amidst all the allurements of its own wealth and luxury, and in the days when Grecian liberty was lost, the home and refuge of the ancient philosophy, and the first among the Grecian schools to receive and spread forth among the Gentiles the doctrines of the Christian revelation.

The latter half of the walk across the isthmus leads down a sandy path, among young pine-trees, juniper, and cistus, to one of those prospects seen nowhere but in Greece: a range of deep blue waters, studded with islands, and bounded on either side by swelling mountains and bold pinnacles, every one of them a time-honoured monument, as it were inscribed with some great name sacred to us from our earliest days ;—the gorge through which Leonidas passed on towards Thermopylæ, the hills of Phyle and of Thebes, and those which look down upon Megara, Eleusis, Salamis, and Ægina, as they rise successively over the bay of Cenchrea, and the Saronick gulf on the way to Athens.

We reached the Peiræus by moonlight. It is a fine bright harbour ; to be entered, as of old, only through the narrow opening between the pillars of the Lions. The ancient pedestals are still there. The statues with which they had been adorned by Cimon were carried away by Morosini and his Venetians, who, in a spirit well befitting a Vandal origin, memorized his own shameful plunder by changing the glorious name of Peiræus into the bastard compound of Porto Leone. But classical as well as moral justice has at last been done be-

tween these two famous sea-born republicks of ancient and of modern Europe: Athens, who first framed and established within her walls that scheme of popular jurisprudence which has since been applied as the safeguard of personal rights and publick justice in all free states; Venice, who invested with the symbols of democracy the most cruel, odious, and debauching tyranny of which any history bears record, and who finally, having surrendered all on purchase, even to the symbols themselves which she had so long dishonoured, lies chained to the footstool of one of the last remaining arbitrary governments of the world. The lions of the Peiræus are at Venice still. But the Peiræus is now again a Grecian port, and Athens the capital of a free country, made so by the act of her children; while Venice, a city of deserted palaces, is but the sepulchre of a proud, vicious ancestry, whose descendants are subjects of Austria.

The entrance of the Peiræus is extremely ill lighted at night. On each of the pillars is a lantern. These are intended to be sea-marks for the coast, as well as guides through a channel where a large ship in passing has but little room to spare on either side. But they are much too dim to answer the former purpose well at any time; and the latter purpose is left unprovided for during the greater number of the dark hours; for the lanterns are so ill furnished that they begin to "pale their ineffectual fires" generally within three or four hours of being kindled, and, through the winter months, when their duty begins early, always expire about midnight. The lighthouse on the headland anciently called the Promontory of Alcimus, to the southward of the entrance, standing between

the Peiræus and Munichea, answers well the purpose of a distant sea-mark. The Peiræus is finely flanked by this ground on the one hand, and on the other by the high hills which to the northward reach from Ægaleia to Parnes. It is hollowed out into a gracefully curved basin, deep and clear, of nearly a mile in extent each way, lined at its termination to the east by a newly built and cleanly town, and backed by a distant view of Athens in all its glory at about five miles across the plain. For the first half mile of the modern road to Athens, the long walls of Themistocles, completed under the name of the Triple Wall by Pericles, may still at intervals be traced. At about a quarter of a mile to the right of the road, and a mile from the Peiræus, is the tomb of Karaiskaki, and of the Greeks and Philhellenes, who fell under the sabres of the Turkish cavalry in the attempt to raise the siege of Athens in 1827. This is the same ground on which, but with a very different issue as respected the freedom of the country, the Athenian garrison under Archelaus the Cappadocian was destroyed by Sylla, at the close of the last struggle made in Greece against the Roman power. To the same heights too to which Archelaus retired with the mangled remains of those whom he had led, General Church effected a masterly retreat, on the evening of his disastrous battle (undertaken, I believe, against his advice), in the face of an overwhelming force which was pouring in from every direction, and covering the whole plain between the Peiræus and the city.

Nothing has been left undescribed of the general appearance of the city and plain of Athens. Everybody is now familiar with it, even such as know them only through the full and exact details given

by Colonel Leake and Dr. Wordsworth, the architectural elevations and restorations of Mr. Cockerell, and the clever and faithful panoramick drawing published a few years ago, from the pencil of Mrs. Bracebridge. Yet there are effects, not of colouring and of lights and shadows only, but created by the very outline of the hills and buildings as you shift your ground in approaching them, which no general description can give to the imagination, and even the best drawings must fail to convey to the eye; but they forcibly impress themselves on the mind when presented in their wondrous reality.

Of all that architecture has done in this way, I think the Temple of Theseus, every part of which has been so much studied, and so often represented by artists, is what not only the most delighted but astonished me in its relation to all that surrounds it. There is a grandeur belonging to its position for which I was quite unprepared. Occupying, as it does, a ground so much below even the base of the rock of the Acropolis, still its commanding height above the whole of the modern, and the site of the ancient city, is what I have never seen a drawing or description which gave me an adequate idea of. From afar, it seems hardly to rise above the plain; but, as you approach it, and chiefly as you stand under its eastern portico, looking down on that part of the city where, of old, a wide street led from it to the Dorick gate of the second Agora, you see in its full majesty the loftiness of the station to which you have gradually mounted. And this is in no wise impaired by the much greater height of the Acropolis that overhangs you. And your admiration of these things does not subside with the first surprise. Far otherwise. The Parthenon, so well said by Dr.

Wordsworth to be "the finest building in the finest situation in the world," all Athens (I mean not that of the Romans, the Venetians, or the Bavarians, but the Athens of Pericles) grows and improves vastly upon your admiration the oftener you see and the better you know it. As with all that is loveliest in beauty, there is, if such a word may be applied to the forms and colours of architecture and of country, a kind of expression, which, on better acquaintance, gives a charm and dignity beyond what from the first you acknowledge in its faultless symmetry of feature. Each building stands in the best possible relation to all the rest; and the lines along which Art has arranged that you should approach it are those from which it is to be seen to greatest advantage. As you draw nearer, its proportions become more grand, and the fine mellow complexion of the antique marble, blended rather than contrasted with the rich hues which mantle over the country around, are effects such as no painter can give, and few would dare attempt to copy faithfully. Standing on the eastern brow of the Acropolis, I saw the sun rise over Hymettus, full against the portico of the Parthenon, and lighting up its whole face, in its minutest details, even to the round stains left by the votive shields which hung above the architrave during the second Peloponnesian war. Far behind me, streams of purple and crimson crept along the sides of Parnes and Deceleia, till the white houses and garden walls began to sparkle below where once were the villas and stoæ of Academus. This was a scene which one who has looked upon it can never describe, and never forget. The same sun has, it is true, at its daily rising, beheld Athens, for nearly

three thousand years, an example or a monument of great renown, and has awakened the tints of the same climate around her: but, as you stand on that rock in the morning twilight, till the first gush of the returning dawn pours through the gorges of Attica and at every moment grows into a broader and warmer gleam, calling forth again from darkness each bright landmark of her heroic history, it is surely not too fanciful or too excited an imagination which can at such an hour exult in it, as in a living type of joyful things,—the sunshine of peace and justice and education restored, after so long a night, to the plains, the courts, and the schools of that noble land, together with the best of human blessings, Liberty.

The long tract of olive grove, stretching along the sites of the Academy and Colonus, and far to the north and south of them, has a very remarkable appearance through the dimness of a morning or evening twilight. The first morning after my arrival, when I looked out upon them from my window, I was, for a short time, deceived into the impression of there being an arm of the sea spreading itself along the plain before me. And this very much confused my geographical notions of the Plain of Athens. I did not remember then that passage in Dr. Wordsworth's book, to the striking truth of which, after reading it again, I can from experience bear testimony: "The thick wood of olives, still growing on the site of the Academy towards the left,—which looks like a silver sea rippling in the autumnal breeze."

The view of the Acropolis from the Street of Æolus, one of the two largest streets of the modern city, leading by the Temple of the Winds to the

foot of the rock, is the least advantageous of any. For, on that side, the northern one, neither of the porticos of the Parthenon is to be seen, and a few only of the pillars that connected them are left standing since the last bombardment by the Turks. You are so much under the brow, that the Saracenick wall which crowns it entirely hides from you the temple of Minerva Polias, which would at a greater distance break the long line facing you. But the side pillars also of the Parthenon being most of them laid low, little is visible from hence save the bluff crag rising behind the houses of the city, crowned with a straight embattled wall whose square towers even do not rise above the flat extent of its top. It is when you have mounted the winding path from the Areopagus on the west, and are within a few yards of where the buildings of the Propylæa rise, to the right of the ascent, that the whole majesty of the edifice is disclosed. Colonel Leake was, I believe, the first to draw attention to the mode in which the Greeks managed the entrances of their fortified places, so that the right, the unshielded side of persons approaching them, should always be exposed along the whole way. The assailant thus had no defence against the weapons of the garrison, unless he braced his shield on his right arm; impeding thus the action of his sword, or spear, or sling, or bow. But the most exquisite lines of beauty were studied here as carefully as the useful ones of defence; and it is very observable, in mounting towards the Parthenon, how artfully they are combined. At every step from the outer gate, as you approach from the Hill of Mars, or by the ancient Peiræan Way, and from the very beginning of the ascent, for full half

a mile of ancient road from the opposite side (that of the Ilissus, the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the great theatre of Bacchus), your right shoulder is turned towards the walls. And the winding course that opposed this difficulty to an enemy, brought also the stranger coming to admire, and the procession to worship and sacrifice, up to the most picturesque angle of each successive building. After you have passed the temple of the Un-winged Victory and the Propylæa, then it is that the Erechthæum, Minerva Polias, Pandrossium, and Parthenon, are in turn presented; each in its noblest perspective, not full-faced, like the Madeleine of Paris, or like those many monuments of a taste not Attick which line the sides or front the extremities of the wide streets of London. I cannot but believe that the utmost effort of reflection and taste is required to apply successfully an imitation of Grecian architecture, where it is so rarely fitting to climate, habits, or historical associations, in the countries of the north. Nothing surely is plainer than the error committed in building, line for line, upon a Grecian model on any ground or in any scenery dissimilar from that where the original was placed. Even the proportions themselves, after all the measurements which these buildings have for so many ages undergone, are a difficulty to our ablest architects, of whom the best are they who feel the most how much on this subject yet remains to be learned. They have long known that all these models differ in the symmetry of their parts according to the height and general character of the ground on which they stand and over which they are to be approached. They have long learnt that, in these things, as in many others, there is a certain spirit of

compromise which is not at variance with the strictest principles, while it abates the harshness of their application. And, as in musick the tuning of an instrument is a merely mechanical process, whereas the harmonizing of the chords afterwards makes trial of the ear and genius of an accomplished musician, so, in the other arts, taste and genius are required to nicely arrange those modifications which give a charm to the whole, but are never perceived, except in the general effect. Thus it was left to Mr. Cockerell, and to the Germans who have followed him in the inquiry, within the last few years to discover that in the Parthenon and Temple of Theseus there is not one straight line. Not only, as any eye will easily detect, the tapering lines of each column, converging from the bottom of the shaft to the top, are curves, no one of which can be described from a single centre, but the axes themselves converge also to assist the perspective of height: and this in different degree, with reference to the different height of the ground the temple covers. Then, again, the ground-plan also is of curves. The columns both of the porticos and sides stand on convex lines. The converging of the axes of the columns is very distinctly shown in the diagrams even of that old but beautiful work of Stewart's. The convex lines of the ground-plan have been very recently and ably reasoned upon by Mr. Pennethorne,* and may be observed by look-

* 'Elements and Mathematical Principles of the Greek Architects and Artists,' by John Pennethorne, 1844. Mr. Pennethorne has also, I think, very satisfactorily shown that Vitruvius was aware of this, but that it was not worth the toil or expense of applying these refinements of art to works done for those who would not have had taste to appreciate them.

ing along the face or side from an angle of either of these buildings. All the lines of the architraves, pediments, and peristyles, are also curved. He who advised his countrymen to employ every hour in studying the "exemplaria Græca," well knew that any imitation of such models, to be perfect in spirit, required genius little inferiour to that which first conceived them. The advice, which had reference to the arts of writing and rhetorick, tainted as those arts also were, even in the Augustan age, by the infusions of the Oriental school, was surely not less applicable to the art of architectural design. And it was much required. For, without speaking of the grosser barbarisms of Roman innovation, such as the monumental column with a massive capital made to support nothing but the image of a man placed as far out of sight as invention and labour could hoist it,—without speaking of such gross enormities of taste as these,—there is not a Roman temple, save those built in the colonies by Grecian artists, which, though perhaps of the exactest proportions, does not want that tranquil majesty of composition that distinguishes all the works of that wondrous people from whom Rome plundered or learnt all she ever possessed or ever knew worthy of fame in art or science.

Before leaving the Acropolis and the ruins which still adorn it, and the station where once stood that gigantick work of Phidias, the statue of Minerva, the point of whose spear and golden crest seen above the Parthenon served as a sea-mark for mariners on their course from Sunium, I cannot but say a few words on that choice and graceful little Ionick temple, high upon the right of the entrance of the Propylæum, the temple of the Unwinged

Victory, lately disencumbered from the screen of wall and rubbish which concealed it, and now undergoing a very judiciously conducted process of restoration; limited, as it ought to be, to setting up again in their proper places the columns and such parts of the architrave as had fallen. This was proceeding when I was in Athens, and was nearly completed when I last saw it. This building is eminently worthy of notice; not less on account of its history than of the singularity of its position and the exceeding beauty of its structure. It was a votive shrine dedicated to Victory, after the defeat of the Persian hosts at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, and the final retreat of the army of Mardonius out of Greece. The goddess was then first worshipped by the Athenians as *Νικη Απτερος*,—as having stripped off her wings, to remain thenceforward with their city. The basement on which the columns stand was adorned with a relief of figures, examples of the best style of the best times of Greek sculpture, as is evidenced by the few detached and mutilated fragments which were found buried among the heaps below. Three of these figures, broken and much defaced, are preserved and now placed within the temple. One of them, the most perfect, but deprived of the head and part of the left arm, may, for gracefulness of form and action and perfection of drapery, be placed in rivalry with the most admired of the *Elgin* marbles. It is not of more than about half the size of life, and represents Victory, her wings still displayed, but stooping to loose her sandal in token of her intent to sojourn in the midst of the triumphant people. Whatever other important specimens of sculpture have been lately discovered are, with one excep-

tion, preserved in a temporary museum within the Temple of Theseus. One statue, eminently worthy of note, remains on its pedestal, in what is now an obscure court surrounded by mean houses, but where once ran the famous Street of the Statues leading from the foot of the Temple of Theseus to the entrance of the second Agora. It is a figure deprived of head and arms, representing the monster Erichthonius, half man, half serpent. It was discovered not long ago, and, at the instance of Sir Edmund Lyons, cleared from the rubbish which had for ages covered it. I will not pause upon, what all have by description become so well acquainted with, the majestick columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, at the south-eastern extremity of the ancient city, which overlook the bed of the Ilissus, the Stadium, and ancient entrance from the Peiræus, nor the graceful little Choragick monument of Lysippus, nor the slope of that vast theatre of Bacchus on the southern base of the Acropolis, where the plays of Aristophanes and the tragedians were represented before an audience, according to Plutarch, of 30,000 persons, and in view of all those wonders of sun-bright nature and of famous history to which the chorus so often makes appeal. Let us pass by the Musæum hill, and the monument of Philopappas, and the tomb of Cimon at its foot, and, leaving the arches of the Temple of Herodes Atticus on the right, pause upon the site of the upper and lower Pnyx. In the latter of these is the Bema, from which Pericles and Lysias spoke the immortal panegyrics, and Alcibiades won the hearts of the people, and Demosthenes rallied for awhile their fainting spirits in the struggle with Philip for Athe-

nian liberty. And here Æschines contended gloriously, though vanquished, for the crown of eloquence against its mighty master. The peroration of Æschines in that great contest may well appear, to one who has not stood upon the spot, and looked round upon the scene where it was spoken, to be inflated declamation; words only of lofty sound. But when Æschines adjured the men of Athens,* first by the land of their forefathers and by the sun which was beaming over it, and next by the attributes of Manly Virtue, and Wisdom, and Education, in the judgement they should pass between himself and his matchless rival, he was justified by all that they were then beholding together from that place. Sunium, Ægina, the distant Peloponnesus, the Acropolis, the mountain range which bounds the Plain of Athens, from Corydallus, all round to where Hymettus and Laurium overlook the sea, all this was present under the brightness of that gorgeous climate. The most famous monuments of ancient valour were in view. The island and straits of Salamis were on the one hand; on the other the spot consecrated to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton,—so revered that no other votive stone was suffered to be placed

* “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ γῆ, καὶ Ἥλιε, καὶ Ἀρετῇ, καὶ Σύνεσις, καὶ Παιδείᾳ, ἣ διαγιγνώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ, βεβοήθηκα, καὶ εἴρηκα· καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγορήκα, εἴπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην· εἰ δὲ ἐνδειστέως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην.”—Æschines, in ‘Ktesiph. De Coronâ.’

“O Earth and Sun, and Manly Virtue, and Intellect, and Education, by whom we distinguish those things which are excellent from those which are infamous, I indeed have given my aid, and have spoken; and if, in my accusation of this iniquitous man, I have spoken well and suitably, then have I spoken as I wished; but if imperfectly, still to the best of my ability.”

near their statues :* and the two roads which wound across the plain before them into the mountains were those along which their forefathers had marched to Marathon and Plataea, and had been seen returning victorious to their native city which they had saved. Hard by them were the spaces from the earliest times assigned to public counsel and the tribunals, and, behind these, the sober venerable shades of the Academy. I cannot then believe this to have been mere unmeaning rhapsody, but a well considered enumeration of all the objects round, the most fitting to excite and to persuade.

But proceed a little farther, and mount the rocky steps up which Saint Paul was borne by the people to the crest of the Areopagus, and you are there upon a station whence was heard an eloquence more simple far, but far more grand, and alike applying itself to the objects foremost in the sight and reverence of those who heard him. The rhetorick of the apostle was the higher and the bolder. He applied himself to these things, not to flatter but reprove. He appealed not to nature, but straight to Him by whom nature itself was made. He appealed from the stately monuments of Pagan pride and worship to the reasonableness of a spiritual faith and the pure and humble doctrines of the Christian philosophy. The great temple of the

* “Και Εικονα στησαι εαυτου χαλχην εφιππου εν αγοραι οπου αμβουληται πλην παρ ‘Αρμοδιον και Αριστογειτονα.” “And to erect a brass equestrian statue of him in any part of the Agora (market-place) which they might choose, except near those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.” Part of an honorary decree inscribed on a tablet now in the possession of my friend Mr. Finlay, at Athens, giving leave to raise an equestrian statue in the Agora, *any where but near those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.*

tutelary goddess was towering above him where he stood. Below, on his right hand and on his left, the two Agoras were glittering with their fanes and altars, and thronged with a people, who, already too wise and too refined for the coarse and mere material idolatry of their Roman master, had taken refuge in the adoration of the "Unknown God." Then and there it was that he thus spoke: "Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.—For, as I passed by and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, 'To the Unknown God.' Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him therefore declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands."

I ventured, just now, to say that those who framed the Greek mythology were too wise and too refined for the coarse and mere material idolatry to which the Romans afterwards reduced it. I think I am justified. No one, surely, can have carefully looked at this subject and fail to be convinced that what in after-times was, by the vulgar, and by those who formed creeds for the vulgar, debased into an unreasonable polytheism—equi-potent divinities, each claiming the exclusive homage of a distinct class of votaries, and thus distracting the worship of mankind—in its origin was, and continued among the teachers of the Academy to be, a system of attributes. These attributes became personified, to aid the imaginative purposes of the poets, or the corrupt purposes of the priests who served at the several altars, or the ambitious purposes of the conquerors who traced a fictitious descent from the several gods thus materialized in

their essence by the poets and the priests. As the acts which had been done by many successive heroes for the benefit of mankind in the ruder ages, such as the vanquishing of robbers, the discovery and colonization of new lands, or the bringing of old ones under profitable culture, were collected together and wrought into a mystic garb of general allegory, to deck out some demi-god for public worship: so also, inversely, such of the manifestations of divine superintendence as could be traced in the operations of nature, or in the influences acting on the human mind, found an allegory in the supposed acts, adventures, or characteristic qualities distributed among many gods.* That

* The achievements and adventures of the gods and demigods of Greece were originally records, not of violent and ignoble passions, as they afterwards became in the degeneracy of Pagan fable, but either of mystick attributes, or of the deeds of men who, having invented or performed things of publick benefit, were raised to a reputation of divinity: beautiful allegories, capable most of them, if not all, if pursued (and they are allegories worth pursuing), of easy solution. For example,—the Hercules of *Ætolia* and *Acharnania* wrestled through a whole summer with *Achelous*, till he broke off one of the monster's horns, which he gave to the nymphs, the daughters of *Ceres*, who next year restored it to the hero filled with fruits and flowers. The river which bears that name descends in one stream to the *Ionian sea*. But, at a short distance from the shore, a narrow and fertile valley branches off from the river in a more southerly direction, which bears every appearance of having been at some time a second channel cut off and laid dry by art for husbandry. The *Lake of Lerna* also has several gorges diverging from it towards the south, overgrown with high reeds and usually dry, but after heavy rains spreading malaria round from the noxious effluvium of the rank mud and water weeds. The Hercules of *Argolis* severed the necks of the *Lernæan Hydra* which breathed pestilence. But the water rapidly found its way

which was specially received and worshipped as the protecting deity of Athens was perhaps the most splendid of all the Pagan conceptions; the attribute of Wisdom, never represented as in infancy or tutelage, but perfect in majesty and power, as at the first it sprang, armed, from the brain of Jove himself. It is not then to be wondered at that a people, who had, thus early, preferred such a worship to that of the deities presiding over violence or sensuality, should, alone among the Gentiles, have been found by Saint Paul searching, even in their darkness, after truth, before an altar raised to the "Unknown God."

again through the embankment, till Hercules commanded his companion Iolas to sear the necks with fire,—to burn the reeds which made it insecure. And thus the labour was completed. I cannot, while on this subject, pass by without notice the splendid mythos of Saturn, *Χρῶνος*, Time,—ordained, by the condition which gave him the government of the earth, ever to devour his own offspring. One Being alone was preserved from the general doom,—he who became, under different names, the immortal ruler of earth, and sea, and heaven, and hell, but chief among these, *Ζεὺς*, the principle of life, first of the immortal gods. A grand, however imperfect, effort to reach in imagination the idea of an essence not only immortal but pre-existing from an eternity of time.

CHAPTER II.

Athens — Lycabettus — Academus — Colonus — Road to Cephissia—Grotto of the Nymphs—Deceleia—Oropus—Aphidna—Road to Marathon—The Plain—Remarks on the Battle—Return to Athens—Vale of Daphni—Eleusis—Salamis—Sir James Stirling's Remarks on the Battle—Grave of Themistocles.

THE new palace built for the King, according to plans and elevations made at Munich, though constructed at a vast expense of Pentelican marble, so entirely fails in its general effect, and in all its details, that its appearance, on every side from which it can be viewed, resembles only that of a huge manufactory. Nor are the spaces handsome that are allotted to the apartments within. The only respect in which good taste or judgement has been applied, is in the choice of the situation which it disfigures. It is placed on a gently rising ground outside the town, and occupies one side of an esplanade, across which it looks down a long street, called the Street of Hermes, that passes the Street of Æolus at right angles. The palace commands a fine view of the town in front. At a few hundred yards to its left, backed by the sea and the hills of the Morea, are the tall columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and, above them, the eastern cliff of the Acropolis, crowned by the Parthenon. On its right, Lycabettus, with its little cloven rock, the *σχιστη πετρα*, at its side, rises

proudly out of a plain which stretches beyond it for ten or twelve miles to Pentelicus; and behind, to the east, is the range of Hymettus, beautiful in all its outlines, and in colours that vary with every gleam and every shadow sweeping along its side. Lycabettus, or Anchesmus (the Lycabettus of Plato, Socrates, and Aristophanes, the Anchesmus of Pausanias, for it is now well established that these are but the more ancient and more modern names of the same hill),* is steep and rugged on all sides; but the ascent is neither long nor difficult. After about a quarter of an hour's mounting, which becomes climbing among the rocks near the top, you arrive at the little church of St. George, on its highest pinnacle: and the view around is striking beyond description. The generally brown and barren hue of the Plain of Athens is agreeably relieved by frequent tracts of olive grove, interspersed here and there with little white villas and farm-houses, and their adjacent gardens and fenced fields of cheerful cultivation. The Grove of Academus, though for the most part parcelled out into inclosures of olive, and, excepting a few fruit gardens and walled orange grounds, containing hardly any other trees, is thickly shaded by these, many of which are of venerable age and wild and picturesque forms. The river Cephissus no longer rolls in one single stream through the

* Dr. Wordsworth's argument ('Athens and Attica,' p. 56) is surely conclusive to show that Lycabettus, assigned by Plato as on the boundary of that part of the city called the Acropolis, "opposite the Pnyx," and by Aristophanes as the hill towards which the clouds flow in their way to Parnes from the Great Theatre, was the same with Anchesmus, on which Pausanias places the statue of Anchesmian Jove.

Academy, but is divided into many small trickling rivulets conducted among different parts for irrigation. Yet these are mostly bright and rapid. The Cephissus is the only running water that finds its way thus far on the plain in its course towards the sea. For the Ilissus, between Athens and Hymettus, is, save for a very short time after heavy rains, a dry ravine; and the fountain of Callirhoe but a small standing pool, used by the women of Athens as a place for washing linen.

From the top of Lycabettus you look down on the streets of Athens as upon a map, and trace through the new city, and among the hills and hollows and table-land around it, the limits and features of the old. The inner and outer Ceramicus, Melite, the space connecting the two Agoræ, that runs to the east of "Mars' Hill," where Xerxes pitched his tent before the citadel (Herodot. viii. 52); the first Agora, here green with early wheat, and there the ploughman and his team slow pacing, where of old the glittering processions wound their way among the temples, or multitudes thronged to the Bema's foot to catch those words from living lips which even now are words of fire to the reader in his study; the second Agora from its western Dorick gate to the Temple of the Winds,—all Athens is in view, except the theatres and those parts of the southern wall which lie at the back of the Acropolis and the Hill of the Museum. While looking on the thin dry ground, once covered by a great city, where now the worn limestone rocks shoot up above the scanty soil, Dr. Wordsworth aptly cites that fine passage from Plato which describes them (Critia. iii. B.), "*οἷον νοσήσαντος σώματος ὅστ᾽ ἀπεριεργηκείας τῆς γῆς*," as

the bones of a wasted body through the earth which sinks around them.

At about half a mile north-east of the Grove of the Academy, two small round hills swell gently from the plain, and on the top of the southernmost of these is a small monument of Pentelick marble. These little hills are on the site of the ancient town of Colonus, the birth-place of Sophocles, immortalized in the tragedy which bears its name along with that of *Cædipus*, and in which the hero, driven to despair by the wrath of the immortals, lingers here to die. The monument on the hill was raised, a few years ago, to the memory of Professor Müller, and he lies buried beneath it. He had gone from Athens to Delphi to verify some inscriptions. He was in bad health; and, working with too reckless a zeal through the heat of a mid-day sun, was seized with a fever, and was carried back to Athens but to find his grave among scenes to which his devoted and learned ardour had so fondly attached him.

Pursuing either of the northern roads which lead along the Plain of Athens, you find them meet at some six miles from the city, near where you cross the Cephissus, at the foot of the small village of Marousi. This place bears in its modern name the record of its ancient one, Amarysia, where Diana was worshipped as the Amarysian Artemis. Dr. Wordsworth cites an inscription on a stone forming part of the church wall, and purporting to fix the limits of the sacred precinct round the temple of the tutelary goddess. ('Athens and Attica,' pp. 229, 230.) He also identifies the village of Calandra, which is near, with the Colænis, where also Diana was worshipped. (Schol.

to the 'Birds' of Aristophanes, 874.) Hardly two miles further on is Haracli, evidently the Heracleium mentioned by Plato in his will, wherein he bequeaths to his son a farm, and describes it as being near the road which runs to Cephissia and reaches on the south to Heracleium. (Diog. v., Plato iii. 30, as cited by Dr. Wordsworth, p. 231.)

At about three miles north of Marousi is the source of the Cephissus, from which the village and surrounding demus in ancient times derived, and still the village bears, the name of Cephissia. Here was the villa of Herodes Atticus, and here, in the earlier times of Athens, the favourite resort of her wealthy citizens. Even now a few neat farms are on the outskirts of the poor street of clay cottages. At about a furlong beyond the village, in a narrow rocky dell, overshadowed by a wood of ancient olive-trees, is the Grotto of the Nymphs, whence gushes forth the main stream of the Cephissus, whose waters flow through the Academy, and on whose banks the disciples of Socrates and Plato learnt the great philosophy which led to the contemplation of one only invisible God, and of the spiritual immortality of man.

To the north-east of Cephissia, and at not more than three miles from the village, begins the Pentelick range. The great quarries are on its southern side, facing Athens. North-west from hence, at some ten or twelve miles across the plain, is the gorge of Deceleia, which, though not narrow, is commanded on the one side by the slopes of Parnes, and on the other by a high and abrupt hill on which the fortress stood, so renowned in the history of the second Peloponnesian war as the northern key

of Attica, the loss of which was the first event fatal to Athenian independence, when it fell into the hands of Sparta and Thebes.

In company with Dr. George Finlay, well known as among those adventurous friends of Greece, the early Philhellenes, and since for his topographical researches and antiquarian learning,* I had passed many pleasant and friendly hours in Athens. He was good enough to accompany me through two very agreeable days among the northern hills of Attica. We finished our first day's ride at his farm, under what was the Acropolis of the ancient town of Aphidna. For a minute and very able dissertation on this wild but interesting country, and the proofs establishing here, beyond doubt as it appears to me, the place of that once famous fortress, I can do no better than refer to a well-written and ably argued little tract, called 'Remarks on the Topography of Oropia and Diacria,' and published by him at Athens, in 1838. He argues first, from the description given by Herodotus (vi. 100) and by Thucydides (viii. 60), that Oropus was on the shore of the Eubœan channel, on the site of what is now called the Scala, or Aghios Apostolos, over against Eretria, now known as the ruins of Castri, in Eubœa. He next shows Aphidna to have been a town and fortress of considerable importance, and to have given its name to a territory composing one of the twelve confederated districts of Attica. That it lay between the Demi of Deceleia and Epacria, and that it must have been in the way leading direct from Deceleia to

* Author of an admirable work lately published on 'Greece under the Romans.'

Marathon, and that, from its forming a central point of refuge for the country between Mount Parnes and Rhamnus, "it must have covered the roads from Tanagra and Oropus which enter the Plain of Athens by the pass of Katiphori, as well as the road which led from the upper Valley of the Waters of Marathon to the great maritime plain." All these considerations combined point distinctly to the hill I have mentioned. It is, Mr. Finlay truly says, "beautifully situated, standing out in a finely undulated and woody country, with a clear brook even in the driest summer months flowing at its base. It presents three steep sides, clothed with Valonia oaks towards the roads to Oropos, Athens, and Marathon, while to the north it is connected by a rocky ridge with that part of the Diacrian hills which forms the arable lands about Kapandriti. The vestiges of modern houses and churches on the hill show that it had preserved a considerable population even to a late period. The district round is fertile in grain, and affords excellent pasturage, and there are still eight modern villages in the neighbourhood; but not one of them occupies a position which unites the requisites for the site of Aphidna. After a careful examination of all the lines of communication through Diacria, I have found no other spot to which all the authorities I have noticed in these remarks are applicable, while all seem accurately adapted to the position I have now indicated."

