

MONASTERY OF SIMOPETRA MOUNT ATHOS.)

RESEARCHES

IN THE

DEPARTMENTAL
LIBRARY
C. 5

HIGHLANDS OF TURKEY;

INCLUDING

VISITS TO MOUNTS IDA, ATHOS, OLYMPUS, AND PELION,
TO THE MIRDITE ALBANIANS, AND
OTHER REMOTE TRIBES.

WITH NOTES ON THE BALLADS, TALES, AND CLASSICAL
SUPERSTITIONS OF THE MODERN GREEKS.

BY THE

REV. HENRY FANSHAWE TOZER, M.A., F.R.G.S.,
TUTOR AND LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—Vol. I.

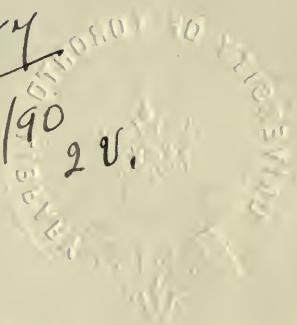
WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1869.

8557
21/11/90 2 v.



TO

THOMAS M. CROWDER, M.A., F.R.G.S.,

MY TRAVELLING COMPANION,

THESE PAGES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

13

PREFACE.

THE journeys, of which an account is given in these volumes, were made in the summers of 1853, 1861, and 1865. The first of these in order of time has been placed last in order of narration, as it is best suited to supplement the information given in the other two.

It has been my endeavour to compress what I have to say into a moderately narrow compass, excluding for the most part matters merely personal, together with the ordinary features of Eastern life and daily incidents of travel, with which most persons are by this time acquainted. At the same time I have discussed, to the best of my ability, the various questions—historical, antiquarian, and topographical—which such a tour naturally suggests, and have illustrated them by such information as I have been able to obtain.

Turkey is at present the least known of all the countries of Europe, yet few contain so much to reward the trouble of investigation. I shall be glad if I succeed in persuading any persons, who are desirous of leaving the beaten track of tourists, that there are no insuperable

difficulties in the way of travelling in the interior, even during the summer months. But in any case I shall be amply satisfied, if I am able to impart to my readers a fraction of the pleasure which the original tours furnished to myself.

Oxford, March 10, 1869.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

MOUNT IDA.

Departure from Constantinople—The Hellespont—The Plain of Troy—
Bunarbashi—An Earthquake—A wealthy Armenian—Rivers of
Greece and Asia Minor—Beyramitch—Evjilar—Guards and Robbers
—The Yuruk—Night Bivouac—Ascent of the Mountain—View
from the Summit—Its Flora—Descent to Turcoman Encampment—
Source of the Scamander—Return to Bunarbashi Page 1

CHAPTER II.

THE CITY AND PLAIN OF TROY.

The Springs at Bunarbashi—Mode of treating the Subject—Accuracy of
Homeric epithets and descriptions—Topography of the Iliad—The
Springs near Troy—Correspondence with those at Bunarbashi—The
Bali-dagh—Its Tumuli—View from it—Floods of the Mendere—
Site of Troy—The Ileian Plain—Excavations on the Bali-dagh—
Batieia—Atchi-keui—The Hanai-Tepe—Ilium Novum—Return to
the Dardanelles 22

CHAPTER III.

MOUNT ATHOS.

Departure for Mount Athos—Thasos—Cavalla—The Holy Mountain
—General Description—Vegetation, Scenery, and Climate—Rigorous
Fast—Monastery of Vatopedi—Its Opulence—School of Eugenius
Bulgaris—Village of Caryes—Exclusion of Females—The Holy
Synod—Monastic Dispute—Phases of Monastic Life—Revenues—
Numbers—Races—Pantocratoros—A Russian Dignitary—The Sand-
bath 50

CHAPTER IV.

MOUNT ATHOS (*continued*).

Monastery of Iveron — Description of it — The central Church — Byzantine Pictures — The Refectory — The Library — Miraculous Picture — Theory of Eastern Monastic Life — Occupations of the Monks — Their love of tranquillity — Fallmerayer influenced by it — Mysticism — Monastery of Philotheu — Caracalla — The Lavra — Relics and Jewellery — Retreat of “the Forerunner” — A Conversation on Canals — A Painter — Legends of the Peak — Ascent to the Summit — Festival of the Transfiguration — Light of Tabor	Page 76
--	---------

CHAPTER V.

MOUNT ATHOS (*continued*).

Descent to the Skete of St. Anne — St. Paul’s — A Monastic meal — St. Dionysius — St. Gregory’s — Simopetra — Russians and Greeks — Xeropotamu — Ancient diamonds — Xenophu — Docheiareiu — A Hermit — Constamonitu — Monastic group — Zographu — Chilandari — The Monks’ views of other Churches	107
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

MOUNT ATHOS (*continued*).

Canal of Xerxes — Sphigmenu — The Central Ridge — The Russian Monastery — Estimate of the Monastic System — The future of the Holy Mountain — History of the Community — Earliest Period — Time of the Comneni — Attack by the Latins — Time of the Palæologi — Cantacuzene — Theological Movements — Submission to the Turks — Later History	127
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

SALONICA TO MONASTIR.

Salonica — Its Triumphant Arches — Inscription — Population and History — The Egnatian Way — Roads in Turkey — The Vardar — Khans — Site of Pella — Yenidjé — Vodena — Its Beautiful Situation — The Ancient Edessa — Village and Lake of Ostrovo — Subterranean Channels — Gurnitzovo — Pigs in Turkey — Nidjé and Peristeri — Approach to Monastir	143
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

MONASTIR AND OCHRIDA.

Monastir — Its Importance — Massacre of the Albanian Beys — Monastery of Bukova — Plain of Monastir — Legend of the Temenidæ — Turkish Outrages — The Bulgarians — Their History — Bulgarian Church Movement — Monastir to Ochrida — Lake of Presba — Lake of Ochrida — The City — Ancient Statue and Crucifix — Legend of St. Clement — Cyril and Methodius — Statues and Pictures Page 166

CHAPTER IX.

OCHRIDA TO ELBASSAN.

The Menzil — Primitive Boats — The Drin at Struga — Roman Milestone — Bulgarian School — Kukus — Wild Mountain Road — Elbassan — Concealed Treasures — Illtreatment of Women — Value set on Water — The Albanians — Their Origin — Character — Riddles and Superstitions — Ghegs and Tosks — Albanian Heroes — History of Scanderbeg — Ballad on his Death 195

CHAPTER X.

BERAT TO CORFU.

Berat — Mount Tomohr — Local Chieftains — Castle of Berat — Siege under Scanderbeg — Malaria Fever — A Mountain Residence — Slavonic Names — Pass of Glava — The Viosa — Tepelen — Ali Pasha's Palace — Argyro-Castro — Albanians and Greeks — Pass of Mount Sopotî — Delvino — River Vistritza — Lake of Butrinto — Departure for Corfu 218

CHAPTER XI.

MONTENEGRO.

Journey in 1865 — Coast of Dalmatia — Bocche di Cattaro — Austrian Defences — Views of the Black Mountain — Cattaro — The Scala — Approach to Montenegro — Niégush — Laborious Agriculture — Montenegrin Dress — Destruction of Forests — Mount Lövchen — Plain of Cetinjé — History of Montenegro — The Vladika or Prince-Bishop — Sicilian Vespers of Montenegro — Episode of Stephen the Little — The Two Last Vladikas 234

CHAPTER XII.

MONTENEGRO (*continued*).

Cetinjë — Political Constitution of the Country — Population and Revenue — Need of a Port — The Monastery — Right of Asylum — The Archi- mandrite and Bishop — The Montenegrin Church — Ecclesiastical Views — Feeling of the People towards England — Piesmas or National Songs — Sitting of the Senate — The Crédit Mobilier — Prince Nicolas — Mirkho — Descent to Rieka — Estimate of the Montenegrins — Their Political Importance — Atrocious Murder — Lake of Scodra — Fishery — Pelicans	Page 253
---	----------

CHAPTER XIII.

SCODRA AND THE MIRDITA.

Bazaars and City of Scodra — Vendetta — Turkish Toleration — Turks and Montenegrins — Ismael Pasha — The Castle — View from it — Sieges — Departure for the Mirdita — The Drin — First Impressions of the Mir- dita — Night-bivouac — Mirdite Dress — Extensive Oak-forests — The Priest of St. George — Religious Views of the People — Their Fana- ticism — Rivers of the Country — Arrival at Orosch	280
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MIRDITA (*continued*).

The Mirdite Prince — History of his Family — Political Constitution of the Mirdita — Administration of Justice — Fraternal Friendships — Ravages of the Vendetta — The Prince's Hospitality — Derivation of the name Mirdite — Excursion to the Monte Santo — View from it — Topography of the Country — Capture of Wives — McLennan on 'Primitive Marriage' — Prevalence of the Custom of Exogamy — Bride-racing — Mirdite Wives Mahometans	302
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

OROSCH TO PRISREND.

Departure from Orosch — A Native Guide — The Bertiscus Mountains — Mirdite Shepherds' Encampment — Mode of Divination — Junction of Black and White Drin — A Nocturnal Visitor — Prisrend — The Kaima- kam — Turkish Administration — The Castle — View from it — Churches — Visit of Dr. Barth — The Roman Catholic Archbishop — Popula- tion — Concealed Christians — Their Origin, History, and Present Con- dition	327
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

PRISREND TO USKIUB.

The Scardus Pass — Its Flora — View from the Summit — Calcandele — The Khanji and the Mudir — Former Condition of the Country — Hereditary Pashas — The Tettovo — Mount Liubatrin — The Vardar — Uskiub — Its History — General Geography of the Country — District East of Scardus — District West of Scardus — The Kurschumli-khan — Ancient Clock-tower — Justinian's Aqueduct — Circassian Colony.
Page 350

CHAPTER XVII.

THE VARDAR VALLEY.

Justinian's Birthplace — Kiuprili — Unexplored Route to Salonica — The Site of Stobi — Negotin — Banja — Demirkapu or Iron Gate of the Vardar — Boats Shooting the Rapids — Traffic to Perlepe — Lower Course of the River — Ardjen Lake — Avret Hissar — Arrival at Salonica — Railway Route across Turkey — Lines to India — Migrations of Labourers — Commercial Treaty with England — The Eastern Question — Greek and Slavonic Races — Future Prospects of Turkey .. 371

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. I.



Monastery of Simopetra (Mount Athos)	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
Map of the Plain of Troy	p. 23
Map of Mount Athos	p. 53
Monastery of Iveron (Mount Athos)	<i>to face p. 76</i>
Orosch ; residence of the Mirdite Prince	<i>to face p. 300</i>
Map of the Highlands of Turkey	<i>at end of volume.</i>

THE HIGHLANDS OF TURKEY.

CHAPTER I.

MOUNT IDA.

Departure from Constantinople — The Hellespont — The Plain of Troy — Bunarbashi — An Earthquake — A wealthy Armenian — Rivers of Greece and Asia Minor — Beyramitch — Evjilar — Guards and Robbers — The Yuruk — Night Bivouac — Ascent of the Mountain — View from the Summit — Its Flora — Descent to Turcoman Encampment — Source of the Scamander — Return to Bunarbashi.

ON the evening of the last day of July, 1861, I left Constantinople by one of the Austrian Lloyd's steamers, in company with an old travelling companion, Mr. Crowder, bound in the first instance for the Dardanelles and the Plains of Troy. We had spent the three previous weeks partly at the Turkish capital, and partly at the delightful old Ottoman city of Brusa in Asia Minor, in making preparations for a succession of journeys into the interior, and acclimatising ourselves in some degree to the heat of a southern summer, a precaution which is almost necessary after a rapid transition from a northern climate. Constantinople can now be reached in a week from England by two different routes. Persons who are not averse to a sea voyage can take the express French steamers from Marseilles, which only stop at Messina and Athens on the

way ; while those who prefer a land route have the option of going by Vienna and the Danube, from the lower course of which river a line of railway, crossing the base of the Dobrudscha, leads to Kustendji on the Black Sea ; from that point there is only a short sea passage to the capital. Our travelling servant, whose name, as he accompanied us on two separate occasions, I will mention once for all at starting, was George Jacouthis, a Greek of Constantinople, and the best dragoman I have ever met with. His knowledge of Eastern languages was excellent, and his versatility in adapting himself to the emergencies of rough travelling in countries wholly unknown to him, and his freedom from any desire to take the lead or make difficulties, were qualities such as one seldom finds in men of his occupation. Besides this, he possessed unfailing good humour, and, what is rarer still, the most scrupulous honesty. To him we have good reason to ascribe much of the comfort which we enjoyed on our expeditions.

On the 1st of August we landed at the town of the Dardanelles, which lies on the Asiatic side, about half way down the strait. Our first care was to procure horses, for, as there are no roads in Turkey, but only paths and tracks, all the travelling has to be performed on horseback. By the assistance of Mr. Frederic Calvert, who at that time was the English consul, we obtained the number we required from one of the carriers of the country, who are usually willing to enter into an arrangement of this kind, as it is more profitable than their ordinary occupation of transporting merchandize. In such cases the horses are accompanied either by the owner himself, or by some person employed by him. Our baggage was of the lightest description. In addition to railway rugs to sleep on, and bags to serve as a

protection against vermin at night, we carried only a few knives, forks, and tin plates, together with a supply of coffee, sugar, and brandy, but nothing else except clothes and books ; in this way all our belongings could easily be strapped on one horse.

We started in the afternoon of the same day, and rode along the coast under the sandy hills, which, on the Asiatic as well as the European side, border the winding waters of the Hellespont. The strangeness of the appearance of this "ocean stream" is not diminished by a nearer acquaintance, forming as it does so narrow, and apparently so slight, a boundary between two great continents. Yet in reality it has been a most effectual barrier to prevent communication between them. Even now, the Slavonic tribes, which form the bulk of the population of European Turkey, are nowhere found in Asia ; nor have the Turcomans and other nomad races, which inhabit the mountains of Asia Minor, at any point penetrated into Europe. Still, it is in reality but a salt-water river ; and that it was regarded as such in ancient times is clear from the epithet "broad" which is applied to it by classical writers, and which would be unsuitable if it was conceived of as a sea.

The sun was setting when we came in sight of the open sea. The splendid forms of Imbros and Samothrace were standing out against the orange light ; but we looked in vain for Athos in the far west, though we knew that it ought to be visible when the daylight was not too bright, from having seen it on a former visit from the hills above. At last, when the twilight was far advanced, half an hour after sunset, its strange conical peak appeared above the waters, like an effect in a diorama, and continued to be distinctly seen until night came on. It is here between 90 and 100 miles off. It was dark when

we reached the Plains of Troy, across which we had to find our way as best we could, passing here and there over narrow wooden bridges which span a number of estuaries and lagoons; the furthest of these is at the mouth of the Mendere, the principal river of the plain, the ancient Scamander. Late at night we arrived at the village of Yenishehr, the Sigeum of classical times, which stands on a hill at the north-west angle of the plain, overlooking the Ægean. Here we were lodged at the house of a Greek priest called Hadji Papas, or the "Pilgrim Father," for the name Hadji, which properly belongs to Mahometan pilgrims to Mecca, is applied by the Christians to those of their body who have visited Jerusalem.

From this place is seen the whole of the Trojan plain, which is seven miles in length from north to south, and varies from two to three in breadth, enclosed on the two sides by low ranges of hills, on which are numerous tumuli. Instead of being a green swamp, as it is during the winter and early spring, it had now a brown, or rather, when seen from a distance, a golden hue, from the crops having been lately removed; in contrast to which the serpentine course of the Mendere formed a conspicuous object, from the line of willow trees by which its banks are shaded. On the opposite side appeared the site of Ilium Novum, the form of an ancient theatre, excavated in the slope of the hill, being distinctly visible. To the south-east, at a distance of 30 miles in a direct line, the view is bounded by the heights of Mount Ida, which are clearly seen from all the lower parts of the plain, overtopping the nearer mountains. Towards the Hellespont appeared the shining surfaces of the lagoons which we had crossed the night before, and the Turkish castle of Kumkaleh, one of the two which guard the

entrance of the strait on the European and Asiatic shore respectively. On the slope of the hill of Yenishehr, where it begins to sink down towards the village of Kumkaleh, are the two tumuli of Achilles and Patroclus; or rather, perhaps, the second is that of Antilochus, for it would seem that the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus were ultimately deposited in the same tomb.¹ Their mound is described by Homer as serving for a landmark to sailors when passing the headland.² None of these objects were new to us, for we had both of us explored the plains eight years before; on this occasion our object was to examine more minutely some points in connection with the topography of the district, and to penetrate further into the interior.

The following morning we proceeded along the foot of the western range of hills in the direction of Bunarbashi, the village which lies at the head of the plain. The peasants whom we passed were mostly employed in threshing, the operation being performed by cattle drawing a hurdle on which a man was standing. It was easy to distinguish a Greek and a Turkish threshing-floor. In the latter everything was transacted with a dignified solemnity, while, on the other hand, the lively Greeks might be seen poking fun at one another with a strong sense of enjoyment. When we had ridden about halfway we crossed the river of Bunarbashi, a full and clear, though narrow, stream, which at one period must have been a tributary of the Mendere (for the old channel is traceable which joined the two), but now flows into Besika Bay through an artificial cutting in the hills. It was partly, I believe, in consequence of the nearness of this, which, unlike so many of the rivers of the Ægean,

¹ Hom. Od. xxiv. 76 foll.

² Ibid. 82 foll.

suffers no diminution of its supply of water during the summer months, that the neighbouring harbour—now, as of old, “a treacherous station for ships”³—was chosen for the allied fleets in the summer of 1853, before the commencement of the Russian war. We followed it up to its source at Bunarbashi, where it gushes out from a number of springs in the limestone rocks in the midst of a plantation of willows, fig-trees, and agnus castus bushes. This position is one of considerable importance in connection with the topography of Troy; but we will not enter on that subject at present, as it may be more convenient to defer it until after our return from Mount Ida.

At the principal house in this village we were entertained by a Greek, who farmed a considerable amount of ground in the neighbourhood. He was an intelligent man; and his son, he told me, was at a “higher school” at the Dardanelles—one of the many excellent schools which are found in those towns of Turkey where the Greeks are congregated: there he was taught modern languages as well as ancient Greek. As I was sitting on the divan in one of the upper rooms, suddenly the house was violently shaken, and there was a sound of cracking and breaking in the lower story. “What is that!” I exclaimed. “It is an earthquake,” he replied, quite quietly, like one accustomed to it; and then added that they were not uncommon in those parts, and that the great shock which destroyed a portion of the city of Brusa in 1855 had been felt there. It is to the frequent occurrence of these throughout Greece and Asia Minor, both in ancient and modern times, that the extraordinary disappearance of the old temples is for the most part to

³ “*Statio malefida carinis*,” *Virg.*, *Æn.* ii. 23.

be referred. No doubt the hand of man has had much to do with the work of destruction, as squared blocks of stone are too tempting objects to be spared in a country where quarrying is almost unknown; but this cause would not be sufficient in itself to explain the downfall of so many massive buildings, especially in remote parts of the country.⁴

On the occasion of our former visit, in 1853, we passed a night at this farm, at which time it was occupied by an Armenian named Meyerditch. This man's subsequent history shows that, though in the remoter parts of Turkey life and property are insecure, yet in the more favoured districts, and where European consuls are able to exercise supervision, an intelligent and active man may rise rapidly. We found him studying a French and Armenian grammar, in hopes of having some commercial transactions with the allied fleets, which were then lying together in the neighbouring harbour. This augured well for his future prospects; and on inquiring for him eight years afterwards, we found that he had become quite a great man, had travelled in Syria, and was the proprietor of several farms about ten miles off. At one of these we stopped on our return from Ida, and witnessed the curious sight of thirty Turkish women employed as labourers to shell and pound the Valonia acorns, working and chattering through their close veils, under the supervision of a taskmaster. The owner himself was absent at Smyrna, where he had gone to be married, having no doubt made a good match among the far-famed ladies of that city. Anything relating to the Armenians is interesting, because from their wealth and ability they are likely to have a considerable share in deciding the Eastern question. So

⁴ Of Laconia in particular Strabo says, εὐσειστος ἡ Λακωνική. (viii. 5, § 7.)

great is their national vitality and the hold their religion has upon them, that Haxthausen, in his 'Transcaucasia,' has given it as his opinion that, dispersed as they are throughout the whole of Asia, it is their mission to overpower Mahometanism by the united power of Christianity and civilisation. And as regards their capacity for business, Mr. Curzon has wittily remarked, that while it takes four Turks to cheat one Frank, two Franks to cheat one Greek, and two Greeks to cheat one Jew, it takes six Jews to cheat one Armenian. In most points their character is a great contrast to that of the Greeks. One of the American missionaries at Constantinople, who had educated a great number of young men of both nations, told me that he found the Greek mind the better of the two for the study of scientific subjects, and fonder of them; but that the Armenian mind was far deeper and soberer, and suited to embrace moral and religious truth. Some Armenians read (and understand) Butler's 'Analogy.'

It has been remarked of the principal rivers of Greece and Asia Minor that there is a striking resemblance in the general features of their courses. Each of them rises in a lofty mountain range opposite the coast, and from thence descends into an inland plain bounded at the sides by transverse spurs, which run off from the main chain. At the lower extremity of this, where the mountains close in, the river passes by a narrow gorge into another plain, through which it flows into the sea. This is exactly the case with the Mendere. Rising in Mount Ida, which runs from west to east, facing the Hellespont, it flows successively through the plain of Beyramitch and the Trojan plain, which are separated from one another by a confined valley, several miles in length, at the northern termination of which stands the hill of Bunarbashi. It

was through this valley that the first part of our route lay on the way to Mount Ida. In order to reach it, we had to cross the low ridge which connects the hill of Bunarbashi with the chain to the west; on descending from which we passed over a small tract of fertile ground, which those who have fixed the site of Troy on the neighbouring height have regarded as the Ileian plain.⁵ The principal vegetation here, as in all the more level parts of the surrounding district, is the Valonia oak (the ancient *βάλανος*), the husk of the acorn of which is used in tanning, and is exported from hence in considerable quantities. The sides of the river are fringed with plane-trees, and the sandy hills, which close in the valley, are covered with pines. Owing to the narrowness of its bed, the Mendere in the winter time, when the floods come down from Mount Ida, often rises to a great height above its banks. The valley continues to wind with pretty scenery for some ten miles, until the upper plain is reached; at the western end of which, on a tributary of the Mendere, is the town of Enach, the ancient Neandria. We entered it about nightfall, passing a fine cypress-grove and a burial-ground on the way, and took up our quarters at the house of a hospitable Armenian, to whom we had an introduction.

The next morning we rode, in four hours, along the plain to Beyramitch, the chief town of the district and the residence of Achmet Bey, the governor. The ground was in parts left untilled, but where it was cultivated the crops were fine, and the farming seemed better than in most parts of Turkey. On the way we met strings of camels, bringing down the produce of the interior to the sea: over our heads large flights of storks were wheeling

⁵ Il. xxi. 558.

about in the air. The heat at this time was very great at midday, but was modified by a refreshing breeze from the north-east—the same, in all probability, which blows down the Bosphorus with little intermission during the summer months, and gives employment to the number of tug-steamers which ply between the sea of Marmora and the Black Sea. The governor, at whose house we made our midday halt, was a portly person dressed in European costume, which looked out of place in the midst of his gaily attired guards. He had a depressed look, and I have since heard that, like so many of the Turkish upper class, he is a great drunkard; but to an Englishman he may fairly assume a romantic aspect, as he is great-grandson of Byron's Giaffir in the 'Bride of Abydos,' who was governor of the Dardanelles. When, however, he was once asked by an English acquaintance whether he had had a great-aunt called Zuleika, he reflected a little, then shook his head vacantly, and replied, "Allah knows!"

The town of Beyramitch, the population of which is principally Turkish, is a place of some size, prettily situated on a hill-side at the edge of the plain, and surmounted by a conspicuous grove of superb pine-trees, which here, as well as in other places in the neighbourhood, serve instead of cypresses to mark the cemeteries, the graves being distinguished by ovals of stones. From this place to Evjilar, which was to be our starting-point for the ascent of Ida, the usual route lies through the plain; but, as it was circuitous, in consequence of the projecting spurs which are here thrown out by the mountain, we preferred to follow a less frequented track over the hills. After a light repast on stewed cucumbers and cold maccaroni pancakes, which made us regret the more liberal hospitality of our humbler entertainers, we started

again on our way in the midst of magnificent scenery, the whole range of Ida being displayed on our right, stretching from east to west in a long line of wooded heights of beautiful form, broken only here and there by transverse buttresses. When we had proceeded some distance we missed our path, and, in the course of our wanderings among the hills, came upon an encampment of Turcomans with their flocks, who were living in huts composed of branches and leaves. Ultimately, however, we arrived before sunset at our destination, Evjilar, a small Turkish village, composed of rude cottages, on the banks of the Mendere.

The river had changed considerably in appearance since we last saw it near Enaeh. Instead of being a broad and tranquil piece of water, it had now all the characteristics of a Devonshire trout-stream, including among them the excellent small trout which abound in it; indeed, when we looked along its glancing waters, rippling among the rocks, we might easily have fancied ourselves in that county of England, had it not been for the Oriental plane-trees by which it is shaded. Just below the village is a rustic wooden bridge, the view from which is exquisitely romantic. Looking up the confined valley in which the crystal river flows, you see the picturesque wooded spurs which descend on either side of it from the main chain, beyond which rises the great mountain itself, clothed with dark forests until within a thousand feet of the summit, which rises bold and bare, a mass of grey limestone surmounting all.

The house in which we were lodged was a mill belonging to an old Turk, close to the stream, and commanding a view of the place where the young men of the village came to fetch water. It was in itself a refreshing sight to see the luxurious enjoyment with which they waded

into the river after depositing their pitchers on the bank, then performed their ablutions, took a long draught, and at last leisurely rinsed and filled their vessels, as if the whole process were too delightful to be carelessly hurried over. For ourselves, however, we were glad to find that the water was deep enough for bathing—

“Beneath the plane-tree’s shade,
Whence flows the glittering stream”—

though swimming was hardly practicable. On the evening of our arrival, that we might have provisions for our mountain-excursion, we bought a kid for about four shillings, and, as it was skinned in our presence, we had an opportunity of seeing the way in which the operation is performed in these countries. After its throat had been cut, an incision was made in one of the hind legs, to which the operator applied his mouth and blew until the whole carcase was inflated beneath the skin, after which the rest of the process was accomplished with perfect ease.

We found that the friendly Bey had sent after us two guards and a *cavass*, or armed attendant (something between a footman and a gendarme), to serve as an escort on the mountain. This move was not to our liking, as we had found by previous experience that such gentry are an expense and an impediment, and in case of any real danger they are certain to leave you in the lurch. Accordingly, we did not hesitate long between politeness and expediency, but dismissed two of them; retaining one, whom we discovered to be well acquainted with the mountain paths, to serve as a guide. Subsequently, however, we were told by a competent local authority that it would have been wiser to take them, as there are generally several gangs of robbers on Mount

Ida—men who have run away from the conscription, or deserted from the Turkish army, and find the life of an outlaw the best suited to their circumstances—and that though the guard would have been no protection in case of falling in with them, yet, if you are accompanied by an escort when you are robbed, you can claim compensation from the authorities. But even then the delay involved in this process is such as few travellers can afford.

Between two and three o'clock the next afternoon we started to ascend the mountain. Our guide was a middle-aged Turk, a short but strong and active man, who carried in his belt a magazine of small arms—yataghans, pistols, and other weapons. We followed the easternmost of the two streams into which the river divides, and when we reached the foot of Ida began to mount gradually by a sloping path overlooking the most lovely dells imaginable, in the midst of a mixed vegetation of plane, oak, chestnut, fir, pine, alder, and arbutus. In one of these glades we found a tribe of Yuruk with their flocks. This race and the Turcomans are remains of the nomads by whom Asia Minor was occupied at a period anterior perhaps to the rise of the Ottomans. The two races are distinct; for, though the contrary of this has been stated,⁶ yet the Osmanlis in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles declare that they will not intermarry with one another, and have other marked points of difference. Thus the Yuruk are Mahometans, while the Turcomans are thought to have no religion, or, if they have any, it is a mystery, and they are reported to keep

⁶ *E.g.*, in the article *Turkey* in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' It has also been attempted to show that Yuruk and Turk are the same name, an early form of which is supposed to be found in the *Iyrææ*, a hunting tribe mentioned by Herodotus; but this is improbable on every ground.

the Jewish Sabbath. Again, the Yuruk are wholly pastoral; but the Turcomans, in addition to the care of their flocks, employ themselves in cutting wood and collecting pitch, which they sell. In many parts of these forests we observed trees which were black and charred, and on inquiry we learned that they are fired in order to extract the pitch from them. The pitch of Ida was famous also in ancient times.⁷ The natives of these parts, too, are fond, we were told, of burning the trees for amusement, as a resinous pine serves admirably for a firework. It is a wonder that great conflagrations do not arise from time to time from this cause when the woods are dry, but we could not discover traces of any on a large scale.⁸

One object which we had in view, when we started on our expedition, was to visit the sources of the Scamander, which were said to flow from a fine cavern on the mountain side. Accordingly our guide, who had been properly instructed on this subject, conducted us up a side valley, near the spot where we had seen the Yuruk, to the mouth of a cavern, below which flowed one of the tributaries of the stream. Here he drew his yataghan, and after cleaving a pine branch into a number of small pieces, in a short time constructed a torch, which he lighted, and entered the cave. We followed him for some distance, crawling along with difficulty, up and down, through a narrow passage in the limestone rock, which was honeycombed by the action of water. However, when we had proceeded some 60 feet, finding it led to

⁷ "Idæas pices," Virg. Georg. iii. 450.

⁸ That this used to happen in ancient times is evident from the Homeric simile:—

ἦύτε πῦρ ἀΐδηλον ἐπιφλέγει ἕσπετον ὕλην
οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῆς, ἕκαθεν δέ τε φαίνεται αὐγή.—Il. ii. 455, 6.

nothing, we returned somewhat disconsolate, feeling that we had explored a curious cavern, but *not* the source of the Scamander. It bears the name of "the Lidja," *i.e.* "the refuge," being so called apparently from its suitability for a place of concealment. Persons who have travelled in the desert will remember that this name (for it is an Arabic word imported into Turkish) belongs also to the sacred valley in Sinai, in which is the "rock of Moses." No reason has been assigned, as far as I know, why it should have been attached to that place, but it may have been from its having at one period afforded shelter to numerous pilgrims.⁹

From this point we proceeded to mount on foot, driving our horses with difficulty before us, as in many places there was no track, and the wood was tangled or obstructed by felled trees. Towards sunset we emerged from the forest on to the open face of the mountain, commanding an extensive view towards the north; and after making our way along this for some distance, selected a sheltered place for our bivouac, by the side of a tiny spring among the trees a little below the limit of vegetation. There are numerous and copious sources of water about the lower slopes of "many-fountained" Ida, but in these upper regions there are remarkably few. We subsequently found a fine spring between our resting-place and the summit, but its position was too exposed to allow of our camping near it. Our dragoman and the Turkish guide set to work at once to pile logs of wood and trunks of trees together, and made a huge bonfire, as well to keep off the cold as to scare the jackals and other unwelcome visitors, for this mountain is still what Homer described it, the "mother of wild beasts." That

⁹ See Ritter's 'Erdkunde,' xiv. p. 603.

there is abundance of game in these woods is shown by the name of the place from which we started, Evjilar, which signifies "the hunter's village." We all partook of supper off the kid, which had been roasted whole before our departure, and then composed ourselves to sleep round the fire. There was bright starlight, but no moon. On the Greek festival of the prophet Elijah, to whom the summits of many of the Greek mountains are dedicated,¹⁰ a large number of people from the neighbouring villages, sometimes as many as 300, pass the night on the mountain-side, and afterwards have service on the top. The modern Greeks, like their heathen forefathers, are everywhere fond of consecrating high peaks; but Ida has something of a sacred character about it, for it is mentioned by the mediæval Byzantine writers, together with Athos and Olympus, as having had in those times a number of monasteries and cells built along its sides. The ruins of some of these remained until the beginning of the present century.

The spreading daylight at last warned us that we must be up and on our way to the summit. When we emerged from among the firs we commenced the steep ascent over bare slopes and broken fragments of rock, and after an hour's climbing reached "topmost Gargarus," which is 5750 feet high,¹¹ but commands from its position a more

¹⁰ This circumstance is usually explained by the supposition, that in consequence of the great sacrifice on Mount Carmel, Elijah came to be regarded in the Greek Church as a patron of high places. Independently of this, when we consider the way in which heathen names and customs were adapted to Christian purposes in early times, it is far from improbable that from the similarity of names Elias was made to take the place of the Greek Helios, who possessed sanctuaries on many of the Greek mountains. (See Wachsmuth, 'Das alte Griechenland im neuen,' p. 23.)