Aphidna is said to have been the birthplace of Tyrtaeus; and the popular belief that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were also born there derives additional credit from the speech of Miltiades before the battle of Marathon, in which he addresses him-

self to his colleague, the Polemarch Callimachus, who was also an Aphidnean, exhorting him by the example of his illustrious fellow-townsmen. (Herod. vi. 109.) Here also, it is said (Herod. ix.; Plutarch, Vit. Thes. 31; Pausanias i. 41—44), according to the traditions of the more remote and cloudy times of Grecian history, that Helen was in her early youth secreted by Theseus. During his absence in Epirus, Decelos of Deceleia revealed the place of her retreat to her brothers Castor and Pollux, who undertook an expedition against it. Its strength resisted for a considerable time the Dioscuri and their numerous allies. At length, however, the Aphidneans were defeated by the confederates, and Helen was retaken. The history of this contest continued, even as late as the Peloponnesian war, to make so deep an impression on the minds of the Lacedæmonians that, on their invasion of Attica, says Herodotus, they spared the territories of Deceleia, Marathon, and the Academy, as belonging to the descendants of Decelos, Marathos, and Academos, who had given important aid to the Dioscuri. Across the plain of Aphidna to the westward, the crags of Parnes are seen rising majestically over the forest of Molæ. On the three other sides also it is hemmed in by a dark range of woodland; and narrow paths winding for several miles among venerable evergreen oaks and a high brushwood of juniper and arbutus, and often losing themselves in the rocky beds of brooks, afford the only approach to a place so well suited to its romantic story.

The next morning we set forward on our ride towards Marathon, leaving Kapandriti to our left. As we mounted the Heights of Pyrgos, still thread-

ing our way through fine greenwood and rocky scenery, glimpses of pure blue opened between the boles and branches on our left, like the sky; but a range of dim mountains, higher and more distant on the horizon, told us that we were looking on the sea. It is the northern entrance of the Eurippus; and the mountains are those of Eubœa. Soon after, we found ourselves on a plain which, winding to the right, leads into a narrow valley. Mount Cœnoë was on our right, and the little cave about half way up its side, sacred to the worship of Pan, who, on the day of the memorable battle of Marathon, wrought good service to the Greeks, confounding the hearts of the Persian host with that fear which has derived its name from the name of the shepherd god. A short distance further on, and to the left, is the village of Marathona, which has been mistakenly supposed to be the ancient Marathon. The village that bore that name appears to have been at the foot of the mountain pass to the south of the field of battle; probably on the site of what now is known as Vrana. Marathona is a place of modern times, taking, not giving, the name of the memorable plain beyond.

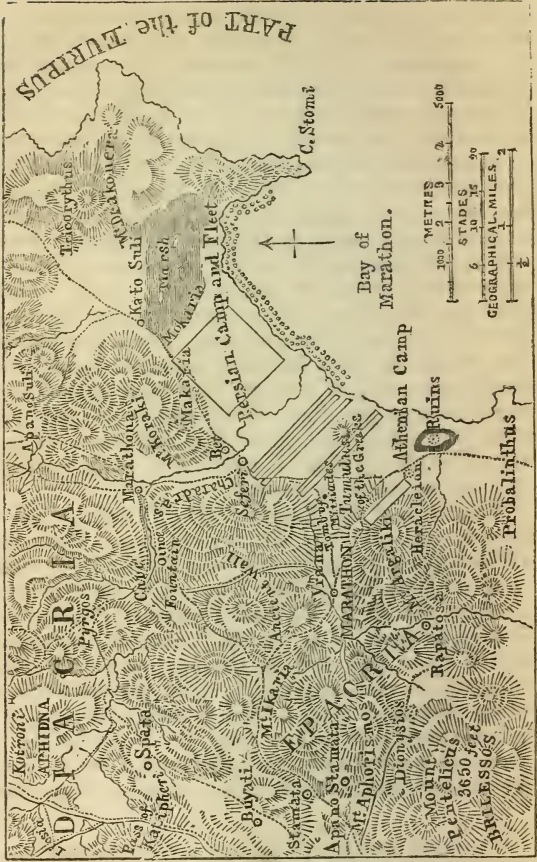
The Plain of Marathon now lay before us, a wide and desolate flat, of some three miles across from the eastern hills to the sea, and about twice as much in length from the foot of the Mountain Argaliki, at its southern end, to that of Koraki on the north. Its expanse is thinly spotted, not broken, by a few stunted wild pear-trees and low clustering junipers; and a small river runs across, about midway of its length.

There are but two objects on the whole surface of the plain on which to fix the eye. The one a

small heap of jointed marble stones, most of them now displaced and in fragments, the foundation of the monument built by Aristides in memory of Miltiades;—the other, nearer the shore of the bay, is the great artificial mount reared by the people of Athens to the honour of those whose bones it covers,—their fellow-citizens, who on this ground died for their country—Τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων.* The most impressive kind of record surely, as the most lasting also, that can be dedicated to the honour of the dead. Structures of marble and of brass decay. Even while they last, their form and construction may be subject of criticism; so may the inscriptions they bear; but, where the earth herself is made to change her shape in memory of the acts done there and of the men who wrought them, if the acts or the men be worthy of remembrance, such a monument illustrated by history alone is surely the most worthy that can be raised by hands.

The story of this famous battle, though so eloquently and minutely told by its great historian (Herodotus vi.), has given rise to different opinions as to the probable position taken up by the Grecian army on that day. Of the formation of the host of Darius, in front of its camp, flanked by its ships which lined that part of the bay, and with the marsh in its rear, into which, after the defeat, so many thousands were driven to perish, nothing is left in doubt. Whatever may have been the military disadvantages of such a disposition, made, too, by the two best generals in his service, Datis and

* Demosth. pro Coron. "Those of your ancestors who risked their lives formerly at Marathon."



Marathon, and Country round.

Artaphernes, to whom the command had been given in the field, it is clearly laid down by Herodotus; and indeed the nature of the ground, circumscribed as it is, leaves no other mode of disposition open for so enormous a body of men. The Greeks, on the other hand, amounting in all to not more than ten thousand, with, according to their own historian, not less than ten times their number opposed to them in front, must have formed on some part of the plain where both their flanks were secured, and from which also they might advance without exposing them to be turned. For Herodotus expressly says that their first line *ran forward the length of a whole stadium* and made the first attack. Some have, with this view, supposed that they formed an oblique line about parallel with that between the roots of the two mountains Kotroni and Argaliki. But in so doing they must, upon their advance, have made a full wheel to their left, or an oblique movement difficult of execution, liable to a great confusion, and, above all, leaving the whole space open between their right and the sea. Moreover, it appears that there is one capital objection to this formation. It covered no road upon which it would have been reasonable or practicable for the Persians to advance in order to reach Athens, their admitted object. The pass by Vrana over Mount Aphorismos is so narrow and rugged, in parts almost precipitous, (and, being formed through natural rock, must always have been so,) that, putting out of consideration the labours of the march and the exposure to the attacks of even defeated troops on both sides, no column could have passed with more than eight or ten men in front. And this is the only road to

Athens; except the road along the sea-shore by Probalinthus, which is flat and open the whole way, and capable of admitting heavy columns of very formidable front, attended by their ships to give assistance and supplies along the march. If the Greeks had formed in the manner before-mentioned, the Persians would have had only to engage them with half their army in their front, covering the march of the other half along the sea-shore, who must thus have reached Athens unopposed.

The probable position of the Greeks appears to be that suggested by Mr. Finlay, and described on the annexed plan. It protects *both* the roads to Athens, it leaves the proper space open for the Grecian army to advance in a straight line, without endangering either of their flanks, and gives them even in the event of a repulse two roads open, along either or both of which they might, in their retreat, annoy the advancing enemy, and get to Athens before him. Add to all this, that the mount raised over the Grecian slain is on the spot where the main part of the battle was fought; and that this should have been the ground of the main struggle can hardly be accounted for under any other disposition of the troops.

The mount is large—thirty or forty yards in diameter at the base. Many small bits of flint of a triangular form, and evidently cut or rasped into shape by some instrument, are found on this mount. They are called by the country people there Persian arrow-heads. They are clearly much too small to have been used for this purpose; but as to what they have been I have heard no probable supposition.

We returned by the way of Mount Aphorismos. Though hardly more than two miles from Vrana to the top of the ridge, it requires full an hour and a half in the ascent with horses. All along the winding road to the top, the view of the Plain of Marathon through the openings of the trees is magnificent. From thence, descending on a wild part of the Plain of Attica, and leaving Brilessos and the base of Pentelicus to our left, by the way of Cephissiá, we reached Athens late at night.

Of all the roads leading to Athens, that of Eleusis is surely the one of the most striking and various beauty. This is the ancient Sacred Way, along which the procession passed, once a year, from celebrating the mysterious worship of Ceres. As you go from Athens along this way, the Academy and Colonus are on your left. After leaving the olive woods, at a little more than a mile, you begin to mount by a gentle ascent, from the crest of which, at about two miles further, looking back you have what I think must be acknowledged to be the finest view of the city that any part of the surrounding country affords. I have seen it from this point at all times of the day, and under all those effects of weather which are so many in this climate, and so distinct. In the morning, when the sun was rising behind it; in the evening, when the level glow of sunset darted across the plain to rest upon the Acropolis and Lycabettus; at mid-day, when it was sparkling in the light, and the forms of the mountains behind it were traced against the deep blue of the serenest sky,—and when dark rolling masses of cloud made the whole stand forward, frowning in dark majesty over plain and woodland, and over the Peiræus and distant waters of the Myrtoan sea;—

at all these times and in all these seasons I have seen the view from hence, and each time I have thought that effect finer than any of the preceding. Nothing could be more striking than the aspect in which the great city of arts, of philosophy, and of heroes, presented itself to the stranger coming in from Eleusis.

From the top of these heights, as you proceed westward, the scenery assumes an entirely different, but still very lovely character. You are now in a valley richly clothed on both sides with young pine-trees. Tending away to the left, it gradually deepens and narrows itself into a gorge through which part of the island and bay of Salamis opens before you, and Eleusis and Mount Kerata in the distance, with the double peak from whence it derived its name. This is the Vale and Pass of Daphni. In the midst of this vale stood of old a large temple dedicated to the worship of Apollo; its site is covered by a very picturesque little church of the early Byzantine style of architecture, now deserted and partly in ruins. Many of the materials, some indeed of the smaller columns of variegated marble that stood in the ancient temple, have been worked up into the Christian edifice; and the outward court and nave, the cupola and roof of which still remain uninjured, are strewn with fragments of the old Grecian times, and of those of the lower empire. Nothing remains of the monastery which was attached to it; it was entirely destroyed, and the church dismantled by the Turks. Close to it are a small *Ξενοδοχείον* (inn) and guard-house; and a fine spring well, probably of old the sacred fountain of the temple, is within its precinct. The inner walls of the nave are covered with old fresco

paintings of saints. Here, as in all the other churches which have not been restored from Turkish desecration, the eyes of all the saints are bored through deep into the white plaster of the wall behind. It is a superstition of the Moslems, that these paintings themselves are evil genii, whose power is destroyed when the eyes are put out.

The early Byzantine style of architecture, so far from being in conflict with the character and associations of Grecian scenery, is in perfect harmony with them. These buildings illustrate a very interesting though not a glorious portion of the history of Greece,—her history in the middle ages; and they are so little obtrusive in either size or decoration, that their quaintness of form in no way interferes, but is rather in pleasing contrast, with the splendid monuments of earlier and purer art, even in Athens itself. In Athens there are many of these churches standing, most of them in the lower parts of the town: and hereafter, if new churches are to be built, I think no more appropriate, more picturesque, certainly no cheaper, construction can be adopted than that of the cruciform Byzantine church, with its round arches reared on small clustering pillars, resembling those of the Anglo-Norman style in England and in France, with its little octagonal or circular nave. What is principally to be deprecated here, as indeed everywhere else, are the spurious attempts to imitate the classick Grecian edifices: but, above all here, in puny conflict with the inimitable originals. Greece and the Grecian colonies have the prescriptive property of the Dorick and Ionick orders.

From Daphni the road leads down for about a mile between the ranges of Cithæron and Corydallus,

whose sides are still shaded with pines, to the water's edge; then, turning to the right, along the shore of the bay, it crosses a small river, the Eleusinian Cephisus. It passes a large mass of marble foundations, probably those of the Temple of Venus, thence leading among plains rich with fine barley land, the fields on which the tutelary goddess of Eleusis first taught the use of the plough and the culture of grain. Far away to the right, Megara is dimly seen through a gap in the north-western hills; and, as you round the bay, Eleusis (*Ἐλευσίνα*) is in front:—but with every trace of its grandeur gone. Its site is only to be distinguished by the knoll on which the great Temple of Ceres stood. It is a wretched town; and all the more unsightly because, instead of the flat roofs which at least disguise at a distance the most offensive parts in the appearance of a modern town, all the better houses in Eleusis have pents and ridges of blue or red tile. From the hill of the principal temple, if you place your hand so as to exclude all sight of the houses below, the view is fine. It commands the whole bay and western end of the island of Salamis, and looks up the narrow strait where the most decisive of all the Grecian battles was waged, and won against the most excessive odds of numbers, that famous sea-fight which baffled Persia in her scheme of universal monarchy and forced back from her grasp the whole mainland of Attica and all its cities already in her power.

But one solitary half of the shaft of a large fluted column remains standing to mark the place of that famous Fane of Ceres, built, says Plutarch, by Corœbus, and finished by Metagenes, where, for six hundred years, those mystick and prodigious rites

had been solemnized which it was death for the uninitiated to approach, and which held all Greece in awe. Of the Temple of Castor and Pollux nothing whatever is to be traced.

There is another and a very interesting way, a circuitous one, by which you may return hence to Athens. Quitting the main road, on the left, up the gorge of Daphni, there is a horse-path before you which leads all along the coast round to the Peiræus. Along the whole way you are on the shore of the waters of Salamis, the island rising boldly in varied and strangely-broken forms at the back. On the left is the base of Corydallus, and above, on one of its highest peaks to the eastward, overlooking the strait and the little island of Psytallia at its eastern entrance, is a table-land shown as the place where Xerxes fixed his throne, to view the conflict in which he had hoped to see the small navy of Greece, and her last hopes in that unequal war, swept away before his countless host which covered the sea in their pride, but which, before that day closed, encumbered it in tumultuous flight, in carnage and wreck.

During my stay at Athens and in its neighbourhood, it was my good fortune that my friend Sir James Stirling, commanding the *Indus*, was in the harbour of the Peiræus. He took a deep interest in endeavouring to form an accurate judgement, by personal observation, on some contested questions that have arisen with respect to the position and formations of the fleets at the famous battle of Salamis. For several days he occupied himself in visiting the straits in his boat, with the narrative of Herodotus as his guide, and his own seamanlike knowledge and a careful examination of bearings

and soundings to supply the commentary. Any opinion respecting the formation of the line of battle must be purely conjectural. But on these subjects, during the time that I was with him, and made by his kind permission the Indus my home, I was much struck with his observations, of which he had, moreover, the great kindness to allow me to avail myself, as follows.

In the narratives of that achievement which have come down to us, much has been left very defective. We have no precise evidence even as to the position of the fleets, and little as to the order in which they prepared for the action. The only information we have on these points we derive from Herodotus, and from the very valuable summary contained in the 'Persians' of Æschylus:—the relation given by the dramattick poet being all the more valuable from his having himself been present and fought in the action. The traditionary particulars collected and added by Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, are of little importance for this purpose. We are left almost uninformed, except by inference, as to what was the effort of science and genius in aid of courage and patriotism, by which this victory was gained; nor are the dispositions or manœuvres very clearly defined by the success of which it must have been that the power so greatly superior in its amount of ships and men was defeated by the less. In any attempt to give a probable solution to this question, the circumstantial evidence which contemporary history affords must be compared, in order to comprehend the designs and plans formed by the great leader to whom the Athenians had intrusted the conduct of their powers. On comparing his recorded views with the particular

circumstances under which he announced them, and with the event, the most remarkable concurrence will be observed. It may be seen, too, that by only one arrangement of the Grecian fleet could these designs and plans have been executed with success.

For some time before the second invasion of Greece by the son of Darius, the Athenians, under the advice of their best statesmen, had applied all their means to the extension of their naval power. This advice had been confirmed by the famous declaration of the oracle concerning the "Wooden Walls;"—a declaration probably procured by the same forethought which first gave the counsel. This policy, however wisely conceived, left the Athenians without the power of offering any effectual resistance to the progress of the Persian arms by land, and with no alternative save the abandonment of their territory, untenable against so numerous a host, deserted, moreover, by its inhabitants, and all its supplies exhausted. In their whole conduct of the war, the Athenians were guided by Themistocles. Early in the year they had conferred upon him the command of their fleet, which at the general assembly of the maritime states of Greece was found to be of an amount rather more than equal to that of all the other powers afloat. A jealousy arose among the rest, which induced them to dispute the supreme authority with the Athenian. He surrendered without dispute the title of chief in command; but still his genius and reputation sustained their natural influence over the direction of the movements.

The first important action of this new war was that at Thermopylæ. Here, after the self-sacrifice of

Leonidas and his three hundred, and a severe loss on the part of the Persians in forcing that pass, timeⁿ became of the utmost importance to the invaders as well as to the invaded; but the advantage of time was seized by the Greeks and neglected by Xerxes. The Persian army advanced slowly into Attica. But every step removed it further from its magazines in Macedonia; and its generals were obliged to draw subsistence for the troops from the almost wasted country they occupied, and from their own ships. The Plains of Attica, insufficient at any time to afford full subsistence to its own people, could ill maintain an enemy, already desolated as it was by invasion; and the Persians soon became dependent on their fleet alone. By the time they had reached Athens, winter was at hand, and the supplies they could draw from their ships became daily more scanty and more precarious. To remain on the ground they then occupied would be to expose themselves to absolute want. To attempt a retreat through a large tract of already wasted country would be sure destruction. And to advance towards the Corinthian isthmus, having in their front an active adversary in possession of all the passes on the shore of the Eleusinian gulf, would be an operation of the greatest hazard. In the midst of these embarrassments, Xerxes consoled himself with the destruction of the Athenian capital. And now the anticipations of Themistocles began to be realized.

On the fall of Leonidas, the Grecian ships had retired to the island of Salamis, which, as well as Trœzene in Argolis,* was filled with the expatriated

* The hospitality of this city was claimed by many of

people of Attica. Upon learning what had befallen Athens, the greater part of the crews were seized with consternation, and many of the commanders urged as a last resource to retreat upon the Corinthian isthmus and the adjacent shores of the Cenchrean Bay. The Spartans, disheartened by the loss of their brave king, and never cordially disposed towards their new allies the Athenians, thought only of retiring to secure their own country. But there was no security for Sparta against the overwhelming force of Xerxes save in fighting its battles in league with the Athenians and on the sea.

At a council held in this emergency, Themistocles addressed himself to Euribiades the Spartan, who bore the title of Leader of the Fleet.* And the arguments by which he urged him to abide the issue in the straits assist us in forming a probable opinion as to the position he afterwards took up. He urged, that to fight at the isthmus (and fight they must), would be to do so in an open sea, under all the disadvantage of heavier ships and smaller numbers; and that, even if all should answer to their wishes, Salamis, Megara, and Ægina would have been abandoned to the enemy. By fighting here among the narrows their fleet would be better able to cope with the larger armament opposed to them. That thus also would Salamis be saved, where their wives and families remained, and thus every other object in hand be accomplished. "For by holding this position you will protect the

the fugitives, on account of its being built throughout of wood; interpreting the words of the oracle respecting the wooden walls as having reference to Trœzene. 。

* Herodotus viii.

isthmus ; while by sailing thither you would draw the enemy to that coast, which you could not defend. If we be victorious here, which my trust is in the immortal gods that we shall be, the barbarians will be able neither to advance upon the sea-coast, nor penetrate inwards beyond Attica, but must retire in confusion. We shall thus have preserved Salamis and Megara from being laid waste, and Ægina too, where the oracle has already promised us success."

But this appeal failed before the selfishness and irresolution of the other chiefs. Themistocles was therefore fain to address himself to the general assembly of the commanders, and in the tone of a man ready to be answerable for all, so long as the publick safety should not be wantonly endangered by the adoption of a course he knew to be unwise. He told them that by retiring they would be deservedly dishonoured as the betrayers of all Greece ; that in the Athenian fleet was their best and chiefest strength, and that they might be assured that unless they obeyed his counsels he and his Athenians would take their own families on board, and depart with them to Italy ; and that, deprived of such support, Sparta and Corinth would have cause to remember his words. It was now midnight. Before day-break the determination must be come to.

Thus urged by one whose resolutions they knew were not hastily adopted, governed by superiour judgement and never abandoned, the confederates unanimously engaged themselves to stand the issue by his side ; and the crews on board, when this was announced, prepared for the conflict within the Straits of Salamis.

On comparing this declaration of the views of the Athenian leader with what is known of local and territorial circumstances, their conformity is very remarkable. And the following description of the coasts adjacent to the channel which was occupied by the Grecian fleet will show in what respects they gave it means for obstructing all further progress as well of the Persian forces on shore as of those afloat.

The channel of Salamis is the space between the island of that name and the main. It comprises the Straits of Salamis and of Megara, and the Gulf of Eleusis. The city of Salamis stood about midway of the northern shore of the island; and its communications with the mainland were carried on by means of a ferry, which still exists, leading to the western base of Corydallus. In Salamis the wives and families of the Athenians had taken refuge, and from thence the daily supplies of the fleet were derived; for the mainland had been abandoned to the enemy. In as far then as other considerations might permit, the object of the Greeks was to place themselves as near as possible to the city of Salamis, for the convenience of communication, and for mutual protection and assistance. On one of the nearest mountains on the mainland, Xerxes was in person, surrounded by his court, to view the next morning's fight, for he knew that the fleets must come to battle within the straits. This he had learnt through the secret agency of Themistocles himself; for in order that, if his advice should be rejected by his colleagues, they might be driven by necessity into the course in which he knew their only chance of preservation lay, the Athenian had privately despatched emissaries, in

guise of deserters, to the Persian king, with the intelligence that the Greeks intended to escape, under cover of the dark, by the western passage. And, accordingly, during the night, two vessels joining the Grecian fleet from the eastward brought news that a Persian detachment of two hundred ships had been seen steering a course for Megara, to intercept all escape that way.

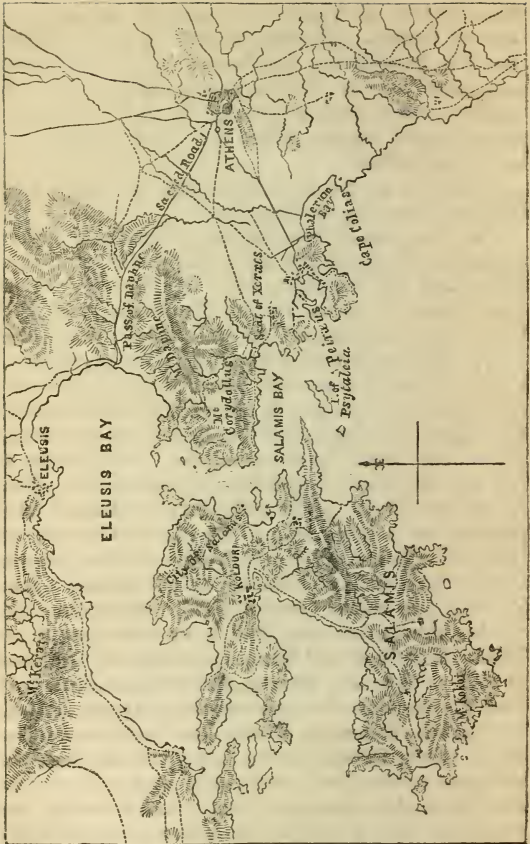
Two great objects had thus been secured by Themistocles: the certainty of coming to action in the position of his choice, and the withdrawing from the attacking party in his front a portion of their force nearly equal to two-thirds of his own. Twenty triremes from Ægina now joined him, led by the good Aristides, whose personal enemy Themistocles had been; Themistocles had led the faction that had banished him by ostracism. But in their common zeal for their country's safety all private resentments were cast aside. On the night before the battle, these two great men were reconciled; and Themistocles, well knowing the honour, courage, and capacity of Aristides, imparted to him the whole of the design by which he was working on the others for the means of victory.

In addition to other advantages, the part of the strait immediately before Salamis, with the shallows on both sides, presented these. In all likelihood it enabled the Grecian fleet to arm its larger vessels in their stationary position with heavier and more formidable stores and instruments for close engagement than any the Persians could bring against it by sea; stones and tackle for grappling and boarding, and fire. It certainly constrained the Persians to contract the front of their attacking force to the width of the available passage, the

whole extent of which was occupied by an equal front of Greeks. Besides, the taking up of a post like this, immediately in advance of the narrowest part, gave facilities for the passage of supplies and reinforcements during action, promptly and unimpeded by the enemy, which no other position at hand could offer.

It may be proper now to advert to other peculiarities belonging to this place.

The two roads from Athens towards the Peloponnesus, after skirting the western side of Corydallus and the northern base of Ægaleia, come down upon the shore of the Eleusinian gulf, as I have before mentioned, at the point where the Sacred Way strikes off through the Pass of Daphni. From thence, for several hundred yards, the one road in which they join is hemmed in on the north by rugged hills impassable to heavy-armed troops, and on the south by the sea-shore. And there a few vessels provided with the engines of war then in use would be quite sufficient to obstruct the progress of a large army. On the further side of the gulf, adjacent to the Scironian rocks, there is another pass of like character on the water's edge. So long then as the Greeks could retain command of this navigation, they had it in their power, as Themistocles had told them, to protect the Isthmus, as well as Salamis, Eleusis, and Megara, and prevent the invaders from penetrating beyond Attica. To gain the command of this line had become the object of the Persians in equal degree with the importance to the Greeks of retaining it. It was to determine this question then, a battle being unavoidable, that Themistocles had resolved to fight it in the straits. And these considerations assist



Plan of the Straits of Salamis. From the Admiralty Survey.

in assigning also with probable truth the limits of the space selected for the conflict. For, on the one hand, it is clear that the Greeks had arranged to receive the attack to the eastward of the narrowest passage; and it is also clear that they could not venture on receiving it at any greater distance to the eastward than just enough to give scope for marshalling their ships. It was necessary for them to occupy the whole navigable width of the channel, in order to secure their flanks; but most desirable not to remove themselves further from the city of Salamis, and from their ships employed in guarding the passes on the sea-shore, than circumstances should render unavoidable.

An observation strongly confirmatory of the probability that the line laid down on the annexed plan was the one taken up by the Grecian fleet is this—Themistocles is described by Plutarch as having waited for the time in the morning when the strong wind usually prevailing at that time of the year, the south-east wind, “from without the bay,” should set in through the straits to “set the stems of his galleys against the Persians.” The *general* course of these straits is from east to west. This wind then was a leading wind for the Persians, which Themistocles judged rightly was what *they* would wait for to bring them in. It is well known that, according to the mode of warfare then in use, the first effort of each party was so to manœuvre as to give the stem and force the beaks of their ships into the broadside of the enemy. At the headland we have mentioned, and *there only*, it would be necessary for vessels going through the straits to luff a little, as Plutarch says *the Persians did*, but, as he adds, by this operation “laid their

sides bare to the Greeks, who fiercely assaulted them."

After these suggestions as to the nature of the position, it remains to make a conjectural formation of the line of battle in conformity with it and with the narrative founded on the authorities already referred to.

On a line extending to the south-eastward from the mainland, at a few hundred yards to the east of the ferry, it is probable that the Greeks drew up their most efficient ships, the squadrons of the several confederated states under their respective chiefs. The length of that line to the opposite headland of Salamis is 1800 yards, affording, therefore, space for ninety triremes, twenty yards being allowed for each with its oars; the van being supported by one or more lines of ships in the rear of it. This, the main body of the fleet, may have comprised about one hundred and sixty triremes. They had probably detached some smaller vessels to the eastward to observe the motions of the enemy and report his approach. For they were not unaccustomed to night attacks, nor unaware of the opportunities and means of setting fire to fleets. In the rear of the centre of the main body, and at a short but convenient distance, the reserves were stationed, to support and replace upon occasion the disabled vessels. This reserve may have comprised 120 triremes. The rear-guard then may have consisted of some forty powerful ships, whose duty was to occupy the narrowest part of the channel, near the small island of Arpathoni, and maintain that post to the last, if the main body and its reserves should be compelled to retire; the penteconters and other small vessels of war being

stationed to the north of the strait to observe and obstruct the movements of the Persian land troops, whether they should attempt, as Xerxes in the course of the action did attempt, to pass over to the island of Salamis, or proceed upon their march along the road towards Eleusis. This disposition employs the whole force of the Athenians and their allies, as described by Herodotus and Æschylus. The transports and other vessels of burthen were probably stationed in the bays to the west of this strait, and in communication with the town.

By these dispositions, which entirely accord with the general narrative of Herodotus, the Grecian fleet was in a condition to realize all the objects which Themistocles had set forth. They appear to be such as would have given him the advantages of regularity and combination in his movements, and enabled him to reinforce his battle and withdraw his disabled ships; while those of the enemy could not retire against the dense columns advancing in their rear and on not a straight course, and occasion inextricable confusion in the movements of the whole.

§ The navy of Xerxes, after sailing through the Euripus, came to the harbour of Phalerum. Here he visited his ships and called a council of his principal officers, at which it was decided to force the straits. The order was given to proceed to Salamis; and at the mouth, a little in front of the island of Psytallia, where they landed about 300 men during the night, they formed their order of battle. This also materially confirms the impression that the Greeks cannot have taken up their position more to the eastward than what has been described. For Herodotus says that the Persians formed unobserved

by the Greeks and unheard by them. To those who have been present at the formation of a line of row-boats during the night, with every precaution that the best discipline can enforce, the impossibility is clear of forming a body of upwards of a thousand heavy armed and lofty galleys, in a sea too which covers and follows every stroke of the oar with a stream of light, unheard and unseen by an enemy lying in the same reach of a strait, and within a short distance of them.

On the same night the Persian land forces advanced along the road towards the Peloponnesus. At break of day their fleet was seen covering the sea from the mouth of the straits as far Munychia, formed in columns of attack converging towards the east to accommodate its order to the line of coast. On their right wing were the Phœnicians; the Ionians occupied the left; the centre was led by Ariemenes, brother of the king.

In stillness both parties must have remained for some hours after sunrise until the usual breeze began to make into the straits. Then the Persian fleet stood in. The king's brother, gallantly leading the attack, was slain early in the fight. Thenceforth, though the battle lasted till well nigh evening, the confusion of the Persians host seems to have been hopeless;—in a strong breeze and a short broken sea, amid the clashing of oars, the storm of darts and stones and torches, close fight upon their decks, and the crushing of their ships which fell foul of each other. And now the better disposition and discipline of the Greeks took full effect. Their headmost line, well seconded by the rest, seems to have acted with seamanlike skill and method, each ship grappling and boarding one of the enemy's van

as it came up, and forcing the mangled front back upon the mass of vessels which now only impeded and damaged each other. The story of the battle and complete victory need not be pursued, or that of the retreat of Xerxes out of Greece, leaving Mardonius at the head of a part of his host, who afterwards perished amid their final overthrow at Plataea.

The grave of Themistocles (for it can hardly be doubted, from its site and appearance, that what is now so called is what Plutarch so minutely describes), behind the promontory of Alceus, is not well said by Byron to be "high o'er the land;" it is hollowed out at the foot of a rock jutting forth into the sea, and so low that the water flows into it even to its surface. There are the "vast foundations" all around on which the altar mentioned by Plutarch probably was raised. Yet low as the grave of Themistocles lies, standing by its side you see from thence, full in view, the great and imperishable monument of his glory, Salamis.