¹¹ This measurement is taken from the Admiralty Chart, the most trustworthy authority. It is given by Choiseul Gouffier as 775 toises, *i.e.*, 4650 French feet, or 5084 English feet. In Smith's 'Dictionary of Geography

than proportionately fine prospect. We had mounted at a good pace, but the sun was before us, and had risen half an hour when we arrived. The view was clear and cloudless, but the horizon was obscured by mist, as it usually is during the summer months in the Ægean, except now and then at sunrise. This effect contrasts somewhat strikingly with the distinctness of the nearer objects, and seems to be what Homer intends to express by the epithet *ἠεροειδής*, which is applied to "the *dim* sea," and is also used of "the *far* distance," for objects as much as 80 miles off may be seen notwithstanding.

The view towards the north had been gradually opening before us during our ascent; but that towards the south, which was far more beautiful, burst on us at once when we reached the summit. Far below, and separated from us only by a succession of finely-wooded mountain spurs, was the deep bay of Adramyttium, whose blue waters were dotted here and there with white sails; at its head was an alluvial plain stretching inland, while about its mouth the sea was studded with a number of small islands, the Hecatonnesi; beyond which rose the two peaks of Lesbos, separated from one another by an inlet; and far in the distance the heights of Chios, and on the neighbouring mainland those near Smyrna. To the south-east, as we looked into the interior of Asia Minor, range beyond range of mountains appeared, the last and highest of which was probably Mount Tmolus. We also conjectured that the easternmost peaks were the summits of the Mysian Olympus, on which we had been standing only a few weeks before. The view is

(s.v. *Ida*), the height is wrongly stated as being 4650 English feet, the mistake having probably arisen from copying the numbers in Kiepert's map.

divided into two parts by the long dorsal ridge of Ida, thickly clothed with the pine forests from which it derives its name (*ἰδῆ*, wood), and reaching from far away in the east to where it sinks into the sea at Cape Lectum, the point at which, according to Homer's description,¹² Hera landed in the company of the God of Sleep, when about to meet Zeus on Gargarus, and from whence she ascended over the heights, leaving her companion to keep watch on one of the lofty pines. Turning to the north, we looked over the plains we had crossed, and the hilly district which stretches towards the Propontis; then the Hellespont came in view, the Plains of Troy, and the Hill of Sigeum, Tenedos with its white town, the Thracian Chersonese, and the broken outline of Imbros, beyond which, in the dim distance, as we stood ourselves on the watch-tower of Zeus, from whence he used to survey the combats of Greeks and Trojans, we descried far away the lofty peak of Samothrace, the station of Poseidon.

The flowers on and about the summit were numerous and varied, considering the stony character of the soil. Among those that I found were *dianthus neglectus*, *gypsophila cretica*, *pterocephalus plumosus*, *genista tinctoria*, *viola calcarata*, *scabiosa holocerisia*, *centaurea aurea*, *thymus angustifolius*, *allium carinatum*. As the floras of high mountains are interesting for purposes of comparison, I will here mention those that I found shortly before this on the Mysian Olympus: *saxifraga porophylla*, *dianthus leucophæus*, *vesicaria utriculata*, *galium purpureum*, *scilla bifolia*, *pedicularis comosa*, *leucanthemum cebennense*, *alysum compactum*, *myosotis alpestris*, *erigeron alpinus*, *arenaria grandiflora*, *anthyllis montana*, *ranunculus montanus*, *androsace villosa*.

¹² Il. xiv. 284.

The cold was very great while we were on the summit, from the keenness of the east wind ; and accordingly, after staying there more than an hour, we were glad to return to our bivouac, from whence we descended with our horses by a steeper route than that which we had followed on the previous day, to a small open plateau on the mountain-side. In this were pitched the tents of a tribe of Turcomans, the most important we had yet met with, who were encamped here during the summer months. These tents were circular in form, and rounded towards the top, where there was an aperture ; they were composed of light trellis-work covered with felt, and seemed comfortably furnished inside with carpets and cushions. Though unlike any that I had ever seen before, they correspond in all their features to the description of the tents of the Calmuck Tartars. Their occupants had rather broad faces, high cheek-bones, black eyes, and swarthy complexions. The women were not veiled, and wore coins strung in their hair. One of them was occupied in making butter by the somewhat laborious process of rolling backwards and forwards on the ground a goatskin in which the cream was contained ; others were baking flat cakes on metal plates over a fire. They seemed pleased to see us, and brought us some coffee and a bowl of milk. The children were disporting themselves, in true-English fashion, in swings attached to branches of the trees, showing the primæval character of that pastime. If for no other reason, these tribes are interesting as enabling us to realise what the Ottomans were before Othman's time ; for that people differed in no respect from the surrounding tribes, except in having a strongly marked character and settled purpose, which ultimately raised them to be one of the greatest nations that the world has seen. The monogram of the Sultan

is to this day an evidence of this early stage in their history; for, though now an elaborate specimen of calligraphy, it represents the old sign-manual, which was made by dipping the palm in ink and leaving its print on the paper. Few things in history are more striking than to watch a family or tribe, like the Hellenes in ancient Greece, the Ottomans, and many others, eliminating themselves in this manner by a process of natural selection, and rising above their neighbours.

Leaving our horses to follow us, we scrambled down a steep hill-side from the plateau into a gorge below, on the opposite side of which a pretty waterfall shot over the face of the rock. We clambered up a cliff by the side of this, and reached the entrance of a cavern, on descending into which we again came upon the stream, as it was hurrying along in the darkness to the point where it issued forth and formed the cascade. Again our guide's yataghan was called into requisition, and when a pine-torch had been made and lighted, we bared our feet and legs and waded up the stream, which was icy cold and deliciously refreshing after the temperature of the outer air, the heat of which had already become oppressive. After we had proceeded in this way for several hundred feet, the cavern opened out into a spacious hall, the sides of which rose gradually to a groove at the top, as in the "Ear of Dionysius," at Syracuse. At the farther end of this the clear water burst forth from the bowels of the earth. This was the source of the Scamander—a striking origin for any stream, from the grandeur of the cave and the copiousness of the water, which is almost a river at its birth, but from its mysterious seclusion especially suited to be the fountain-head of one of the great Homeric rivers. Its existence is just noticed by Strabo;¹³ the

¹³ xiii. I. § 43.

inhabitants of the neighbourhood call it Buyuk Magara, *i. e.*, the Great Cavern. Before we returned to daylight our Turk fired off one of his pistols, and the effect of this was remarkable; for when the brawling of the stream was silenced by the reverberations, it seemed as if the water had suddenly ceased to flow.

From this point we descended to Evjilar, and from thence made our way the same evening through the plain to Beyramitch, where we were once more received by Achmet Bey. On our return journey to the Plains of Troy we diverged from our former route at Enaeh, in order to visit the fine Roman remains of Alexandria Troas; these, however, have been described sufficiently often to render it unnecessary for me to notice them. It is owing to the British ambassador that they are still in existence; for, had it not been for his remonstrances, the Turkish authorities would have blown them up, and carried away the stones as materials for building the arsenal at Constantinople. About half-way between Enaeh and this place is a hill called Chigri, which deserves more notice than it has hitherto attracted. It is a long and lofty mass of granite, on which are fine remains of a Greek city, with Hellenic walls built in parallel courses of masonry, of which in some places as many as fourteen remain; but it has not been satisfactorily identified with any ancient site. By the middle of the next day we had returned to Bunarbashi, at the head of the plain of Troy.

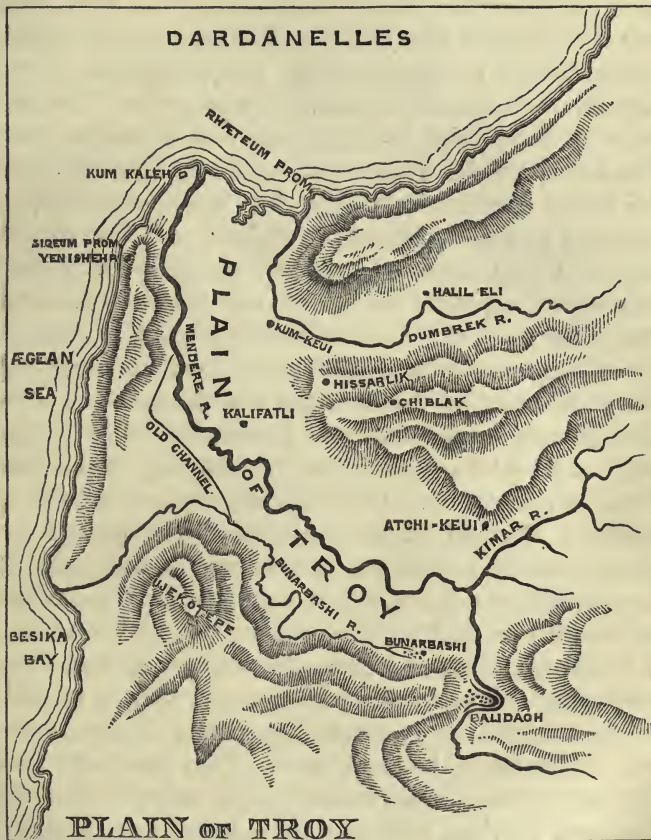
CHAPTER II.

THE CITY AND PLAIN OF TROY.

The Springs at Bunarbashi — Mode of treating the Subject — Accuracy of Homeric epithets and descriptions — Topography of the Iliad — The Springs near Troy — Correspondence with those at Bunarbashi — The Bali-dagh — Its Tumuli — View from it — Floods of the Mendere — Site of Troy — The Ilean Plain — Excavations on the Bali-dagh — Bateia — Atchi-keui — The Hanai-Tepe — Ilium Novum — Return to the Dardanelles.

JUST before reaching the village of Bunarbashi, we once more passed the springs from which its name, "the Head of the Waters," is derived. The springs themselves are called Kirke Gheuz, or "the Forty Eyes." As these have been the most important point in Homeric topography, ever since their discovery by Lechevalier towards the end of the last century, and as the question of the site of the city of Troy depends in no slight degree upon them, I propose that we should examine them with some care, and make them a starting-point from which to notice the principal objects and features of the country that seem to correspond to those which Homer describes. The plain of Troy has been a battle-field, not only of heroes, but of scholars and geographers, and the works which have been written on the subject form a literature to themselves. In this discussion, and the investigation of minute details which it involves, I do not wish to entangle my readers, but will confine myself for the present to some of the most general conclusions, referring those who are interested in the question to the

Appendix at the end of Volume II.¹ But, before entering on the subject at all, it is necessary to premise a few



The Plain of Troy.

remarks on the way in which the Homeric topography ought to be treated.

In the first place, it is well to remember that the state-

¹ See Appendix A, On the Topography of Troy.

ments of an ancient epic poet ought not to be criticised, as they have been by some writers, in the spirit of a land-surveyor. To take the numbers which the poet gives, and the distances which he describes, as a basis for exact calculation, is to disregard the poetic element in the narrative, and to treat verse as if it were prose. Numbers must be mentioned in the poem, and distances must, here and there, be either stated or implied, for otherwise the action would lack reality; but these are not to be regarded as literal statements of fact. All that we can expect is, that what is introduced should be in accordance with the general conception, and that the probabilities of the case should not be rudely violated; though even here considerable allowance must be made for poetic licence: as where Helen on the walls of Troy distinguishes and describes to Priam and his councillors the Greek chieftains who are marshalling their forces far off on the plain. In like manner we must not be surprised if some of the features of the ground are ignored, when it suits the convenience of the poet; as, for instance, the rivers, which are sometimes mentioned and sometimes omitted in connexion with the movement of the armies, as they pursue one another up and down the plain. And, generally, the limits of what is possible are overstepped, and absolute consistency is disregarded both in respect of time and place. Thus the fortification with which the Greeks protect their ships—a massive structure, provided with gates and towers—is erected in one day; and this is not merely vaguely stated, but we are told that they rose at early dawn to commence it and finished it at nightfall. Similarly as regards distance: though the space between the city and the Greek encampment is so great that until a late period of the war the ships are left without any defence, and that

when it is necessary for the Trojans to reconnoitre the movements of the Greeks a spy has to be sent to a point at a considerable distance from the city, yet the two places are frequently treated as if they were near one another, as when Hector, in his night bivouac in front of the Greek lines, sends to the city for oxen and sheep to provide a meal for his army,² and when the two hosts march from end to end of the plain several times in the same day.

Further than this—in attempting to determine the topography, the question that presents itself to us is not so much what was the actual site of the city, or what the actual features of the ground, but how were they conceived in the mind of the poet, and what were the objects that suggested these conceptions to him. And though this distinction in many cases will not involve a difference, yet in some it will prove to be of importance, where the realities have been adapted or idealised for the sake of poetic treatment. In this way, too, though we may not doubt the historical character of the Trojan war, yet we keep ourselves clear of the discussion of that question.

It might, indeed, seem an easier course to go a step further, and suppose the topography to be wholly imaginary, and to have existed only in the mind of the poet, especially as there is more than one place that claims to be the site of the city; but this we are for-

² This is in the evening which succeeds the combats described in Book VIII. The same night Hector is said to be encamped near the monument of Ilus (x. 415), which is in the middle of the plain (xi. 166, 7). He is there spoken of as being near the ships (ix. 76), and at the same time in front of Troy (viii. 560). In conceiving the scene, we feel that the whole thing is foreshortened. Elsewhere the ships are said to be "far from the city" (v. 791, xviii. 256), and it is possible to "wander" from one to the other (xviii. 286).

bidden to do by the contents of the poem itself. The geographical descriptions which the 'Iliad' contains are singularly exact and graphic—far more so than those of later Greek poets. Homer's local epithets are, with rare exceptions, remarkably appropriate: nothing can better describe the thin cascade of the Styx in Arcadia than the epithet "down-dropping" (*κατειβόμενον*) which he applies to it;³ nor could the features of the Thessalian Olympus be better characterised than as "long," "many-crested," and "very snowy." And though the descriptions of the position of towns, such as "craggy," "lofty," "spacious," "abounding in vineyards," "exposed to tempests," are somewhat general in their meaning, yet, if they had been distributed at random as ornamental decorations, and not derived from a knowledge of the localities themselves, it would be strange if they were not frequently attached to the wrong places, instead of being as strikingly applicable as they are found to be at the present day. We should not then find Sparta so exactly described as being situated in a deep vale full

³ In saying this I venture to differ from my friend Mr. Clark, who in his 'Peloponnesus' (pp. 304-310) endeavours to show that Homer was not acquainted with the Arcadian waterfall. The passage in Hesiod, which describes the Styx as—

πολύοννον ὕδωρ

*ψυχρὸν, ὃ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἠλιβάτοιο
ὑψηλῆς (Theog. 785)—*

explains more fully what Homer meant by *κατειβόμενον*: indeed, Mr. Clark himself says that "the Homeric ideal is that of a great river falling down in a sheer cataract to the underworld, and there running with a mighty stream to infinite distance." Now, considering that the waterfall of the Styx in Arcadia is almost the only cascade in Greece, and is of great height, and in a remarkably precipitous position, it is hard to believe that the coincidence between this and the Homeric description is merely accidental. No doubt the Styx was conceived of as a river of the nether world, but that does not prevent the idea of it from having been derived from a stream flowing in daylight, and being permanently associated with it.

of rifts and fissures, nor Epidaurus as being suited for the growth of vines, nor Tiryns, the ruins of which are the most massive in all Greece, as "well walled."⁴ Again, to come nearer to the district of Troy, we find the features of the neighbouring region described with equal accuracy; the islands of Tenedos, Lemnos, and Imbros, in their respective positions; the peak of lofty Samothrace appearing over the intervening mass of the last-named island, and thus, as the author of 'Eothen' has so well described it, enabling Poseidon to look down from its summit on the plain of Troy; the Hellespont, with its rapid current, and the opposite coast of Thrace; and to the south the promontory of Lectum, which terminates the chain of Ida towards the Ægean, and Gargarus, the highest point in all the surrounding country, which is chosen as the fitting seat of the king of gods and men. When we find the geographical accuracy of the poet extending thus far, we cannot but feel that there is an antecedent probability in favour of its being found also in the locality which is the scene of the action, and this is confirmed by the fact that, though the plan of the topography of the poem is simple, yet the position of the sites and objects which it contains are definitely conceived. Indeed, on this point all those who have lately explored the plain, and among them several very able scholars, are agreed. Nor does this question seem to be materially affected by the independent question of the unity or plurality of authorship of the poem. Some of those who have worked out the details of the topography most carefully are advocates of a plurality of authors; and the latest explorer in the field, von Hahn, while he believes in the mythical

⁴ κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσα, ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδουρον, Τίρυνθα τειχίεσσα.

origin of the story of Troy, is so firmly convinced of the accuracy of the description of the localities, that he considers it probable that "the form in which the 'Iliad' has come down to us in its essential features is derived from the Troad itself."⁵

The topography of the 'Iliad' is somewhat of the following character. A plain of considerable extent, large enough for the movement of vast armies, extends between the city of Troy and the Hellespont, where there is a long line of beach inclosed between two promontories.⁶ The city is situated on a hill, behind which, at no great distance off, is another plain, called the Ileian or Idæan, close to the valleys of Mount Ida:⁷ the citadel or Pergamus is in a lofty position, while the lower part of the city reaches almost to the plain, where is the principal gate, called the Scaean, and in its neighbourhood two remarkable sources of water.⁸ In the plain in front of the city flow two rivers, the Scamander and Simois, running nearly parallel to one another, it would seem, for some distance, as one of the principal conflicts is described as taking place between them,⁹ and then joining their waters,¹⁰ and flowing in a united stream to the Hellespont. In the same part of the plain rises a conspicuous hillock, called Baticia, or "Bramble-hill,"¹¹ and a good way off, though in what exact direction we are not told, a tumulus, named after an old hero Æsytetes, stands in a commanding position, and serves as a point from which to reconnoitre the movements of the Greeks.¹² In addition to this, there is a high hill, called Callicolone or "The Beautiful Mound," in the neighbourhood of the Simois,¹³ and other objects,

⁵ 'Die Ausgrabungen auf der Homerischen Pergamos,' p. 36.

⁶ Il. xiv. 33-6.

⁷ xxi. 556-561.

⁸ xxii. 147.

⁹ vi. 2, 3.

¹⁰ v. 774.

¹¹ ii. 811.

¹² ii. 791-4.

¹³ xx. 53.

such as the monument of Ilus, which are used as landmarks in the descriptions, but on which little stress can be laid. Any position, however, which is to claim to be the site of Homer's Troy, ought to correspond sufficiently well to the general description given above to account for the conceptions in the mind of the poet, allowance of course being made for such changes as may have passed over the country in the lapse of centuries.

To return now to the springs at Bunarbashi. Proceeding westwards from the village, you soon arrive at the two first of these, which are situated in the rocky ground at the edge of the plain, about sixty feet from one another, with a gnarled willow-tree growing between them. They are both about five feet square, and are encased on three sides by marble slabs, on which the Greek women of Bunarbashi wash their clothes; beneath these the water gushes out from numerous sources. The streams thus formed join one another a little way below, and are shortly afterwards met by a rivulet flowing from the mountains, by the side of which another limpid spring issues from the rocks. From this group of fountains the little river continues its course towards the west in several channels, through a natural garden of its own making, receiving occasional contributions from other springs, until, after running somewhat less than half a mile, it is joined by a more copious stream, which rises hard by in a broad shallow basin, large enough almost to be called a small pond. This basin is enclosed by masonry, which is thought to be of great antiquity. All the environs of these sources and rivulets are of the most charming description, from the freshness of the grass, so rare a sight during the summer in these parched countries, and the abundant foliage by which they are

shaded. Besides the willows and other more imposing trees, there is a plentiful undergrowth of bright green fig-bushes, of agnus castus, with its lilac flowers, and of palluria, with its flat, circular, pale-yellow pods, which hang from the branches like so many coins.

Now, let us take Homer's description of the springs in the neighbourhood of Troy. It occurs in the story of the pursuit of Hector by Achilles in front of the city-walls, and is thus translated by Lord Derby:—

“ They by the watch-tower, and beneath the wall
Where stood the wind-beat fig-tree, rac'd amain
Along the public road, until they reach'd
The fairly-flowing fount whence issued forth
From double source, Scamander's eddy streams.
One with hot current flows, and from beneath,
As from a furnace, clouds of steam arise ;
'Mid summer's heat the other rises cold
As hail, or snow, or water crystallized ;
Beside the fountain stood the washing-troughs
Of well-wrought stone, where erst the wives of Troy
And daughters fair their choicest garments wash'd
In peaceful times, ere came the sons of Greece.”¹⁴

In reading this passage, the first point that strikes us is that the description is definitely drawn, and is intended in the main to represent a really existing place. Next, the question suggests itself, in what sense are these fountains spoken of as streams of the Scamander? They cannot be the sources of that river, for these, as we have seen, are far away in Mount Ida—if, that is to say, the

¹⁴ Il. xxii. 145-156. The following are the most important lines:—

κρουνὰ δ' ἴκανον καλλιῤῥόω, ἔνθα δὲ πηγαί
δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσοσι Σκαμάνδρου δινήεντος.
ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῶ βέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὥσει πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
ἡ δ' ἐτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκνία χαλάσῃ,
ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.

Mendere corresponds to the Scamander; and of this there can be little doubt, as it is so pre-eminently the river of the plain, from its size and body of water: the epithets, too, which are applied to the Scamander—"great," "deep flowing," "with deep eddies"—and the actions attributed to it, such as bearing along crowds of drowning men and horses,¹⁵ only suit its stream; and the appellation of Xanthus, or "yellow," which belonged to Homer's river, implies a current at times swollen and turbid, and not a quiet stream, with a short course, and derived almost entirely from springs.¹⁶ Probably the two best explanations of the difficulty are those which were given in ancient times.¹⁷ According to one of these, the fountains are called sources of the Scamander, as being the head-waters of a tributary of that river; and instances are not wanting to show that the intermediate course of a stream is sometimes ignored in this way at the fountain-head. According to the other, they are so called because, in accordance with an idea common amongst the Greeks concerning rivers, part of the waters of the Scamander were supposed to pass underground and reappear at this point. The latter interpretation is given very clearly by Cowper, who translates the passage thus:—

" And now they reach'd the running rivulets clear,
Where from Scamander's dizzy flood arise
Two fountains."¹⁸

Let us see now whether any correspondence can be traced between the springs described above and those

¹⁵ μέγας, βαθύρροος, βαθυδίνης.—Il. xxi. 10-16.

¹⁶ Lechevalier's idea, that the Bunarbashi river is the Scamander, and the Mendere the Simois, is now pretty generally given up.

¹⁷ Strabo, xiii. 1. § 43.

¹⁸ The Scholiast on this passage says: ὁ γὰρ Σκάμανδρος ὑπόγειος γενόμενος ἐν Ἰλίφ δύο ἀναδίδωσι πηγὰς, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ κρουνοί.

which Homer mentions. The poet speaks of two fountains, one of which is cold in summer, while the other is warm *in winter* (for this seems to be implied by the antithesis), and is covered with smoke. In the literal sense of the words this certainly is not the case with the sources at Bunarbashi; but yet, on further examination, it may perhaps be shown that there is that in their appearance which would suggest to the poet the idea he has thus expressed. Though the springs are not two only, but many, yet they would naturally be conceived of as forming two groups, since one of the two rivulets is derived from those nearest to the village, while the other is drawn from the large shallow reservoir. Again, as regards the temperature, there does not appear to be any real difference between them, as most of them measure about 64° Fahrenheit; the variations which some travellers have observed are probably to be accounted for by their not having placed the thermometer close to the point from which the water issues, since everywhere else it is very soon affected by the heat of the atmosphere. But the smaller sources, from not being so much exposed to the heat of the sun, are naturally colder in summer than what is contained in the wide basin: in winter, on the other hand, as all the springs are deep-seated, and consequently of the same temperature all the year round, they must be warmer than the atmosphere, and must emit vapour in cold weather—an effect which would be far more visible over a considerable pool than over a number of small and scattered fountains. On this point I made inquiries from my Greek host, at Bunarbashi, George Menzous, and he assured me that he had often seen the sources smoking in winter. The popular imagination would naturally lay hold of these two peculiarities—the one spring or group of springs being cool in

summer, the other smoking in winter; and the poet, finding the tradition of a hot and cold spring existing on the spot, and admirably suited for poetic treatment, would make use of it for his own purposes, without caring whether it was literally true. It should also be observed, if we take the latter of the two explanations given above of the Homeric fountains being sources of the Scamander, how well adapted this position is to foster the idea that part of that river reappeared here after running underground, since the Mendere flows directly on the opposite side of the intervening hill to the south, and from thence makes a sudden bend before it emerges into the plain.

The spectacle here presented to us of two streams rising so near one another at separate points, and then by their combined waters at once forming a river, is one that would anywhere attract the attention of the geographer, and still more that of the poet; but especially is this the case in a country like Turkey, where water is so valuable and copious perennial streams so rare. There are not, indeed, many such in the whole of the Levant. Hence it is with good reason that this feature has been taken as a strong argument in favour of placing the city of Troy on the neighbouring heights behind Bunarbashi. There is no other position in the neighbourhood of the plain which possesses a source of water that can in any way correspond to those which Homer describes. Of course it is possible that these fountains may have disappeared, as some fountains are said to have disappeared in classical times; but, as a matter of fact, almost all the famous sources of antiquity—Castalia, Arethusa, Callirrhoe, Aganippe, and others—have come down to us, some of which are insignificant in size when compared with those we are speaking of. And when we

do find in a position otherwise suitable a remarkable natural object of this kind, corresponding fairly to the ancient description, we shall not be far wrong in concluding that they may be identified.

Let us now mount the hill behind Bunarbashi, or Balidagh, as it is called, and see whether it is an appropriate place for the site of ancient Troy. A gradual ascent of about a mile and a half from the village, towards the south-east, brings you to three tumuli, which stand near together at the commencement of a level ridge of some width: the first of these is conspicuous from below, and forms an excellent landmark to point out the direction to the summit. On the way two slight depressions have to be crossed, one of which is a sort of gully; the hard limestone is half covered with a thin sprinkling of soil, but the dwarf oaks and undergrowth are plentiful, and serve as cover for game. We put up a hare and a large covey of red-legged partridges, as we passed through them, and several eagles were soaring above, probably on the look-out for such prey. The first tumulus is composed of small stones, and has a few shrubs growing about it; on the side where the ascent was longest, it measured twenty paces from top to bottom. This mound has been sometimes called the tomb of Hector, but without good reason; for if this was the site of Troy, the buildings must have extended much further towards the plain, and Homer relates that Hector was buried without the walls.¹⁹ The second and largest tumulus was opened some years ago by Mr. Frank Calvert, the Consul's brother, who carried a shaft into the centre of it, whence the interior lies exposed to view. The mound itself is formed of a mixture of earth and stones, but in the centre

¹⁹ Il. xxiv. 783, foll.

there is a structure, square in form, and measuring about 14 feet by 12, which rises from the rock which forms its base to the top of the mound. This is composed of large irregular stones, roughly hewn on the outward face alone, and put together without cement, the space in the interior being filled in with small loose stones. Its appearance is certainly not that of a place of burial, and it has been conjectured that it may have been the base of a public monument, or the foundation of an altar or shrine.²⁰ The third, which is smaller than the other two, and flat at the top, has more the appearance of a heaped mound of earth. In the neighbourhood of each of these tumuli is a pit, from which, perhaps, the materials may have been taken of which they were made.

The view towards the north from the so-called tomb of Hector is very extensive and striking, and the country is better seen from this point than from any other, because from the summit of the Bali-dagh the sources at Bunar-bashi and the nearer part of the plain are excluded by this shoulder of the ridge. The character of the scenery is in marked contrast with that of Greece, in which sharply-cut mountain outlines and deep valleys or dry light-soiled plains prevail: here the low hills, which enclose the level ground, are rounded in form, and the patches and stripes of green, which remain in places even during the summer months, give evidence of an unusually abundant supply of water. The distant view comprises the European shore of the Hellespont, Imbros with the peak of Samothrace appearing over its broken summits, Tenedos lying close to the coast, and Lemnos forming a long line on the horizon, just over the east end of which

²⁰ See Mr. F. Calvert's account of the excavation in the 'Archæological Journal' for 1864, pp. 49, 50.

the conical shape of Athos is dimly seen. The plain of Troy is displayed in its whole length of seven miles,²¹ from the Dardanelles to the village of Bunarbashi, and about halfway between these points a ridge, which projects into it from the eastern side, forms a conspicuous object. But what most attracts the eye are the two rivers—the Mendere, in the middle of the plain, tracked through all its numerous serpentine windings by the willow-trees on its banks, until it trends across and flows close under the heights of Yenishehr into the Hellespont; and the Bunarbashi river, which is marked at first by the plantation at its source, and afterwards by the green marshes which fringe its sides, as it skirts the foot of the hills to the west, until it is carried off by the canal already mentioned into the blue Ægean.

From the three tumuli we pursued our way along the ridge towards the south, and in no long time came to an artificial mound, which runs across it, with some indications of a wall having surmounted it. A little further on we found a raised circle formed of small stones, sixty-five paces round inside, resembling in some respects the threshing-floors of the country; it is impossible, however, that it could have been intended for that object, being at so great a height above the plain, and it is difficult to conjecture what purpose it could have served. Beyond this again the ridge contracts to a narrow neck, from which a short, but steep, ascent leads up to the summit. Here there was a level area of a few acres in extent, running from west to east, which evidently had been once an acropolis, for we found traces of ancient walls in numerous places both along the edges of the cliffs and

²¹ This and the other measurements I have given are taken from Dr. Forchhammer's map of the Troad, enlarged from that which he made in connexion with the English Admiralty survey.

across the angular projections of the ground, where it appeared that there had been towers. Below this level, on the northern side, close to the entrance, was an excavation, resembling the pits already noticed, only much larger. The Mendere flows round the base of this hill on three sides, at a depth of 400 feet below, and the descent to it is steep everywhere, but especially so towards the south, where the rocks are almost precipitous. In the sides of these rocks there are caves, the abode of numerous wild bees, and from the honey produced by these the entire hill has obtained the name of Bali-dagh, or "Honey Mount." The view in this direction, though in every respect different from that on the other side, is hardly inferior to it. The wild mountain masses rise close at hand on the further bank of the river, and the valleys, which descend from them, shape themselves with strange regularity into a succession of graceful curves, resembling the form of a theatre. In the neighbourhood of the stream, and closely backed by the mountains, lies the little plain which we crossed when first setting out for Mount Ida. The highest peak of that chain is excluded from view, but one of the lower summits rises finely in the distance, appearing at the end of the gorge, through which the Mendere passes on its way from Enaeh. All the features of the scene are bold, and spacious, and massive.

The Mendere, which is now a clear and quiet stream, covering only a small part of its wide sandy bed, is said to present a very different aspect in winter, when the floods come down from the mountains. Owing to the narrowness of the passage, through which it has to make its way at the foot of the acropolis, it then rushes through with a mighty current, and rises sometimes to the height of thirty or forty feet above its natural level.

At such times, when the rain falls for several days together on the higher ranges of Ida, the inland plain of Beyramitch is soon converted into a lake, as the valley which forms the passage from that to the lower plain is too confined to admit of the water being carried off with sufficient rapidity. Afterwards, when the clouds descend on to the lower mountains, the plain of Troy is also inundated; for the Mendere, dashing through the gorge beneath the Bali-dagh, and being shortly afterwards joined by the Kimar, which drains a considerable valley towards the east, at once overflows its banks and covers the level land; while the numerous springs and water-courses in the neighbourhood of the plain contribute an additional supply; and, last of all, the Bunarbashi river, emerging from its channel at the point where the canal commences by which it is carried off to the west, resumes its ancient course and once more joins the Mendere. Again, when at the time of these inundations strong south-west winds prevail and obstruct the current of the Hellespont at its mouth, the lower part of the plain is still further flooded by the combined action of the sea and the rivers.²² It is such a scene as this which must have suggested the magnificent description of the combat between Achilles and the Scamander, in the 21st Book of the 'Iliad,' when the river-god rises in defence of his favoured city, and forces the hero from his stream, and pursues him with a mighty wave over the plain, calling to his brother Simois to hasten to his aid, until the whole region is inundated by their waters. The narrow valley which intervenes between the two plains was fabled to have been cleft asunder by the hand of Hercules, to whom great natural changes were usually ascribed; and the story was embodied in a quaint

²² Forchhammer, 'Beschreibung der Ebene von Troia,' pp. 17-19.

etymology of the name Scamander, as if it was "the hero's dyke" (*σκάμμα ἀνδρός*).²³

No one who stands on the summit of the Bali-dagh can fail to be impressed with the magnificence of the position, and its suitability for the site of a great ancient city. You feel at once that it commands the plain. Indeed, a person accustomed to observe the situation of Hellenic cities, would at once fix on this as far more likely to have recommended itself to the old inhabitants of the country than any other in the neighbourhood. It combines all the requisites they were accustomed to look for, "a height overlooking a fertile maritime plain, situated at a sufficient distance from the sea to be secure from the attacks of pirates, and furnished with a copious and perennial supply of water, presenting a very strong and healthy position for the city; and for the citadel a hill beyond the reach of bow-shot from the neighbouring heights, defended at the back by steep rocks and precipices, surrounded by a deep valley and broad torrent, and backed beyond the river by mountains which supplied timber and fuel."²⁴ And in addition to this, it fulfils in the most material points the conditions which are required for the site of Troy. The area on the summit, with its precipices, represents the "lofty" "beetling"²⁵ citadel; below this, the northern slopes afford ample space for an extensive city, reaching as far as Bunarbashi, where the Scæan gates would stand; the neighbouring fountains were those that were believed to well up from the Scamander, which flowed on the opposite side of the hill. The river

²³ Eustathius on *Il.* xx. 74. The old commentator himself reports the story as being that Hercules had opened the fountains of the Scamander.