CHAPTER III.

Syra—Packet Trade—M. Le Roy — Alexandria — Mahmoudieh Canal—Nile—Cattle crossing—Boulak—Cairo—Schoubra—Heliopolis—Island of Rhoda—Citadel.

I LEFT Athens with great regret. But I had the prospect of revisiting it on my return towards Corfu and Malta; and the principal object with which I undertook my journey, that of passing on to Palestine, forbade any longer delay. On the evening of the 20th of January I departed from the Peiræus in a French government steamer for the island of Syra (ancient Scyros), which we reached next day.

Many circumstances of position have given to this island an importance which on no other account could have belonged to it, and made it considerable as a place of resort for merchant ships, and the rendezvous for all the packets bound either way between Greece and the ports of the Levant. In classical literature the name of Scyros is found only among the geographers; excepting where it is spoken of as the kingdom of Lycomedes, where Achilles was concealed.* The ancient town stands about a mile back from the bight of the bay, on the top of a high conical hill of singular steepness. In front

* Propert. 11; El. 9; Apollodor. iii. c. 13; Homer, Odys. x. 508; Ovid. Metam. vii. 464; xiii. 156; Pausanias, i. c. 7; Strabo, ix.

of it and on the water's edge, a modern town has within the last few years since the revolution, been built, with a commodious quay, custom-house, and lazaretto. It is called by the name of Hermopolis, to designate it as the principal trading port of Greece. Syra was the general place of refuge for the Greek families which during the war of independence were driven from the adjacent islands; and, by the mediation of France, an arrangement was made under which this asylum was respected, and never invaded or molested by the Turks. The inhabitants of the new town are almost all recent settlers, from whom those of the old—the indigenuous people of the island—live entirely separate, regarding them with contempt, as a mere commercial society of strangers, a race unfit to be in mixed relations with them.

The packet trade is entirely in the hands of the French, whose vessels convey all passengers hence to Alexandria, Smyrna, Constantinople, Marseilles, and Athens. From the ports of the Adriatick to Athens it is conducted by the Austrians. Why these interests, which have risen up in this part of the Mediterranean within the last ten years, have been permitted to appropriate the whole of this trade to themselves, while only twice a month a British packet, the property of a company, crosses these seas, and only once a month one of the smallest class of packets with the Queen's pennant takes a voyage from Malta to Marseilles, Corfu, and Alexandria, and, by reason of the smallness of the vessel, and the great amount of the charge of passage-money, carries but few passengers, is a question which occurs to an Englishman in a rather mortifying shape. Those must answer it who in the administration of the af-

fairs of England determined it to be not worth her while to keep the carrying trade of the Mediterranean in English hands;—not worth her while to maintain a force of steamers there for purposes of mercantile connexion, profitable in peace, to be seen in every port, as the French and Austrians are, and to be ready at any moment of dispute to take in guns at Malta, and show her to be prepared for war;—not worth her while to continue the impression which, till ten years ago, was established in the minds of foreigners, that the best way along the high road of the seas was, by a sort of prescription, to be found in peace, as it had been in war, under the shelter of the British flag. As late as the year 1835 there was only one Austrian steam-packet, plying at uncertain intervals, from Trieste to Greece, but with few passengers, and no French steamer higher than Marseilles. Now, for one British ensign in a Mediterranean packet, there are at least a dozen French and Austrian; and to these, for every reason of commodiousness, frequency, and cheapness, passengers give a ready preference.

From Syra, if there be any delay, which there sometimes is for two or three days, in the arrival of the mails from Smyrna or Constantinople, you may visit, in an open boat, the islands of Delos, Naxos, Paros, Mycone, Andros, Tenos, Syphnos, Ceos, and Seriphos.

The passage by steam from Syra to Alexandria is seldom longer than about sixty hours. On board of the steamer in which I embarked were six French nuns, *Sœurs de la Charité*, proceeding on a mission for the establishment of a school and hospital at Alexandria. They were accompanied by M. Le Roy, a French missionary, who had been for near

twenty years at the head of a convent and college on the western slope of Mount Lebanon, a few hours' distance from Beyrout, to which place he was returning with his chaplain. M. Le Roy is in dress and habit a Syrian; and, although he is little above forty years of age, his beard, descending nearly to his girdle, is of snowy whiteness. He is a person of engaging manners, well educated, an accomplished linguist, and a fair classical scholar. During our voyage I found his society very agreeable, notwithstanding what was perhaps a somewhat too restless solicitude, on his part, for occasions of theological controversy. During our conversations on these subjects, conducted by him with great good breeding and a general appearance of frankness and liberality, he gave me the impression of his having been in the habit of applying his reasoning powers to the instruction of persons rather too ready to make large admissions on demand; and his strange misapprehension with regard to tenets supposed by him to be held by Protestants gave strong confirmation to this general truth, how little to be trusted are the impressions formed or descriptions given of any creed among its adversaries. To one or two of the opinions which he assured me were held by all Protestants, concerning some very important doctrines of the Christian religion, I may in another part of this book have occasion to refer.

We first caught sight of Alexandria (El Iskanderieh) an hour or two after sunrise on the third morning from Syra. Although it lies low upon the waters, its appearance from the sea is very impressive. Its principal features are strongly marked, and cannot be mistaken. The jutting headland of

the ancient Pharos,—the Roman tower which has succeeded to its office as a sea-light, visible at a great distance to vessels approaching on any of the three sides,—the ancient and modern harbours,—the Pasha's palace and port, backed by Pompey's Pillar, which rises darkly against the sky,—alone upon the edges of the city and the wilderness, as it were a landmark of history placed between the ruins of her far-stretched greatness and the empire of a much greater and wider desolation ; all this makes the view of Alexandria from the sea a very striking one. The chord of the ancient harbour, Eunostos, is of nearly a mile in extent, and encloses, besides a large number of foreign merchant vessels, the Pasha's three dismantled ships of the line, the largest amount of naval force which, by treaty with the Porte, he is suffered to retain. That of the more modern and larger harbour to the eastward is a span of more than five miles ; but the space within is empty.

The impression produced by the first view of the interior of the city of Alexandria is one of melancholy, which deepens into deadly weariness on further acquaintance with its details. The filth of its streets and suburbs, the squalid, unhealthy, and penury-stricken look of its population, the unfinished condition of the new buildings and the ruinous condition of the old,—everything has an air of neglect, of suffering under a discouragement which has quenched all energy, all power and desire to struggle against it. Some incomplete efforts at modern ostentation there are, but few advances towards comfort or prosperity. In the midst of a spacious square near the eastern end of the new town, into which you suddenly emerge from the narrow dingy lanes of the old, stands a handsome

fountain of Oriental alabaster. But no water has yet been conducted to it. On each side is a good and commodious hotel, and the houses of the foreign consuls show a bold and ample front; and at the further end, the southern, is a large and handsome edifice, the Wekáleh, used as a storehouse for merchandise. It is a fine space; but for many years it has been, and still remains, as when the houses were begun, encumbered with scaffolding and rubbish.

Overlooking a glorious roadstead, and occupying three sides of a fine harbour, which brings the imports of foreign commerce to the very mouths of a mighty river traversing the whole land of Ægypt, and receives from it the produce of the richest soil of the world, the city of the Ptolemies ought to be still, as it has been, beautiful and flourishing. But its beauty is gone, and its commerce passes through without enriching its inhabitants. Poor, but without enterprise or industry, it has the look of a town lately visited by some heavy calamity, or withering under the arrest of some evil influence which forbids what has been laid waste from being repaired. Such is the air given to Alexandria—a city for which the energy of the Pasha had done much, and was preparing much more, till he was stopped by foreign hands in the progress of his well-directed improvements,—such is the air given to Alexandria under the newly-restored Turkish supremacy. The bazaars are ill supplied, the publick ways clogged with masses of impurity. Generally the modern publick edifices, the custom-house, the courts, the houses of the more powerful class, are like so many unfinished barracks or deserted factories. It has neither the cheerful welcome of a populous city,

nor the romantick solitude of a ruin or a wilderness. The finest remains of its remote antiquity are deprived of much of their grandeur by the sordid associations that surround them. Even that noble pillar called Pompey's (the work of ages before the Roman times, and dedicated, as the inscription between the base and shaft declares, to the honour of Diocletian), reared on a gentle but commanding eminence to the south, between the city and the lake Mareotis, is disfigured, as you draw near to it, by an expanse of crumbling grave-stones, stretching out for a great distance from almost its foot, and beset by troops of wild and howling dogs, who take up their abode by day and night among the scarce closed mansions of the dead.

The obelisks, generally known by the name of Cleopatra's Needles, originally raised by Tothmes the Third at Heliopolis, and brought here probably in the time of the later Ptolemies,—one of which yet stands, a mournful and defaced ruin, near its fallen brother,—are hemmed in, on the southern and eastern and western sides, by an irregular mass of the vilest of mud-built huts, and defiled by all the pestilential filth of their wretched half-naked inmates. On the north they are enclosed by a long and high sea-wall. The fallen obelisk was, many years ago, offered by the Pasha as a present to the English government. It might have been removed, at a very small expense, along a canal, or on rollers, to the sea-side, within a few hundred yards of which it lies. Indeed the Pasha undertook this, as part of his offer, and whatever trouble and difficulty there might be in delivering it, either on board of a British vessel provided for the purpose, or lashed upon a simple raft in tow. The subsequent charge

of transport could not have amounted to one tythe of that which brought the obelisk of Luxor to the Place de la Concorde at Paris. But “*Diis aliter visum est.*” Almost all the disfigurement, even now not much, which has been suffered by its upper side, has happened since the time when it became British property. The inscriptions on the other three sides have probably been preserved by the dry sandy soil which surrounds them, in all their first beauty and freshness.

The only monuments of the early and glorious age of this famous city which still remain undeseccrated and unencumbered by the encroachments and neglect that have since obscured them, are the ruins, and bare and scanty ruins they are, of the Palace of the Ptolemies, which you see to the eastward as you pursue the road along the coast. That hospitable college, open for so many centuries to the studious of all nations, where the philosophy, learning, and genius of that wondrous land of *Ægypt* found a home under the encouragement and protection of its princes, from whence the early seeds of science and of art were spread abroad, to rise into a more abundant harvest in Greece;—that famous library, the destruction of which has swept away so much of the written history of ancient literature in what may be called its heroick age,—this once mighty depository of immemorial treasure,—all this, as also the Soma, or place of regal burial, which once contained the “noble dust of Alexander,” can now be only traced in mounds of earth and sand, with spacious but broken lines of stone foundation, and here and there a crumbling and almost shapeless fragment of time-worn masonry above ground.

Yet these at least have the charm of solitude. For they are outside the walls, and stretch forth to where they meet the sea.

As you leave the city on your way southward to the Mahmoudieh canal, which completes the water-communication between it and the Nile, the face of things improves. Nature, which has never ceased or neglected to lavish her gifts on the fields of Ægypt, resumes her rights, assisted by careful culture, in that fertile soil and gorgeous climate. The resources of industry, little known among the towns, are actively applied to the agricultural districts. And the condition of man would improve in equal degree, but for the faults of civil government, or rather for the tardiness of every advance made by the genius and activity of one ruler, towards a reform of the wasteful and depressing system under which Ægypt has languished ever since the overthrow of the dynasty of her Fatimite Kaliphs. Amid smiling groves of orange and pomegranate, and abundant gardens well watered by machinery, and dressed with laborious neatness, the habitations of man are squalid, ruinous, and wretched. Nature is exceeding bounteous in diffusing all the elements of prosperity. But the curse of monopoly is upon the whole land ;—manifest in the wretchedness of the people, who derive no profit from their toil,—manifest in the embarrassment of the government, which has to abide what no government can ever deal with advantageously, the vicissitudes attending the business of mercantile speculation, and under the worst of all systems for the welfare of trading enterprise, the system of protection by artificial guards against competition.

Palm trees bearing the date fruit in profusion,

acacias (locusts) of a sort yielding a useful and enduring wood to the builder and the joiner, and those venerable evergreen trees abounding all through the East under the proper etymological name of sycomores,* line the banks of the canal, which extends to a length of nearly forty miles—a magnificent work, begun and completed within six months by Mohammed Ali Pasha. This canal joins the Nile at Atfeh (the site of the ancient Aphroditopolis), now a straggling mud-built village. Here you descend, by a lock, upon the bosom of the mighty “father of waters.”

The whole course of the Nile from hence up to Cairo, a distance of 120 miles, and at this time of year about as wide as the Thames at Gravesend, is studded with lofty date palms, with straggling villages, and marabouts (tombs of Moslim saints), the small white cupolas of which group very agreeably with the rest of the scenery. It presents a succession of scenery, as agreeable and as much diversified as is consistent with low level banks, and a wide expanse of flat country, swelling only here and there into small sand-hills, whose pervading hue, however, is often broken by patches of rich green corn and rice land, and tinted in the distance, at all times of the day, from sunrise to twilight, with ever-varying gleams of glowing brightness and colour. The water, though never clear, is very sweet and fresh to the taste, and runs, during the months between the falling of the inundation in

* The Oriental sycamore, so called in the Bible (the fig mulberry, *Συκομόρον*), which bears a dark green leaf and a small wild fig, growing, not from the shoots, but out of the old gnarled bark. This tree is of very picturesque form, and attains to a great size.

August and its recurrence in June, at the rate of never less than four miles an hour. But the rapidity of the stream very much increases, and the water becomes more turbid and clayey, as the season of high flood draws near.

The shores are covered with cranes and pelicans, and its bosom with fleets of ducks, wild geese, and other water-fowl; and troops of falcon kites sail and hover in the air above your boat, keeping company with it, and becoming more numerous as you approach Cairo. At intervals the creaking of the water-wheels (Sakhias) gives note of the industry with which the work of irrigation is going on upon the fields on both sides of the river.

Early in the morning of the second day, while our little steamer was aground on one of the vast number of shoals that are always rising up and changing places, and delaying the navigation of the Nile, we saw a proceeding very characteristic of this country. A large troop of bullocks, under the guidance of one swarthy driver, came down to the left bank—brought there, as we supposed, only to drink before their morning's feed. But no. They had crossed the Delta, and were on their way to the opposite side, and from thence probably towards Alexandria. They seemed aware of what was required of them. They entered the river, sliding down the muddy bank, without reluctance; and no sooner were they all fairly in the water, than the driver stripped off his clothes. He then tied them in a bundle on his head, and, addressing a shout to the beasts, which they seemed to understand as encouraging them to cross, he followed them; and the whole party began their swim together; the man often seizing one of the bullocks

by the horn or by the tail, to enable him to keep pace with the troop. They reached in about ten minutes the opposite side, having crossed this rapid current to a point very little below that from which they started, and then pursued their journey with every appearance of considering the feat they had just performed as an incident of travel which they had been prepared for, and which had taken none unawares.

Within about twelve miles from Cairo, the great pyramids first appear, on the right, at some nine or ten miles off, and continue in sight, sometimes more in front, sometimes at your side, as the river winds, till you reach the port of Boulak, where you disembark. The whole passage by steam (in the boat of the Transit Company), from Alexandria, is of about twenty-six or twenty-eight hours. The same boat returns, down stream, in little less than half that time. Ascending to Cairo in a country boat,—sailing while the wind is favourable, or pulled by oars or towed by the crew when it fails or heads you,—your passage must be expected, under the most favourable circumstances, to last at least four days and nights. A contrary wind, or constant calm, may extend it to eight or ten.

Cairo opens finely upon you as you approach it from Boulak, along a wide level road, well planted on both sides with sycomores and acacias, for a distance of a mile and a half. The whole upper part of the city stretches along the foot and half up the side of a commanding and beautiful range of hills to the eastward, ending in what is called the Moccatah, a bluff headland, crowned at the further extremity by the citadel and fortified palace of the Pasha. But, when you have crossed the second

row of bridges over the canal (a dry deep ditch, whose bed is choked by all sorts of foetid impurity, except at the time of the inundation, which fills it with the water of the Nile), and when you have passed the Esbekieh, a fine park-line space on the western side of the city, the illusion is much impaired. The streets, it is true, are generally cleaner and less gloomy than those of any other Turkish or Ægyptian town I have seen. But, in the very streets, the contrast of luxury and ostentation with abject penury, destitution, and suffering, is strange and striking. A great man goes forth, attended by his principal servants, on horseback or on foot, and preceded by his cavashes* to break way for him,—a moving stream of silk-embroidered robes and gold and silver horse-trappings, borne along through a dense surrounding throng of squalid nakedness. The want of all provision for the humbler conveniences of life, and the absence of all system for adapting the means, which are abundant, to comfort and happiness among the masses of the people,—all this marks in sad characters, in all you see, the demoralising and degrading influences of Mohammedan discipline.

The city of Cairo is under the municipal administration of Abbas Pasha, the viceroy's grandson, an ill-educated and violent young man. Being in the immediate succession to the vice-royalty—next after the heir-apparent Ibrahim,—he holds his office by prescription; and is consequently sup-

* Cavash, or Tschoush, a running footman, generally distinguished by the silver-headed cane he bears; the length of the cane and the size of its head being increased in proportion to the dignity of the master whom the Cavash precedes.

ported in his negligences and in his excesses by a party of interested adherents. It is true that he interferes but little with even local regulation while the viceroy is at the seat of government. Mohammed Ali's is the power by which all that is good is done at Cairo. The mischief of Abbas' administration arises out of the bad example of his personal habits and disposition, and out of his doing absolutely nothing to second the beneficial objects of his wiser and better chief. Add to this that the praiseworthy efforts of the Pasha towards reform, political and municipal, are in every direction impeded and trammelled by a religion jealous of all social improvements, particularly of such as are framed upon an European model. The influence of this spirit may be observed in the working of all the best regulations, and in the manners of the people, which, until they shall be brought into conformity with wholesome institutions, render the best regulations of little effect. The Pasha has appointed medical boards and commissions of sanatory police; he has made the whitewashing of dwelling-houses matter of law; he has established companies of firemen, and stations for fire-engines, with supplies of water. Yet plague and conflagration, whenever they break out in Cairo, and they are not infrequent, are visitations against which the people who are the victims can hardly be persuaded to second the efforts of the authorities to check the havoc. And, looking at an Eastern city, even the best built and watched, the metropolis of Ægypt, your wonder is how infection or fire, once kindled, has ever been extinguished.

Ophthalmia prevails to a dreadful degree, in all its stages, in the Ægyptian towns. I am persuaded,

on evidence which daily presents itself, and also on the testimony of all those of the medical profession who have resided there and made this a subject of study, that, whatever be its origin, this disease owes its prevalence mainly to that absence of all precaution which naturally accompanies a belief in fatalism. Whether or no it originates in the influence of the heated sand of the desert (and this is improbable, inasmuch as the eyes of the Bedouin Arabs are very rarely found to be attacked by it), it is communicated from one sufferer to another, and perpetuated by the habits of the towns. In the towns total blindness is very common among adults; and of the children, generally beautiful in face and form, and in other respects healthy, few there are whose eyes are not in a state of loathsome disease. The swarms of flies, which collect upon the open sores of the beggars in the streets, leave them for the eyes of the children, and from thence carry infection from one to another of a people who, from habit, if not from religion, inure themselves to the attacks of these filthy insects, and appear to have no sense either of torment or disgust to induce them to brush away an annoyance, which to any but Ægyptians would be absolutely intolerable. The mosquito is bad enough, in all conscience; but, at all events, he sets to work with an appetite that to a certain degree must be admitted in extenuation of the outrage. Your blood is his banquet, and he helps himself; and, having satisfied nature's craving, he leaves you. But the unceasing, endless, and objectless importunity of a fly, running across you in one direction, for no purpose, as it appears, unless it be to gain space to run across you in the opposite the moment after,

leaving the filth and corruption, which is his natural pasture, to rush, full buzz, to your eye, your nose, your mouth, your food;—and then to see your fellow-creature, the Ægyptian, offering his whole body patiently as a refuge and college for the encouragement of these creatures,—really these things call for more than the ordinary stock of patience given to man, and would incline one almost to pardon Domitian many of his vices and his tyrannies in consideration of his unfriendliness to flies.

The interior glimpses of the town are throughout highly picturesque; and the effects of light and shade, in a brilliant climate, through streets most of them so narrow that the projecting casements of the houses nearly touch those opposite, are strange and striking. Many of the houses and public buildings are, it is true, in ruins; but the clustering columns, the gateways, and windows, of stone and alabaster, wreathed in the most florid style of Arabesque tracery, are of great and varied beauty; and here and there a tall slender minaret, of diversified shape and colours, shoots up before you,—as a lofty tree, its lower part choked by a close and rambling thicket of mean plants, from which you long to clear it. No impediments of this kind, however, interfere with those stately edifices, mis-called the Tombs of the Kaliphs, standing at the eastern extremity of the city. They show their graceful forms and proportions to all the greater advantage towering over the humbler monuments of the burial-ground, upon the side of the spacious and commanding hill from which they rise. The tombs in question, most of them, were raised during the time of the Memlooks, and contain the bodies of sultans of that race.

The passage through the streets is thronged with hindrances of every kind, in vain combated by a vociferous police. If you are on foot, you are jostled at every step by loaded asses; and at almost every corner or main gateway a huge camel stretches out his gaunt neck and mild patient face, with gentle intimation that his next stride may overwhelm you under an entanglement of long leg and a mass of towering bulk, from which it is hard to escape but by running against some other danger scarcely less great.

All riders seem to you to have their own way, and to be lords of the thoroughfare, until in your own person you become a rider; then you find yourself oppressed by another class of perils. Whether mounted on a horse, or on the more frequent donkey, you find it almost impossible to free yourself from the attentions of the conductor by your side, your villain regardant, who never lets you choose your own way or your own pace. He is always in the utmost activity of interference by both voice and act. His office is to tease by prods, blows, and shrieks the animal who carries you, and urge him into wildness;—generally at the very moment when you are exerting yourself by pulling at the bridle to check your advance, for fear of destroying a fellow-creature, or of dislocating your own limbs against the hard swagging load of some beast of burthen, or some low projecting beam or angle of a corner house. The rein is snatched from your hand, or the head of the poor brute you bestride is struck on the one side as a hint to him to turn on the other; or sometimes your fellow-creature, against whom you have been unwillingly forced, and to whom you would fain apologise, receives a

blow from your noisy guardian, which, strange to say, is taken as if it were matter of course, and never returned nor resented.

Services are nowhere so violently thrust upon you as in Cairo, either in forcing you to mount a beast of hire, or in guiding you when you have mounted him. The din of the population is overpowering. Every body seems appealing passionately and painfully against some sudden act of oppression : and often, indeed, with reason. Excepting those who are squatting or stretched at full length under the dark shadow of the walls and at the house doors, all are rushing forward in opposite directions through the lanes and bazaars. And yet there are no people really more dilatory. The Arab of the town spends his whole time, or as much of it as he can, between devising expedients to put off the moment for beginning what he has to do, and struggling to regain it.

It is, however, but fair to say that, whilst engaged in your service, whether for the month, the week, the day, or the hour, he is eager, generally too much so, in your interests, and devoted to them. But, when the engagement is concluded, and the season arrives for settlement of accounts, if there be anything he has done by which he has earned a remuneration beyond the mere stipulations of his contract, whether the amount of remuneration which you offer be less or more than his due, or whether it be the just equivalent, it becomes, as matter of course with him, a subject of remonstrance and debate. I believe that this arises rather from his love of discussion than from any real feeling of discontent. But the effect is the same. Let the rate of payment you propose be

what it may, the utmost pains are taken to convince you that you are playing the extortioner and the tyrant; so that, in these cases, you are always left to your own unassisted sense of justice, without encouragement or favour in the sight of men, do what you will.

There are two of the moral duties which the Arab who engages himself in your service never attends to: to "do violence to no man, and be content with his wages." The former præcept he is in the constant transgression of from zeal for your interests during his engagement, the latter from zeal for his own at its close.

And does it remain, then, to be asked whence this arises? Surely, from the two evil principles whence most of the bad qualities of national character arise,—and particularly those two bad qualities of slavish subserviency and suspicion; from bad education and bad government; training men in the notion which places them, without reference to duty or feeling, at the disposal of those who hire their services, and accustoming them in all cases to suspect that they are practised upon by fraud or tyranny.

Yet the people generally of Ægypt, whether of the Ægyptian or Arab race, are good-natured and light-hearted; and, like all idle and ill-educated people, passionately fond of low buffoonery. Day after day, and all day long, groups are seen on the Esbekieh clustering with intense interest round some coarse posture-master or bad conjurer. The party which appeared to me to be the most attractive, stationed always under the glow of the same west wall, and always surrounded by a throng of unwearied admirers, consisted of a white-bearded

old man, with the green turban of a Hadji, who sat on the ground dancing two puppets on a string, to the sound of three little drums of an hour-glass shape, thumped with straps by another man and two veiled women sitting opposite to him. Before these three were conjuring cups and vases, which they occasionally turned up, and out of which would crawl a serpent, or hop forth a tame bird—one should say when least expected, if one judged by the buzz of surprise with which the apparition was always received. But the same event happened so often, and in just the same manner, that there was in truth no moment at which the spectators had not a fair right to expect it. To this party of performers belonged a clown or jester, whose running commentary on the feats of the others was above measure popular. But his principal jest was this: Every now and then he would pick a quarrel with the puppets, and aim a blow at them with a strap or courbash,* apparently with intent to kill; but always contriving to make the instrument miss his intended victim, and come round with a loud crack on his own shoulders. This was always received, happen as often it as would, with shrieks of delight by the bystanders, children, women, and men of all ages and all conditions. There was one very venerable and well-dressed old gentleman, in a flowing caftan of yellow silk and ample turban, with a large chaplet of beads round his neck, and a long amber-lipped chibouk, which he silently and gravely smoked, never disturbing it, save as often as this event of the clown's self-castigation occurred. This, however, was too much for his gravity, which, from his appearance at all other

* A whip made of a strip of the hide of the rhinoceros.

moments, I doubt whether anything else ever did or could effect. This never failed. I do not remember ever passing this group without seeing this same old gentleman always contemplating this performance, and his pipe always alight. He was probably some merchant or agent, who daily set forth with intent to cross the Esbekieh on business, but never could succeed in passing this spot.

And every night, and throughout the night, these places are occupied by another class of buffoons, croners of wretched tuneless ballads, and tellers of endless stories, by torch-light, who vary their entertainments about as little, and excite the same unvarying interest in their audience.

I do not wish to go into any detailed description of the city of Cairo, or of the objects of curiosity within it, of which there are so many worthy of attention. These are things with which every one is familiar who has read—and who has not read?—the able works of Sir Gardner Wilkinson and Mr. Lane, and that more lately published and interesting little book of Mrs. Poole's (Mr. Lane's sister), called 'The Englishwoman in Ægypt.' On the topography of Ægypt and its towns, and of the manners of its people, nothing remains to be said which has not been dealt with by them so fully and minutely as to exhaust the whole matter, and yet with a taste and judgment that carry on the attention of the reader unwearied through every part. These are subjects, then, on which any other writer does enough when he refers to those works; unless, indeed, it be to bear testimony to what every one who now visits any portion of that country must be eager to acknowledge, the scrupulous fidelity with which they have throughout been treated of.

The pleasure-grounds of the Pasha at Schoubra, his country residence on the left bank of the Nile, about three miles to the northward of the city, have, within the last two years, been enlarged and more elaborately adorned. They are now, indeed, a very complete sample, and on a magnificent scale, of the most luxurious style of Oriental gardening. Neatly cut hedges of orange, pomegranate, and myrtle lead in all directions to kiosks lined with Oriental alabaster, and terraces rich with the bloom and fragrance of flowers, succeeding each other through all seasons of the year. In the centre of the grounds stands a temple lined within with alabaster, and covering nearly an acre of ground, lately built round a large square bath or pool, into which fountains are constantly playing, supplied with water raised by machinery from the Nile, and filtered on its passage into brightness like that of a natural spring. All round this are ranges of apartments, with divans and ornamental casements looking each way on the river, the city, the mountains, and cultivated plains.

At some four or five miles to the north-eastward of Schoubra is the site of the ancient and renowned city of Heliopolis, the On or Aven of the Scriptures, on the south-west border of the Land of Goshen, or the Land of Rameses, where Joseph took to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah the priest (Gen. xli. 45; xlii. 20; Ezek. xxx. 17), and where Josephus says was the first settlement of the Jews ('Antiq. Jud.' i. 11. 5). This city was also called Bethshemes, or House of the Sun (Jerem. xliii. 13).

For nearly two thousand years, from the time of King Osirtasen I. till after the Roman occupation of Ægypt, Heliopolis was a place of great celebrity ;

famous for its magnificent Temple of the Sun, famous for its monuments of art, many of which were transported to Alexandria and Rome, (among others what are called Cleopatra's Needles,) and famous for its schools, in which Plato is said to have studied the philosophy of the Ægyptians for thirteen years, under the care of the priests of the sun.* Of all its glories no trace now remains upon the spot, save some extensive mounds of earth, and one fine obelisk, covered with hieroglyphick inscriptions, and standing in the midst of a large well-cultivated field, where, when I was there, the young wheat was springing up in great luxuriance round it.

About two miles from the further end of Cairo, and higher up the Nile, is the island of Rhoda, where, according to Moslem tradition, it was that the infant Moses was found by the daughter of Pharaoh. At the eastern extremity of it is the famous Nilometer, built, as it seems most probable, by the Abbaside Kaliph Mamoon, in the early part of the ninth century. It is a graduated pillar, standing in a tank or chamber, into which the water of the Nile is admitted; and hence it is that, during the rising of the river, proclamation is daily made through Cairo of the height to which the waters have risen, until the day when the dams are cut, and the inundation suffered to cover the land.

The greater part of the island of Rhoda, towards the west, is occupied by the gardens of Ibrahim Pasha. They are of less extent than those of Schoubra, and not, like them, adorned with kiosks or fountains, but laid out more after the European taste, and cultivated with consummate care, under

* Plin. v. 9; vi. 29; Herodot. ii. 138.

the direction of Mr. Trail, a Scottish gardener, who has been for many years in the Pasha's service. It contains exotic plants in great abundance; among others an extensive assortment of East Indian fruit trees, undergoing what appears to be a successful process of naturalization to the Ægyptian climate. The force of the annual inundations has uprooted and destroyed in succession a vast number of the young trees in these gardens. Such as have, for the first three or four years after being planted, resisted this violence, have, from the extraordinary rapidity with which trees grow and strengthen themselves in this soil and climate, established themselves beyond hazard. A better kind of sugarcane than what is ordinarily found in Ægypt has of late years been introduced on the alluvial soil of the Delta, where it appears to thrive well and increase abundantly from cuttings, promising to be, before long, a profitable article of produce. But in this part of Ægypt, where water is always at command to correct what alone in this climate is unfavourable to vegetation, it appears as if the plants of every other part of the world, from the temperate to the torrid zone, might be cultivated with success.

The Viceroy often makes a sojourn of several days together at Schoubra, for change of air and the enjoyment of his gardens, receiving strangers for presentation, for audience, or to the hospitalities of his table, equally here and at his palace on the Mocatam. But his principal residence is at the latter place. The citadel is eminently worth seeing for its grandeur and strength, and for the magnificence of the view over the city which the palace windows command, of the river, along its course

both ways, of the whole range of Pyramids to the southward from Gizeh to Dashour, and far over the border of the Libyan desert beyond them. This fortress and palace were built, and the stupendous well (of Joseph, as it is called) constructed by that great warrior and statesman, the Sultan Saladin (Yousouf Saleh Eddin), the founder of the Saracen dynasty in Ægypt, Palestine, and Syria. Upon his final overthrow of the empire of the Fatimite Kaliphs in 1163, he removed the seat of the Ægyptian government from Fostat, otherwise called Masr el Atakeh (the ancient city of Ægypt) to Cairo, Masr el Kahireh (The Victorious).