²⁴ Leake's 'Asia Minor,' pp. 279, 280.

²⁵ *αἰπεινή, ὀφρυόεσσα.*

which is thus formed, and which skirts the western side of the plain, is the Simois, which from its community of origin with the Scamander is rightly called its brother; while the greater stream, which runs parallel to it for some distance and formerly received the tribute of its waters, passes on towards the naval station of the Greeks on the Hellespont. The tumulus of *Æsytetes*, the look-out station of the Trojans, is recognised in the *Ujek-tepe*, in the direction of *Besika Bay*, which commands so extensive a prospect that an English traveller, when wishing to take a panoramic view of the plain and its environs, selected it as the best point of view;²⁶ and from its position in the neighbourhood of the Simois, it is probable that it also bore the name of *Callicolone*.

The correspondence between the plain at the back of the *Bali-dagh* and the *Ileian plain* of Homer is a further confirmation of this view of the site of ancient Troy. This place is introduced in connexion with the fight of *Achilles* and *Agenor* before the walls of the city. Before they engage, the Trojan hero, knowing that he is overmatched, debates with himself whether he should not escape from the battle-field, and, taking another direction away from the walls, fly to the *Ileian plain*, and so make his way to the valleys of *Ida*, and conceal himself there in the brushwood; then, as evening drew on, he might return to the city after refreshing himself by a bathe in the river.²⁷ The position we have

²⁶ Dr. Acland, in his 'Panorama of the Plains of Troy.'

²⁷ εἰ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τούτους μὲν ὑποκλονέεσθαι ἔασω
 Πηλείδῃ Ἀχιλῆϊ, ποσὶν δ' ἀπὸ τείχεος ἄλλῃ
 φεύγω πρὸς πεδίον Ἰλῆϊον, ὅφρ' ἂν ἴκωμαι
 Ἰδῆς τε κνημούς, κατὰ τε βωπήϊα δύω·
 ἐσπέριος δ' ἂν ἔπειτα λοεσσάμενος ποταμοῖο,
 ἰδρῶ ἀποψυχθεῖς, ποτὶ Ἰλίον ἀπονεοίμην.—II. xxī. 556-561.

Whether the name of the plain is *Ἰλῆϊον* or *Ἰδῆϊον*, it cannot evidently

selected for this spot corresponds singularly well to all that is here implied. It is away from the battle-field, and a safe place of refuge from lying on the other side of the acropolis. It is on the way to Ida; for all these heights at the back of the Bali-dagh—and, in fact, the mountains generally in the neighbourhood of the plains—are called by this name in Homer; as is shown by the poet's speaking of all the rivers in the neighbourhood of Troy as flowing from Ida, whereas only one of them rises in the upper part of the chain. Lastly, the river in which Agenor proposes to have his bathe can be none other than the Scamander, whose waters glide by in tempting proximity.

This height, then, and the region over which the eye ranges between it and the Dardanelles, we may regard as the scene of those events which the earliest epic poet has celebrated in undying verse. The level summit, on which we stand, is the Pergamus, which contained the palace of king Priam and the temples of the gods. The precipices that overhang the river are those from which it was proposed to cast the wooden horse.²⁸ Between the two rivers, in the plain below, the contending armies were arranged against one another, and the battle swayed furiously to and fro, and heroes engaged one another in single combat. Halfway to the Hellespont, where the Mendere crosses the plain, was the ford of the Scamander, by which the combatants passed it, and where Priam stopped to let his horses drink, when on his way to beg the body of Hector from his fierce con-

be the plain of Troy which is intended. The latter reading is better suited to the rest of the passage, but Heyne objected to it on metrical grounds, because that word has not the digamma, which Ἰλήϊον has. Notwithstanding this, Voß, whose translation is almost as good as a commentary, approves it; and Welcker adopts it unhesitatingly. ('Kleine Schriften,' ii. p. lxi.)

²⁸ ἡ κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ' ἕκρης.—Od. viii. 508.

queror.²⁹ Beyond, in the distance, on the level shore, the ships of the Greeks were drawn up within their entrenchments. It is a magnificent arena for a struggle in which Europe and Asia were the contending parties; too extensive, it may be, if measured by line and rule, for some of the movements described in the poem, but in no wise too spacious for the exploits of heroes of super-human power, or for conflicts in which the gods themselves descended from Olympus to take part.

In the spring of 1864, subsequently to my last visit to the Troad, the acropolis on the Bali-dagh was excavated by Von Hahn, the Austrian Consul at Syra in the Archipelago, an indefatigable explorer of the antiquities of Turkey, whose name will frequently recur in these volumes. The discoveries which he made, though they cannot be said completely to have set at rest the question of the site of Troy, have done a great deal towards it, as they have proved that a city of high antiquity must have occupied this position. Traces of the outer walls were found throughout their whole circuit, except on the southern side, where, it would seem, the steepness of the ground was regarded as a sufficient defence. The line of the foundations of the northern wall was complete from end to end. But the most important remains were those at the western extremity of the area, on either side of the ascent, by which the acropolis was entered. On the left-hand side a sort of bastion was found, and in its neighbourhood a gateway, in which the upper blocks on the two sides approach one another, and must have been originally covered by a horizontal lintel of stone. In these features it resembles the gateways which have been found in many of the ancient Greek cities. On the

²⁹ Il. xxiv. 350.

other side, at the south-west angle of the place, the oldest walls were brought to light. These were composed of polygonal blocks, carefully fitted together, which reminded Von Hahn of the architecture of Tiryns; and from the appearance of them he was led to the conclusion that the place must have been fortified in pre-Homeric times. But few works of art were found in the course of the excavations—a terra-cotta figure, some earthenware lamps, and a few other vessels, being almost the only ones which were dug up perfect. The coins, however, are of importance, as they furnish us with data for determining the time when the city was probably deserted. They are Greek coins, mostly of the neighbouring towns, and belong to the second and third century B.C.; but what is especially to be remarked is, that no Roman or Byzantine coins were discovered among them. From this we may gather with some confidence, that since the second century B.C. the place has remained uninhabited. What was the name of the Greek city which replaced the more ancient one, and to which most of the walls now remaining must have belonged, it is not easy to determine. The name of Scamandria, which was one of the Æolic townships of these parts, has been suggested, on account of the close proximity of the Scamander; but the evidence of the coins is against this, for Scamandria is mentioned by Byzantine writers as still existing in their times. Perhaps it may have been Gergithus, which is stated by Livy to have been handed over by the Romans to the people of New Ilium in the year 188 B.C., after their conquest of Antiochus.³⁰

³⁰ Livy, xxxviii. 39. To this view Mr. F. Calvert inclines, in his essay on the subject in the 'Archæological Journal' for 1864. The account of the excavations on the Bali-dagh is given in Von Hahn's 'Ausgrabungen auf der Homerischen Pergamos.'

When we left Bunarbashi, on our return journey, we descended in an easterly direction towards the plain, passing on our left hand a nearly isolated hill. This eminence, which is now called Garlik, corresponds very well in its position to the Homeric description of the hill of Batieia, in front of which the Trojan army was marshalled:—

“ Before the city stands a lofty mound,
 In the mid plain, by open space enclos'd;
 Men call it Batiæa; but the gods
 The tomb of swift Myrinna; muster'd there
 The Trojans and allies their troops array'd.”³¹

At the distance of somewhat less than half an hour from the village we reached the Mendere, which is bounded at the sides by steep banks, and extends about a hundred feet in breadth, the whole of its bed being now covered with a shallow stream. Even until the end of the summer it usually contains some water, though on two or three occasions during the last hundred years it is reported by travellers to have been dried up. After crossing it we proceeded to the farm of Atchi-keui, which lies on the slope of the hills on the eastern side of the plain, not far from the point where the Kimar joins the Mendere. At the summit of the rocky knoll above this place some persons have fancied that they discovered layers of stones and the sockets of a gateway; but the traces of these are very questionable. There is, however, little doubt that it was the site of the ancient Village of the Ilians (*Ἰλιέων κώμη*), and is therefore interesting, because that locality was regarded by as great an authority as Strabo in ancient times, and more recently by Ulrichs, as the site of ancient Troy. Yet,

³¹ Hom. Il. ii. 811 *seq.* (Lord Derby's translation.)

even if this view were not overthrown by many other difficulties, such as the position of the city relatively to the rivers of the plain, the insignificance of the site would of itself render it highly improbable. There is, in fact, hardly any place in the neighbourhood less striking, and less likely to have attracted the original settlers.

Rather more than half a mile from the foot of the hills there lies an extensive marsh, which is green in summer-time and in winter forms a lake, and is called the Djudan. We had heard that within this two considerable springs had been lately discovered, and that this discovery had been connected with the claims of the neighbouring site, on the ground that they might represent the Homeric fountains; so we determined to visit them. When we arrived at the edge of the marsh, my companion waded into it, and when he had penetrated through the reeds for some distance, came upon a clear basin of water, apparently fed by underground springs, about twenty feet across. There is said to be another source not far from it; but we must suppose the ground to have altered considerably before we could conceive of these as corresponding to what Homer describes.

Another object of far greater interest in the neighbourhood of Atchi-keui, and close to the stream of the Kimar, is the Hanai Tepe. This is the largest of the many tumuli in the surrounding district, and its size is so great that Dr. Forchhammer, who accompanied the English Admiralty survey of the plains, questioned the possibility of its being an artificial mound. Shortly before my first visit, in 1853, it was excavated by Mr. Frank Calvert, the Consul's brother, who first sunk a perpendicular shaft through the centre, and then carried a horizontal shaft to meet it from the side. The investigation proved not only

that the tumulus was artificial, but also that it had risen to its present height by strata superimposed on one another at very different times. Just below the surface were Turkish tombs, belonging to a village which formerly existed on the hill-side hard by. Underneath these were found large Greek jar-tombs, resembling those which are found elsewhere in the Troad, composed of a coarse red clay, mixed with gravel, and laid in a horizontal position. Within these were human skeletons, placed on their backs, with raised knees. From the style of the art shown in the vases and glass phials which were arranged round the bones, their date must have been about the fourth century B.C. Below this again was a layer of a light whitish substance, which proved to be calcined bones, about six feet thick; and intermixed with the lower part of the stratum were rounded river pebbles, bearing marks of violent heat. The ashes were perfectly dry, and so light that the labourers employed in digging through them were frequently unable to proceed from coughing. Then came a layer of wood ashes, intermixed with small pieces of charcoal and fragments of coarse pottery; and between this and the solid rock, on which the whole rested, was a stratum of earth, two feet thick, containing the skeleton of a man extended at full length, with a large unhewn stone at its head. The entire height of the mound was fifteen feet. In opening the horizontal shaft a wall of huge rough stones was disclosed, five feet in thickness, and forming a circle ninety-five feet in diameter, which served to enclose the ashes, and rose as high as the top of that stratum. It is estimated to contain as much as 27,000 cubic feet of calcined bones.³²

This discovery was certainly a very remarkable one.

³² A full account of the excavation is given by Mr. Frank Calvert in the 'Archæological Journal' for 1859.

It proved that one, at all events, of the tumuli in the Troad was constructed for purposes of sepulture. The skeleton which was found at the bottom was evidently deposited at an earlier date than the mass of ashes, as the signs of the action of fire were altogether above it. It may not improbably have belonged to some ancient king or hero, and the fact of his bones reposing on the spot may have caused it to be regarded with veneration, and consequently to be chosen as a fitting place for a national pyre on some important occasion. What that occasion was, we have no means of ascertaining ; but the superincumbent jar-tombs show that it was earlier than the fourth century, and no supposition is so natural as that it was after some great battle fought at a remote period. During the truce which succeeded the first engagement in the 'Iliad,' we are told that the dead on both sides were burned, and that the Greeks raised a mound over the spot where their slain were consumed. In the account of the burial of Patroclus we have a description of the way in which such a monument was constructed, and it corresponds very closely to what is found in the Hanai Tepe :—

“ Designing, next, the compass of the tomb,
They mark'd its boundary with stones, then fill'd
The wide enclosure hastily with earth,
And, having heap'd it to its height, return'd.”³⁸

Or, in plainer prose, “they traced a round monument, and laid foundations around the pyre, and forthwith heaped earth on the top of it ; and when they had heaped up the mound they returned.” It seems hardly improbable that this tumulus may have been erected by the Trojans at the time of the war of Troy, and that some

³⁸ Il. xxiii. 255-257. (Cowper's translation.)

tradition of the great battle after which it was raised may have come down to the Homeric period.

Leaving Atchi-keui on the following morning, we rode along the hills that bound the eastern side of the plain to the village of Chiblak, where the ground begins to descend towards the valley of the Dumbrek. This river runs parallel to the Hellespont, from which it is separated by the Rhœtean ridge, and enters the Trojan plain shortly before discharging its waters into the sea. At Chiblak we saw squared blocks of stone and capitals of Greek columns among the buildings, from which we gathered that an ancient site was in the neighbourhood; and, after proceeding about twenty minutes further towards the north-west, we arrived at the ruins of Ilium Novum, which the Turks call Hissarlik, or "the place of a castle." The situation is fine, as it commands the meeting of the two plains of the Dumbrek and the Mendere; but the remains of the ancient city are few, being principally composed of lines of walls and pieces of mosaic pavement, which have been excavated. At the extreme angle was the acropolis, and close to this is the form of a theatre excavated in the hill-side, the same which we had seen from Yenishehr. This place in ancient times claimed to be the site of old Troy, and its inhabitants regarded themselves as the representatives of the Trojans. And though we cannot allow their claim, especially on account of their nearness to the sea—which formerly, when the alluvium formed by the rivers did not extend as far as at present, could hardly have been more than two miles off—yet there is an interest attaching to the place where Xerxes and Alexander offered sacrifices on the supposition that it was the ancient Pergamos, and which was revered on the same ground by many successive generations. In the view from this point the most con-

spicuous object is the Rhœtean promontory, with the tumulus on its side, which from very early times has been regarded as the burial-place of Ajax. That position was the one originally chosen by Constantine for his great eastern city ; so that it may be regarded almost as an accident that Constantinople, instead of this place, became the second capital of the Roman Empire.

From Hissarlik we descended to the Dumbrek valley, and from thence returned to the town of the Dardanelles by a more inland route than that by which we had come.

CHAPTER III.

MOUNT ATHOS.

Departure for Mount Athos—Thasos—Cavalla—The Holy Mountain—General Description—Vegetation, Scenery, and Climate—Rigorous Fast—Monastery of Vatopedi—Its Opulence—School of Eugenius Bulgaris—Village of Caryes—Exclusion of Females—The Holy Synod—Monastic Dispute—Phases of Monastic Life—Revenues—Numbers—Races—Pantocratoros—A Russian Dignitary—The Sand-bath.

ABOUT midday, on the 11th of August, we left the Dardanelles by the Austrian steamer, intending to disembark at the nearest point to the coasts of Mount Athos, which was the next object of our investigation. Shortly after sunset we were passing under the steep cliffs of Imbros, and during the night we left behind us the towering summit of Samothrace, the early seat of Phœnician influence in the Ægean, and of strange religious associations in the mysterious worship of the Cabeiri. At daybreak we touched at the port of Lagos, and during the morning were passing through the channel between the mainland and the wooded heights of Thasos. This island is described by Archilochus as "an ass's backbone, covered with wild wood," and the comparison is still appropriate, for, unlike most of the islands of this sea, it is still thickly clothed with trees, from which emerges the gaunt but picturesque line of the dorsal ridge which intersects it. The same idea of the resemblance between a bare range of limestone mountains and the skeleton of an animal is embodied in the name *Oncium*, or "the ass's back," which is given to

the chain that runs down to the Isthmus of Corinth ; and the way in which these outlines are formed, especially in small islands, by the falling away of the earth from the rocks, is aptly described in a remarkable passage of Plato's 'Critias' by the similitude of the decay of a corpse.¹

At 11 o'clock we reached Cavalla, where we left the steamer. The position of this town is remarkably fine, and in many respects resembles that of Cadiz, though the ground is more elevated than in the latter place. It occupies a triangle of land, which projects into the sea with its apex towards the mainland, where it is joined by an isthmus to the grand mountains that rise behind. The Turkish walls by which it is surrounded, together with the minarets, and the castle which crowns the highest position, produce a striking effect ; but the object which attracts the eye more than anything else is the lofty Roman aqueduct, that crosses the low ground of the isthmus with its massive piers, which support two tiers of arches ; it is still used to convey water to the city. Another mass of building which is conspicuous from the sea on the western side, forming a long line of walls and cupolas, is the great educational and charitable establishment founded and endowed by Mehemet Ali of Egypt, who was a native of this place. This institution was once productive of great benefit, but, like most places of the kind when left to themselves, especially in Turkey, it has been much abused, and is now of little use. The great potentate always retained a warm regard for his birth-place, though he never revisited it. Another memorial of him is to be found in the numerous negroes

¹ Plato, 'Critias,' p. III. B. λέλειπται δὴ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς νήσοις, πρὸς τὰ τότε τὰ νῦν οἶον νοσήσαντος σώματος ὁστᾶ, περιεβῆρηκίας τῆς γῆς ὅση πείρα καὶ μαλακή, τοῦ λεπτοῦ σώματος τῆς χώρας μόνοις λειψθέντος.

who are to be met with in the streets of Cavalla, having originally come over from Egypt in consequence of the intercourse between the two places in his time. A more important person whose history is associated with this spot is St. Paul, of whom we read that, following the same route which we had just taken, he went "from Troas with a straight course to Samothrace, and the next day to Neapolis," which was the name of the city in ancient times. It was thus the first place where the Apostle of the Gentiles set foot in Europe.

The Turks are numerous in this town, but they are mostly poor, and their numbers are declining; a considerable amount of the wealth is in the hands of the Jews. The chief product is tobacco, which is extensively grown in the neighbouring districts. As the part of the mainland opposite Thasos was famed in ancient times for gold mines, we enquired whether any minerals were discovered at the present day; all, however, that we could learn was that quartz is found all about Cavalla, and that therefore it is likely enough that there is gold, but that no traces of mines had been discovered. We spent the day pleasantly at the house of our Vice-Consul, Mr. Maling, and at nightfall embarked in a sailing-boat, which we had engaged to take us across to Athos. After tossing and tacking for a long time under the western heights of Thasos, with plentiful experience of the light and fickle winds of the *Ægean*, about noon the following day we found ourselves approaching the monastery of Vatopedi, which is now the largest and most important of all the convents. Before we land, however, it may be well to say a few words by way of introduction, and then briefly sketch the general features of the Holy Mountain.

The easternmost of the three peninsulas, which stretch

like a trident from the coast of Macedonia into the north of the Ægean, notwithstanding its important position and striking internal features, does not seem to have risen to much importance before the Christian era. On one occasion it comes prominently forward, when Xerxes, warned by the destruction of the fleet of Mardonius on its rocky coasts, cut the canal through the isthmus, the traces of



Plan of Mount Athos.

which, notwithstanding the soil which has accumulated in the course of ages, are still distinctly visible. At a later period the architect Dinocrates proposed to carve its huge peak into a statue of Alexander. But the small towns that fringed its shores never attained to opulence, and are seldom mentioned in history. In Christian times, however, this spot has gradually become the seat of a

community, which is probably without a parallel in the world. At what period monks and anchorites first began to resort to Mount Athos, it is difficult to determine. Several of the monasteries possess relics and ancient works of art, which are described as presents from the Empress Pulcheria ; some of them refer their foundation to the time of Constantine ; and, though we may hesitate to accept these statements, and though a large number of monks seem to have come over from Egypt, when that country was overrun by the Mahometans, yet it is highly probable that hermitages and retreats existed there at a very early time. It is in consequence of this antiquity of the monastic community, and the freedom both from attacks and from external influences which their isolated situation has secured to them, that Athos possesses so many features of interest at the present day. Nowhere in Europe, probably, can such a collection of ancient jewellery and goldsmith's work be found as is presented by the relics preserved in the different monasteries ; nowhere certainly can the Byzantine school of painting be studied with equal advantage ; and some of the illuminated MSS. are inestimable treasures of art. The buildings of the monasteries are, with the sole exception of Pompeii, the most ancient existing specimens of domestic architecture ; and within their walls the life of the Middle Ages is enacted before your eyes, with its manners and customs, dress, and modes of thought and belief, absolutely unchanged. And it is no slight addition to the pleasure of a visit, that, in passing from one monastery to another, you are surrounded by scenery certainly not surpassed, and hardly equalled, by any in Europe.

This peninsula, which in ancient times was called Acte, and now is known as Hagion Oros or Monte Santo, is

about forty miles in length, running from north-west to south-east, and on an average about four miles broad. At the isthmus, where are the remains of Xerxes' canal, its breadth is about a mile and a half, and the ground is comparatively level; but from this point it rises in undulations until it forms a steep central ridge, which runs like a backbone through the whole peninsula. Towards the southern end it attains the elevation of about 4000 feet, and then, after a slight depression, suddenly throws up a vast conical peak, 6400 feet high, the base of which is washed on three sides by the sea. From the central ridge, lateral valleys and deep gorges run down to the coast; but the character of the ground on the two sides of the peninsula is entirely different, the western side being rugged and precipitous, while the eastern is comparatively soft and clothed with magnificent trees. The vegetation of this part surpasses everything that I have seen elsewhere: on the ridge itself and its steep declivities are forests of beech and chestnut; below this oaks and plane trees are found, together with the olive, cypress, arbutus, catalpa, and a plentiful undergrowth of heath and broom; in addition to which, as if the earth could never tire of pouring forth her stores, numerous creepers trail over the trees and hang in festoons from the branches. The peak itself, to which the name of Athos is now restricted, is, from its height and solitary position, its conical form and delicate colour, a most impressive mountain. It rises several thousand feet above the region of firs in a steep mass of white marble, which, from exposure to the atmosphere, assumes a faint tender tint of grey, of the strange beauty of which some idea may be formed by those who have seen the dolomite peaks of the Tyrol. I have already described how its pyramidal outline may be seen from the Plains of Troy

at sunset, when the faintness of the light allows it to appear, towering up from the horizon, like a vast spirit of the waters, when the rest of the peninsula is concealed below. Nor is it a less conspicuous object from the shores and slopes of Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion, on the opposite side. From its isolated situation it is a centre of attraction to the storms in the north of the Ægean; in consequence of which the Greek sailors have so great a dread of rounding it in the winter, that it would be no unreasonable speculation for an enterprising government to renew the work of Xerxes.

It may easily be conceived from this how exquisite the scenery is. Such combinations of rock, wood, and water, can hardly be seen elsewhere. The deep-blue expanse of the Ægean forms a part of every view, and on the horizon to the north and east appear the heights of Mount Pangæus, and the magnificent outlines of the islands of Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, and Lemnos. The slopes of the Holy Mountain itself are dotted with farms and monastic buildings, about which lie bright patches of cultivated land, which have been reclaimed by the hands of the monks. Perhaps the most beautiful ride is along the south-east coast of the peninsula; in this part you are sometimes in the midst of brushwood close to the sea, sometimes in shrubberies excluding the sun, through which here and there you get peeps of the Ægean far below; from these again you penetrate inland, from time to time, into dells filled with planes and chestnuts, and embowered with creepers—a wilderness of leafy shade—places which Shelley would have delighted in; from the openings in which the majestic peak is frequently visible, its lower slopes melting into purple haze, while its summit assumes that unearthly,

ethereal, lilac-grey tinge, which I have before mentioned. The positions of the monasteries are singularly picturesque: a few are built in secluded positions on the higher ridge, but the greater number of them are situated on the seaboard, either at the mouths of gorges, or rising from promontories of rock which project into the sea.

The principal exports are wood, charcoal, and nuts, of which last article a large quantity is carried to Constantinople. The climate is healthy and the air extremely fine. The monasteries which lie under the western precipices are much exposed to the summer heat, and on some of those higher up the mountain snow often lies in winter for several days together; but on the whole the temperature is equable, and epidemics are almost unknown. It may have been owing to this that, in ancient times, according to Lucian,² the inhabitants of Athos were celebrated for their longevity, being said to reach 130 years of age. In one or two of the larger monasteries there are resident physicians; but many of the monks, partly perhaps from being unaccustomed to medical treatment, seem to take rather a fatalist view of diseases. At one place where there were lepers, I asked whether they came to Athos to be cured. "No, not to be cured," was the reply; "they get well whenever the Holy Virgin pleases:" and on another occasion some of them said, "We have brethren in the monastery who can treat slight maladies; the greater diseases we leave to God." We shall not perhaps be far wrong in tracing here the influence of Mahometanism. But the same feeling existed among the ancient Greeks as well. In the 'Odyssey,' when the Cyclops at the mouth of Polyphemus' cave

² Lucian, 'Macrobii,' cap. 5.

enquire the cause of his ravings, they are represented as saying, "It is in no wise possible to escape disease sent by mighty Zeus."³

My companion and I had spent a week in this interesting place in the spring of 1853; but as there were many objects which we were obliged to leave unseen at that time, and many points in connection with the life of the monks which we were anxious further to investigate, we were glad to have this opportunity of revisiting it. We expected to find that the number of visitors would have greatly increased since our former stay, particularly as a Russian steamer from Constantinople had begun in the interval to touch on the western coast. We were consequently surprised to discover that fewer travellers come there now than formerly. At one monastery, when we asked the monk who waited on us whether they saw many strangers—"Oh! yes," he replied, "they come from all the kingdoms of the world"—an instance of the Scripture phraseology which not unfrequently occurs in the monks' conversation: however, when we questioned him more closely, he allowed that no one had been there for two years. On several occasions, when we asked what they supposed to be the reason of this change, we received almost identically the same answer, that they could not altogether account for it, but they thought "there was misfortune and poverty abroad in the world." Eight years had sufficed to work numerous changes. Many of the old superiors, whom we had seen in 1853, were now no more; parts of two monasteries had been shaken down by earthquakes; other buildings had suffered from the effects of fires; and one monastery had altered its constitution and form of government. We

³ νοῦσον δ' οὐπως ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι.—Od. ix. 411.

noticed also, what to us was particularly agreeable, a marked improvement in respect of cleanliness in the rooms we occupied. In one respect our visit was somewhat ill-timed—for the day of our arrival coincided with the commencement of a fourteen days' fast, which precedes the festival of the Repose of the Virgin, the strictest in the year next to Lent. As the monks do not eat meat even on feast days, we had not expected to have our carnivorous appetites satisfied ; but we were rather dismayed at finding that we could not even get fish—not because the monks wished to make us conform to their rules, for they gave us the very best of what they had, but because they did not catch fish at that time. On one or two occasions they paid us the acceptable compliment of sending out a boat to take some for us ; but the greater part of the twelve days of our sojourn there we subsisted on rice, eggs, vegetables, and wine. We had, however, some compensation in being able to observe the extreme rigour of an Athos fast.

The name of the monastery under which we landed, Vatopedi (*Βατοπαίδιον*), is derived, according to the monks, from the legend that the Emperor Arcadius, when an infant, having been shipwrecked on the coast, was found miraculously preserved under a thorn-bush ; and in acknowledgment of this, his father, Theodosius the Great, erected the monastery and called it Vatopedi, or "The bush of the child." The story is embodied in an extremely rude and quaint woodcut of the monastery, which was presented to us on our departure ; but in reality there can be little doubt that the name originally signified "The plain of thorn-bushes" (*Βατοπέδιον*), thus describing the comparatively level ground on which it stands. When we reached the shore we sent on our dragoon to give notice of our coming, and ourselves proceeded

to bathe; after which we also made our way to the monastery. The forms with which a traveller is received on his arrival are universally the same: after delivering his letter of introduction to the porter, who carries it to the hegumen or warden, he is conducted to the guest chamber, one of the best rooms in the monastery, generally commanding a superb view, where he is regaled with sweetmeats, arrack, cold water, and coffee; and when he is supposed to be sufficiently rested, he receives a visit from the superiors and some of the more intelligent monks, who, before they leave the room, inquire if he would like to "eat bread." There are ceremonies also which accompany his departure, though they are not so regularly observed. These are the stirrup-cup or "tooth-wash," as it is called (*πλυνοδόντιον*), a small glass of good wine, and apologies for any omissions which may be supposed to have occurred in his entertainment, offered by the superiors at the gateway. Besides the visits just mentioned, which are renewed throughout the day, we had frequent opportunities, during our sojourn in each convent, of talking to the monks in the courts and corridors, or while we were seeing in their company the objects of interest which they had to show; and as both parties were equally anxious to ask questions, the result was that our life on the Holy Mountain became one constant stream of conversation, from which we could not fail to learn a great deal, not only of the system and manner of life, but also of the feelings and modes of thought, of the monks.

The monastery showed evident signs of being in a flourishing condition. Its numbers had increased of late years, and it now contained 300 monks, together with servants and dependants amounting to about as many more. Since our last visit they had erected a hospital,

and they were engaged in rebuilding the walls and adjacent dwellings in one part which had been burnt down. The strings of well-fed mules, too, which stood outside the gate of entrance, suggested the idea of opulence. As seen from without, its appearance is very striking, from the vast extent of ground covered by its buildings, which, like those of all the monasteries, are enclosed by a high wall, and from the variety of forms it presents to the eye, and the rich colours of its lichen-covered roofs. Nor is the aspect of the interior less remarkable, from the quaintness and variety of the structures which surround the great court, and the tall campanile, which rises by itself in the centre of it. It is not my object, however, to enter into details about the various edifices, as I hope to give a more minute description of one of the monasteries further on; but the principal church should be noticed in passing, as it is certainly one of the most ancient on Athos. Although in most of its architectural features and elaborate decorations it is not distinguishable from ordinary Byzantine buildings, yet there are two peculiarities which argue a great antiquity. These are the mosaics above and at the sides of the western doors, and the fact that the eastern apse is polygonal instead of being semicircular. When these are found, there is every reason for believing that the structure to which they belong is not later than the tenth century. The monks ascribe it to Theodosius, but this, like most of their statements with regard to events of high antiquity, is deserving of no credit. One relic which it contains is the object of the greatest veneration. This is the girdle of the Virgin Mary, which appears to be of leather, as far as one can see through the glass case in which it is kept, and is ornamented with diamonds and numerous rows of rudely worked and very

ancient pearls. So great is the fame of its miraculous powers throughout the Ægean, that frequently, when a city is afflicted with pestilence, it is sent for to restore health to the inhabitants. There is also a cup of the Emperor Michael Palæologus, which is composed of a transparent kind of cement, said to be made out of twelve different stones; it is supported by a metal stand of some height.

When Prince Alfred was in the Levant he paid a visit to this monastery, and the monks looked back to it with great pleasure. Among its inmates, at the time of our stay, were three Greek Bishops, one of whom, the Bishop of Varna, had retired thither of his own accord, from preference for the monastic life; the others were in exile, for Athos, among the other purposes which it serves, is used as a place of rustication for refractory prelates, who are often removed from their sees on very trivial charges. One of them, the Bishop of Philippopolis, was said to have been deprived by the influence of the then French ambassador at Constantinople. I need hardly tell my readers that the bishops throughout the Eastern Church are taken from the monasteries, and not from the ranks of the secular clergy; it may therefore be regarded, perhaps, as a merciful arrangement, that when they are banished, they should be sent to the place from which they came.

On the hillside, some way above Vatopedi, are the ruins of an extensive building, which was the scene of a great experiment on the Holy Mountain. It was a school, founded in the last century by the enlightened Eugenius Bulgaris of Corfu, in the hope of making the peninsula in some measure a centre of learning and education for the Eastern world. For some time it flourished, and was attended by numerous scholars, but, like other

schemes of the kind in Turkey, it ultimately failed, in this instance, rather on account of the opposition of the more ignorant monks and an uncongenial atmosphere, than from the remoteness of its situation. Any one who has seen the number of students that flock to the University of Athos at the beginning of a term from the neighbouring parts of Turkey, notwithstanding long quarantines and other obstacles, cannot but feel that such institutions are needed, and under more favourable circumstances might be successful. Still further up the mountain, in a sheltered nook, lies the Russian skete, or community, of St. Andrew, bearing the name of their patron saint. It is attached to Vatopedi.