CHAPTER IV.

Mohammed Ali—His habits and government—Ægyptian Slavery—Various Reforms introduced by him—Police—Currency—Some inconsistencies in his system—Medical Establishments—Publick Education—Results of the conduct of other States towards him—Recent threat of retirement to Mecca.

THE government of Mohammed Ali Pasha is a system strangely compounded of antagonist qualities, good and evil ; in some respects neutralising each other. It is in perfect accordance with the character of its chief, and with his history,—containing a great deal more to be praised than censured. It bespeaks the natural sagacity of a mind which has acquired all its knowledge and applied all its ideas for itself, has overcome the disadvantages of the only early education it received, in the school of success ; and is far in advance of the general acquirements and understanding of those whom he has to govern. But it bears also evidence of a very imperfect state of information with respect to many principles that have long ceased to be questionable, and are admitted as axioms in all civilised states.

It has become a common thing to talk of a man having two sides to his character in direct opposition to each other ; a phrase adopted, like many others, without any very distinct meaning. There is many a man in whose system of conduct its different parts may in many respects be opposed to

each other ; but to say that his motives are so is a plain solecism, and 'only shows that we are very inadequate judges of the motives of other men, and perhaps imperfectly acquainted with the external circumstances on which their conduct has been formed. Throughout the whole system of the Pasha, notwithstanding its many inconsistencies, may be traced the workings of great genius, and a ceaseless activity in applying it to practical objects. Having acquired authority, and maintained it, by the only influences respected in the Eastern world, force and craft, the Pasha has applied arbitrary means to reforming some abuses which have always been thought the very offspring of arbitrary governments, and to promote some institutions in Ægypt which have always been found in their tendency elsewhere destructive of the arbitrary principle—commerce and education. He has applied such means to the gradual correction of prejudices, in the midst of which his naturally sagacious mind was reared, and from the taint of which he has not wholly succeeded in redeeming even himself. He is, doubtless, as much misrepresented by those who deem him a mere selfish tyrant, uninfluenced by any high motives, unscrupulous of means, and addicted to blood, as he is by those who would have him believed to be a disinterested and enlightened ruler. Usurper, in the only sense in which that term can be used as a reproach, he is not, and never was ; and, if a tyrant, he is one who has administered with firmness, moderation, and for the general good, the powers originally delegated to him by a feeble and enfeebling tyranny. Unlike the other pashas to whom the Porte has entrusted its provinces, he has so used his authority as to call

forth the energies and resources of his pashalick, and improve its condition to an extent absolutely unexampled and unparalleled, and with much less cruelty or violence than belongs to any other system of government known in the East.

His mode of administration was, while his projects were unchecked and uninterfered with, and is now, unquestionably, not without its faults; and grievous some of them are. But its faults are those imposed by religion, and by inveterate habits which cannot in the life of one man be entirely reformed; whilst all its better parts are his own. He keeps the peace and represses crime in Ægypt, (as he did in Syria and Palestine so long as they continued to be annexed to his pashalic,) with a strong but not a barbarous hand, and with very infrequent capital punishments. That his nature has not been one to shrink from bloodshed, when the taking away of human lives is the readiest course to the attainment of a great object of state policy, we have the evidence of his well-remembered massacre of the Memlounk chiefs. But, with this notable and dreadful exception, in times, too, when the publick enemies of Ægypt, the Wahabees, were unsubdued and in force upon its frontier, and all within his pashalick was in a state of covert war, his career has been free from all stain of cruelty, as his nature is said by all who know him best to be averse from any cruel passion. And even in that most dreadful instance, the destruction of those men by military execution would, according to all law of military states, have been entirely justified by the right of defence, and by the proofs, which were abundant, of a conspiracy against his person and government. It is only the treacherous mode by which he

enabled himself to effect it that has rendered that act as justly odious as it is memorable.

Excepting this, since he has administered the affairs of the country he now rules, or while he was at the head of the provinces of which he has lately been deprived, no act of severity, either in peace or war, can be imputed to him, beyond (hardly equal to) what may be sometimes found in the history of the rulers of far more civilised states. The atrocities committed by his son Ibrahim, in command of his armies on foreign service, the butcheries of the Morea and Jerusalem, are not with any more colour of justice chargeable to Mohammed Ali than many crimes, I fear, of almost as dark a character, which no good purpose could be answered by particularising, committed under the ostensible authority of more civilised states, can be justly laid to the account of sovereigns who have sometimes entrusted violent and unscrupulous men with power in places at a distance from their own immediate controul.*

The manners of Mohammed Ali, his mode of receiving, addressing, and conversing with strangers, are full of dignity, courteousness, and well-

* I had one opportunity, which I did not wish to repeat, of seeing Ibrahim Pasha. His face, carriage, and demeanour are well in harmony with what is known of his character. His manner is coarse, and his countenance expressive of more constitutional ferocity and low sensuality than I ever saw depicted in that of any other human being. In one respect only does his appearance do him injustice; he is known to be a person not without ability. His history bears testimony to his having considerable military talents, and he has pursued objects of publick usefulness in the encouragement of manufactures and agriculture with no small zeal and perseverance. The expression of his face is inanimate and stupid: but this is said to be the result only of many years of habitual intoxication with wine.

bred ease. He converses with Europeans always through an interpreter, who speaks in the French language, and translates what is said to him into the Turkish,—the only one which the Pasha professes to understand. Yet the expression of his quick eye and whole countenance, while the person with whom he converses is addressing the interpreter in French, gives often the impression that he understands more of that language than he owns to, and prefers, as many official persons in the East do, to communicate through a third person, in order to give himself more time in this double process to consider his replies. His style of conversation is agreeable. He speaks in short terse sentences, often almost epigrammatick,—never without a meaning, even when they are phrases of mere ceremony. Like all men, he is fond of a little flattery, and invites it. But, like all men of sense, he requires that that little shall be administered with judgment, and is earnest and skilful in searching for subjects on which others are able to answer his inquiries with information; and on such topics he delights in showing you by no disagreeable interruptions how quickly he has apprehended their full meaning, and how well he could enlarge upon it. Like all persons of high station in the East, he begins the conversation with a phrase or two of compliment and welcome, and answers the first compliment paid to him in return by a sentence which he uses, I believe, to everybody, whatever his age may be, or to whatever European country he may belong, with very little variety: “You are a young man from an old country; you find me an old man in a young country.” Then he generally goes on thus: “I have worked hard to

improve this country, and have done something. But all my youth was spent in war. The works of peace take more time than those of war; and, when I began to govern, my time was too short to do as much as I wished. I had everything to begin. I had weeds to pluck out as well as seed to sow. In your country the ground is prepared for you; you require only a very light plough. I had to begin with the hand. Then I took to the spade—spade, spade, spade! I have hardly got to the plough yet.” Then he asks his visitor what he thinks of Ægypt, as far as he has seen of it; of the country, and of its government: a tolerably compendious question. He desires him to speak up and criticise freely; and then from his answer he judges of what are the topics on which he is most competent to carry on the conversation. I received a hint, before my first interview with the Pasha, that it would gratify him to be asked his age, and, after he had told it, to be *reminded* that he was born in the *memorable* year 1769, which produced also Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington. But these are weaknesses in which he is a sharer with all other men. It is when the phrases of mere ceremony are past, and conversation has begun, that he shows that he is no ordinary man. He shows that when he challenged a free criticism of the institutions and government of Ægypt, he did it sincerely, and takes in good part a frank compliance with the challenge. Not that, when hard pressed upon what he knows to be wrong in the system, he will not dissemble a little, and endeavour to make you doubt the truth of the view you have taken on the information you have received. But, when he finds you strong in your

facts, and that they do not admit of a colourable denial or justification, "in sese redit senex." He taps you on the knee, and with a good-humoured smile makes the best defence he can on the rights of the question.

I saw a notable instance of this on the question of slavery. He said that the slave-market was now abolished in Cairo. But, when assured, with the frankness he had invited, that though it was true that the old slave-market in the midst of the city was no more, his Highness might satisfy himself, by sending to another place within half a mile of his own palace, that a new one was established there upon an equally large scale, where Nubians and Abyssinians, and some Georgians too, were exposed to publick sale, he smiled, the knee was tapped, and he said he disliked the system of slavery as much as any man, but that old institutions, however bad, could not be all reformed at once. "You found some difficulty in abolishing slavery in your American islands, and were a long time before you achieved it." Then he proceeded to show that the condition of the slaves in Ægypt was much less severe and degrading than ours had been, or than that of the slave States of the American Union is. When it was suggested to him that, so long as slavery should exist in any shape, it would be impossible to put down slave-importation and the slave-hunts, with all the abominations that belonged to them, he said that the slave-hunts had been abolished universally throughout Ægypt.

On being informed that, although his Highness believed it was so, he might be assured, on the testimony of several European gentlemen of honour lately returned from Upper Ægypt, that the slave-

hunts ("gazouas") were now in full activity there, and carried on by his own soldiers on furlough, and that, indeed, there were persons who did his Highness the wrong of inferring from thence that these furloughs, with their licence to hunt down Nubians and Abyssinians, were given to his soldiers in part of pay, the smile came again, and the tap on the knee, and the old story that "old institutions, however bad, could not all at once," &c. &c. &c. The slave-hunts are in truth carried on for the most part by the Pasha's soldiers on furlough. The slaves are brought in by them to their officers, who divide them in due proportion among the captors in lieu of pay. The captors then take their slaves to the merchants who trade in them, and who bring them to the markets at Alexandria and Cairo; and the "Rafkir," a tax of 200 piastres, is paid to the government on the sale of each slave. Among the resident slave-merchants who carry on this traffick, it is a disgraceful fact that there are many Europeans, principally French. I believe, from the best information I have able to obtain, and I hope it is the truth, that among these miscreants there are none British. Representations have been made to the French government respecting the French subjects engaged in the trade. The French government has interfered, and, I trust it may be found, with success..

It is true that the physical condition of the slaves in Ægypt is in many respects better than probably in any other country where the heavy curse and crime of slavery exists. They are treated with kindness, are considered as part of the family of their master, and, if they should become old without having obtained their freedom, are, according to

the commands of the Koran, which are law among all Mohammedans, maintained in comfort till death. If they should fall into the hands of a rich and powerful master, and so behave as to find favour with him, they, after no long time, are emancipated and advanced, and not unfrequently rise to wealth, and sometimes even to the highest posts in the state. But all this is but a feeble apology for the institution, with all the horrors inseparable from it even in Ægypt. The wars which the slave-trade in Nubia excites among the chieftains there, for the purpose of obtaining prisoners for the markets,—the sale of infants by their parents,—the slave-hunts,—the ambuscades for the purpose of kidnapping children,—the dreadful sufferings and deaths in the journey across the desert,—these are pictures of crime and misery which, with slightly varied circumstances, (such as the middle passage of the ocean, perhaps, instead of the wilderness,) must always abound wherever slavery exists, and the slave-market, which is a necessary accompaniment of slavery.

For these reasons, and for another if possible yet stronger, I cannot bring myself to agree in the mild and almost apologetick tone in which Clot Bey, in his '*Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte*,' speaks of Ægyptian slavery.* One part—a very material one—has been left quite without notice in Clot Bey's observations on this subject,—the frequent cases of mutilation of the blacks, and the purposes

* Clot Bey is a French physician who has long been in the service of the Pasha, and chief of the medical department. He has had great merit in suggesting and completing important reforms in his own department, and his book is in many respects a valuable one.

of acknowledged and infamous debauchery that are part of the condition in which almost all the white slaves, and many of the blacks, of both sexes, pass the early part of their lives, and into which these unhappy children are sold,—a condition which it were an offence even to define, and of which language is too poor in words, or the heart too rich in indignation, to express its horror.

Much has been said, and deservedly, on the subject of the impressment of the Fellahs for the Pasha's publick works. It is a revolting and disgusting sight to see, as one may almost every day in Cairo, troops of labouring men marched in from the villages in chains, and linked together like convicts; and it is but a poor excuse for such an outrage on publick feeling that these chains are imposed not by the government, but by the "Sheik el Beled," the chief of the village on whom the requisition is made for so many labourers, and that the indolent inhabitants could not in any other way be prevailed upon to go to a work in which there is no hardship, and at which they are better paid and better fed than if they had remained at home. Such is, however, the truth. And not only they appear to feel no unhappiness or degradation in their chains, and march along laughing and singing, but, oddly enough, as if the chains were part of the acknowledged apparatus for the march, they are travelled home again in the same guise, I know not why, and in the same apparent contentment. Still these are scenes which, if it were only for publick example, should be at once abolished. While innocent men are thus dealt with, and feel it no grievance, the government plainly loses the effect of what might be reserved, under a better state of publick feeling,

as a punishment and a disgrace for those who break the laws, and so be applied to a certain class of petty offences.

In Cairo the police is good, and crimes of violence very infrequent. The course of retribution is rapid, and I believe generally pure. I do not speak here of the Mekemeh, or the minor courts in which civil causes relating to property are tried, in which the proceedings are very dilatory, and the presiding judges and their effendis are accused of being generally open to corruption. All judgements in criminal matters are given arbitrarily by the Pasha and his officers of publick justice. Great pains are taken in weighing the evidence on which cases are to be determined; and the judges, from their habit of acting without assistance of counsel, jury, or assessors, are astute in the cross-questioning of parties and of witnesses.

When speaking of the pure course of criminal justice, I refer only to those parts of Ægypt, generally Lower Ægypt, which are under the immediate eye of the Pasha. Although I believe that he is so well convinced of the importance of a pure administration of justice, that, upon any case of misconduct on the part of the judge, from the highest to the lowest, in any part of his dominions, coming to his knowledge, he is impartial and severe in visiting the offence. I believe that Dr. Bowring describes truly, in his Report laid before Parliament, 1840, the general influence of the criminal courts in this part of the Levant, even where not immediately under the Pasha's observation. "The application of punishment to offenders," says he, ('Report,' p. 122,) "is immediate; and, though often capricious and uncertain, it may be doubted if it

be not in many instances more salutary than the remedial measures employed by more civilized nations, in a bad system of prison discipline, transportation, and capital punishments. An offender detected in the commission of crime is usually subjected without delay to a bastonading, more or less severe according to the award of his judge, whose authority he instantly recognises, and to whose inflictions he uncomplainingly submits. In fact, wherever there is power there is obedience, and obedience to even the injustice which power commits."

Criminals guilty of the higher class of offences are condemned to forced labour for life in the arsenals, and on the other publick works. The punishment of death is generally limited to one offence,—disobedience to the orders of the Pasha; an offence naturally rated the highest under a purely arbitrary system, where the ruler charges himself with the whole government of the state, and where disobedience to his orders deranges the whole fabrick. But I am convinced that the whole amount of capital punishments within any given number of years in Cairo would be found, in proportion to the population, to be not greater than in any one of the towns or states of Europe: I believe considerably less.

The whole soil of Ægypt belongs, as is known, in fee to the Pasha. Lands, it is true, are sometimes granted by him to persons high in favour and confidence,—unoccupied land to many; but a great part of the produce of these—the greatest part—is subject to duties and prohibitions, which give to the government a general monopoly. Cotton, opium, indigo, and flax, must be sold to the government at

prices fixed by law, and the government retails them at its own. The supply of animal food to the city of Cairo is another government monopoly. This system of monopoly is not so grievous to the producers as disadvantageous to the government itself, which is obliged not infrequently to retail at a rate lower than the purchase price and cost of collection, and whose revenues would be much increased by increased encouragement given to production. The expenses of cultivation are generally paid, as rent is, in produce. Wherever there is water in Ægypt, there is a productive power in the land, assisted by the climate, beyond parallel, I believe, in any other part of the known world. On the banks of the Nile, between the periods of inundation, the land is carefully irrigated by multitudes of sakhias, water-wheels turned by oxen and furnished with buckets. There is a smaller kind of sakhia, worked by the hands and feet of a man sitting on a bench fixed near the circumference of the wheel, and facing it. Hydraulick machines, turned by the stream itself, have been partially introduced. But here, as in some more civilized countries, there is a prejudice, hard to be overcome, against the substitution of machinery for labour. In the other parts, wherever there are pools, natural or artificial, the adjacent ground is irrigated by the schadoof, a short post fixed in the ground, and a long pole equally balanced at the top, which has at one end a box or bag made of palm-leaves, in which the water is raised by hand.

The Pasha has introduced, says Dr. Bowring, ('Report,' p. 12,) not less than 38,000 sakhias in different parts of Ægypt.* Among other publick

* This seems a large number in proportion to that of the

works, besides the 'great' Mahmoudieh Canal from Alexandria to the Nile at Atfeh, the Pasha has made four large canals,—two in Lower and two in Upper Ægypt,—and a great many smaller ones.

The government has established manufactories, some on a very large scale, and generally prospering. Anchor forges and large iron founderies at Alexandria and Cairo; a foundery of brass guns at the latter city; manufactories of all arms, accoutrements and outfit for the army; looms, spinning-jennies, carpet-weaving, wood-engraving, calico-printing, cloth manufactories, potteries, and many other establishments for supplying home consumption, and even for limited exportation to Syria and some other parts of the Levant, attest the activity of the Pasha and the increasing powers of the country, independent of those of agricultural produce, if its resources shall continue to be judiciously and diligently called forth. The duties on importation of foreign goods are by no means high. They did not amount to a higher rate than a general levy of three per cent. *ad valorem* on all goods imported. This has since, by the treaty establishing a general tariff throughout the dominions of proprietors or renters of land in Ægypt, and also to the joint length of all the rivers of that country. For, even if these sakhias have been all twice renewed by the Pasha, and one-fourth of them placed on the banks of fresh-water pools, which do not abound in Ægypt, the remainder of these engines would furnish more than twelve to every mile of water running through cultivable land, the Nile inclusive. In another part of the Report (page 13) Dr. Bowring says, on the authority of Mr. Linant, that there are, in Lower Ægypt only, 50,000 sakhias. Surely there must be the mistake of a cypher here. According to his subsequent estimates, one-half of the adult male population would hardly more than suffice to work them.

the Porte, been raised to 5 per cent.; and that worst of all means of raising a revenue of customs, the duty on exports, has been under the same tariff augmented to 8 per cent., under the notion of checking the internal monopolies; a purpose which will always be and is evaded. This tax, directly bearing on skill and industry, will, I trust, be materially modified, if not abolished, at the end of next year, when the operation of this tariff will cease in Ægypt.

A great reform has of late years been made in the Ægyptian coinage and currency. Formerly, although there was a mint at Cairo, the cash transactions among the people of this country were conducted chiefly in Turkish coin of a debased standard, much clipped and defaced, and often counterfeited, or in European and American dollars, at various and fluctuating rates of exchange, and never bearing any fixed or easily calculable relation in exchangeable value to the gold in use. This of course deranged all transactions on credit, and the value of all produce also; inasmuch as the creditor who received a large proportion of his due, and the government which collected a large proportion of its imports, in kind, had the advantage of claiming this payment in kind with reference to whatever coin might at the time happen to represent the largest quantity. Within the last few years the Pasha introduced a new coinage of piastres and half piastres of his own, the denomination of money in which all sums are reckoned in this country: and, in 1837, made a large issue of gold pieces of a hundred piastres each = twenty shillings, or a sovereign of English money. These are of finer gold than the standard of the English sovereign, very beautifully stamped, with

the Pasha's name on the one side and the Sultan's on the other, and bear a premium all over Syria, to the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. Yet, in a spirit quite inconsistent with the wise and honest policy which has given an intrinsically valuable coinage to Ægypt, the Pasha pays all his servants, civil, military, and domestick, from his highest officers of state down to the fellahs who work in his gardens and his fields, in paper assignats which were at a constant discount, while I was there, of about thirty per cent—a policy as short-sighted as it is discreditable; incapable of making any real difference in his expenses, even if there were no machinery necessary for carrying on the system, and encumbering all, even the minutest of his money transactions, with a machinery which is in itself expensive.

The services for which he pays at the nominal rate of a hundred piastres, but in paper which is at a discount of thirty, he might of course obtain as easily for seventy piastres paid in silver; more easily, indeed, because that simple transaction would save the person to whom the payment is made the trouble of going to a merchant to sell paper for money. But it is also clear that when, at the end of the transaction, the Pasha has to take up his bill, he pays, besides the original services which he has estimated at seventy piastres, the merchant's profit, in consideration of which the paper has been discounted.

I saw, one Thursday afternoon, the day before the Musulman Sabbath, the Pasha's labourers receiving their week's wages, as I was going out from the garden-gate of the palace of Schoubra with a party of English gentlemen. The gardeners and their workmen were leaving the garden at the same

time, some forty or fifty of them, and thronged the gateway. I waited to see the process. A clerk was sitting in a little lodge at the gate, writing these assignats in very neat Arabick characters, and sealing each of them with a signet ring dipped in ink—some for eight, some ten, some twelve piastres. Each was a longish instrument, and took up some time in writing and sealing. Arabs and Turks do nothing quickly, and the Arabick character cannot be very quickly written. Each paper was then folded with great deliberation and given to each separate claimant, who was to carry it (but not on the next day, the Sabbath) to some merchant's house to be discounted. The only explanation I could obtain upon inquiry as to why the men were not hired at once at a rate minus the discount, and paid that amount in cash, seemed to be that ready money ran short, that it was therefore more convenient to pay in paper, and that it would be deemed unbefitting his Highness's dignity to borrow a sum from a merchant on a large bill at a discount to pay them. And yet I could not well understand how his Highness's dignity was better consulted by giving a large number of small bills at a discount than one large one; and it appeared very clear that the additional time and labour of drawing them out separately in writing, and carrying them separately to be discounted, was so much more expense, which, in the end, falls upon the Pasha.

Mohammed Ali has lately completed a great and very important work, a publick medical school, and a civil hospital upon the Esbekieh in good air, and regulated in all respects upon the European system. This was urgently required, and will be of vast use, not only for the relief of the number of patients it is provided to contain, but also as an exemplary

triumph over a mass of Mohammedan prejudices which have always interfered with the proper treatment of disease, and assisted the spread of such disorders as are either infectious or simply contagious. Military hospitals had long been formed on a large scale, and under good regulations. Whether the plague, which makes such havock in these countries, be infectious or contagious, or both, or neither, appears to be a question not yet finally decided among the highest and most experienced medical authorities. Two things, however, are quite indisputable: that it is a disease under which the most careful and skilful medical treatment is required to save the patient from death, and that it spreads enormously, and with frightful rapidity, among a population living in filth and close air, and upon unwholesome food. The Pasha has applied himself for many years to collect information from reports of medical commissions upon this important subject, and to cleansing and ventilating Cairo, as far as the indolent habits of his people, and their absolute reliance on predestination, will allow him.

But even the predestinarian spirit inculcated by the Koran, "in which is found all wisdom, and there is no wisdom but in it," has been gradually mitigated by the energy of this able ruler, as far as it has a tendency to bring the publick safety into hazard. Besides the discouragement which the prejudices of their religion give to all precaution against disease, there has been great difficulty in bringing the lower orders of Musulmans to submit even to surgical operations. Now a school of surgery has been established in addition to the civil hospitals, subjects are purchased for dissection at less expense, and with less secrecy than was neces-

sary when the government first turned its attention to this subject ; and the care of life and health is no longer in the hands of the barbers, and magicians, and dervishes, to whom, some years ago, was left almost in monopoly the practice of the healing arts. In furtherance of the objects of these establishments the police is severe in enforcing the sanitary precautions of the government, obliging householders to whitewash their outer walls at fixed times in every year, and to remove all noisome rubbish from before their doors. The more important subject of cleanliness within is what no police and no government can interfere with in a Mohamadan country, further than by general advice as to its expediency. For, as under a free government, every citizen's house is his castle, "where the wind and rain may enter, but the king cannot," so, under the otherwise arbitrary despotisms of the East, a great portion of every Musalman's house is his hareem, every passage leading to which, nay, even the little dingy court into which its windows look, is barred to the access of all but its master, the wives of his near relations, some select female friends who are allowed to visit its inmates, and the important personage called in Arabick "Tawashi," to whose guardianship, in all families of the higher order, this part of the establishment is entrusted.

The Mohammedans, such of them as have fixed dwellings and conform to the discipline of their religion respecting the ablutions, and to the custom general among them of using the warm bath frequently, are in their persons tolerably clean. Those who have no home (and great numbers there are who have none, and who sleep nightly on the walks and roads, on the Esbekieh, and among the tombs),

are filthy* to the most loathsome degree, covered with vermin and with disease communicable by the touch. The very air that surrounds them and blows past them is unwholesome. Of the latter class not a few are begging santons (generally idiots, or crafty idlers feigning idiotism), who are held by the Turks to be inspired, and whose grotesque gestures and incoherent ravings are treated with a sort of mysterious deference; though, strangely enough, these poor creatures are often pursued and harassed by the children and other idlers, just as, in former times in England, village idiots were, until humane regulation had established in most parts of this kingdom publick hospitals for the reception of them. The number of these has, however, been very much diminished by the indirect and secret interference of the Pasha. The Copts and Jews also, and the parts of the city which they respectively inhabit, are exceedingly filthy.

The advances made, under the government of the Pasha, in the social and commercial condition of *Ægypt*, were not first introduced by him, as has been the case with many other warlike despots, after tranquillity had been won by the sword, and no triumphs remained to be achieved or cares to be attended to but those of peace. It is his great glory that, even whilst all his military energies were engaged in strengthening the defences of the country, and dealing with enemies on every frontier to the east, to the north, and on the sea,—while lending assistance to the Porte in its wars, or afterwards opposing and vanquishing its armies and its fleets sent against him,—his efforts never relaxed, nor was his attention ever drawn away from his well-sustained object of civil improvement.

Among these, the importance of publick education, a subject new in the Mohammedan East, until undertaken by him, and requiring a mind capable of casting off the prejudices in which it had itself been reared, and mastering those of others, has always been present and foremost in his. He did not limit his efforts in this respect to inviting foreign engineers and military officers into Ægypt to instruct his people in the science and discipline of war, nor to sending young Ægyptians to Woolwich, to Paris and Marseilles, to learn the systems of European fortification, gunnery, navigation, and tactique. He established elementary schools for general instruction in Cairo and Alexandria. He, by degrees, introduced subsidiary establishments, district schools, wherever local circumstances gave him the means, and placed them in communication with, and under the supervision of a central board at Cairo, at the head of which he placed a Minister of State, with a title new and before unheard-of among Moslems, the Minister of Publick Instruction. This minister, Hekekiem Bey, a person, I believe, of considerable talents and activity, is constantly at work with the board, sitting in a building at the corner of the Esbekieh, near which is a central seminary conducted on the European system of class instruction. I visited this. It is conducted with great regularity, and well attended by day scholars as well as boarders, separated into classes, from infant to adult; many supplied from remote parts of the country—some even from Abyssinia and from Nubia.

The discipline and attention maintained among such talkative and indolent races as those from which the learners come is striking. Good me-

mory, where attention can be secured, is, I believe, a remarkable quality generally among the Ægyptian races. This is very observable among the classes in arithmetick and geometry. In the latter science, if I may venture to judge from two examples that I saw, the power of memory is called into more activity by the teachers than sound comprehension of the propositions or demonstrations. I saw a boy go through the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid, with extraordinary rapidity, by a diagram chalked before him on a board. It was a very wondrous effort of memory. But one or two slight oversights which he made in the process gave a suspicion that the lesson had been learnt merely by rote. And so it clearly was. For, when desired unawares to prove the equality of the angles at and below the base of a triangle of equal sides, he was plainly in as much difficulty at the ass's bridge as if he had never before seen the figure. And I am inclined to doubt whether he ever had. Still the conduct of the school and attainments of the boys generally, all allowance being made for the vanity of the masters who endeavoured to give higher credit to their scholars for their progress than was honestly their due, were very creditable.

A press is attached to this establishment, to print for general circulation Arabick translations made by the boys of works of history, science, and philosophy. Two of the works which were under translation were singularly enough selected for juvenile exercises in a country governed by a pasha:—Montesquieu, 'L'Esprit des Loix,' and Vattel, 'Droits des Gens.' It reminded one somewhat whimsically of the lines in the Anti-Jacobin with reference to the ill-success of citations from

the latter writer in this same land of "Africa the Torrid."*

Even female education, on every account a most difficult subject to be dealt with in a country where the discipline of the Koran is under Turkish interpretation, has not been neglected among the institutions of this bold and wise reformer. Schools for girls and for female adults are not only formed and maintained at the public charge, but, as I was told, some others also have been established by private teachers for the instruction of young women of the wealthier orders, and are well attended. This, it need not be said, is a revolution promising the most important and beneficial results in its influence on manners and on moral and intellectual advancement in the East. It was begun by the efforts of an English lady, Miss Halliday, who devoted herself to this praiseworthy object under the auspices of a society formed in England, but whose exertions have, from the beginning, been countenanced by the Ægyptian government; to call in the natural affections of men to their aid in their highest and noblest duties,—to qualify Mohammedan wives for being helpmates and advisers, Mohammedan mothers for training up their sons in knowledge and honourable ambition.

I had the good fortune to hear this subject discussed on one occasion by the Pasha himself;—discussed in his usual manner, by putting questions without giving any opinion of his own. He asked what political advantage, what advantage besides that of the mere pleasure to be derived from the

* Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin: 'Elegy on Jean Bôn St. André,' Stanza ix. et seq.

conversation of well-educated women, was gained in Europe from their free admission into general society. The answer obviously was that their free admission into general society carried with it the necessity of such education as should qualify them to adorn it; that the result was, that, where the minds of women were studiously and highly cultivated, if it were only for the sake of the male portion of the race, his Highness could not but be aware of the advantage gained to a state by its men being, during those years when the strongest impressions are formed for a useful career in future, reared under the care of strong-minded mothers, and afterwards deriving support and counsel in their publick duties from the affection of wise and good wives. Then, after a moment's pause, came the smile and the tap on the knee. For the Pasha, it is very well known, bears the tenderest respect for the memory of his mother, and for that also of his favourite wife, the mother of his children, both of whom were women of naturally very superior qualities, and to the early care of the first of whom, and the affectionate counsels and assistance of the other, he always professes to stand indebted for the ascendancy he has since obtained over the minds of other men, and in the affairs of the Eastern World.

The invariable consequence of an advance in general education is a corresponding advance in all the social charities. I will not use the phrase Religious Toleration, implying a right of interference which no human authority has—but religious Liberty, which, as of plain right, men enjoy in exact proportion with the amount of civilization of the country they inhabit—Religious Liberty is

fully acknowledged by the institutions of the Pasha. It is true the Moslems of the old school have still in Ægypt, as elsewhere, a deep contempt for all religions but their own, and hold very severely the doctrine of exclusive salvation. But not only is it not allowed that any religion shall be openly insulted,—not only may Christians of all sects, and Jews, roam about, each in the habit of his nation and religion, and ride on horseback at their pleasure,—that privilege having been formerly reserved for true believers, whilst infidels were never to be seen in street or road, save on their own feet, or on the backs of asses,—not only may they hold property, and build and occupy places of worship of their own,—but they are admissible to all offices, military and civil. One instance might be sufficient to cite as an example, for it is the highest. Boghos Bey, who was for many years prime minister to the Pasha, who died last year in office, and in the highest and most confidential favour with him, and whose death the Pasha deplored as the loss of his ablest servant, was an Armenian Christian, as is also Artim Bey, who has succeeded him.

Such is the general system of the Pasha's rule. Many are the faults it has not yet corrected, but surpassing are the benefits it confers upon the country he governs, and on all others in their relations with it. From that rule, and from a gradual participation in its benefits, Syria, Palestine, and Candia, a considerable portion of the Mohammedan East, have now been severed. On the subject of this severance, of the aggressions which were avowedly threatened and in preparation by the Porte in 1832 and 1833, against Mohammed Ali and his government of those territories which

he had rescued for the Sultan,—those to the east out of anarchy, and those to the north out of the hands of a powerful and warlike chief, upon the implied condition in all good faith, securing the joint pashalick in perpetuity to himself and his descendants,—on the subject of the convention of Kiutaya, concluded with him by the Porte when he had defeated its armies and was advancing on Constantinople, by which that annexation of territory was confirmed to him,—on the subject of the consequent interference of two of the powers that had urged that convention between the Sultan and the Pasha, supporting the former in his breach of it, and destroying the towns and army of the latter with their cannon,—on these subjects it is useless now to dilate. History will deal with them. But the immediate result has been to add to the weakness of the Porte, by adding to it the burthen of possessions it could hardly of late years retain and never could govern but through his means,—and to impede the gradual progress of improvement, social and commercial, along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

Ægypt had been degraded from the rank it held under the Kaliphs as an important and wealthy nation, ever since the Turkish conquest and Turkish occupation of it. Syria and Palestine add nothing to the revenue of the Sultan, and cost him dear in garrisons and in all the other machinery which can hardly sustain his crumbling dominion there. That he cannot extend protection to foreigners, either travelling or residing in those parts, is felt by all who visit them. But a few years ago, the authority of Mohammed gave security entire, where now it can be had only by bargain with

Arab tribes upon the road, and in the cities is left to the precarious protection of feeble governors and a lawless police. Candia is forced back to the unnatural dependence from which it had dropped off because the mother country was unable to provide for its support;—Candia, second only to Sicily in its means of wealth, and of which Dr. Bowring truly says in a Report written before it was taken from the Pasha, that, “placed on the confines of Africa and Asia, yet so adjacent and accessible to Europe, itself a garden and a storehouse, it will become by the necessity of things one of the great bazaars of the Old World. It must be a centre of influence, self supported, or depending only on those commercial relations which time will gather round it.”

Nor will history fail to bear this testimony to the singular moderation and magnanimity of the Pasha; that, amid all the transactions of 1840, the destruction of his fortified towns, the separation of his territory, and the carnage of his people, and while one of the important land barriers of British India was thus weakened and left in jeopardy, the British merchants at Cairo and Alexandria remained unmolested, and the way of the Red Sea open as before, for England to her Eastern empire. He is uniformly kind in his attentions, and in the assistances he gives to travellers of all nations who visit his country. If more to those of one nation than of another, perhaps it is to the English. But he can no longer command for them the facilities and the security they used to enjoy to the eastward of his present frontier.

Of the numbers of the population of Ægypt there is no estimate that can be relied upon as ap-

proaching precision. Nor can any be expected until the change which has already begun in the habits of the people shall have advanced much further. All the Mohammedan customs to which I have adverted are as unfavourable to any process for a general census as they are to sanitary regulations. The numbers of sojourners in the towns daily vary, and vastly too, by the influx of Arabs from the desert, and of the fellahs who are brought in from the country to the publick works, or bring in provisions and other produce. A large proportion of those who dwell in Cairo sleep in the open air, and have no houses appropriated to them. Of these no account can be taken. Every house has its hareem, and the hareem is inaccessible. The births of children are not reported. Besides all these difficulties, perhaps a greater than all the rest is in the jealousy with which the people regard the proposal of any new census, suspecting it to be preliminary to some new impost. Every project of this sort is therefore thwarted and opposed.

An attempt was made, some years ago, by the Pasha to take a census of the city of Cairo, but it failed. The numbers in Cairo are on a rough estimate calculated at some 200,000. Dr. Bowring, in his Report on Ægypt, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his work on 'Modern Ægypt and Thebes,' differ widely in the numerical estimate they respectively give of the population of the whole country: the former rating it at from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000: while the latter believes it not to exceed about 1,800,000. Sir Gardner, moreover, believes the numbers to be decreasing in all parts excepting Alexandria. Dr. Bowring's opinion, on the contrary, from the best information

he could collect, is that they are slowly on the increase. They agree, however, in believing that the amount of the Turkish population in Ægypt is becoming every year less. And, since 1840, in which year Dr. Bowring wrote his Report, their proportional numbers seem to have still further decreased, and those of other resident foreigners and of the native people to have been augmented, notwithstanding the havock which that year made among the towns and the army of the Egyptians, and the commercial embarrassments consequent upon those events.

CHAPTER V.

The great Pyramids of Gizeh—Campbell's Tomb—Sphinx—Necropolis of Ancient Memphis—Abousir—Sakhara—Ruined Pyramid—Dashour—Mitraheeny—Colossal Statue—Magicians of Cairo—Mr. Lane's explanation of the mystery.

NATURALLY, irresistibly, the first impulse which an European stranger feels, after his arrival at Cairo, is to go to the Pyramids. He has from his childhood dwelt upon the contemplation of them as of things whose origin and intent lie wrapped in the mystery of ages unnumbered, and of a country far, far remote. He has read of them with wonder, as of prodigies of human labour, vast and unproductive as the desert which they overlook; prodigies of human power, which, unless recalling the memory of worthy acts and of publick reverence, teach but this severe and useful truth, that such monuments will endure only as barren records, long after all knowledge of the men who raised them in their pride shall have fallen into oblivion or disregard. He has read of the three great Pyramids of Cheops, of Cephren, and of Mycerinus. He has read of the largest of them as having occupied in its construction the labour of a hundred thousand workmen during twenty years, who were every three months relieved by an equal number; and of as many having been employed for ten years before in making the causeway to the Nile for transport of materials.* And when, amazed at the magni-

* Herodot. iii. 16. He, moreover, tells us that such was

tude of the structures, he asks who were the heroes, who the benefactors of the human race, whose renown they were intended to commemorate, he finds that the two first were reared by tyrants and oppressors whom publick indignation would not suffer to occupy them with their dust; and that the third was the work of a better sovereign than his father or his uncle who had preceded him,—“good above all other kings who had ever borne sway in Ægypt;” * but that he would hardly have been remembered had he not also shared in the folly and vice of misapplying the industry of his people. And therefore Mycerinus is thus known, as having left the fairest character of the three, and the smallest pyramid.

The Pyramids of Gizeh are, according to the measurements in the beautiful description published by Colonel Vyse, which I believe are admitted to be the most accurate of any yet taken, of the following dimensions:—

	Present length of each face at the base.		Perpendicular height.		Area of the base.		
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Acrs.	Rds.	Poles.
Pyramid of Cheops .	746	0	450	9	12	3	3
„ Cephren .	649	9	447	6	10	3	30
„ Mycerinus	333	0	203	6	2	3	21

the execration in which the memory of Cheops, and of his brother and successor Cephren, was held, that the people of Ægypt gave to the Pyramids raised by these two sovereigns the name of Philitis, a shepherd who fed his flocks in that country (ii. 13). Dr. Russell (‘Anc. and Mod. Ægypt,’ p. 80) supposes the Pyramids to be contemporaneous with the race of the shepherd-kings, who prohibited the worship of brute animals, and occupied the throne of the Pharaohs during part of the interval between the birth of Abraham and the captivity of his great-grandson Joseph.

* Herodot. ii. 134.

And the height and area of each have been considerably diminished by large accumulations of sand at the base.*

The way to the Pyramids lies past the tombs of the Memlook kings and of Mohammed Ali's family; of Toosoom Pasha and Ismail Pasha, his sons; of Mohammed Bey Defterdar, his son-in-law; of Zorah Pasha, his sister; of his first wife; and of Mustapha Bey, his wife's brother. From thence it leads to Fostat, or Old Cairo (Masr el Atekeh), from the destruction of Alexandria till 973 of the Christian æra the Capital of Ægypt,

* In giving Colonel Vyse's measurements of the height and length of the three Pyramids, it is fit to observe upon the remarkable discrepancy in the statements made by historians and travellers on this subject. Dr. Russell, in his 'View of Ancient and Modern Ægypt,' enumerates them thus:—

ANCIENTS.	Height of Great Pyramid in English feet.	Length of the side in ditto.
Herodotus . . .	800	800
Strabo . . .	625	600
Diodorus . . .	600	700
Pliny . . .	—	708
MODERNS.		
Le Brun . . .	606	704
Prosper Alpinus . . .	625	750
Thevenot . . .	520	612
Niebuhr . . .	440	710
Greaves . . .	444	648
Davison . . .	461	746
French Savans . . .	470	704
	Number of layers or steps.	Number of layers or steps.
Greaves . . .	207	Belon . . . 250
Maillet . . .	208	Thevenot . . . 208
Albert Lavenstein . . .	260	Davison . . . 206
Pococke . . .	212	

and anciently known as Ægyptian Babylon. Except its mosque (the Mosque of Amer) and its old Roman fortress, nothing now remains of its former magnificence. It is on the brink of the Nile.

On the opposite bank is the village of Gizeh, shaded by tall plummy palm-trees, with also a fortress on the water's edge, and two handsome minarets. Behind this, at some six miles across a flat cultivated ground redeemed from the desert which stretches forth on all sides beyond them, are the three great Pyramids. The six small ones at their foot, three to the east and three to the west, are at this distance hardly to be discerned, so covered are they by the great ones under whose shadows they lie.

After passing the river, and the banks and mud-walls which fence in Gizeh at the back, the way lies nearly straight to the Pyramids—at all events, with not more than two or three turnings, that make the track about a mile longer to ride than the direct line along which they are seen from Old Cairo. During the inundation, indeed, you may reach to within a mile or two of them by boat. But, for about three months before the Nile is at its full height, and about as long after, the two little rivers you have to cross are so swollen that, if you are riding, you must go round for a long distance to the southward and eastward.

Most travellers profess to have been disappointed with the apparent size of the Pyramids at their first approach. I speak of my own impressions only. I will not say that they surpassed my expectations, for I do not know that I had formed any very determinate idea of the appearance of such

stupendous masses of masonry at near view ; but I can truly say they quite equalled any vague notion I could have formed of them. From a great distance the effect of them may easily be imagined. Every one is well acquainted, by models and drawings, with their general form, and, while they are too far off for objects near them to be visible with which the eye can contrast their size, every one may well judge how they must appear. From the Nile, opposite the apex of the Delta, from whence you first catch sight of them at nine miles off, you acknowledge them as things you are well acquainted with, and for which for some hours of your passage up the Nile you had been on the look-out. They have much the same appearance from the heights of the Moccataam or from Old Cairo. But, as you near them on the remains of the old causeway, you are overcome with a sense of their exceeding bulk and grandeur.

There is an optical effect I should be inclined to think peculiar to the great Pyramids, but at all events very remarkable in reference to them, which I feel sure cannot but strike any one who sees them from the moment his attention shall have been drawn to it. In the models of them every where to be met with, which, though perhaps not taken by very accurate trigonometrical measurement, still, according to their scale, preserve the general proportions, there is a very distinct difference in their apparent shape from that of the originals. I have seen the Pyramids, I believe, by every light, from sunrise to moonlight ; and I have always observed that they appear, at whatever distance they may be viewed, to form a much sharper angle at the apex, to be much taller in proportion to the width

of base, than in the models made to scale of measurement. I do not attempt to give the solution of this, not being aware of anything in the deceptions of perspective or atmosphere that can account for it;—indeed, I should rather have expected it to be the direct reverse. I only state it as it appeared to me, and as those persons to whom I made the observation when we were together on the spot have admitted that it appeared to them.

The table-land of stone, 150 feet above the surrounding level, and from which the sides of the Pyramids spring, adds much to their commanding appearance as you approach them. At the distance of a mile or so, you hardly distinguish this great pedestal or platform from the flat desert of the same colour extending to the horizon behind it.

I visited the Pyramids several times; the first time, with Lord Mountcharles and his fellow-travellers. On that occasion we were unable to proceed in the Great Pyramid further than what is called the King's chamber, which is at the end of the horizontal passages and the inclined galleries, up which is the access between them. We had neglected to provide ourselves with a ladder, which is necessary for those who would mount hence into the four upper chambers. I was therefore obliged to postpone this to my second visit.

However worthy description the interior of this Pyramid is in all its details,—the ascent of the great gallery at some 230 feet from the entrance, and that magnificent vault to which it leads, the King's Chamber, lined throughout with polished granite, and the great sarcophagus at the further corner of it,—that deep and mysterious well at the lower end of the gallery, explored through its three gloomy

shafts by the adventurous and gallant perseverance of Mr. Davison, and, half a century after, by M. Caviglia,—and the smaller passage that branches off into the Queen's Chamber, 498 feet in a perpendicular line below the apex of the pyramid,—all these have been so thoroughly and minutely described in the works of Colonel Vyse, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Dr. Russell, as to forbid repetition. Their labours, and those of all who preceded them, have left, perhaps, little further to be discovered; nothing certainly which has been discovered undescribed. It is, however, worth observation that, of all the measurements made of the sarcophagus, there are hardly any (I know but of two, Dr. Russell's and Colonel Vyse's) which exactly and to an inch agree. They make the breadth of it three feet three inches; and Sir Gardner makes it only three feet. We measured it, as we believed, with scrupulous exactness, making its breadth three feet two. Other descriptions also vary in this respect. This discrepancy as to the three inches makes all the difference in the question respecting the manner in which this pyramid was constructed. If Sir Gardner's measurement, the smallest, be the correct one, it admits the possibility of the sarcophagus having been introduced by levers or screws all along the passages, and through a door of the chamber where it is placed. If, on the other hand, three inches, or two and a half, be added, this is impossible, and the sarcophagus must, it appears, have been deposited here while the floor on which it stands was open to the upper air, and all the remaining superstructure of the pyramid have been afterwards built over it.

To Colonel Vyse the merit is due of detecting

the real purpose of the two small apertures in the side walls of this chamber. He has established beyond doubt that these were designed for ventilators. Having discovered two holes on the outside of the pyramid, one in the north face and the other in the south,—that to the north being exactly halfway up from the great entrance to the apex, and the other directly opposite; he found, I believe by pouring coloured water down, that they communicated with these interior ones.

The mouth of the first and outer passage of the Great Pyramid is in its northern face, at a little less than a ninth part of the way up the outer ascent. Above the square entrance are two huge blocks of stone, resting against each other in an angle of some sixty degrees, and forming a kind of pediment; for the purpose, as is supposed, of a support to the weight of masonry above. In one corner of this pediment, Professor Lepsius has, if it may be allowed to say so of so learned and able a man, with a somewhat questionable taste, carved out a tablet, and adorned it with a long and doubtless very correct hieroglyphick inscription, in honour of his sovereign King William of Prussia, and of Victoria, Queen of England; strikingly inappropriate in that place—an anachronism both in character and composition—illegible to the great mass of mankind—and, to the few learned who can read it, a counterfeit, proclaiming itself to be such;—a line added to the Iliad in commemoration of Waterloo.

The entrance of each of the three great pyramids, and of such of the others as have been opened at Abousir, Sakhara, and Dashour, is due north (polar, not magnetick); and the passage, leading

straight from the mouth, descends in each at the same angle of about twenty-seven degrees from the plane of the horizon, which gives a line of direction not far removed from that point of the heavens where the Polar Star now crosses the meridian. Hence Dr. Russell, (p. 116, et seq.,) with great probability, attributes to the pyramids, besides the other purposes for which they were designed, that of fixing the measurement of sidereal time by the observation of this or some other star passing the meridian across the mouth of a long tube thus adjusted to the proper point. Nor is this suggestion rendered at all less probable by showing that, probably at a very early time after the construction of the Pyramids, the mouths of these passages were carefully sealed with massive masonry. If the objects of these astronomical observations were in any way connected, as is by no means unlikely, with the religious rites of the Shepherd-kings of Ægypt, who closed the temples and discouraged the observances of the old Ægyptian mythology, it is indeed in the highest degree probable that, on the restoration of the old worship under the Pharaohs, all access to places built with such an object should have been carefully prevented. It seems very clear that the pyramids were designed for several other purposes besides that of royal sepulture. That of the gnomon, for determining the solstices, and for giving a scale of general measurement, on which so much has been written, and with so much learning, cannot be dismissed from consideration; nor can one fail to be struck with the reasoning in that very ingenious little tract of Mr. Agnew's, published in 1840, in which he shows by diagram and calculation how bold and

near an approach was made, in the construction of these buildings, towards the quadrature of the circle.

At all events it seems strange that, notwithstanding all the speculations which have for so many ages been maintained by philosophers and antiquarians as to the history and intent of the pyramids, almost all authorities are at variance on the question of fact as to the measurements of sides and angles. An agreement on this point, at least, if it did not lead at once to the true solution, might prevent much waste of time and disputation on improbable theories, and ought surely to be undertaken and established in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to the basis on which all, particularly the astronomical, hypotheses must be founded.

The ascent of the Great Pyramid is accomplished with no difficulty and little labour. From the platform at its top, it need not be said that the view is extensive and splendid, and, whether with respect to the great distance of the horizon all round, the unbroken circle it forms, and the mighty range of historical associations it contains, unlike any which any other height, natural or artificial, in the world can afford.

Various inscriptions, principally names of travellers who have been here, are carved and painted on the platform and on the blocks of stone which stand upon it. Among other names is that of the Viscomte de Chateaubriand. He informs us, in his 'Itinéraire,' that, having been obliged to leave Cairo, on his return to France, without seeing the pyramids, he delegated to M. Caffé, the French consul there, the following commission: "Je chargeai M. Caffé d'écrire mon nom sur ces grands

tombeaux, selon l'usage, à la première occasion : l'on doit remplir tour les petits devoirs d'un pieux voyageur !" (vol. ii. p. 213). M. Caffé, it appears, very naturally declined the vicarious performance of this little duty of a pious traveller ; to wit, the inscribing the Viscomte's name in testimony of his having been where he had not been. Some years afterwards, however, an English traveller thought it a little duty of his own to fulfil, uncommissioned, those intentions of the Viscomte's which M. Caffé seems to have thought were best left unfulfilled. Accordingly there is the name. But a French traveller since has trimmed the balance of truth, by writing in large letters beneath, " Le Viscomte n'était pas ici." And thus the record rests for the amusement of posterity.

I am not satisfied of the wisdom, generally, of what a friend of mine, for the sake of simplicity of diction, calls the "autonymolithographick practice." But, at least, it does occur to one that any person, fond of his own name, and believing it to be of equal interest to the rest of mankind, might, with full as much right and reason, commission, from his own fireside in Paris or London, any travelling gentleman to immortalize him thus in any out-of-the-way place which he is not able himself to visit ; and that, if this practice were to prevail, the Pyramid of Cheops, even though its sides as well as its top were to be devoted to these memorials, would, before long, be found of inadequate dimensions for the purpose.

The interior of the second Pyramid of Cephren, laid open by the dauntless enterprise and industry of Belzoni, and since made more easy of access by Colonel Vyse, ought not to be left unvisited. I

had not time enough left to me on the evening when I entered it, to do more than proceed hastily along the main passage, and the spaces where stood the two portcullises of granite described by Belzoni, into the chamber at the end, and view the fine sarcophagus which is partly let into its floor.

No one ought to undertake to mount the outside of the second pyramid who is liable to giddiness upon a height; the last 130 or 140 feet nearest the top being cased with a coat of smooth cement. Holes, it is true, are cut in this part for the hands and feet. But, in descending, you are obliged to look down the face of it sheer on the plain below, to see where the successive holes are in which to place your feet. At all events it is advisable, "*si Monsieur n'a pas bonne tête,*" that the Arabs, or any companion whose head may be trusted not to turn when at the top, should be provided with a rope to be made fast there, by which the gentleman of doubtful nerves may descend with perfect safety and ease. Otherwise he may find himself in a difficulty for which nothing during the ascent had prepared him."

The third pyramid we had not time to enter. The whole of the outside of this pyramid, as also of the first, and probably also of the lower part of the second, was faced with a thick layer of the Syenean red granite from Upper Ægypt, fragments of which lie scattered over a large space around;—records of the attempts made in different ages by barbarous princes, some from a superstitious, others from an utilitarian, motive to destroy these mighty monuments. But their vastness, and the compact mode of their construction, enabled them to withstand the ravages of force, as they had withstood those

of time, apparently without much reduction of their original dimensions; certainly without any visible damage to the symmetry of their proportions.*

In a direct line, drawn at right angles, midway from the eastern base of the second pyramid to the Sphinx, is that fine tomb, the opening of which was begun by M. Caviglia, and finished by Colonel Vyse, called, from the name of the British consul who was present, and assisted at the work, Campbell's Tomb. It is a rectangular chamber, sunk in the natural rock, and surrounded by a wide and deep trench. It contains a large stone case, covering three sides of a splendid basaltick sarcophagus.

Pursuing still the same line at right angles with the eastern front of the Pyramid of Cephren, and nearly opposite the south-east corner of that of Cheops, and at the distance of nearly a furlong from each of them, is the Sphinx: of all the mighty

* Many attempts have been made by the Kaliphs and Sultans to destroy the Pyramids. Towards the end of the twelfth century, and shortly before the fall of the Fatimite Dynasty, the Kaliph Melek Alaziz Othman Ben Yousouf employed a host of labourers at an enormous expense for several months on the work of destroying the Pyramid of Mycerinus. But it was abandoned, leaving no trace on the appearance of this, the smallest of the three pyramids. Several other Kaliphs are stated by Abdulatif to have made the attempt from religious motives; and the Sultan Saleh Eddin Yousouf (Saladin the Great) instructed his Emir Karrakous Assadi to use the pyramids as a quarry for building the citadel and walls of Cairo. It is said that the external coating of the two largest was applied to this purpose; but, as appears by the measurements compared with those given by Herodotus, with no very obervable reduction in the dimensions.

monuments that cover this wondrous plain, that which inspires the deepest interest. Like the fabulous Being it represents, it propounds a great problem of its own, a mythological one, now perhaps past all certain solution. The purport of the symbol, and the uses of worship, sacrifice, or sepulture, for which the statue was designed, have been the subject of many different theories, all having equal claim to probability.

That it was an idol, and that sacrifices were offered before it, there appears abundant proof. Whether, as Strabo concludes, it is hollow, and contained a sarcophagus, is more doubtful; nearly certain that the great geographer was in error in supposing it to have been the tomb of Amasis. Like the pyramids, it has resisted not only the silent ravages of many thousands of years, but also the attempts of many Saracenick Kings to destroy it as a record of idolatrous worship. But the very nature of the desert, on whose boundaries it stands, has given its aid to protect it from the work of destruction. The sands that cover the greater part of the figure, and of the temple and altar which it guards, have for ages shrouded it from the view and knowledge of the destroyer. But, inasmuch as the greater part of it has been hidden from research, its whole history has afforded matter for the wildest speculations, and indeed its very form and construction have been described with the strangest incorrectness.

Dr. Clarke states very incautiously (for a little more inquiry, the means of which were fully at his command, would have made him, as it has made others, aware of his error) that the whole figure and pedestal had been laid open by the savans em-

ployed by Napoleon, and that, instead of answering the expectations they had formed, the pedestal "proved to be a wretched substructure of brick-work and small fragments of stone, put together like the most insignificant piece of modern masonry." Of the French savans, M. Denon and M. Gobert, whose valuable works contain all that the labours of that body have brought to light, do not profess to have ever seen the pedestal. The former saw only what is now visible above the sand, the head and neck; and the latter says, in his *Memoir*, only that he uncovered the back far enough to determine the measurement of the *Leonine* part.

Since the days of Dr. Clarke, the whole has been laid bare by the indefatigable industry of M. Caviglia, and remained so long enough for a drawing to be made of the front. The pedestal has no brick-work whatever connected with it. The paws, of solid masonry, added on to the natural rock which forms the figure, extend from forty to fifty feet in front of it; and between them are a temple and altar, part of which is still visible rising up before the chest. Unhappily the sand-drifts, the constant falling-in of which upon the work rendered M. Caviglia's operations so tedious and toilsome, and which of old were kept back only by two massive walls enclosing the sacred way that led to the temple, again filled the whole excavation soon after the workmen were removed. When I was there, only a narrow sloping hollow of about fifteen or twenty feet deep remained in front, leaving nothing uncovered lower than about one-third down the chest of the figure, and some five or six feet of the upper part of the altar.

From this ground the way lies nearly due south

towards where, in the earliest recorded times of Ægypt, stood Memphis, the vast and mighty city of its kings. The site of Abousir, the ancient Busiris (Pliny, xxxvi. 12), marked by its pyramids and the foundations of a ruined temple, is a little more than seven miles from the plain of Gizeh. You pass under the table-land of Abousir, leaving it to the right, and soon reach a pretty village, where are a handsome wely and a large Moslem burying-place. The ground for about a mile round is well watered and cultivated, and shaded by tall date-palms. Turning a little to the right, at the further end of the village, you are again upon the sandy waste, not far from the first, the northernmost of the Pyramids of Sakhara.

Here is a scene entirely different from that which you have been contemplating on the plain of Gizeh, but hardly less astonishing. You have there left the three great sepulchral wonders of the world, stupendous trophies of death's triumph over the pride and power of monarchs. You enter here upon a tract, a city of humbler tombs, of which you cannot see the boundaries. From Abousir all round to the westward and southward for several miles, you step from grave to grave, and every footfall is on bones and scattered fragments of mummy cloths, which time and the storms of the desert, and the depredations of men seeking for treasure, or wild beasts for food, have scattered among the low sandhills or on the flat. Scrape away the sand where you will, and at the depth of but a few feet you are among the sculptured and painted walls of some funeral chamber, recording all the history of its dead, whose very name perhaps, throughout the last three thousand years of

the world's existence, has never been pronounced to human ear;—here some great achievement of his life shown forth in allegory, whose meaning now is hardly to be understood;—here the procession carrying his body across the sacred stream to its last resting-place;—and here his children offering up the flesh of animals, and bread, and fruits, and flowers, to his manes.

Most of these records are preserved by the dry and stainless sand which has encased them, fresh in colour and in outline as from the artist's hand. Indeed, to one who has been used elsewhere to look with reverence on the rich lichen tints of the wall or column, the rough oxide which encrusts the brazen arms and tablets, or the patina which enamels the coins of ancient Greece, there is in these Ægyptian relicks, of an antiquity far more remote, something wanting, for which, as it appears to me, their freshness ill compensates; the warranty, as it were, traced by time upon the brow of age. They are things starting from the tombs of thirty centuries ago, with the sharpness and gloss of yesterday upon them.

But how strangely do these unsoiled and gaudy sepulchres contrast with the charred bones and cements of pitchy rag which they have cast forth upon the surface; relicks of mortality which they were built to guard and honour, and of which the very arts applied to save them from natural decay have only preserved the hideousness that otherwise, by the law of nature, would have crumbled away in dust.

The pits containing the Ibis mummies are well worth examination. The largest of them, a little to the westward of the largest Pyramid of Abousir,

is about twenty feet deep. Its sides slope enough, and only just enough, to allow you to descend without the aid of a rope. The floor, for probably a depth of many feet, is covered with heaps on heaps, and layers on layers, of coarse earthen jars, the lids cemented down, containing each the body of an ibis, preserved with bitumen, and enclosed in numerous folds of narrow bandages of the same sort of cloth in which the human mummies are wound. The top of the jar must be broken off in order to reach the mummy, which is sometimes found in a state of admirable preservation,—black and charred, and incapable of being taken whole out of the bandages,—but all the bones, the heads, and all the feathers entire. Whether these animals, which are known to have been held in the highest sanctity, were thus embalmed and brought to these place of burial whenever found dead, or whether collected here only as objects of worship, is a question of which no ancient authority assists in the solution. But it appears as if the former supposition were the more probable;—first, on account of the enormous number of them that lie buried together; and, secondly, because there is no trace of these pits having been appropriated to any purpose of adoration or sacrifice, but closed when incapable of holding any more of these jars, which seem to have been placed in them without any regularity or arrangement.

The Necropolis of Memphis, in the midst of which is the tract containing these pits, Strabo says, extended half a day's journey each way from the great city. The decrease which, for some centuries, has been going on in the population of Ægypt, assisted also by some other natural causes

as yet unexplained, has admitted very large encroachments of the desert from all sides, on what once was cultivated ground. It has covered the sites of what were formerly large villages, at Abooroash and Abousir, surrounded, doubtless, once, as all which remain are now, with garden land and pasture, and shaded with trees. On this subject, and, on the other hand, on that of the vast alteration in the level of what is now cultivated country all the way from Cairo to the sea, particularly in the Delta, (caused by the accumulation of alluvial deposits from the Nile, as evidenced by the buried state of all the fallen monuments of antiquity and the height to which the ground has risen up the base of those which still are standing,) there is an ingenious chapter in Clot Bey's '*Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte.*'

The village of Sakhara, like the other to the east of Abousir, stands cheerfully in a little oasis of palms and corn-fields, and has a marabout and burying-ground of its own.

There is a ruined pyramid on the brow of a range of sand-hills, which shut in the village of Sakhara from the wilderness. From the top of this ruin is, I think, the finest general view of the country of the pyramids, over which it looks, standing nearly midway between those at the extreme points, about fifteen miles apart, of Gizeh and Dashour. To the north-west, to the west, and to the south, is the desert, trackless, and unbounded to the horizon. Far away to the north-east are the minarets of Cairo and the beetling redoubts of the Moccatah, at the foot of which the Nile rolls down, like the stream of Time itself, from Upper Ægypt, from Thebes and Dendyra, along its course to the

City of Alexander, of the Ptolemies, the Cæsars, the Kaliphs, and the Sultans; sweeping mournfully past the site of the once glorious Memphis in the south-east, whose walls and palaces and temples are no more, but in their place a tract of marshes peopled only by the kite and pelican.

To the northern border, the pyramids of Gizeh, and to the southern those of Dashour, close the view; and below for several miles around lies the City of the Dead, the resting place of countless generations of those who dwelt in the metropolis of the Pharaohs;—tombs beyond number and without a name.

From hence you may count five-and-twenty pyramids, besides that on whose ruined top you stand: at Gizeh nine; six at Abousir; five at Sakhara; and five at Dashour. The largest pyramid of Sakhara, about a mile to the north-eastward, is of singular shape and construction, made of unburnt brick, and in only four successive stages. It is also remarkable as containing a chamber with a kind of vaulted roof, here and there braced by large beams of sycamore wood.

But, next after the great pyramids of Gizeh, the one perhaps which best deserves attention is the small unfinished pyramid, the northernmost of those of Dashour; since it appears to give the real solution of that phrase so often quoted of Herodotus concerning the pyramids having been built “from the top downwards.”

I subjoin in the Appendix an extract of a letter on this subject addressed by the ingenious and pains-taking Mr. Bonomi to the Secretary of the Ægyptian Literary Society at Cairo, which that

gentleman was kind enough to give me.* The solution is simple, and appears satisfactory and complete. †

Mitraheeny, about seven miles to the south-eastward from hence, occupies, as all the best authorities on Ægypt seem to agree, the centre of the ancient city of Memphis, which, taking its girth, as described by Diodorus, at about 150 stadia, or 17 English miles, must thus have reached on the one side, to the river's bank, and, on the other, to the sand-hills on the edge of the desert.

Here is still, with a few smaller fragments of idols and capitals of columns near it, the colossal basaltick figure of Remeses II., who is believed on good ground by Sir Gardner Wilkinson ('Modern Ægypt and Thebes,' i. 372) to have been identical with Sesostris. He also believes this to be one of the two great statues mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus, as having been placed by Sesostris before the Temple of Vulcan, or Pthah. It lies, prone, in the pit from which the earth was removed when it was first discovered, and in which the water covers some eight or ten inches of the lowest part of the face and chest and legs. A village path runs close past it, leading among palm-groves and rice-grounds. The fellahs of the village speak of this great statue as of the work of the genii. "Its place knoweth it no more."