The day after our arrival we proceeded on mules, lent to us by the monks of Vatopedi, to Caryes, or "The Hazels," the central and only village in Athos, where the Holy Synod of the mountain holds its sittings, and the Turkish governor resides. This village, which lies in a lovely position high up on the eastern slopes of the central ridge, in the midst of the trees from which it takes its name, consists mainly of one long street, with open shops forming a kind of bazaar, and is remarkable for its cleanliness, and for the entire absence of women and children. The exclusion of females from Athos is absolute: not only are women prevented from landing on its sacred shores, but no cow, ewe, shegoat, sow, hen, or other creature of the forbidden sex, is under any circumstances admitted. This restriction, which seems absurd at first sight, is in reality a singular parallel to some of the ordinances of the Mosaic law; such, for instance, as those in Lev. xix. 19, where garments of mixed linen and woollen texture are forbidden to be worn; the object being in both instances to enforce the main precept by keeping it before the mind of the

people in a number of minor analogous cases. Even the Turkish governor is obliged to leave his Harem behind him during his term of residence. This officer, the representative of the Porte, and the only Mahometan who is allowed to live here, is in reality of very little influence in the affairs of the monastic community, his duties being for the most part confined to the collection of taxes. The defence of the district is confided to a body of about twenty-five Christian soldiers, who may sometimes be seen in the monasteries, flaunting about in their gay Albanian dresses; but they are under the direction of the Holy Synod. The independence and immunities of Athos, in respect of which it is the most favoured part of the Turkish dominions, are of long standing. Shortly before the taking of Constantinople the monks of that period agreed to submit to the rule of Amurath II., on his guaranteeing them the privileges which they then enjoyed, and this engagement has been observed with tolerable fidelity by later Sultans. The tribute, when divided among the different monasteries, amounts to about ten shillings a head, and they are not exposed to any irregular exactions.

The Holy Synod of the Mountain is a representative body, which, like the Councils of our two English Universities, manages the general affairs of the community at large, without interfering with the independent self-government of the several monasteries. Each of the twenty monasteries sends a representative (*ἀντιπρόσωπος*), who is maintained at Caryes at the expense of his society; besides these, there are four presidents (*ἐπιστάται*), taken in rotation from the different monasteries, who form the administrative body; and one of them again, according to a fixed cycle, takes precedence of the rest, and during his year of office is called "The First Man of

Athos." After paying a visit to the Turkish governor, and presenting to him the *firman* of the new sultan,⁴ which he kissed and reverently pressed to his forehead, we were introduced to the "First Man," who was a monk from Vatopedi, and gave him an introduction which we had brought from the Patriarch of Constantinople. We were then conducted to the chamber of meeting, a room of moderate size, with a divan running round three sides of it, where ten of the representatives were waiting to receive us. We were seated at the upper end, and after the customary refreshments and some informal conversation, received a commendatory letter to the monasteries, written by the secretary in ancient Greek, a very curious document, stating the object of our visit, and requesting them to entertain us and pay attention to our "creature comforts" (*σωματικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ἄνεσιν*), to show us all we desired to see, and to "speed the parting guest" from place to place by means of the mules of the monasteries (*διὰ Μοναστηριακῶν ζώων*). This letter serves as a passport, to show the monks that your visit is sanctioned by the authorities; as a stimulus to their hospitality it certainly is not needed, for it would be hard to find elsewhere such unvarying kindness and liberal entertainment as the traveller meets with here. He is not expected, as in the smaller Greek monasteries and the conventual establishments of the west, to defray the expenses of his entertainment by a donation; and the means of transit are provided for him *gratis*, both by land and water. A present to the servants, however, will generally be found acceptable.

After the assembly was dismissed, several of the caloyers, as the Greek monks are called (*καλόγερος*, a

⁴ Abdul Aziz succeeded to the throne early in the summer of 1861.

good old man), accompanied us to the school, which has been established at Caryes for the education of some of the younger monks, two on an average being sent by each monastery. It is a commodious building, with well-arranged class-rooms, and a library containing editions of the classics, and standard authors in several European languages; but it had a deserted aspect, as the school was closed at this time, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen amongst the monasteries. The history of this I will now relate, not from any wish to expose the quarrels of my hospitable entertainers, but because it illustrates in a curious way the influence of the Great Powers, and of England in particular, in very remote districts. Who would imagine that Great Britain could be deeply involved in a dispute of the monks of Athos?

The subject which was the origin of the dispute carries us back to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. That eminent personage founded the two monasteries of Cutlumusi and Pantocratoros, the former of which is close to Caryes on the mountain side, the latter on the sea-coast below. He endowed them with adjoining lands, and one farm belonging to Pantocratoros lies within the territory of Cutlumusi. A dispute arose about a watercourse, that fruitful source of litigation, connected with this piece of ground. The Holy Synod took up the question, and cited the warden of Cutlumusi to appear before them; this however he refused to do, as he knew beforehand that judgment would be given against him, and maintained that they had no authority in the matter. The Cutlumusi monks had a further story, about a Russian general who, during a long stay on Athos, had become enamoured of some MSS. in their library, and had fomented this quarrel for his own purposes; but it seemed to rest on a somewhat doubtful foundation. However,

one morning a number of the members of the Synod coming with soldiers, broke open the doors of the monastery, seized and imprisoned the most influential monks, and stripped the warden naked, in order to search his clothes for papers, on a suspicion of treachery. It happened, however, that these monks were from the Ionian Islands, and therefore British subjects; so when they saw that they had no hopes of redress from other quarters, they appealed for protection to the consuls at Salonica and Cavalla. Mr. Wilkinson, the English consul at Salonica, laid the matter before the Pasha of that place, whom he found already preparing for a voyage to the Holy Mountain; accordingly when he arrived there, and the case was put into his hands, he decided that the ejected monks should be reinstated. After procuring the acquiescence of the monks generally in various changes, such as the dismissal of the guard of soldiers, the Pasha returned home laden with presents, or, more properly speaking, plunder, in the shape of works of art, which he had obtained from the monasteries. At a later period, however, by means of representations from the Russian embassy at Constantinople, the decision of the Pasha was reversed in several points; in consequence of which five of the monasteries, which disapproved of the whole proceeding, seceded, and withdrew their representatives from the Synod. This was the state of things at the time of our visit, but there was some hope of a reconciliation being brought about by the good offices of Mr. Wilkinson. Subsequently, when we were again at Salonica, in the summer of 1865, we learned from that gentleman that this had been effected shortly after our departure, and that outwardly, at all events, harmony had been restored.

We were at that time so accustomed to look on the

position of the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands towards the English as one of undisguised opposition, that it seemed curious to find them relying so much on the protection of England when at a distance from home. But, as one of them frankly admitted, it was only in the Islands, where the fact of the Protectorate was before their eyes, that they grumbled, while here they enjoyed all the advantages of a powerful connection. This however led to much bitter feeling and jealousy of England on the part of the other caloyers. "Whatever fault is found with an Ionian monk," they would say, "he cries directly, 'Hands off! I'm a British subject; I shall appeal to the English consul.'" But I am bound to add that the feeling of these Ionians towards an English traveller was of the most friendly description, and that the disinterested kindness which we received from many of them was remarkable, even in the midst of the hospitalities of the Holy Mountain.

One of the greatest sources of interest in a visit to Athos consists in this, that here can be seen in one view all the different phases of Eastern monastic life. First of all there are the hermits, who dwell, like St. Antony, the first anchorite, in perfect solitude, practising the sternest asceticism. In the retreats (*καθίσματα*) we find small associations of monks living together in retirement, and working for a common stock. Again, when a number of these retreats are assembled round a central church, a skete (*ἀσκητήριον*) is formed, which in some cases differs from a monastery only in not possessing an independent constitution. And lastly, there are the regular monasteries, each enjoying a separate corporate existence, possessing lands on the mountain, and generally also beyond its limits, and having the right to be represented in the Synod. These again must be divided

into two classes, according to their different forms of government ; the one kind being *Cænobite*, where there is one warden or hegumen, and a common stock and common table ; the other the *Idiorrhhythmic*, where "everyman is a rule to himself," and the constitution is a sort of republic, the government being in the hands of two superiors annually elected ; in these the inmates generally take their meals in their own cells, and both in respect of laying by money and the disposal of their time are in a position of comparative freedom. Here also a wealthy monk, if he desires it, can have as many servants as he chooses to pay for. The Idiorrhhythmic rule is a departure from the original form, and of somewhat recent introduction ; and it is a significant fact, that by far the greater number of the monasteries on the eastern slopes have adopted the less stringent discipline, while those which lie in more secluded positions under the rugged precipices of the western side, have, with only two exceptions, remained Cænobite. The monastery of Cutlumusi had been Idiorrhhythmic at the time of our former visit, but subsequently returned to the stricter rule, and its inmates maintained that the change had produced great benefit. In the Cænobite convents the monks generally communicate once a fortnight, and this is unusually often, according to the practice of the Greek Church in this matter. The lands which these monasteries possess out of Athos are partly in Macedonia, partly in Thasos, Lemnos, and other islands of the Ægean ; but by far the greatest part consists (or, I should rather say, consisted) of estates in the Danubian Principalities, which were made over to them in former centuries by Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. From these sources some of them derive large revenues, but of late years their prosperity has been considerably checked by debts in-

curred during the Greek War of Independence, when a large body of Turkish soldiers was quartered on them for nine years, from 1821 to 1830.

The qualified statement, which has been introduced above with regard to their possessions in the Principalities, is rendered necessary by the important changes which have taken place in respect of these since our visit. They have, in fact, been confiscated by the government of that country. Against this the monks, naturally enough, exclaim with great vehemence, but the rights of the case seem to be as follows. When the local monasteries in Wallachia and Moldavia, to which these properties belonged, were originally established, their founders intended that they should be of service to the country as places of refuge and means of assisting the needy. But in order to secure the good management of the land and its produce, they were attached to one or other of the large convents in Greece or the Holy Land, from which they received their superior, on the understanding that whatever surplus accrued from the property, year by year, in addition to the regular fixed income of the local monastery, should be paid over to the convent on which they were dependent. In the course of time, however, the relative position of the two parties was changed, and the local monasteries became completely subject to the patron convents, so that they were regarded merely as their farms, and the income derived from them went entirely out of the country. The Principalities now reclaim their lands, as having been alienated from their original purpose; and their cause appears a just one, though the change must fall with great severity on the Greek monasteries, as the present system has existed for many generations, and they are accustomed in no slight degree to look to this source for their support. The

question was carefully considered by the European commission which was sent into the Principalities in 1857, and after investigating the original state of things, and finding that the circumstances were such as have just been stated, they advised a return to the system intended by the founders, only with the substitution of a fixed annual payment to the Greek monasteries for the former fluctuating income, on condition that they should resign all control and all further claims. When Prince Couza proceeded to strike the blow by which the Greek monks were deprived of their possessions, he promised that an indemnification should be paid to them once for all; whether they will ever receive this, however, may be considered more than doubtful. These losses, no doubt, will greatly cripple their revenues, but it is thought by persons who are acquainted with their affairs that the lands and funds which they possess in other quarters will be sufficient to enable them to exist.⁵

The whole number of monks on Athos is believed to be about 3000; besides these there is a fluctuating population of *seculars* (*κοσμικοί*), some of whom reside permanently in the monasteries as servants or labourers, though without taking any monastic vows, while others come for a time from the adjoining country, and afterwards retire to their homes. These may perhaps amount to 3000 more. The number of monks in the separate monasteries varies from 25 to 300, but about 100 is the commonest number. It seldom happens, however, that all are present at the same time, as a certain proportion are generally engaged in superintending the outlying farms. We found it extremely difficult to get any accurate information on these points, owing to that

⁵ The whole question is very clearly put in an article in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' for Oct. 1, 1862, p. 728.

singular dislike of statistics which is so characteristic of Orientals. A Turk, when asked a question of figures, to save himself further trouble, replies at once with a good round number ; a Greek winces, utters a peculiar exclamation expressing something between doubt and annoyance, and when he sees no means of escape tells you as much as he knows himself. "How many monks are there in the monastery?" "Do you mean *this* monastery?" "Yes ; how many are there in this monastery?" "Eigh! a great many." "But what do you suppose is the exact number?" "Eigh! I don't know ; *about* 80 or 90." We seldom arrived at anything more definite than this. By far the greater number of the monks are Greeks by race, natives of free Greece, including the Ionian Islands, or from the Turkish dominions ; two of the monasteries, however,—Zographu and Chilandari,—situated in the northern part of the peninsula, are exclusively inhabited by Bulgarians and Servians, and have the service in the Slavonic tongue ; there are also a few Georgians in the Iberian monastery ; and there are a great many Russians, who are found partly in the Russian monastery and the sketes which they have founded, partly scattered about among the other monasteries. It was curious to observe the contrast between the children of the north and the south, and I could not help fancying that the Greek regarded the Russian as a large uncouth being, somewhat like the Troll of the Norse tales, simple-minded and easily outwitted. An incident will soon occur in the course of our narrative, which will illustrate what I mean. Notwithstanding this, as the Russian Church has been the progressive branch of the Eastern Church since the time of Peter the Great, so the Russian monks are the most progressive element in the society of

the Holy Mountain. The other monks are aware of this, and used to speak of their good bell-ringing and harmonious chanting, which is indeed an agreeable contrast to the dismal drone of the Greek services ; in addition to this, the only printing-press on Athos is in the Russian monastery.

When we had arrived at Caryes, we took up our quarters at the neighbouring Cutlumusi, where we were received with especial attention as being Englishmen, in consequence of the suit that was pending. On the evening of the same day we descended to the other principal in the dispute, the monastery of Pantocratoros, or The Almighty. Our path lay over steep slopes, commanding views of extraordinary beauty, from the hanging woods which rose above us to the ridge of the mountain, the wide expanse of sea below, and to the south the winding shores of the peninsula, and undulations of fertile land, diversified with the white-walled retreats of the monks, and reaching far away to the base of the great peak, which displayed its fullest proportions, and appeared indescribably beautiful in the light of the westering sun. Pantocratoros is a small monastery, containing only forty monks, and its position is confined, as it is placed on a rock which is washed on two sides by the sea, with a little port running in on the land side, where small vessels can lie. In consequence of this it is much crowded in its arrangements, and the buildings have to be stowed away wherever room can be found. One of the superiors, a venerable-looking old man, had left the monastery at the time of the War of Independence, when the Turks came to Athos, and fled to Greece, where he joined the insurgents, but subsequently he had returned. We were sitting with him and some of the others in a room overlooking the sea, which

was dashing in below, when suddenly they exclaimed, "Ah! here he is; here comes the Archimandrite!"⁶ As we looked up, in expectation of some great dignitary, there walked, or rather rolled, into the room a burly man, whose light hair and ruddy complexion formed a complete contrast to the appearance of the other monks. He tumbled himself down on the divan, and turning to us, exclaimed, laughing, "Good evening; you are welcome: I am a Muscovite—a barbarian!" We returned his salutations, and then I asked, "As there are so many monasteries in Russia, why do you come to Athos? Why do you not remain in one of the establishments in your own country?" "It's because of the women, sir," he replied; "it's the women! In Russia there are women in the monasteries, and I can't endure them; and therefore I come here, where there are no women."⁷ And then he went off into a rigmarole story in broken Greek, until the rest of the company told him, in very plain terms, that he was a bore, and talked unintelligible nonsense; on which he took himself off, but, before the evening was over, showed that he was not offended, by sending us some tea (τζατ'), which is found wherever the Russians are.

Among the relics preserved in this convent there is a very old book containing the Gospels and other writings, mentioned by Mr. Curzon, probably of the eleventh century, in extremely minute handwriting, accompanied by small delicate illuminations: the binding, which is of silver, and very curious, is embossed with strange figures, and has chainwork at the back, which yields when it is

⁶ This name, which in Russia still retains its original sense of "head of a monastery," in the Byzantine Church is simply titular.

⁷ In most of the Greek monasteries, except those of Athos, women of advanced age are admitted as servants. These are called *καλόγριαι*, that name being the feminine of 'caloyer.' Nunneries, as such, are almost unknown in the Greek church.