It was discovered by M. Caviglia and Mr. Sloane, who have given it, with the consent of the Pasha, to the British Museum. But that ill-directed spirit of what is called economy in England, (which, while it sometimes allows millions of

* See Appendix II.

publick money to be lavished upon works reflecting little credit on the national taste, grudges a few hundreds to adorn our country with such a relick as this of ancient art,) has shrunk from the expense of removing it. And when the barbarism or bigotry of the next successors of Mohammed Ali in the government of Ægypt shall perhaps have revoked the permission he has given, and shall perhaps have broken up this fine statue and burned it into lime, then, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson truly says, "it will be regretted."

Before I leave the subject of Cairo and of Ægypt, I will advert to one which has occasioned much speculation and controversy: more certainly than it appears to be entitled to; I mean that of the magicians. I take no shame to myself in saying that some of the narrations concerning them which found their way to Europe had excited my curiosity, as I believe they have that of many, long before I had the expectation of ever visiting Ægypt. To deny the truth of any hidden properties or powers in nature for no better reason than that they have never come within our limited experience, and appear to us incapable of any satisfactory solution, is hazardous and somewhat arrogant; nor surely does the holding our belief in balance with respect to such things, vouched by the testimony of honourable men, argue any weak credulity. Many facts have of late years been related of a class of magicians in the East, who, like those of old, profess to have the power of presenting the apparitions of persons absent or dead, whom they have never seen or before heard of, and of whose look or habits, therefore, they can have no previous knowledge. That the apparition

is shown, not to him who desires the magician to summon it, but to some young boy whom the party desiring it to be summoned shall choose; and that then this boy, after certain incantations performed by the magician, describes accurately the absent or the dead, the former in the occupation in which at that moment they may be engaged.

Among the persons of high credibility who have borne witness to this, in a manner to excite our wonder and keep our judgement in suspense, is Mr. William Lane, the able writer on Modern Ægypt, who describes in his book some remarkable exhibition of this sort which he saw, and for which he was unable to account. On the other hand, Sir Gardner Wilkinson accounts for it all by referring it to collusion between the magician and the boy; observing also that, on such occasions, the street before the house is generally thronged with boys, probably placed there by the magician; and that thus whichever of them may be called in, under the impression of his being totally disconnected with the arrangements, is, in truth, an actor well prepared for his part in the fraud. This, be it observed, may afford the means of collusion, but in no respect helps towards accounting for the description of the absent person in his proper likeness being successful.

On the first occasion on which I saw this sort of exhibition, the party who were assembled, and who were numerous, guarded themselves against the kind of arrangement which Sir Gardner suspects by sending to a long distance off for a boy who we were convinced knew not, until he entered the room, for what purpose he was brought there, and could have had no previous instructions from the magician. The

magician began, in the manner Sir Gardner Wilkinson describes, by casting powders into a pan of charcoal near him; by placing a paper, covered with some written characters, upon the boy's brow, under his cap, and then pouring ink into his hand, into which he desired him to look attentively. Lastly, he asked him a string of leading questions as to certain preparatory phantoms for which the boy was desired to call, and which were to assist in the incantation. These the boy professed to see in the ink in his hand. These are always the same; such as of persons pitching a tent, sweeping it, spreading a carpet, and cooking provisions, and then of kings entering the tent preceded by flags. I have no doubt that the magician, who was all the time muttering fast and incessantly in a low tone, gave the boy to understand that he should receive part of the bakshish, or reward, if he took obediently the hints he should give him as to what he must profess to see.

When these preparatory ceremonies had been gone through, four persons residing in England were successively called for. The description of each was an entire and ludicrous failure. Among others, an English gentleman was called for who is distinguished by wearing the longest, probably, and most bushy beard to be found in these our days within the British Islands. This gentleman was described by the boy quite wrong as to figure and usual dress, and as having a chin very like that of the youngest person in company, Lord Mountcharles, who was much amused at a resemblance he so little expected. Being informed, that, so far, he had not been fortunate, the magician told us that perhaps it might be more satisfactory to us

if we called for somebody whose person might be easily recognised by the having lost a limb. We said that the gentleman already mentioned might be easily distinguished from most others,—more easily than by the mere loss of a limb. But in conformity with his last suggestion, we desired that Sir Henry Hardinge should be made to appear.

After the boy had described Sir Henry Hardinge as being tall, and with moustaches, we asked him whether he could clearly see his eyes and his feet ; from which question it was evident the magician inferred that the person we had called for had lost either an eye or a leg. The boy accordingly said that he was sitting with his side turned towards him, so that he could see only one side of his face, and that his papouches (slippers) were hidden by a large gown or trouser, he could not tell which. What coloured gloves had he? White.—Had he his gloves on? Yes ; he saw them plainly, *for his hands were crossed on his breast.*

At the end the magician, informed that he had totally misdescribed all the persons called for, excused himself by charging the boy with lying,—an imputation I have no doubt true, but which was not the real cause of the ill success ; and by also accusing the interpreter of having mistranslated his Arabic, which he spoke so rapidly that none of our party but the interpreter had that language sufficiently at command to follow him in it.

This, however, as we afterwards heard, was not the magician highest in repute at Cairo. The next trial which I saw was more conclusive on the question, and led to what appears to be the real solution of the whole mystery. Major Grote, who

had not been present on the former occasion, and who likewise wished, after all he had heard and read of these pretended powers, to satisfy himself as to their truth or falsehood, was with me, a few days after, at the house of Mr. Lane. In general conversation, the story arose of the failure which had taken place on the other evening. With some difficulty we persuaded Mr. Lane (who at first was



The Magician Abdel Kader.

reluctant, his authority and that of his book having been so much used, and beyond what was just, in support of the general belief in these efforts of magic) to see, along with us, Abdel Kader the

magician, whose performances had formerly so much excited his astonishment and that of several other Europeans whose unimpeachable testimony and acknowledged soundness of judgment had had great influence in making this a subject of serious inquiry with others. We were the more anxious that Mr. Lane should be with us on this occasion, because we should have in him not only a witness who, from the impression previously left on his mind, would not suffer us to draw inferences unjustly dis-favourable to the magician, but who also, from his perfect and familiar knowledge of the Arabic language, would be an interpreter in whose honour, and in whose skill also, we might have entire trust. The trial promised much. The magician evidently acknowledged in Mr. Lane a person in whose estimation he was eager not to lower the impression he had formerly produced. The failures, the repeated and uniform failures, were not only as signal, but, if possible, more gross than those of the other magician on the previous occasion. It is enough to say, that not one person whom Abdel Kader described bore the smallest resemblance to the one named by us; and all those called for were of remarkable appearance. All the preparations, all the ceremony, and all the attempts at description, bore evidence of such coarse and stupid fraud, as would render any detail of the proceeding, or any argument tending to connect it with any marvellous power, ingenious art, or interesting inquiry, a mere childish waste of time.

How, then, does it happen that respectable and sensible minds have been staggered by the exhibitions of this shallow impostor? I think that the solution which Mr. Lane himself suggested as

probable is quite complete. When the exhibition was over, Mr. Lane had some conversation with the magician, which he afterwards repeated to us. In reply to an observation of Mr. Lane's to him upon his entire failure, the magician admitted that he had been told he had "often failed since the death of Osman Effendi;"—the same Osman Effendi whom Mr. Lane mentions in his book as having been of the party on every occasion on which he had been witness to the magician's art, and whose testimony the 'Quarterly Review' cites in support of the marvel, which (searching much too deep for what lies very near indeed to the surface) it endeavours to solve by suggesting the probability of divers complicated optical combinations. And, be it again observed, no optical combinations can throw one ray of light upon the main difficulty,—the means of producing the resemblance required of the absent person.

I now give Mr. Lane's solution of the whole mystery, in his own words, my note of which I submitted to him, and obtained his ready permission to make publick in any way I might think fit.

This Osman Effendi, Mr. Lane told me, was a Scotchman formerly serving in a British regiment, who was taken prisoner by the Ægyptian army during our unfortunate expedition to Alexandria in 1807; that he was sold as a slave, and persuaded to abjure Christianity and profess the Musulman faith; that, applying his talents to his necessities, he made himself useful by dint of some little medical knowledge he had picked up on duty in the regimental hospital; that he obtained his liberty, at the instance of Sheik Ibrahim (M. Burckhardt), through the means of Mr. Salt; that, in process of

time, he became second interpreter at the British consulate; that Osman was very probably acquainted, by portraits or otherwise, with the general appearance of most Englishmen of celebrity, and certainly could describe the peculiar dresses of English professions, such as army, navy, or church, and the ordinary habits of persons of different professions in England; that, on all occasions when Mr. Lane was witness of the magician's success, Osman had been present at the previous consultations as to who should be called to appear, and so had probably obtained a description of the figure when it was to be the apparition of some private friend of persons present; that on these occasions he very probably had some prearranged code of words by which he could communicate secretly with the magician. To this must be added that his avowed theory of morals on all occasions was that "we did our whole duty if we did what we thought best for our fellow-creatures and most agreeable to them." Osman was present when Mr. Lane was so much astonished at hearing the boy describe very accurately the person of M. Burekhardt, with whom the magician was unacquainted, but who had been Osman's patron; and Osman also knew well the other gentleman whom Mr. Lane states in his book that the boy described as appearing ill and lying on a sofa; and Mr. Lane added that he had *probably* been asked by Osman about that gentleman's health, whom Mr. Lane knew to be then suffering under an attack of rheumatism. He concluded therefore by avowing that there was no doubt on his mind, connecting all these circumstances with the declaration the magician had just made, that Osman had been the confederate.

Thus I have given, in Mr. Lane's words, not only with his consent, but at his ready offer, what he has no doubt is the explanation of the whole of a subject which he now feels to require no deeper inquiry, and which has been adopted by many as a marvel upon an exaggerated view of the testimony that he offered in his book before he had been convinced, as he now is, of the imposture. I gladly state this on the authority of an enlightened and honourable man, to disabuse minds that have wandered into serious speculation on a matter which I cannot but feel to be quite undeserving of it.

CHAPTER VI.

Preparations for a Journey across the Desert—Departure—
Camels and Dromedaries—their Drivers—Itinerary of
the Desert, as far as Khan Younes, on the frontier of
Palestine.

DURING the last few days of our stay at Cairo, Major Grote and I were employed together, in our preparations for the desert.* We had made every effort to reduce the amount of our luggage within the smallest compass consistent with our wants, and with a prudent provision for what might be required in the chance of casual illness or accident, during a journey which would lead us often to a distance of very many days away from all assistance and all resources, save such as we might carry with us. Besides the entire agreement which I was so fortunate as to find subsisted between us in our objects of travel, I am inclined to believe that each very soon discovered that the other was very little disposed to trouble himself or his companion with

* Whilst these sheets were going through the press, I was deeply shocked at receiving the sad news of the sudden death of Major Grote, who had been my intimate friend and constant companion in the whole of my journey through the desert, through Palestine, and in Syria; a man whose gentle manners and equal temper, whose firmness and spirit in moments of difficulty, and kindness of heart at all times, made his companionship truly valuable, and the loss of him, by any who had opportunities such as I had for knowing his good qualities, sincerely to be deplored.

any redundancy of those things which are always recommended to travellers as "comforts," but which for the most part become in a short time mere incumbrances, heartily to be regretted. I believe all experience in foreign travelling—I am sure all the experience I have ever had—cries out aloud, "Economize with the utmost jealousy, count to the smallest fraction, and weigh even to the scruple, every item of what is presented to you under the name of 'portable,' and trust as much as possible to what you may find where and when it may be wanted." And this is true, to a much greater extent than most people think, in the desert.

I suppose it can hardly be necessary to warn any man against ever contemplating such an act as carrying with him one of those mechanical contrivances called "portable bedsteads," or "portable canteens," unless he have some inscrutable reason for desiring to employ an excessive number of beasts of burthen in carrying things which are sure to be broken or get out of order, which are sure to retard his progress intolerably, to make a great deal of labour, and waste a great deal of time in packing and unpacking, and to occasion a thousand annoyances, which he escapes who limits himself in respect of personal baggage to what may fairly be called necessary. And by what may fairly be called necessary, I mean a knife, fork, spoon, and cup; a saucepan, a gridiron, and a small plate, with a hole in the rim by which to hang it to the saddle; a rug and a blanket; and that very great luxury, a hammock, to be slung in manner hereinafter described, to preserve him from the hardness of the ground, or its dampness in case of rain, and from all creeping things;—and no more, excepting

his changes of clothes, brushes, towels and soap, and portfolios. Yet, in spite of the utmost care which two persons unacquainted with the desert could take not to burthen themselves with any unnecessary equipment, and after we had peremptorily rejected some, and very much reduced many other articles of outfit which were described to us at Cairo as being absolutely indispensable, we could not bring the number of camels and dromedaries required for carrying ourselves and our two servants, drogoman, tents, bedding, food, fuel, and water-skins, to a smaller number than eleven.

We had, it is true, at first, two small tents with us, the larger of which we afterwards parted with, retaining but one of eleven feet long, with two short poles capable of hanging two hammocks between them, on hooks, one above the other, and leaving space for the two servants to spread their rugs and blankets commodiously below. This is the kind of tent which, on account of its portableness, general comfort, and power of throwing off wet and resisting wind, I strongly recommend. Ours was lined, inside the Russia duck it was made of, with the light stuff of which the Arabs make their haick cloaks, which is very warm, and turns both the rain and the dew better than anything I know of applicable to this purpose.

Our limit of time obliged us to forego the project we had at first entertained of going by the Red Sea, Sinai, and Petra. But, as we wished to reserve to ourselves the power of taking which way we might find most interesting and practicable after we should have quitted the Hadj road to Jerusalem, our bargain with the sheik of the party of Arabs from whom we hired our beasts of burthen, and

who was to accompany us, was made, not as usual by the journey only, but also with a reserved stipulation by the day. Our agreement with the sheik, Mohammed Sceatt Mabruçh, was that he should be paid one hundred and sixty piastres (about 1*l.* 12*s.*) for each camel or dromedary, (one-half of the sum to be paid before starting,) to take us from Cairo to Jerusalem, along the Hadj road; the journey being calculated at from thirteen to fifteen days. But, in case of our quitting the Hadj road, twelve piastres (about 2*s.* 6*d.*) more was to be the price for each camel or dromedary every day beyond the fifteen. We were to pay only half price for days of rest; and the sheik was to provide for himself, for the camel-drivers, and the beasts. I mention these things only to show the rate which I believe to be the fair one at which these agreements should be made.

On the evening of the 12th of February we left Cairo, by the "Bab el Nasr," or "Gate of Succour." We had sent our servants on with the baggage-camels to Matarieh, only two hours from Cairo, and about a couple of miles to the eastward of Heliopolis. Here we pitched our tent for the night. It is the usual course for travellers, at the outset of a long journey, to halt for the first night near the city, in order that if then, or at starting from thence on the following morning, any part of the necessary arrangements shall be found to have been neglected or forgotten, they may be able to send back for supplies.

In describing each day's journey between Cairo and Jerusalem, I will give the calculation of the distance by hours, as I kept the account of them from point to point. I do this because our line, as

far as Hebron, was not that which was taken by Dr. Robinson, whose detail of distances, measured by time, in his voluminous work entitled 'Biblical Researches in Palestine,' I found, wherever we fell into his track, to be the most correct of any that I had met with. The pace of the loaded camel must be taken at about two miles and a half an hour. Dr. Robinson rates it at a little less. But, if taken inclusive of the halt of half an hour to rest the camels half way in each day's journey, the average distance we are able to travel from sunrise to sunset will be found generally to agree with what he allows to an equal number of hours. I believe the rate of pace we assumed for each hour, reckoned separately, to be nearer the truth.

Some delay was occasioned in our first morning's start from Matarieh, not only in settling the order of packages for each subsequent day's march, but also in making ourselves masters of the art and mystery of riding on the seat we were henceforward for so many days to occupy on the dromedary's back,—“*Res dura, et regni novitas.*”

The operation of mounting the beast, and his operation of rising, in three motions, from the sitting posture in which he receives you, are as odd, and require as different a school from the ordinary one in the art of riding, as can well be imagined. The first movement of his rising on his knees, generally performed a moment or two before you are established in the saddle, gives you all the inclination, which must be resisted, of slipping back over his tail. Movement the second, of hoisting himself, from the double joints of his hocks, upon his hind feet, makes it necessary for you to beware of going over his ears. The third effort places you,

with a jerk, upon a level seat of some nine feet from the earth. And this strange struggle is all the more difficult to you if, as you are always advised to do, you substitute for your accustomed mode of sitting—astride, the Arab position of camel-riding, your legs crossed over the high projecting pommel, which you are fain to pinch with your calves (or, in the process of learning, more commonly with both hands) to preserve your balance. But all this is an art which, like that of swimming or moving on skates, become a knack, never forgotten and of no difficulty after the first successful achievement.

The gait of the beast is as tiresome to the rider as anything can be which is not physically fatiguing. It is a very proud and important-looking stride, of vastly slow progress, to every step of which, regular as the pendulum of a clock, the rider, perched aloft on a pack-saddle, which is perched aloft on a hump, is fain to bend as it were in respectful acknowledgement. The effect of this is, at first, very ludicrous, even to the performer. But, after thus stalking and bowing for a certain time across the dead flat of a desert, without a chance, exert himself as he will, of mending his pace, it becomes exceedingly tiresome to him; particularly, oppressed as he is, in beginning his journey at sunrise, with the sense that that pace must continue, unimproved and unvaried, till the setting of the same. To call the camel or the dromedary the "ship of the desert" is a great injustice to the ship of the ocean, whose every movement carries with it a feeling of life and sense, tempered by obedience; while the gait and manners of the other leave a notion only of the involuntary and mechanical.

I spoke, awhile ago, of the patient, long-suffering expression of the camel's face; but your opinion of the camel will, I think, change, as mine did, upon further and more intimate acquaintance. The truth is, he is but an ill-conditioned beast after all. What you took for an expression of patience becomes one of obstinate, stupid, profound self-sufficiency. There is a vain wreathing of the neck, a self-willed raising of the chin on high, a drooping of the lack-lustre eye, and sulky hanging of the lower lip, which to any who have faith in the indications of countenance and action betoken his real temper. Then that very peculiar roar of his, discordant beyond the roar of any other beast, which continues during the process of his being loaded, from the moment that the first package is girded on his back to when he clumsily staggers up upon his feet to begin his lazy journey, is a sound betraying more of moral degradation than any I ever heard from any other four-legged animal: a tone of exaggerated complaint and of deep hate, which the shape of his open mouth well assorts with. The dromedary is said to be to the camel what the thorough-bred horse is to the hack. But he who has ridden a dromedary will never again profane the qualities of the thorough-bred horse by using his name in any such company. The dromedary, it is true, is lighter than the camel, and capable of going much faster; but in temper and spirit he differs from him in nothing but in being even more obstinate. Though able to go at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, (and some are made to do it by dint of a rough education,) the dromedary who has not been from his early youth in the hands of a Tatar, or of an Arab

of one of those tribes whose trade is war and plunder, cleaves to his favourite pace of two miles and a half. You cannot, do what you will, make friends with him, or coax him out of what he seems to consider as his privilege of thwarting and annoying his rider. He always goes slow, and, whenever he can, goes wrong. If you strike him for any misconduct, he bellows, turns round, and lies down. If you, as the term is, "make much of him," he behaves like an animal who cannot take delight in any thing. He is never young. The yearlings, of whom you see large troops pasturing by the sides of their dams wherever there is a patch of scanty verdure in the desert, never frisk. They have the same look, the same action, they aspire to the same roar with those of the caravan.

The epithet bestowed upon one of them by Major Grote's Belgian servant, a good-humoured and lively fellow, was perfect. His dromedary had put his temper to the test in every way. The beast had been going at an unusually slow pace. He had thrust his head or his body directly in the way of every camel who seemed disposed to go faster than himself. He had jammed Antoine's knees alternately against every camel he could find loaded with an angular box or a tent pole. Antoine had tried in vain to establish a friendly understanding with him. At last, moved beyond endurance, he struck him with the end of the halter. The brute turned his gloomy face right round upon his rider, bellowed, and prepared to lie down. He was set a-going once more by the driver, and we overheard Antoine thus addressing him—"Eh bien donc, mon cher, il faut te laisser

faire. Mais, convenons, tu es une triste monture!"*
 A dromedary is a "triste monture."

And now a few words about his driver. The Arab of the desert, or the Fellah working in the fields, is, in many respects, higher in the social scale than the Arab of the town. The Bedouin, while he is among the sandy wilds which are to him a home, is independent of all controul, save of his wants, which are few, and his superstitions, which are many. Often, with travellers and with caravans of travellers, he is in a station of high trust, which naturally raises him in his self-respect. This establishes for him a certain code and sense of honour, rarely violated while in trust, but never having reference to any engagement save what he has formed with those to whom his services and good faith are formally pledged. These special engagements, and the general duty of hospitality to strangers in the desert of which he is master (a duty, I believe, hardly ever betrayed or neglected), are his only moral obligations."

It is not to be wondered at that the spirits which rise in obedience to the influence of a boundless range of horizon, and of the driest, purest, lightest air in the world, should be excited on entering upon this waste of sand. No one can fail to feel it there. It is a salt air like that of the sea, unmixed with any effluvium of vegetation or decay; but it is also free from any charge of damp. Even under the heat of a burning sun, and with no breeze abroad, it is still a bracing and exhilarating air. But there are other impressions also under which the eye of the Bedouin kindles, and his step be-

* Ah well, my dear, you must do as you like. But between ourselves you are but a sorry beast.

comes more elastic, and his mien a prouder one, when he quits the city where he has sojourned in search of employ, and sees the far-stretched horizon of the desert around him. He has left subjection and restraint for freedom, adventure, and command;—he has cast off all submission to the capricious discipline and hard exactions of Eastern police, to enjoy again the wide inheritance of Ishmael, and emancipation from all but the ceremonial law which is between the Prophet and himself. This he observes with rigid punctuality: and he, who, unless when his hospitality or his bond is appealed to, permits himself any violence or any treachery for gain, is strict in his prayers and prostrations, and would starve rather than eat, or even touch, the flesh of the unclean thing.

Every Arab, whether of the town, or the fields, or the river, or the desert, is an indefatigable talker. He is lazy about business; but his real relaxation from labour, and his comfort while labour is going on, is in loud and rapid talk, accompanied with the most painfully restless gesticulation. All day, if travelling, his joy is to double himself up upon the top of the other burthens his camel has to bear, and there, with his pipe in one hand, and his beads in the other, to mutter and crone himself into a comatose state. While he is walking at his camel's tail, he pours forth an endless dreary song, always composed by himself for the occasion, always to the same air, if air it can be called, and relating to the number of travellers and place of destination. For the first day or two we thought it was some sacred canticle, or prayer. It had a tone of psalmody. But all our respect for it was at an end when our drogomen thus

translated it :—“ We are twelve—four are Hawadjis—go on, camels, to Gaza—why should we not go on to Gaza?—we are twelve—four are Hawadjis.” κ.τ.λ. This, set to never more than three bars of very sad music, the singer repeats over and over again, to the selfsame tune and words in which his companions alternately relieve him throughout the day.

But when the season of natural repose arrives, and every thing invites to it, when the bread has been baked, and the rice boiled, and the evening repast concluded, and more fuel collected, and the fires made up for the night, and the groups of men and camels are well and snugly established 'round them, and the Hawadji, or travelling gentleman within the tent, is wrapped up in that chrysalis state in which every man who feels he has a hammock or a blanket hopes after a long day's ride that he may remain undisturbed, at least from midnight till sunrise—'tis then, sad man ! that his Arabs who surround him have fairly entered upon active life. They shout, they sing, at the highest pitch their voices can attain. If there is a pause, it is that one of them may tell a long story about nothing at all, a dozen times over ; beginning, continuing, and ending, each time, to the same effect, and in the same words ; how certain travellers, or how a certain sheik or pasha, or how a certain camel—but no matter what—the whole troop applauding as vociferously as if the whole story was a new one, which it never is, or had a point in it, which it never has. And thus they go on, sometimes breaking off for a firing of pistols and muskets and a general howl, to inform the desert that they have arms. Then comes morning, and then the preparations to renew the

journey: Then, after the violent debate, which every morning recurs, about how the camel loads are to be re-adjusted (an operation on which daily discussion and practice have been expended in vain), those who ride fall asleep, as the day before, and those who walk resume the former chaunt about the number of the party, and where they are going, and the question—why should they not go there?

Your Arabs never know what time of day it is,—nor care, so that the journey be ended at sunset. Throughout the day their effort has been to defer as much as possible the act of doing any thing necessary or profitable. They “take no note of time but by its loss.” Agree with an Arab in all he propounds or proposes,—give way to him in all his demands, and still something will be wanting to content him—something to talk about—something on which, as the late Mr. Curran so well phrased it, to “air his vocabulary.” While the Arabs are disputing as to which of the camels shall carry the water-skins, and which the tent, you naturally suppose, from the rapidity of the discourse and the energy of it, that blood must flow: but not a bit of it. The result of all this tyranny of voice and gesticulation is the natural one; that the wrath produces no effect but what, in truth, is the great object and enjoyment of an Arab—the waste of as much as possible of the allotted time of human life.

The English language is said to be the one which, in the present state of the habitable globe—what with America, India, and Australia—is spoken by the greatest number of people;—always admitting what usually passes for such in most parts of Scotland and the United States to come under

that name. But I will answer for it that in the number of words spoken from year's end to year's end the Arabick beats the English hollow.

Those of the higher classes throughout the East are much too proud to wrangle, and too well bred to chatter. But they, after a different fashion, equally fulfil the great business of Eastern life, that of exhausting the largest amount they can of minutes and hours for the least apparent purpose. The chibouk is a powerful instrument to this end; and, between the very long drawn whiffs into which practice enables them to economise each gulp of tobacco smoke, it is wondrous how well in like manner they manage each topic as it arises, and linger out a conversation on one childish truism, or one washy compliment. Then, how is it that the forefathers of these men, who thus burn the lamp of life to waste, and by whom their manners have been preserved in all things to the present day with such fidelity, were they who ennobled the countries they occupied by great works of invention, of history, and of philosophy, and with the most gorgeous and useful monuments of science and industry? It would require a very long digression indeed from the narrative of a journey between Cairo and Jerusalem to attempt to answer this question. I believe its solution would be found in the slow but certain influence of Turkish institutions, over the habits and character of the aboriginal founders of the Eastern power.

I return to our route from Matarieh on the morning of the 13th of February. At the end of the first hour, leaving Khanka* and the Tell Yahoud,

* At Khanka the Viceroy founded a large military school in 1826, and a few miles from it, at Abouzabel, one

(the Hill of the Jews,) to the northward, and crossing the battle-field where Kleber, with ten thousand French, defeated full six times that number of the army of the Grand Vizir, we arrived at the Birket el Hadj, (the Pool of the Pilgrims,) where, in the midst of an agreeable plantation of pines, date-palms, and sycomores, stands a well-built house, with commodious stabling, constructed by the Pasha, and called the Khan el Hadj. Here the Moslem Pilgrims, on the annual procession with the gifts to the Prophet's tomb at Mecca, make their first halt until the caravan has assembled in sufficient force to face the desert. And here the two great tracks part; the one leading to Suez, and thence on to Mecca, the other to Gaza and Jerusalem.

We proceeded, that day, no further than Zoamel, six hours beyond, where good wells, and the shade of a thick clump of date-trees, at a convenient distance from a few poor cottages, offer a tempting place for encampment. We are now near the easternmost extremity of the land of Goshen, or Gessen, the territory given by Joseph to his father (Genesis xlvii. 27), where the children of Israel afterwards dwelt in their bondage, and from whence they were led out by Moses, after the permission, twice revoked, had been for the third time given to them by Pharaoh, to depart out of the land of Ægypt. The lake Menzaleh and the sea were at some five-and-twenty miles from us, the ground on which stood the city of Rhameses about ten, and Damietta about five-and-forty north. This country seems to have stretched no nearer to Memphis, on of the two great preparatory schools of general education. The other is at Alexandria.

the south-west, than Heliopolis, or On. Three hours from Zoamel, on our road next morning, is Belbeis, formerly Pharbœus, where the great canal of Trajan joined that made by Nekhao and Darius, which ran from the Nile at Bubastis to the Erythræan Gulf.*

Belbeis is still a good village, with a prosperous-looking bazaar. It was famous, in the Crusade of the twelfth century, as the first town taken from the Saracens, and held by the invading army as a fortified magazine for supplies during the advance on Palestine. In more modern times it was occupied by Napoleon in his Ægyptian campaign, for keeping open his communications between Cairo and the coast, when the winds, or the British fleet, or the plague, or a revolt, might make the way of the Nile and Alexandria insecure.

Four hours further, we pitched our tent for the night, under some pine-trees on the edge of a Turkish burying-ground, near the village of Snecca, situate on the first rising ground at the end of a long dreary line of marshes and embankments. It is, however, a good halting place, with very tolerable water, and ponds hard by for washing and bathing.

The next day's march was of eight hours, along a bare expanse of sand, the beginning of the desert, or rather the frontier of the cultivated part of Lower Ægypt to the north-east. For still there were some straggling patches of cultivation before us, and here and there, at many hours' distance, a cluster of roofless hovels, still known by name as a

* Ptolemy made a communication, says Lebau, between a salt lake, into which this canal ran, and the Red Sea. It was repaired and restored by Amrou and the Kalif Omar, and still carries the water as far as the Lagoon of Scheib.

village. Such is Sesterieh, our place of encampment for the night, where is a pretty little wood of date-palms, near some ponds, and two wretched cottages which alone remain to mark the spot where, for many centuries, stood a large and flourishing village, destroyed by Kleber in his second advance on Cairo. Two or three hundred yards to the eastward of the cottages is a marabout, and little shrine, dedicated to the Moslem saint who is buried there. In a niche of it is a narrow deep hole, containing a stone jar, always kept full of cool and sweet water, which the inhabitants of the cottages are appointed to fetch daily from some ancient tanks, at about an hour's distance. This welcome supply was established by the present Pasha, in honour of the saint, and for the relief of travellers. Here we bought a stock of barley to carry on with us for our camels; and the process of grinding it we saw for the first time performed by two women, in the manner so usual in all parts of Palestine, and which, I believe, every traveller in the East has cited in illustration of the saying of our Saviour, "Two women shall be grinding at a mill," &c. One of them sits on the ground working the hand-mill with the left hand by a stick fixed in the upper stone, while with the right she pours in the barley from a sack lying near her. The other woman separates the chaff from the flour with a sieve. I never saw any but women employed in this primitive operation, nor more than two together.

One day more brought us fairly to our farewell of cultivated land. In three hours and a quarter from Sesterieh, we turned to the left, about a mile to Salakieh, to fill our water

skins, and give our camels a copious draught in preparation for the journey of the next few days. The springs are in the midst of a clump of pine and date trees, surrounded by gardens of barley and Indian corn—a sort of little oasis; for Sesterieh is far over the edge of the desert upon which we had ridden from the south-westward since sunrise. That night we pitched our tents in a dell, five hours further on, between sloping mounds of smooth sand, which sheltered us very agreeably from the blaze of a glowing sunset. From the top of the sand-banks, on our left, were to be seen, at a great distance west, two of the easternmost of the Pelusiack mouths of the Nile, and a glimpse of the lake Menzaleh, and open sea beyond.

Next morning, two hours and a half brought us among salt marshes and pools, and to three narrow gullies, which run nearly parallel, for some miles inward, to the sea. One of these is crossed by a small ancient bridge, near which is a good bathing-place. The salt pools in this part of the desert, as well as those we met with further on, whether more or less near to an arm of the sea, or to the open sea-side, are independent of any junction with the sea water, unless by subterraneous filtration through the sand, which, however, does not seem to be the case. For, instead of being at all fresher, as they would be rendered by filtration, they are much more strongly impregnated with salt, and, moreover, intensely bitter and acrid. Upon analysis this water is found to contain, besides other mineral salts, a large proportion also of carbonate of soda, forming a deposit of, not I believe what is now called natron, but of the compound which probably was known to the ancients under that

name. Rain water, exposed upon the sand, in these parts of the desert, we were told by the Arabs, very soon becomes brackish, and afterwards salt in the course of a few hours. But this fact we were obliged to take on the faith of our informants; there being two things necessary for the experiment, neither of which we could spare for it; time and fresh water. The pools are bright and exceedingly cold, even under the heat of the midday sun. They form excellent baths.

This country stretching out from hence immediately to the sea, and for some leagues eastward along the shore, was formerly

"That great Sirbonian bog
Where armies whole have perished."

In six hours and a half more, we halted for the night under some sand-hills to the right of our direct course.

In four hours and a half from this place, next day, we reached Gatieh, improperly marked on some maps as Catieh. This was, in the middle ages, a large town, called by the Roman geographers "Casium," and was held for some time as a military post by Amaury, king of Jerusalem, in the crusade of 1169. It was also considered as of some importance by Napoleon, during his campaign of 1799. He established magazines here after he had got possession of El Arish, and made strong works to complete his communications between that fortress and Cairo. Upon the evacuation of El Arish by the French, and the commencement of their retreat, Gatieh was utterly destroyed by them, in order that it might not afford the same means to the Turks and English. There is not

now so much as a single inhabited cottage at Gatieh, hardly the ruins of a wall. Some date-trees still remain, surrounded by a hedge of prickly-pear, within a dreary hollow hard by to the right, marking where inhabitancy and cultivation had been.

To the left, on a gently rising bank, is a burying-ground, with a handsome tomb of a Santon. At a few hundred yards in front are long stone troughs, and deep tanks of brackish water. This is one of the stations on the line formed by Mohammed Ali, while master of Syria, for a supply of water to the camels of caravans travelling between that country and Ægypt. It is now deserted. But still the ropes and buckets remain for drawing water; and no travellers or wandering Arabs steal or damage what the hospitality of the wilderness offers to assist the wayfarer in his need.

Although a camel can endure the drought for many days, still the sad and ghastly spectacle of death all along the caravan tracks shows that the desert has its hardships even for him. As far as you pursue the ordinary hadj route, the sand is strewed with the carcasses and skeletons of beasts of burthen. The Arabs, in their journeys or their wanderings, never delay the march or waste provision of water by tending a sick or foundered animal. He dies where his powers first fail to be useful to his master, and thus, of course, it must be expected that a great multitude of these remains should be found by the wayside. But, if the activity of the vultures, jackals, and hyænas, be taken into account in disposing of them during the process of decay, so that, of all those which lie along your path, none can have been for many days

dead, the number that are continually perishing must be enormous.

During our halt at Gatieh we had the relief of hearing a certain variation both in the words and air of the song of our camel drivers, though, indeed, there was no great improvement in the spirit either of the poetry or music. But, as an Arab always accompanies every work he sets himself about with a song describing the nature and details of it, so these men no sooner found themselves fairly engaged in the operation of drawing water from the wells and pouring it into the troughs, than they began to hum a new tune, and mutter new words, which became louder and louder, and more and more articulate, till they swelled into the following canticle, in which four performers joined, two at the same time drawing, and two pouring out for the camels:—*Drawers*. “Ana bisil, wa anti hott”—“I draw, and you take it.” *Pourers*. “Douga bi alif”—“To fill the stomach.” *Tutti*. “Nachma bi sogal misa jema, wa jema misa nachma”—“We work for the camels, and the camels for us:”—*da capo*; and so on till the operation ceased.

At four hours and a half beyond, we arrived at a hollow, with a few stunted trees and bushes, where we encamped.

At the end of four hours and three quarters from hence, next day, we descended into a level plain of hard sand, about a mile in length, in which are two small narrow plashes of water, as salt and bitter as those of two days before. But the whole appearance of the plain is different from any we had till then seen. It forms a very regular isosceles triangle of about half a mile deep from the

apex to the base along which you ride. It is bounded on all sides by low abrupt sandbanks, which have in parts become covered with scanty brushwood, and is coated throughout with curious incrustations of salt, looking and feeling under the foot like a thin sheet of frozen snow, some of which we brought away. They proved, upon analysis, to be of the same component parts, and differing very little in the proportions of them with the deposits we had found in the salt pools three days before in the country near Sesterieh. On mounting the bank at the further angle, the open sea appeared at not more than ten or twelve miles to our left.

In four hours and a half more, over gentle undulations of ground, during which we had suffered some inconvenience from a strong land-breeze blowing the sand sharply against our faces and eyes, is another flat enclosed plain, abounding with bushes; and here we encamped. During these last two days and nights we had been free from any attacks of flies and mosquitos. It seems as if they were banished by the influence of the dry and salt air, which in this, as in every other respect, was so agreeable to us.

On the following morning, at the end of the first two hours and a half, we saw a few long-ago ruined and deserted cottages on a rising ground to our left, with the remains of a large marabout, which has also been abandoned to entire decay. In this place was formerly one of Mohammed Ali's camel stations, which was removed a short way further on, and to the right. Here are tanks of brackish water, under what cannot be called the shade, but at the foot of a clump of seven almost withered palms, near which stands a small mosque of old

Saracenick workmanship. The place is called Abul Bana. The range of the Jebel el Khalál (Mountain of Justice), which forms part of the chain over Acaba, and whose tops were occasionally visible yesterday, now appeared in its whole extent, some thirty or forty miles away to the south-east.

From thence we proceeded on an uninterrupted rise for two hours and a quarter more, when we had again a fine view of the Mediterranean to the north-west, over a succession of salt marshes. The desert had now become in parts more broken by a growth of low shrubs. We descended again for an hour and a quarter, and again rose, again catching sight of the sea, with occasional salt plains. At the end of three hours more we reached a tract of what seemed to be cultivable ground. And here, under a sandy bank, whose crest was thickly set with bushes and patches of asphodel, now coming into fine bloom, under which the limestone rock jutted forth (the first appearance of this kind we had seen during the last eight days of our journey), we pitched our tent for the night. The scanty green, the grey rock, and flowers, were a great refreshment to our eyes after the almost unbroken glare on which they had of late been resting through the whole of each of these days relieved only by the hues of sunset and the darkness when night set in. The midday sky, though gloriously serene, had not been of pure blue. The heat, even at this early time of the year, though very agreeable to the feel, had filled the air with a trembling hazy light, which dazzled without brightness. The weather had, except at night, been very warm ever since we left Cairo.

At two hours and three quarters further, next

day, of track still varied with appearances of stone and vegetation, we came to a hollow, shaded by some fine palm-trees, under which is a well for the camels. But, except by camels, the water cannot be drunk. Here we rested. The country before us was again as wild and arid as that of two days before. It seemed that strong winds had lately heaped up the sand in huge drifts, which had so changed the face of the country that the camel-drivers proceeded slowly, and with doubt and hesitation. In vain did they endeavour to find the track of any living creature, so valuable as a guide where dangerous descents and impassable rocks abound. But the instinct which hardly ever fails the Arab, however beset with the fear of losing his way, prevailed. After loud lamentations and much bewilderment for about an hour, we again proceeded. We had strayed somewhat from our track, but not far.

In two hours and a quarter more we came in sight of El Arish, a place whose site in all times (and, in the later history of Ægypt, under the name it now bears) has been connected with great events. It is by all the old historians and geographers called Rhinocorura, or Rhinocolura, an appellation adopted by the Greeks and Romans, with but some slight variation from that which it had borne under its earlier masters. It has always, since the days of the first Ptolemy, been in the hands of the Ægyptian rulers, as their frontier town on the Syrian side, after they extended their limits across the small Arabian Desert. It is improperly described by some writers as belonging to Palestine—a misapprehension arising probably out of what appears to be the mistaken course often assigned to

the boundary river called by the ancient geographers the *Flumen Ægyptiacum*. We in vain looked for any trace of this river in the Wady El Arish, along which most of the modern maps give its course to the sea, south-west of the town.

Approaching the town in that direction, and at about half a mile from it, we crossed, it is true, a small sandy valley. This, however, can at no time have been the course of any stream; for, not only was there no channel traceable in the sand (in the month of February, a time of the year when it would neither have been laid dry, after the winter's rains, nor filled in by the drift of the simooms), but there is a continuous line of bank running across the valley, effectually barring, at all seasons, all outlet to the sea. D'Anville and Norden, whose accuracy may generally be trusted in all things, have avoided this error, into which others, less cautious, have fallen; some of whom, in all likelihood, have contented themselves with copying from each other. M. de Salle also ('*Pérégrinations en Orient*,' i. 431) admits the absence of the river at El Arish.

At El Arish the representative of the Pasha is a governor at the head of a wretched garrison of some sixty or eighty soldiers. The only officer on his civil staff is a very gentlemanlike Italian, who is chief of the department of health, and whose forlorn duty it is to reside here in charge of a mock quarantine establishment, by which it is professed that Ægypt is guarded from all approach of Syrian travellers not having clean bills of health; such persons being, however, able at any time, and easily, to pass this barrier on either side, either by the open sea or open wilderness. It is a most

dreary and desolate town, on a small eminence, surrounded, as far as the eye can reach, by sea and sand. Close under its walls on the one side is a large but mean cemetery, looking out in the distance upon a long gleam of sea. On the other side it is protected by a large square castle with four flanking towers, a fortress built by the French in 1798, and now furnished with only two four-pounders, one of which is dismounted. In the Crusades it was a considerable place of arms in the possession of the Christians. King Baldwin died within its walls. In the wars of Napoleon it was twice taken, after very short sieges. It was surrendered to him by the Turks, when it had been but a few days invested, upon a capitulation which became memorable in consequence of the violation of it by the Turkish garrison, who, having been afterwards found in arms against him, contrary to the terms on which they had been allowed to march out, were punished by that dreadful military execution so well known in history as having taken place near Jaffa;—a transaction which will continue probably to the end of time to be described in so different a spirit by different historians;—by some as a ferocious and wanton massacre, by others as a well-deserved chastisement which Napoleon was justified in inflicting, as a lesson required for the safety of his own army against a savage and faithless enemy.

El Arish,—where there is no good water, whose roadstead affords no safe anchorage, except with the wind well off shore, and from whence on the land side it appears hard to command such a country as that to the southward and eastward of it, too wild and wide to be held by a small force or to

give subsistence to a large one,—El Arish was nevertheless described by Napoleon, in his published despatches, as “one of the keys of Ægypt, as important to him as Alexandria” at the other end of the sea-board. He had, it is true, as we find also from his despatches, intended to form a connecting line of posts, parallel with the coast, between these two places, to be a base for his operations. Still, to one who has passed along that line and seen the difficulties with which nature has beset it, the project must seem almost impracticable, unless with the command of the sea.

At the end of three hours from El Arish, we encamped on but bad ground. The sand had gathered round us again. Neither bush for fuel, nor slope for shelter. But we could proceed no further. We had been detained some hours at El Arish by our camel drivers, in search of barley to buy for their beasts. Night had long set in, and our camels were wearied. But, fortunately, there was no wind upon the desert.

On the next day, after four hours and a half, our track turned a little to the left, crossing a long wide range of hill, under which is an extensive salt plain, with some palm-trees, and large pools of brackish water in a valley about two miles further off at a right angle to our course, and bearing north-west from us. Among these palms are two wells of fine water, which however we passed, resuming the straight line of our route, for a supply from them is daily carried to a small Marabout (or rather Wely, for this is the name which you find given to the saints' tombs as you approach the Holy Land and Syria) surrounded by a few huts, which lay, at no great distance, directly before us.

Here also we found an agreeable shade of palms, under which we rested for an hour, in enjoyment not only of the first cool, clear, sweet water we had tasted for many days, but of some excellent melons too, brought to us by the Bedouins who inhabited the huts. We were obliged to pay a sum of fifty piastres as backshish, or tribute, to the new tribe on whose country we were now entering. This is the country of the Philistines. The general name of Palestine seems to have been given to the whole district between Arabia and Syria Proper, from the land of Philistia, or Philistina, which forms its south-western boundary.

At the end of four hours and a half more of very dreary flat, we arrived, after night-fall, at some variety of undulating ground, where at intervals the limestone rock began again to appear. Traces of ancient cultivation are to be seen on either side of a track which in parts is paved and gradually leads to a range of gardens fenced off by artificial banks and hedges of prickly pear. We were on the outskirts of the village of Khan Younes (the "Inn of Jonas"), according to D'Anville, the ancient Jenissus. This may be truly called the frontier town of Palestine, although no guard, or quarantine picket, or other station indicative of a frontier line between two countries, is to be found, till you arrive at Gaza, full twelve English miles beyond.

On a burial-ground adjoining the village of Khan Younes we pitched our tent, and got a plentiful supply of good water, and of goat's milk, eggs, and a couple of very lean fowls, from the hospitable inhabitants. Of the eleven days of journey which had now elapsed, inclusive of the afternoon on

which we quitted Cairo, the last seven had been passed in the desert. We had hitherto departed but little from the ordinary hadj route leading to Jerusalem, and had met with no difficulty and undergone no inconvenience whatever, excepting the want of good water during four or five days. During that time the little we could carry in the skins had become very brown; not fœtid, but very nauseous.

Boil Russia leather into a pretty strong decoction; let this get half cool; and you will have a fair specimen of the water to be drunk on a desert journey. It is a flavour that does not improve upon acquaintance with it. I do not know that even a filtering stone would do much to remedy this. But, if it did, the additional burthen of even the smallest of these machines, where it is so important to reduce as far as possible the weight of the camel loads, would increase the delays of the journey so much as to be a hinderance not balanced by the luxury. I repeat, therefore, the moral, of the truth of which I was well convinced even before leaving Cairo: the fewer "portable comforts," the fewer will be the annoyances on such a journey. Whatever inconveniences there may be (and there are none worth thinking of, unless in case of being disabled by injury or bodily accident), push on and get through them as rapidly as you can. Do not protract them by any cumbrous devices, very ineffectual to mitigate what, after all, are very trifling grievances.

CHAPTER VII.

Wady Gaza—Question concerning Sihor and the River of Ægypt—Gaza—Quarantine—Entrance of the Land of Canaan—Saccarieh—Khoordman Guards—Plain of Dualme—Pass and the Mountain of Douras—Hebron—Vale of Mamre.

THE desert was now passed. Here was more variety of ground; and the small and favoured retreats, in which the cheerful influences of Nature seemed to have intrenched themselves against the wide empire of the waste, were becoming more frequent as we advanced, and here and there they joined in tracts of verdure and shade. The “pleasantness of Gath and of the land of the Philistines” was before us. The whole country, as we entered on our next day’s journey, wore an air, not of inhabitancy, but at least bespeaking that it had once been “pleasant” as the abode of man.

In four hours and a half we entered upon a fine plain, covered with ranunculus, anemone, asphodel, and wild mignonette, in full bloom. It is bounded to the east by the mountains of Ghor, to the east-north-east by those of Moab, and to the north by the softer outlines of the hills of Judah. At an hour further is the dry channel of a river, with small pools of muddy water, and the ruins of an ancient bridge a few yards to the left of where the track descends into the river’s bed. This, which runs along the course of the Wady Gaza, and which

D'Anville, a high authority, has determined to be the Sihor of the Bible, is, I am much inclined to think, also the Flumen Ægyptiacum of the Roman times, which has been carried in some of the modern maps several geographical leagues too much to the south-west.*

* This agrees with Sir William Drummond's boundary line of Arabia or "Arab," which word, **عرب**, signifies "The West." According to him the ancient frontier runs pretty much as the modern one, from the desert of Sur, passing by the southern shore of the Dead Sea, and passing a very little to the south-west of Gaza into the Mediterranean ('Origines,' iii. 251). Sir W. Drummond's map is one of the very few (D'Anville's is almost the only other) which do not commit the error of making a river fall into the Mediterranean close to the south of El Arish. The word "Wady" originally signified "water," and seems to have no reference, as has been fancifully supposed by some, to the Latin word "vadás." The Arabs applied it generally to denote a river or mountain-stream; pronounced by the Moors "Guadi." Thus "Guadalquivir" for **وادي** **القيبر**, "Guadi al Kebir, "The Great River" (Id. 253).

'It has been a point long controverted among the learned," says Dr. Shaw, "whether the Nile, or a *supposed* rivulet at Rhinocorura, was the western boundary of the Holy Land." It does not, however, appear that Rhinocorura or Rhinocolora, or any town thereabouts, was known till long after the time of the wars of Joshua. Nor does Strabo, Mela, Pliny, or any of the old historians or geographers, after it was built and became of note, make mention of any river or torrent in these parts. Eratosthenes alone, as quoted by Strabo, speaks of the rivers of Rhinocorura and Cassius (Gatieh). But Strabo discredits the whole account, "**ὄχι οἶδα δ' εἰ πιθανῶς εἴρηκεν**" (lib. xvi.); and, enumerating the remarkable places on the Ægyptian and Syrian side of Rhinocorura, takes not the least notice of any river. Diodorus Siculus says that the town was "in a barren country, deprived of all the necessaries of life." That "without the

In one hour more we were under the walls of Gaza, and were there challenged by a quarantine picket of some twenty men, armed with long lances, who had their tents pitched on both sides of the road, across which they stood. Like every quarantine establishment I have ever known or heard of, that of Gaza is quite powerless to guard against the introduction of disease, but fruitful in annoyances to travel and to trade, and in petty connivance, compromise and corruption.

The chief of the department, a French medical officer in the Turkish service (for we had now passed from the Pashalick of Ægypt into that of Acre), was sent for, to meet us on the outposts. The usual questions were put, the usual difficulties

walls" (which must have been to the northward, towards the sea) "there were salt pits," and that "within, the wells yielded only a bitter, corrupted water" (Bibl. p. 55). Herodotus, in Thalia, says that in the whole of the desert coast, to the distance of three days' journey from Cassius and the Sirbonick lake, *χάριον ἀνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς*. St. Jerome, I know not on what authority, places the Torrens Ægypti near Rhinocolura. But there is no reason to believe that he was ever there, and it may therefore be assumed that he took this on hearsay. He also makes Sihor the Pelusiack branch of the Nile. But Dr. Shaw, who inclines to the opinion that the Ægyptian river was the Pelusiack Nile, at all events clearly shows that Sihor and the Ægyptian river, wherever they were, are the same. (See Dr. Shaw's Travels, quarto, vol. ii. chap. 2.) The position of the Flumen Ægyptiacum has always, in late times, been a contested question, which it would be difficult now to determine with any show of probability. Indeed, it seems not unlikely that the name of the River of Egypt may have been given, at different times, to more than one river, as at successive periods the frontier line of that country was pushed on further to the eastward. All that appears certain from the best written testimony, and from the course and formation of the ground, is it that could not have been at El Arish.

started. As usual on such occasions, we were told that all was irregular, owing to our not having had our passports examined and backed on the frontier, where there is no officer or establishment of any sort placed for that purpose. As usual, we were told that there was no remedy but a nine days' quarantine. These observations were, of course, met by us with the suggestion that the alternative was a simple one—that of returning one day's journey, and passing the frontier at any point a few miles to the eastward. Finally, as usual, the health officer was persuaded, *under the circumstances*, into mitigating the time of purgation from nine days into twelve hours, into ratifying the compromise over a large glass of rum (glass is a non-conductor of infection), and into giving free pratique next morning, accompanied by a certificate of a clean bill of health, which supersedes all further question throughout all the range of Palestine and Syria.

Here, then, we rested under our tents for the remainder of that evening, and received next morning leave to go forward.

Gaza is surrounded by well-cultivated gardens of tamarisks, figs, and olives. Its principal mosque is modern, and so are the walls and houses, with the exception of the eastern corner of the town, which is of about the time of Saleh ed Dhein (Saladin), 1190, and some of the large stones of the eastern wall, which are probably of a very much earlier date. Gaza is memorable, in later times than those of the achievements of Samson and Joshua, for the siege laid to it by Alexander the Great; and also for another siege hardly less worthy of record, conducted by another, less famous, Alex-

ander, surnamed Janneas, the Asmodean king. Victorious like his renowned namesake, like him he tarnished the glory of his success by the infamous barbarity with which he treated the valiant garrison he had subdued. The city had been defended with exemplary courage by Aretas, king of Northern Arabia, assisted by Apollodotas the Grecian. It surrendered not until both the chiefs had been slain; the one by the besiegers on the last shattered wall; the other by treachery. The senators, to the number of five hundred, had taken sanctuary in the temple of Apollo, from whence they were dragged forth and murdered. Nor did the slaughter cease until all the population had perished. The women and children were put to the sword by their own husbands and fathers, to save them from a more cruel fate at the hands of the relentless victors.

Our object was to leave the more ordinary route by Ascalon, and, turning to the eastward, to approach Jerusalem by Canaan, the country of Eshkol, and Hebron. This arrangement, although more beneficial to our camel drivers (as securing to them, according to stipulation, four days' more pay), was yet made by them matter of objection and dispute; partly for the sake of debate, a thing never to be foregone by Arabs; and partly in order to enhance our sense of the value and merit of their services.

They spoke of the danger of the enterprise, a danger all the more awful from its indistinctness and incapacity of definition. They spoke, and spoke all together, of the sum to be paid them by the day and hour for undertaking such a journey with us, beset, as we should be, with perils from

robbers, and the difficulties of a road with which they, as untruly, said they were unacquainted. They spoke of complicated fractions of pay not to be solved by any system of arithmetick they knew of. If thirteen days of hire for each camel amounted to 156 piastres, how many piastres for each camel would seventeen days and a half amount to? Then, it being shown that by the terms of their engagement they would forfeit the whole sum agreed for, in case of their refusal to accompany us, they consented to go by the way of Hebron, on the understanding, however, that the discussion should be renewed on the way. At length we prevailed.

Having cleared the lanes and gardens on the eastern outskirt of the town, for an hour our road lay through an open grove of picturesque old olives. Then, turning to the right from the track which leads toward Ascalon, we struck across a fine and fertile plain on the eastern confines of the country of Gath, leaving the village of Beth-Haroun on our right hand, and, in an hour more, that of Dimrah on our left. In an hour beyond, the village of Nidjith appeared, on a high bank close upon the right of our track; and on the other side, and on a hill less abrupt and somewhat more distant, that of Tsimsim, originally so called, according to the Arab tradition, from the name of Samson. But why the Philistines, the men of Gath, should have dedicated one of the towns within their frontier to the destroyer of their people, does not appear. There seems, however, to be a probability of its being part of the country known as that of the Zamzumims, inhabitants of Zamzum, and so mentioned in Deuteronomy ii. 20, 21: "A people

great and many, and tall as the Anakims," and to whom the Anakims "succeeded and dwelt in their stead." The sons of Anak lived in the country between this and Hebron.

We now found ourselves on the brink of a narrow ravine, which we crossed twice within the next half hour. This, which is dry except immediately after the autumnal rains, is the "Brook of Eshkol." We were now on the borders of the plain of the same name, and of the land of Canaan.

Three-quarters of an hour after, we passed the village of Brair, and, after another hour, over a high and commanding ridge of fertile ground; grass, with limestone rock, showing itself but rarely and in small patches above the soil. From hence is a fine view of wide-stretched green vales to the east. To the south-east are the barren plains of Acaba and mountains of Edom. At the distance of about a couple of miles to the right are five artificial-looking hills, having the smooth and conical appearance of the English barrows, but of large size. Of these we could learn nothing either from the people who were working in the fields here, or from those whom we saw, next day, on the confines of Judah, except that they went by the name of the "Hills of the coast of Hebron," and that the Jewish and Mohammedan traditions agree in selecting them as the place to which Samson carried the gates from Gaza, "up to the top of a hill that is before Hebron" (Judges xvi. 3).

In one hour more we reached Saccarieh, our resting-place for the night; a village of some twenty or thirty mud houses, under the shadow of a low semicircular hill, on which is a mean build-

ing, surrounded by a sort of abbattis, and used as a barrack, with a detached guard-house. Here was quartered a picket of Khoords, the only troops, I believe, of that nation maintained by the Porte in this part of the Syrian continent. We had fallen in with a vidette at about a mile from the village, who rode with us to the main guard;—a very picturesque-looking person, clad in a steel cap and jacket of mail, armed with lance, musket, sabre, pistols, and dagger, and mounted on a very well-shaped blood-like Arab. Irregularly armed and habited, these warriors, though nominally in Turkish pay, subsist themselves by means still more irregular. But having been engaged by a small bribe to enter into our special service for the few hours during which we should remain with them, the only annoyance the Khoordish garrison caused us, was by rushing past our tent among the cords and pegs, half-a-dozen times in the night, in their way to the brow of the hill looking to the northward, where, with many words and strange howlings, they kept up for some minutes a very respectable fire of musketry at some indeterminate object on the plain, and then returned, stumbling again over the tent cords, again to go through the same ceremony as soon as half an hour's silence should have enabled us to seek refuge in sleep from the alarums of war. And all this merely to impress us with a sense of their restless zeal in protecting us from danger, from which, indeed, we had sufficiently secured ourselves by purchasing their forbearance; there being, I believe, no robbers within many miles of us but themselves. At all events we should have been very glad to make full acknowledgement of their vigilance and fidelity

at a less expense than that of the sleepless night inflicted on us by our friends. These heroes, though in other respects variously dressed, all wore the chain armour, which, with the lance and sabre, had descended to them, certainly by tradition, if not by inheritance, from those tribes of their ancestors who were called in from the hill country to the north of Syria, to take their part on either side in the wars of the Crusades.

At the end of the first hour's journey, next morning, having crossed the plain, we entered upon the hill country of Judæa, gently swelling ground, which, like that of the day before, was covered with a fine natural turf, broken only by spots of smooth roundheaded rock, hardly rising above the level of the thick grass. Here and there were tracts of rich corn-land, which the peasants were ploughing with yokes of well-shaped but very small oxen, and with the same light primitive plough which is used all over Ægypt and Syria. Here, however, the camel is never used for this purpose, whom one so often sees in Ægypt and nearer the frontier fastened singly to the plough by his tail. But, unlike the fellahs of Ægypt, all the labourers are armed with a gun and a knife. In about half an hour more, descending by an easy slope into a long and narrow valley, we passed a very deep well at the foot of the bank on our left, where the plunging of a stone dropped in, sounded as if there was a great depth of water standing, although at perhaps more than a hundred feet from the mouth. The depth of the rope-marks worn in the rock all round the opening gives token of its antiquity. But no ropes or means of drawing water are left. The country

people call this place Sissames. At about a quarter of an hour further there is another well which seems as if it were sunk to the same level, likewise through natural rock. Both of these had evidently been much used in former times, and on this account, and also from their being so near to each other, look as if they had belonged to some large town; of which, however, we could see no remains either on the hill side or in the valley. At an hour and a half's distance beyond, this gorge opens on the plain of Duaimé, into which we entered from under the branches of a venerable sycomore, whose gnarled trunk and amply spreading foliage cast a regular unbroken shadow of many yards upon the turf around. The view of the plain which lay before us is broken into glades by woodland thicket, and where it opens more widely beyond is tufted with ancient timber, forming an open grove of greenwood, very much resembling the park scenery of North Devon or the New Forest; more resembling the former in the occasional mixture of rock, but only wanting its rushing water.

From hence, coming out upon small fields terraced in gradation on the slopes, we found the plough again at work among boles of olives and fig-trees, or upon the sunny bed of the valley below. This is portioned out, not by fences, but boundary stones, among the proprietors, a people industrious, peaceful, and hospitable, and armed only to protect themselves and their goods against wandering robbers, from whose incursions the weak and bad government into whose hands they are surrendered gives them no security. This was the land of "the giants, sons of Anak," (Numbers

xiii. 33,) and of the "dwellers among the tents of strife," the land first seen by the messengers whom Moses sent, of each tribe of the children of Israel one, from the wilderness of Paran. Somewhere hereabouts, among the south-westernmost cornlands of Judah, must have been the great threshing-floor of Atad, where Joseph, and those who came from the land of Goshen with the body of Jacob, mourned seven days. (Genesis l. 10, et seq.) It is said to be "*beyond* Jordan," which must here mean to the westward of it, for it is distinctly described as being in the land of the Canaanites, and in the way to Hebron.

On the next brow the remains are to be seen of an ancient city, crowning the whole, and covering a large space. But neither tradition nor speculation has assigned to it a name. On the eastern descent, but still near the top, are a vast number of artificial excavations and vertical holes, lighting large chambers which run under and parallel to the surface of the rock. At the bottom of this slope, across a woody ravine to the left, is the site of another ancient town, apparently not much smaller. The ground now becomes more bare, and cultivation more scanty, till, at the end of about an hour from the first entrance of the plain of Duaimé, you arrive at the foot of a wild and steep mountain-pass, finely clothed with brushwood on each side. The track is narrow and rough, and the rocks and brakes shoot up on either hand abruptly to a great height. Here we were halted by our camel drivers that we might be informed that we were come to the part of the road which they had mentioned to us at Gaza as being the most to be dreaded for its dangers, it being an accustomed

harbour for robbers, who attack passengers in this steep and difficult pass. This we were convinced was an untruth. The pass is indeed steep, and the road so bad that the camels proceed at a very slow pace, and unquestionably any banditti on foot and with fire-arms might here make an attack with great advantage. But the motive of our informants in what they told us of robbers being always on the look-out here was much too apparent to make the invention a successful one. I have no doubt that there was an intention of robbing us. But the danger we were in was of being robbed after a gentler fashion than the one described—and by our friends the camel drivers. After an ascent of nearly two hours we came to the top of the mountain of Douras, the first of the Hebron range. Here is the small village of Douras, and a handsome wely, the tomb of a santon. From hence is a glorious view, back, to the westward, of the plains of Philistia, and forward, to the east, of those of Canaan, and of the mountains of Edom and Moab. Even to this day the plain of Eshkol, which is seen winding through the gorges to the northward, is full of vineyards, and its vines are still famous through the land of Judah for grapes of exquisite flavour and enormous size, clustering so thickly on the bunch as to justify the astonishment with which they were viewed by the strangers of Israel. In three hours and a half more we reached the famous city of Hebron, called by the Arabs, in memory of Abraham, “Khalil Rachman,” the “Friend of the Merciful;”—as it is said in the Epistle General of James, iii. 23, “and he was called the Friend of God.” We had thus far made our journey, according to our calcula-

tion, of a little more than 275 miles in 108 hours of travel, and, including our halts, in fourteen days.

⊙ We were now within the land appointed of old as the Land of Promise—that part of it from whence the children of Israel, having reached it under the command of their first great chief, were, for their disobedience, turned back once more upon the Desert of the Wandering, till all of that generation but Joshua and Caleb should have perished. This was the Land of Promise to which, after forty years, their sons were led in to possess it, but of the fruits of which the rebellious fathers had been permitted to see only the rich clusters that the spies brought to them.

The sun, as we drew near to Hebron, was sinking behind us in great glory over the hills of the Philistines. To the east were those which fence in the plain called by the name of “Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshkol and brother of Anak.” (Genesis xiv. 13.) There Abraham and his children dwelt, after his kinsman Lot had taken for his portion the cities of the plain of Jordan. (Genesis xiii. 7, ad fin.) Among these valleys it was that he spake with the Lord, and received the promise that in his seed should all the world be blessed. Here David tended his father’s sheep, and hence, chosen and anointed to reign over Judah, he bore her lion-standard against the enemies of the Lord, ere long to raise it, even within the gates of Jerusalem, over the fallen throne of Saul and of his sons. The level light now kindled in succession that variety of glowing hues which nowhere shows so deeply bright as against a distance of grey-stone hills. But a straight and lurid line of dark purple

cloud hung heavily across their tops. And, as we wound along the road which skirted their sides, that fresh steamy smell arose from the terraced vine-grounds below which gives warning of rain before any instinct but that of vegetable life has note of its approach.

The husbandmen had already left the fields, and, for more than an hour of our way, till within half a mile of the city, we had not seen a human creature. Here a solitary old man, a Musulman, was bowing himself to the earth in his evening prayer. His garb, the ancient traditionary gown, girded round his loins, and head-gear in which the old men of the East have been clad through countless generations, his white beard descending to his girdle, and his posture of adoration, forcibly recalled the picture our minds have so often formed of the great patriarch, who among these very hills so often bowed himself before the presence of God.

As we pitched our tent for the night upon a green knoll partly covered by a Turkish burying-ground, opposite to the southern face of the city, the evening sky became more and more overcast. But it was not till near midnight that the storm began.

The weather had been calm and fine till now, without interruption, throughout our whole journey. And now we could not have wished against the storm which roared among the rocks of Hebron. It was grand beyond description. The dazzling sheets of lightning that gleamed in quick succession made the whole prospect round as bright as in the day, showing forth the stern and venerable features of those famous solitudes, and of that ancient city which lay before us, apparently so little changed

from when it was the abode of David and his host, "those mighty men of war." And the thunder, coming loud and near upon every flash, rolled through the land where of old the voice of the Almighty was so often heard articulate.

The next day was wet and boisterous. But still the dark and massive clouds added grandeur to the scene. Midday was past before the weather permitted us to issue forth.

Hebron, as it was the first Jewish city which we saw, so is it that which among all those of Judah preserves the most of its ancient character unchanged. "Kirjatharba, which is Hebron," (Josh. xiv. 15 ; xv. 13,) "the city of Arba, the father of Anak," took its latter name when it was "given to Caleb the son of Jephunneh for an inheritance," on the general division of the land of Canaan among the children of Israel.

It stands on two small eminences rising out of the southern entrance of the vale of Mamre. The Jewish part of the town, occupying the westernmost, is modern. The Mohammedan part stands on the site of the ancient city of David. In the lower part of it is the pool still called, after David the king, "Birket El Sultaun," the "king's pool," where he hanged the bodies of Rechab and Baana, who had murdered Ishbosheth, the son of his persecutor Saul. (2 Sam. iv. 12.) Its position is the only one which the pool of those times could have occupied, and its size, the form of its construction, and the cement with which it is coated throughout, are in accordance with the story of its great antiquity. About a quarter of a mile above it, to the north, and on the pinnacle of the gentle ascent of the town, stands the mosque, jealously

guarded by the Turks, which covers the site of the "cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre," (Gen. xxiii. 19; xxv. 9; xxxv. 27, 29; xlix. 30, 31,) "in the field of Ephron, the son of Zohar the Hittite," the burying-place of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah. A few yards to the westward of the mosque is the sepulchre in which Abner was laid by David, and in which he also placed the head of Ishbosheth, near the honoured remains of the most faithful of his fathers' servants. (2 Sam. iv. 12.) This last-mentioned tomb the Christians and Jews are permitted to approach near enough to see it through a hole left open in the gate which encloses it. It is but a large unadorned cubick stone. The tombs of the great patriarch and his family are, as we were told, under the four cupolas of the mosque. Under its roof, and nearer the steps than the gateway, none but Musulmans may enter.

The population of Hebron, according to the account given us by the Jews who flocked round, and undertook to show us this the most ancient city of their nation, amounts to about 6000 of their religion, and 2000 Mohammedans. I should think this is an exaggeration of the number of their people now residing there. Dr. Robinson, I find, gives the gross population at not much less than 10,000. But all these calculations must be very vague, and founded on no better authority than the same testimony which we received on the spot, that of the remnant of the Israelites there, whose national feeling, vanity I cannot call it, in that abject state which is "the badge of all their race," leads them everywhere to give a higher estimate than the true one of their numbers. The Jewish inhabitants of

the place seem to be living prosperously, and on good terms with the Mohammedans, and to carry on a fair trade among their own brethren and the Christians in the adjacent parts of Judæa, in earthenware and coarse cloth, wine which is not bad, oil which is good, and a sort of ardent spirit which is detestable; to the taste a sort of combination of very bitter peppermint, and the medicine used in England for coughs under the name of paregorick elixir. Nothing can be worse mixed with water, and unapproachable by European lips without.

Behind the hills lying immediately to the north of the city, and about four miles from it, across a narrow valley and a not very steep ridge, is the plain of Mamre, where Abraham dwelt, "and built there an altar to the Lord." (Gen. xiii. 18.) The plain as well as the country all round for several miles is richly cultivated, and laid out in enclosures with low walls. At the corner of almost each of these small properties is a low roofless stone hovel, raised a little above the wall, where, during the time of harvest, night and day, the cultivator or the person in charge keeps watch against depredation. The husbandmen and herdsmen are all Mohammedans. At the entrance of the plain of Mamre, and close to the right of the path, is a small cave in the side of a rocky bank, in which a few steep steps lead down to a fine clear spring of tepid but very sweet water. This fountain goes by the name of Ain Ben Ishem, and the cave is said by the Jews to be the place in which Ishbosheth was slain. This seems somewhat at variance with the narrative in the second book of Samuel, (which says that he was lying in a bed, at noon, in his house,) and with Josephus, who gives

the same account. Nor does it appear that the scene of this murder was so near the city of Hebron. About a mile and a half further, on a low hill to the left, is the Haram Rame, a large square building made of the same sort of stone with the fences of the fields, but of larger blocks, and towards the foundations of the eastern angle of massive masonry, cemented, but bearing every appearance of great antiquity—probably as remote as the old Jewish times. This is shown as the dwelling-place of Abraham. Within about a couple of hundred yards of it is a venerable evergreen oak, and, hard by its roots, a small orifice, the opening of a deep well, with water in it. These are called the tree and well of Abraham; the spot near which he received the three angels. (Gen. xviii.) The well may be of any antiquity, and evidently belonged to the residence of some wealthy possessor in the plain, whose house was near; for there are no remains hereabouts of a town, and there can be no doubt of the identity of the plain with the Mamre of the Scriptures. The tree is probably of some centuries old; whether growing from the roots of some much more ancient oak, shading the patriarch's well, would be a hazardous speculation.

On my return to the city, with my two Jewish guides, we entered it further to the north than the side from which we had begun our walk. We were proceeding through a double gateway, such as is seen in so many of the old Eastern cities, even in some of the modern; one wide arched road, and another narrow one by the side, through the latter of which persons on foot generally pass, to avoid the chance of being jostled or crushed by the

beasts of burthen coming through the main gateway. We met a caravan of loaded camels thronging the passage. The drivers cried out to my two companions and myself, desiring us to betake ourselves for safety to the gate with the smaller arch, calling it "Es Summ el Kayút," the hole or eye of the needle. If—as, on inquiry since, I am inclined to believe—this name is applied not to this gate in Hebron only, but generally in cities where there is a footway entrance by the side of the larger one, it may perhaps give an easy and simple solution of what in the text Mark x. 25, has appeared to some to be a strained and difficult metaphor; whereas that of the entrance gate, low and narrow, through which the sumpter camel cannot be made to pass unless with great difficulty, and stripped of all the incumbrance of his load, his trappings, and his merchandise, may seem to illustrate more clearly the foregoing verse:—"How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God."* It also applies itself to several other passages by which our Saviour illustrates a similar subject: "Enter ye in at the strait gate," &c., (Matt. vii. 13, 14,) and others.

We did not leave Hebron till the next day.

* The metaphor of the camel and the eye of a needle it has been attempted to render easier by a supposition that the translations from the Greek may be in error, and that the word was "καμυλον," a "cable," and not "καμηλον," a "camel," of which, however, there does not seem to be much likelihood. A like figure occurs twice in the Koran:

اَكْلِكُ سَمَّ الْكِبَاكِ مِثْلَ نَسِجٍ "Until the camel shall enter
into the hole of the needle."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

VOL. I. p. 7.

DELPHI:

A FRAGMENT OF A JOURNAL. FROM THE
'IONIAN ANTHOLOGY,'

NO. I. JANUARY, 1834.

LET the man, ay or the woman either, who would go to Delphi—for persons of either sex may do so with ease, save that those of the less robust should ride the journey, while by all means the man should walk,—let the man, I say, or the woman either, who would go to Delphi, undertake that pilgrimage in form and manner as hereinafter set down, and as it was performed by a party of persons who had three days to devote to it in the autumn of last year. And, to all those who have memory or feeling of what was for many ages so great and glorious; all which their youthful fancy shadowed out will be renewed and filled up, and all the mystick charm will be justified which hangs upon the name of Dephi.

Delphi should be approached from the side of the ancient Cirrha, "scopulosa Cirrha," * the port of the Oracle, now called the Scala di Salona, which, marked only by a few huts, stands within the depths of a beautiful bay. Much doubtless depends on the first impres-

* Lucan. Pharsal.

sions under which you draw near the heights of Delphi. And, to give to these their full advantage, the journey should be made at night. For, as the fatigue is thus avoided of what, in the glare of the midday heat, would be a toilsome march, and the traveller thus escapes the displeasure of arriving wayworn at the threshold of that famous place; so also is the effect improved by his acquaintance with it being begun while the veil of darkness still hangs upon its awful features, to be drawn aside by the gradual advance of the morning. From the bay and Scala of Salona, the road lies over a plain, bounded to the left by the outlines of the mountains over Amphissa, once the capital of the Ozolian Locri, and on the right studded and closed in by an extensive grove of venerable olive-trees. This is the vale of Crissa, and it leads to the town still known, by a slight corruption of its ancient name, as Crisso. No traces of temple or of ancient walls remain. The town is neatly and regularly built; but a fountain, springing from a rock on the left side of the main street, and descending in a copious stream into a roughly hewn and time-worn basin, is all which is left for even conjecture to point to as a memorial of the city of which Apollo was specially held as the patron, and under the surname, thence derived, of the Crissæan. It lies about midway, in respect of time, between the port and Delphi. The distance of road which remains is much shorter; but the way is stony and steep, winding along abrupt hills, and sometimes mounting them in the still more toilsome form of a Venetian stair.

As you draw nearer to Delphi the character of the scenery becomes wilder and more strange; and by starlight if the stars be out, or even by lantern light if the heavens be dark, there is enough visible to betoken that you are within the range of some district set apart, as it were, for the uncommon wonder and worship of man. Tombs, carved in the clefts of the natural rock which on the left overhangs the pass, look forth from beneath its brows into the deep valley of the Pleistus, which winds its course among wood and vineyard and meadow far be-

low to the right. At the end of about the third hour of your march, you reach the westernmost heights of Delphi, from whence, if there be any light in the sky, you trace against it the broad and shadowy outline of that double peaked rock which shrouded within its narrow breast the Oracle that gave laws to the world. On either side, bending forward, as it were, to tend the sanctuary round which they stand, are seen those huge craggy masses, *Παρνησιάδες δ' ἄβατοι Κορυφαί*, which, forming part of the range called by one general name as the district of Parnassus, fenced in and crowned a city, whither, from the rude infancy of its fame even to its corruption and decay, the nations flocked in with tribute and adoration.

Delphi, with all its pride and all its sufferings, with all its sanctity and all its crimes—Delphi, with all the brightness of its pomp and all the gloom of its mysteries, with all its forepast glories and in all its present bareness—Delphi, in all its silence and solitude, the great, the despoiled, the deserted, the immortal, is before you, beneath you, above you, and around you.

And where is now the city of wonder, of worship, and of spoil? As the dawn brightens into day, those awful forms, of old renown, of each of which fancy had so often bodied forth an image of its own, now start up before you in successive detail, as the glimmering spectres of famous things long departed and for ever. And are those then right who, seeing Delphi, complain that no ruins of man's magnificence are there? That the walls of its once mighty city are sunk, and that now not a time-worn peristyle or portico, no, nor a crumbling column, remains reared to mark where of old stood the great temple of the presiding god, or where stood the attendant fane of Minerva Pronoias,—the spirit of strength and forethought, as it were, taking its stand by the shrine of inspiration? Are those then right who tell the future traveller that his hopes must needs be chilled when brought face to face with the object they had so long adorned, and who bid him qualify them with this sad assurance, that he shall see nothing but Delphi as nature formed and man first found it? Let such men fondly

search elsewhere for the traces of mortal and departed power: let them curiously doat upon the relics of mouldering pomp among the once proud arches of Imperial Rome, or the tenantless palaces of humbled Venice;—memorials now of what?—of but this cheerless lesson, that all the greatness of man must one day sink into the dust, that the monuments of his loftiness will one day but faintly deck a mutilated ruin, and that what the heart of the founder swelled within him to conceive, will one day serve but to furnish forth an imperfect system to the artist, or to the philosopher a melancholy moral. There are other and, I think, higher feelings which can but uncheerily respond to the appeal of man's handicraft in its decay, and which yet kindle at the view of this place, as nature formed and man first found it, seen as it was when man first believed, from the very outlines as they are now spread before you, that it could have been formed in such beauty and grandeur only for the abode and sanctuary of a God,—where man bowed his head and heart in worship, and came to gather fate from out the doubtful mysteries of a whispered oracle,—where he stored his gifts, and was after to raise towers and temples to blazon forth its renown. And in this state now is Delphi, as when man first imagined a God of light, of poetry, of prophecy, fixing his throne there in the fancied centre of the habitable world; its awful caverns, its bright fountains, its glorious crags, lifting their brows into that region of high air above which only the eagle in solitary majesty can soar more nigh to heaven,—a state primæval, unchanged, and immortal.

And here, upon this tabled hill where you now stand to view the rising sun, here once stood Brennus with the advanced guard of his invading army, his barbarous legions struggling through the deep defiles and rugged mountain passes behind him; and, before him, the devoted city, decked like a majestic and beauteous victim in its sanctity and splendour for the ruthless sacrifice. But, as he gazed, the sanctuary shone forth in all its bravery and all its power, bristling with spears, and shadowed from end to end with the hallowed trophies which Greece had here

from age to age stored up as records of her long cherished and gloriously defended freedom. The spoils of Marathon and of Salamis, the tributes of Lydia, the ensigns of the Amphictyonick Council.

The angry deity of the place, mounting among clouds, spread his red disk as a protecting shield above it. Loud thunderings were heard, and, says the historian, (but that the kindling spirits of the Delphians at such an hour may have excited in them unreal fancies,) the heroes of long past ages of Greece were seen advancing their armed and gigantick forms to lead forth their countrymen to the defence. The earth shook, and lightnings played around the rocks, which toppled on the pinnacles of each sacred hill to crush the assailants. The furious assault began; and, dismayed no less by the astounding horrors of the scene than by the desperate courage of men standing for their home and their presiding god, the barbarous host gave way. Retreat was ruin, irreparable, hopeless, inevitable; and the whole invading army, more than 160,000 strong, perished with their chief, almost in view of the temple which they had come to plunder and destroy. Nor was this the single or the first occasion on which a powerful invader gave way before a small band of Phocians entrenched, as it were, within the fastnesses of that awful sanctuary. From hence, also, had retired the cohorts of Xerxes. Though reeking from the fresh carnage of Thermopylæ, the frontier passes of Greece no more a barrier across their path, and its plains thronged with the recruited myriads of his Persian chivalry... Athens herself laid waste by fire, and his grasping ambition yet unquenched even by the great day of Salamis, .. from hence retired his Satraps, disheartened, powerless, discomfited, either by the valour of the Delphians, or by the fears of their own troops, who, with what they had believed an assured conquest before them, yet could not endure the presence of this mystick place clothed in the terrors of a mountain storm.

With such remembrances as these are the opening glimpses of Delphi fraught. But variously mixed with

glory and with shame are those which are recalled by its nearer details.

The first and most prominent objects that present themselves are the two cliffs between which the dews of Castalia fall into the Pythia's bath. The Hyampeia and the Nauplia. From the top of the former of these, the westernmost, (not the higher but the more overhanging of the two,) it was that those persons against whom the anger of the god was supposed to be kindled were cast down, thus to expiate their own imprudence or crimes, or, as was oftener the case, to gratify some offended jealousy of the Delphians, or some still baser motive of covetousness disappointed or detected fraud. It was on this brow that Æsop was dragged to a fearful death for counselling his master, Cræsus the Lydian, against the lavishing of his mighty gifts upon a venal oracle. A crime of the Delphick people, which, says the father of Grecian history, drew on them the wrath of heaven, to be appeased only by years of humiliation and atonement.

And that sweet stream, that deep recess, entered ere-while only by the feet of her who, raised above all sense of earthly passion, lived in fancied converse with a deity,—those awful solitudes once dedicated to the sublimest mysteries of the proudest mythology, what deeds of shame does their later story record! Avarice and imposture,—the fates of empires doled out at the bidding of a counterfeit enthusiasm, and the will of the gods revealed in barter for gold! Delphi, from whose seats it was boasted that Homer sang, in whose temples it was recorded that Pindar wrought his deathless verse,—Delphi, on whose gates the Seven Sages wrote those mighty truths which were to be a leading light to men and Commonwealths, where the confederate statesmen of Greece sat for her governance, where her heroes and philosophers sought counsel in life, and after renown in that their names should be inscribed within its fane,—immortal Delphi, with its tutelary genius, become a hireling of Philip and a mockery to Sylla, and perishing at last in its luckless corruption, dishonoured and

unmourned by the world over which it had so long held sway.

You approach the rocky cleft of Castalia by a descending road which winds towards the left for a little more than a mile, passing through the village of Castri—the site of the highest and wealthiest part of the city, where, according to Pausanias, stood the great and gorgeous temple of the Delphick god himself. Beyond the village, you see to the right the terrace of the ancient gymnasium, now crowned with the small church of the Panagia, and leaning forward from the side of the Attick and Bœotian road over the valley of the Pleistus. After you pass the village, and short of the turn of the way which leads to the gymnasium, in the hollow of a stony dell, stands a small arched fountain, built in the middle ages, which receives the waters flowing from the sacred spring itself. Higher up, and overhung by the rock Nauplia, within the gorge of the cleft, is the Pythia's bath; a long rectangular trough of white stone, in many places broken, and the end of which towards the valley is surmounted by a poor shed, dedicated as a chapel to St. John.

Just above the trough are three small niches, carved in the rock as if to serve as depositaries for votive offerings, and over them the brushwood shoots forth at intervals, shadowing the face of the cliff to where its very brow and top are backed by the sky;—the spring in part oozes lazily through the trough, and in part gushes from a small opening in the rock at its foot, trickling down from thence through the lower and modern built fountain to the channel which leads it in its course to mingle with the Pleistus;—and this is the Castalian water, sweet and bright as when within its chill embrace the priestess caught to her bosom that sacred horror which was to prepare her pure frame to receive the breath of the inspiring god.

And where is the cavern which in those times was entered only by the Pythia, whence she descended to the bath, and for which Chandler and Hughes (of all modern travellers who have described these parts the most accu-

rate and the most diligent) searched in vain? It is manifest from the nature of the ground that it could have been in no part of the mountain between the bath itself and the buildings of the city to the west—the only space then which could have contained it is further up within the gorge of the cleft itself. And there, from the second terrace spoken of by Hughes, and high over head, may be seen, rising on either side, the curve, as it were, of a natural arch, which seems as if in later times its crest had been broken down, perhaps by the force of an earthquake, but had once connected the two cliffs, about one-third up the face of each, forming the roof of a vast cave. I said that the great and gorgeous temple of the Delphick god himself, where the oracle was delivered, was within the space now covered by the village of Castri. Its position appears to have been where Hughes is disposed to fix it, and for more reasons than he assigns. Pausanias directs you on your road to it, and, on the spot to which that direction leads you, the clearest indications still remain to show that there stood a Dorick temple of great size and of the richest workmanship. He says that, entering the town from the Bœotian road, you find four temples, of which one was dedicated to Minerva Pronoias, near to which is the place of publick exercise; to the left of this road, as you approach the site of the city, may yet be traced the foundations of several temples, and many shafts of large columns, on tabled terraces which stretch forth towards the valley. On one of these terraces stands now the church of the Panagia, supposed with much reason to be on the foundations of the gymnasium—its porch is supported by ancient pillars, and here and there small fragments of relief are seen which have been built into its rudely constructed modern walls, and within it is that remarkable inscription of which Hughes speaks as supposing it to refer to the death of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles *Αικίδα χαιρε* :* “If,” says Pausanias, “you descend from hence some three stadia, you find the river Pleistus,

* Farewell, oh descendant of Æacus.

which flows into the sea at Cirrha, the port of Delphi; but if, instead, you mount again towards the Temple of Minerva, you will see to your right the fountain of Castalia, of which the waters are sweet." "The city of Delphi," continues he, "is on a height from which on all sides you may descend by a gentle declivity: the temple of Apollo contains a large space in the highest part of the town, and many streets lead to it." Now there is but one space which answers this description—the place of the Games (still known by its classick name of the Pentathlon) is described as being beyond the town; but between it and Castalia, (a distance of about a mile,) you cannot fail to see where the main part of the city stood, with, on one hand, the inaccessible crags, and, on the other, the steep valley of the Pleistus. About midway, and on the side of the village of Castri, on rising ground, is a large space, part of which is now built upon; at the back of which, and near it, in the main street, is a Turkish fountain, which runs copiously; the only spring of water on that part of the hill. "Returning," says Pausanias, "to the temple, you will see the fountain Cassotis, whose waters, it is said, flow under ground to the most secret sanctuary of the Temple." If further evidence were wanting to show that the site of the Temple was here, it would be afforded by the appearance of the ground, which is full of remains of large columns and elaborate reliefs, executed in the best style of Grecian art, and lying very near the surface. Hard by also is that dark and dismantled building mentioned by Hughes, one of the side walls of which is covered, for near twenty feet in length, and about eight or ten in height, with continuous inscriptions, the letters small and neatly cut, which might, at the cost of some pains and trouble, be copied and deciphered; a work which has been only partially and desultorily attempted by persons who have at different times visited the building, but the which, if systematically and thoroughly done, could scarcely fail to assist with interesting detailed information concerning the history of the Temple, as well as its precise position and form; for there can be but little ques-

tion that this wall stood within its precincts. It is to be lamented that Mr. Cockerell, whose zeal and genius so eminently qualified him to trace out for the world again some probable plan of this great city as it was in the days of its glory, should have had so little time to devote to this pursuit.

No one who visits Delphi should fail to give his best attention to this part of the village and the space immediately near and around it. It is on a small plot, almost in front of this space, that a person of the name of Frango is now building a house for himself and for his children. Frango, though a poor man and of humble condition, is one with whom it would be interesting to converse anywhere. But on his own native ground, and that ground Delphi, and among the rising walls of his own house, and those walls rising in what appears to have been the heart of the Temple itself, he is a person whom not to converse with before leaving Delphi would be to leave Delphi without holding converse with one of its most interesting living ornaments. He fought gallantly for his country, under several chiefs, during her war of independence against the Turks; but never in any of those civil wars which, during that renowned struggle and since, have, if not stained its history, at least deprived it of a part of its otherwise untarnished and blameless and surpassing glory. No offer of money (and much money has been offered him) has hitherto tempted him to sell any of the remains of art, some of which are very beautiful, that he has discovered, and is continuing to discover, among the foundations of his house. Before the war, he was as rich as any of that middle class to which he belongs, and from which, and from the class below which, always the most faithful and generally most favourable estimate is to be formed of the character of a people. His condition of life was as easy as that of any Greek worthy of his country could be said to be while that country lay under a barbarous yoke. In the war he spent almost his whole substance. With what remained he bought this plot of ground, on which he is working with his own hands. His desire is to embellish his

house, forming it, as it were, into a little musæum, dedicated by his love of country to his country's renown, where he may leave such relicks as he may have found there of her high and palmy days, undiminished and undivided, to his children. He has already brought to light two large pieces of very fine basso-relievo, parts probably of a frieze, besides some inscriptions and other interesting memorials. May he continue to prosper in his search. Such things can nowhere be so well as in such hands.

Along the Attick and Bœotian road, which we have left behind us, there is much to engage a diligent scrutiny, and much to justify minute description;—from the eastern gate, (which is a little more than half a mile from the village,) one jamb of which is yet standing, and the lintel of which is lying a few yards out of the road on the side of the valley, to the great place of tombs beyond, where is the famous sarcophagus, a beautiful relick, lately excavated. This, from the carelessness of the owner, who will not protect it, and of the government, who as yet have neither protected it nor permitted those to purchase it who would, is now daily suffering cruel mutilation. It was formed of one entire block of stainless white marble, more than nine feet long, the material of which is as bright as ever. But, either by the negligence of those who discovered and tried to raise it, or by a much less pardonable spirit of mischief since, it has been broken through in the midst, and two large fragments from the ends have been taken away. The relief on the front of the sarcophagus represents a boar chase, and the subject appears to have been continued along the two ends. The back is adorned with a scroll-work supported by chimæras. At a few feet from it lies, half buried in the earth, the slab that formed its covering, on which reposes a female figure of colossal size, wrapped in ample folds of finely sculptured drapery. This was the state in which, at the close of last summer, this fine monument was to be seen. But so rapidly was the spirit of wanton mutilation at work, that it may even by this time be much more defaced, and in all probability the

barbarous visitations of a few more idle strangers may soon reduce it to a mere scalped and shapeless mass of sparkling ruin. Some miles beyond this is the meeting of the roads, the *Τριόδος*, the scene of the bloody tragedy of Laius slain by the hands of his stepson *Œdipus*.

But we must now retrace our way, and, again passing through the village, ascend the steep ground which looks down upon it from the west. Here, leaving to the right a large fountain which stands high upon the hill, we see a curious tomb hollowed out from the bank of rock opposite the small church of St. Elias, below which, but probably at no great distance from it, stood the theatre. Thence mounting still beyond the remains of a part of the city wall, a fine specimen of what is called the second era of Cyclopean workmanship, we reach that lofty brow on which is the Pentathlon, where for ages were celebrated the Pythian games;—a glorious memorial, and in a state in which scarcely the ravages of time or of man have had or can have power to efface its traces. They are now fresh and clearly marked, as when on that ground, in the sight of assembled Greece, was kindled the bold ambition, and were rewarded the hardihood and skill of her sons, and as when the spirits of eloquence and song breathed over it to immortalize those contests by which they had been called forth. The throne of the judges, nearly in its pristine state, is hewn in the rock at the one end of the stadium, which, about fifty yards in breadth, stretches forth to a length of about six hundred yards towards the other end, where the boundary is somewhat less distinct. The side that overlooks the town, on the left hand of the judges, is lined with two rows of seats. These, though the large stones of which they were composed are in many parts removed or over-set, retain their general form. In many parts of the cliffs above niches are cut, which, like the recesses of an artificial theatre, all look towards that famous stage where champions, poets, orators, philosophers, contended for the crown which should ennoble at once themselves, their country, and their times.

To the right, as you face the city, lies the downward

path that leads you on your return to Cirrha. On the left a steep road winds to the mountain top, from which to the other side you pass among pine forests on your way to Mount Corycum and the foot of Parnassus.

II,

VOL. I. p. 132.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bonomi to the Secretary
of the Egyptian Literary Society.*

MY DEAR SIR,

Cairo, August 7, 1843.

DR. LEPSIUS, Mr. Abbikan, and myself, arrived in Cairo from the encampment of the Prussian mission in the Faioum, on the evening of the 20th of last month, to make preparations for the journey to the upper country.

On the 28th, at the rooms of the Ægyptian Society, our countryman Lane in the chair, Dr. Lepsius gave a most interesting account of his discoveries to a full meeting of the Society convened for that purpose. After congratulating the members and council on the excellent library which, by their judicious measures, had been collected and arranged, he complimented the late President, Mr. Linant, for his valuable memoir on the Lake Mœris, and then proceeded to explain at full length an obscure passage in Herodotus relating to the manner of building pyramids, producing at each stage of the argument satisfactory evidence taken from the monuments themselves, showing, as the father of history has recorded, that the growth and ultimate

casing of those remarkable structures was from the *top downwards*.

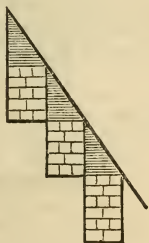
It being a custom connected with the religion of the Ancient Ægyptians to prepare during life an appropriate and solid abode for the dead, which, in the case of the sovereign, was a work of vast dimensions, it became necessary so to conduct the work that it might be periodically enlarged, and, at the same time, taking into consideration the uncertainty of life, that there should be a reasonable hope of terminating it in the prescribed form during that period.

At Thebes, Biban Elmaduck, this custom of preparing and enlarging the royal sepulchre during the life of the monarch is still more clearly exhibited, for the tombs in that part of Egypt consist of chambers excavated in the rocks; and it has been ascertained that those royal sepulchres which contain the greater number of chambers belong to Pharaohs, of whom it is known from history and other evidences that they enjoyed long and prosperous reigns.

This double purpose, viz., that of enlarging and completing during the life of the sovereign the royal sepulchres, was, with regard to pyramids, accomplished in the following manner:—A building in the form of three or more steps, or, more accurately speaking, three or more truncated pyramids placed on each other, the upper one being the smaller, was first built over the excavation or chamber desired to receive the royal mummy, serving as the nucleus of the future pyramid, and affording convenient spaces or terraces for machinery and scaffolding. This was gradually enlarged by first raising the upper step, and then the next, to the original level of the upper one; and the last to the height of the second, round the base of which a similar terrace was constructed: thus there remained only to complete the monument in the prescribed form, the filling up of the intervals, and the casing of the whole with fine stone, for which last operation it may be presumed the stones were prepared during the progress of the work.

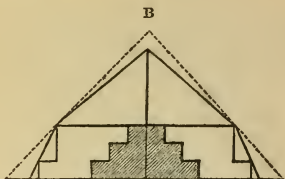


The Doctor then cited a remarkable pyramid of Dashour as illustrating the mode of construction alluded to by Herodotus, which he had endeavoured to explain. This pyramid is distinguished from other monuments of its class by a more rapid declination of its sides from about half its height, affording a sample also, as the Doctor imagines, of the premature demise of the sovereign *down* to the line when this more rapid inclination commences, and that it was afterwards completed in its present form by the successor, saving, by the deflexion of the angle, more than half the amount of the labour and material it would have cost had the original design been carried out.



It will be seen by the accompanying diagram that if, contrary to the direct statement of Herodotus and the evidence afforded by the pyramids of Sakhara, Maidour, &c., we were (as has been suggested) to suppose the lower half of this pyramid to have been the first part completed, and consequently that it had been intended to continue it in the same inclination to the apex B, not

only would it differ materially in its proportions from the other pyramids in its vicinity, but also must be relinquished all the constructional advantages afforded by the terraces or steps.



The Doctor then exhibited a selection from his folio of beautiful drawings, taken from the tombs of Geezeh and Sakhara, fraught with details of civil and political life, of the most ancient civilization, known to us by monumental evidence. He said that no less than eighty tombs had been drawn by the mission in the vicinity of the pyramid of Cheops, chiefly of princes and officers of the household of that Pharaoh from which might be drawn up a kind of Court Guide of Memphis of the remote period.

* * * * *

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours most truly,

J. B.

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