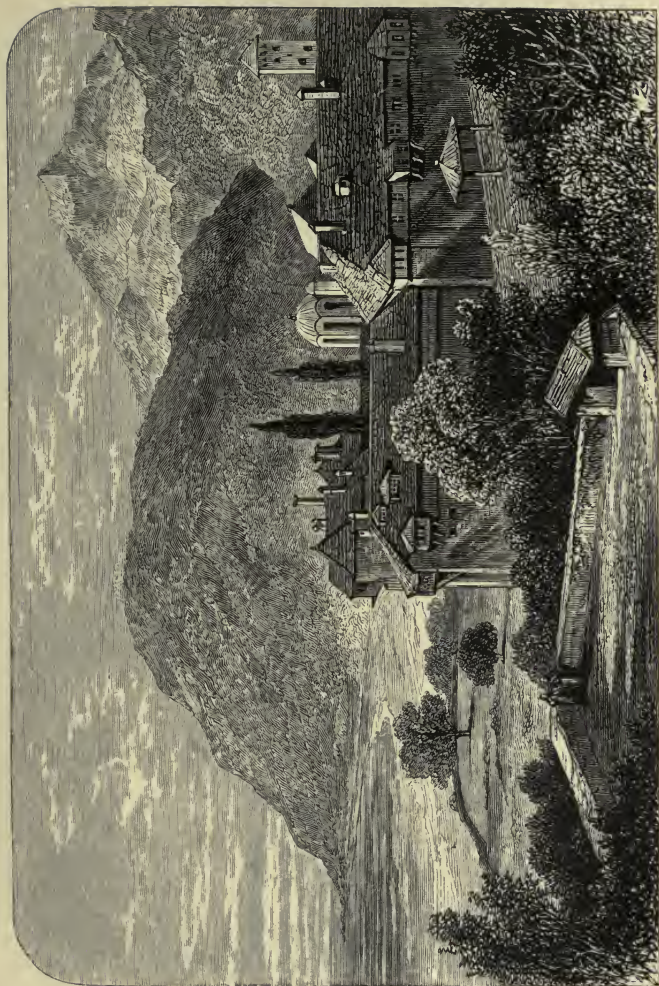
opened. The only other thing which deserves special notice is the frescoes of the interior of the church, which are ancient and well executed, the arrangement of the groups of figures being more carefully studied than is usual in Byzantine painting. Those of the outer part of the building have been restored, but exactly in the old style. Leaving Pantocratoros, we rode southward along the coast in the direction of Iveron, and stopped on the way for a short time at the intermediate monastery of Stavroniceta, which, like the one we had just left, stands on a projecting mass of rock, whose steep sides descend below it into the sea, and rises conspicuous with its massive tower. Beyond it there is a small skete belonging to Cutlumusi, from which that society procures its fish. Just before passing this we saw a patient undergoing the sand-bath, a curious and primitive remedy for rheumatism. He was buried in the shingle up to his chest, his head and shoulders alone appearing, and an umbrella was spread over him, to protect him from the scorching rays of the sun.

CHAPTER IV.

MOUNT ATHOS (*continued*).

Monastery of Iveron — Description of it — The central Church — Byzantine Pictures — The Refectory — The Library — Miraculous Picture — Theory of Eastern Monastic Life — Occupations of the Monks — Their love of tranquillity — Fallmerayer influenced by it — Mysticism — Monastery of Philotheu — Caracalla — The Lavra — Relics and Jewellery — Retreat of “the Forerunner” — A Conversation on Canals — A Painter — Legends of the Peak — Ascent to the Summit — Festival of the Transfiguration — Light of Tabor.

OUR next resting-place was the convent of Iveron, that is, of the Iberians or Georgians, which was founded by three persons of that nation at the end of the tenth century, and stands near the sea, between steep wooded hills, at the mouth of a deep valley, which runs down eastward from the central ridge. As it ranks the third in number and importance, and is a good specimen of the larger Idiorrhhythmic monasteries, I propose to describe it somewhat minutely. In shape it is an irregular square, and its appearance is extremely imposing, as the high stone wall by which it is surrounded makes it resemble a vast castle. The domestic buildings, however, by which this wall is surmounted are entirely at variance with this military aspect: they are of wood, singularly picturesque, projecting at different levels and angles, and supported by sloping beams, which lean like brackets against the wall. From the roofs of these houses rise numerous chimneys, many of which, like the house-fronts themselves, are painted with bright colours; behind these appear the domes of the church; while at the back of all a massive tower, which was probably used as a watch-



MONASTERY OF IVERON (MOUNT ATHOS.)

tower in more troublous times,¹ forms a conspicuous object. Close to a dry river-bed, which lies behind the monastery, is a poor-house, where distressed seculars are provided for; and on the heights above is a skete for lepers, who, as well as madmen, are sent to the Holy Mountain to be taken care of. It is no slight praise to the monks that they provide a refuge for these outcasts of society. Again, on the hills to the north, is a skete for Georgians, to which nation also 10 of the 200 inmates of the monastery belong. The cemetery may generally be distinguished by a group of cypresses; but there are no tombstones, as the bones are removed a certain time after interment, and laid in a common heap.

Entering the monastery by the gateway, we pass through a dark and winding passage, intended apparently to baffle a besieging force, and find ourselves in the great court, in the centre of which, detached from the other buildings, stands the principal church. What first attracts our attention on looking round is the extreme irregularity of everything. In one place you see a wooden cloister, in another an outhouse; here a chapel appears, there a vine-covered trellis peeps out, and the mixed brick and stone work of the more regular buildings contributes to increase the variety. Not the least conspicuous objects are two magnificent cypresses with velvet foliage, which rise near the east end of the church. It is this picturesque which constitutes the charm of domestic buildings of the Byzantine style, to which all these monasteries belong; for they cannot aspire to beauty, and

¹ Abp. Georgirenes ('Description of the present state of Samos, Patmos, Nicaria, and Mount Athos') says, in A.D. 1678, speaking of the monastery of Lavra (p. 88), "They have a strong magazine, and a sentinel perpetually standing to give notice of any Corsair;" and of St. Gregory's (p. 95), that it is "near the sea, and much infested with pirates, for want of fortifications and men to defend it, having but sixty monks."

the few which are built regularly are far from pleasing. As wood is so much used as a material for building, many parts of these structures must be of a comparatively late date; but still they represent to us very fairly the original edifices, in consequence of the conservative and traditionary spirit of the Greek Church, which appears nowhere so strikingly as on Athos; in accordance with which every part, when it falls into decay, is repaired so as to correspond in style, even if it is not exactly similar, to the original design.

Let us now visit what in all the monasteries is the most important building, the central church, entering at the west end, and observing as we pass the subjects of the frescoes, which are disposed in regular order along the walls.² We first find ourselves in the proaulion, or porch, a corridor supported on the outside by light pillars, running the whole width of the building: in this part are represented scenes from the Apocalypse, especially the punishment of the wicked; and in one place there are pictures of the Œcumenical Councils, that of Nice being particularly striking. In this Athanasius is represented as a young man stooping down to write the Creed, while Arius is in the act of disputing between his two great adversaries, Spiridion and Nicholas, and on the right of this group is a band of Arians, dressed as philosophers, some of whom are coming into the council chamber to recant their errors, whilst the rest are being driven into a prison by a man armed with a club. Passing onwards from the Proaulion, we enter the narthex, or antechapel, which contains representations of various forms of martyrdom: on either side of the central door, which leads into the

² For the plan of a Byzantine church, though differing slightly from that which is here described, the reader is referred to the ground-plan of the church in the monastery of St. Demetrius, on Mount Ossa, in vol. ii.

second narthex, are figures of SS. Peter and Paul. These narthexes, which are divided by walls from one another and from the body of the church, seem originally to have been intended for catechumens and penitents, and must have been introduced into the monastic churches more for the sake of maintaining the usual type, than with a view to actual use: as it is, they are employed for the celebration of the more ordinary services, and when the body of the church is too small for the number of worshippers, they serve to provide additional room. In the second narthex are frescoes of saints and hermits, who look down in grim solemnity from the walls: the hermits especially are most striking objects, being almost human skeletons, and stark naked, except for their long grey beards, which reach to the ground. From this we pass into the main body of the church, which is in the form of a Greek cross, with a central cupola supported on four pillars, which symbolize the Four Evangelists. At the east end and in the transepts are semi-cupolas, but the whole of the sanctuary is concealed by the Iconostase, a wooden screen reaching nearly to the roof, and most elaborately carved and gilt, in which are set pictures of our Lord and saints. The position of two of the frescoes in this part is invariably the same in all the monasteries: in the cupola is a colossal figure of the Saviour, and over the western door of entrance a representation of the *Repose* (*κοίμησις*) of the Virgin. Other parts of the walls are covered with Scripture subjects, and generally in one of the transepts is a group of young warrior saints, among whom St. George is always conspicuous. From the drum of the cupola hangs an elegant brass coronal, and from this are suspended silver lamps, small Byzantine pictures, and ostrich eggs, which are said to symbolize faith, according to a strange but beautiful

fable, that the ostrich hatches its eggs by gazing steadfastly at them : within this coronal again is a large chandelier. The floor is ornamented in parts with *opus Alexandrinum*, a kind of inlaid work in white marble, porphyry, and *verd antique* ; and here and there are placed lecterns, elaborately decorated with mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell. The stalls are ranged all round the sides, and are provided with *misereres*, which, however, are seldom used, as the monks generally stand during the whole service.

At first sight the general appearance of the building seems rather marred by the multiplicity of details crowded into so small a space ; but, when the eye is once accustomed to this, the effect is magnificent, from the brilliancy of the ornaments and the harmonious though sober colours of the frescoes. In the Byzantine pictures, as well as the frescoes, which one sees on Athos, the drawing and perspective are generally bad, and when the description of strong passion or violent action is attempted, they are often indescribably grotesque ; and we look in vain for the delicacy and spirituality of Fra Angelico ; but the more passive feelings, such as humility, resignation, and devotion, are often admirably expressed, with a grace and sweetness which are rarely found in the specimens by which Byzantine art is represented in Western Europe.³ There was, however, one artist of real power, some of whose frescoes still remain in the peninsula, called Panselenus, a name but little known away from Athos. He lived in the 11th or 12th century, and is called by M. Didron "the Raphael, or rather the Giotto, of the Byzantine school." His most famous works are in the church at Caryes, and

³ M. Didron says ('Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne,' p. xlv.), "La beauté des anciens ouvrages de cette école est incontestable." He attributes the oldest of the frescoes to the ninth century.

consist of single figures and groups of saints, the drapery and arrangement of which are excellent, and the faces full of originality and power. There are also frescoes attributed to him in the monasteries of Pantocratoros and Lavra, and though we are naturally suspicious of the indiscriminate use of a distinguished name, yet these are so superior to the ordinary pictures, as to make it probable that they are by his hand.

Returning to the external porch of the church, we see two *Semantra*, or instruments for calling the brethren to prayers. One of these is a long flat board, narrow in the centre, so that it may be grasped by one hand, while it is struck with a wooden mallet by the other. The second is of iron, resembling a piece of the tire of a wheel, which is struck with a hammer. The monotonous sound of these instruments may often be heard in the dead of night, summoning the caloyers to the midnight service. Outside the west end of the church is an elegant cupola supported on pillars, inside which is a stone basin, where the holy water is blessed which is used in the ceremonies of the Epiphany and in other rites of the Greek church. Opposite this is the Refectory (*τράπεζα*), a building in the form of a Latin cross, along the walls of which, inside, are ranged small stone tables, one of which at the further end is placed so as to form a high table. At the angle, where one of the transepts joins the nave, is a pulpit, attached to the wall, from which the homily is read during meals. Most of the refectories are decorated with frescoes of saints along the side walls, and a representation of the Last Supper over the high table; but here the structure is of a recent date, and consequently plain, as the monks have not yet been able to afford the decorations. Over the entrance of the refectory is a bell tower, in the lower story of which

a new library has been constructed ; to this some of the books were being removed from the old library, a confined room over the church porch. The contents of these libraries consist mainly of Greek ecclesiastical writings, together with a fair number of classical authors and mathematical works. I noticed also a good many books published at Venice at the beginning of this century. In this library there is a curious Greek translation of Goldsmith's history of Greece, which was "well spoken of" by the monks. The best account of the libraries generally will be found in Dr. Hunt's notice in Walpole's 'Turkey;' of the MSS. a full description is given in Mr. Curzon's 'Monasteries of the Levant.' I shall therefore only occasionally refer to some of the most remarkable. Many of these are fine works of art ; but the effects of damp and neglect are sadly visible. It is possible that unknown literary treasures may still be concealed in these libraries ; but they have been so carefully examined by *savants* from Russia and elsewhere, that it is hardly likely. It is, however, the opinion of competent authorities, that the contents of the liturgical and musical manuscripts are of great value for those subjects, and that the publication of the charters and numerous other documents would throw a vast amount of light on Byzantine history.⁴

Among the other buildings which are most worthy of notice are the kitchen, a curious square building, in the centre of which is the hearth, and a long chimney running up through the roof ; the underground cellars, which contain some huge tuns ; and the numerous chapels and oratories, which are found in all parts of the building. There are

⁴ See Gass's essay, 'De Claustis in Monte Atho sitis Commentatio Historica,' pp. 60, 61.

as many as twenty-two of these,⁵ and one, which is built near the gateway, contains a miraculous picture of the Virgin, the story of which is worth relating, as a specimen of the numerous legends which abound on Athos, and are believed and told by the monks with the simplest faith. It was cast into the sea near Nicæa, but was carried safely to the Holy Mountain. When it had been brought to the monastery, and the monks were deliberating where they should place it, it knocked several times on a spot close to the gate, to signify that her chapel should be erected there; and from this circumstance she is called the *Portaitissa*, or *Portress*. In one part there is a scar, where an unbeliever stuck his lance into it; blood issued immediately; and the malefactor was converted and died a saint: he is represented in a fresco in the narthex of the chapel, where he is called "The Barbarian Saint." The face of the picture, like most of the sacred paintings of the Greek Church, is in the hardest style; but it is surrounded by embossed work, or sheathing, of gold, which is covered with the most magnificent jewels. A copy of it was taken to Russia in the 17th century, by order of the Patriarch Nikon, and is still to be seen at Moscow.⁶

Having thus taken a survey of the buildings of the monastery, let us enquire, what is the employment of the pale, grave men, with long beards and flowing hair, dressed in dark blue serge gowns, and high caps, who move about its court and its corridors. But first, perhaps it may be well for us to notice some of the points in

⁵ It is said that there are in all 935 churches, chapels, and oratories, on the Holy Mountain.

⁶ See Stanley's 'Eastern Church,' p. 424. The legend, with some variations from the account given me by the monks, is related at length in the 'Travels of Macarius,' ii. p. 172.

which the life of the monks of Athos differs from our ordinary ideas of monastic life.

In the first place, then, only a small proportion of these monks are *clergy*, and the clerical office is in no way connected with the monastic profession. Even in the large establishments, such as Vatopedi and Iveron, it is not usual to find more than ten or twelve of the community in Holy Orders; and at Philotheu, the smallest of the monasteries, there were but three priests, just enough to carry on the services. Still less are they *teachers* or *missionaries*, except in one instance, the Bulgarian monastery of Chilandari, where, of late years, a system has been established of sending a number of ordained monks into Bulgaria on a sort of home mission, to assist the parish priests in extensive districts. This "Apostolic" system, as they call it, is said to have worked well, but it is wholly an excrescence from the monastic life of Athos. Again, they are not *students*, or *learned men*, though from the way in which the books have been used and marked in the libraries, there is evidence that there were such among them in former times; and they have traditions of a period, shortly before the taking of Constantinople, when teachers went out from this place, as a centre, to the whole of the Eastern church. Now, however, the libraries are rarely opened, and the monks do not pretend to make study a part of their occupation. Yet they profess a desire for learning, and we perceived many signs of a move in that direction, especially in the wealthier convents. The existence of the school at Caryes is in itself a proof of this: the books, too, which they possess are beginning to be more cared for than formerly, and here and there catalogues have been made: one or two of the monasteries also have lately sent some of their younger members to the University of Athens

to study at the expense of the society, in order that they in turn may become teachers to the rising generation. A few of the monks we found to be acquainted with the ancient Greek authors; and one or two would have passed an excellent examination in the details of Greek history. One remarkably intelligent young fellow, who had left his convent on a former occasion, against the will of the Hegumen, in order to get instruction at Athens, amused us by remarking, "I don't get on particularly well with Hellenic (ancient Greek); Xenophon and some other authors I can read easily enough, but I find the speeches in Thucydides so very hard!" We consoled him by telling him that he was not singular in his difficulties. Modern languages are almost entirely unknown; only a few could speak a little French or Italian; and theology, to which at least one would expect that some time would be devoted, is hardly in a better condition. In fact, the great proportion of the caloyers are of the class of peasants and artizans, and are wholly uneducated and ignorant.

Still the ludicrous inexperience of ordinary things, which has been attributed to them, certainly does not exist now. There may be monks who have never seen a woman, or who believe that Western Europe is governed by an Emperor of the Franks, or that England is situated in London; but anyhow the generality must not be estimated from them, any more than from the more intelligent men whom I have mentioned above. There is hardly one monastery in which they do not from time to time see some newspaper, either the 'Byzantis' of Constantinople, or one of the Athens journals; and a good many had seen, and some even took in, the Greek newspaper published in London, the 'Bretannikos Aster,' which was in high favour on account of its illustrations

Accordingly, one of the commonest questions to be asked us was, whether the Queen had recovered her health; and they were quite ready to talk on such subjects as Victor Emmanuel and the state of Italy, the war in America, and the Atlantic Telegraph, the Leviathan, as they called the 'Great Eastern,' the Suez Canal, and similar topics of the day. All these things, no doubt, were regarded from a very distant point of view: indeed, it is the effect of a secluded spot, like the Holy Mountain, where the routine of life is so unexciting, and the pulse seems to beat faintly, to make even a stranger look upon the events of the world around "as through a veil."

But if the monks of Athos are neither clergy, nor missionaries, nor students, yet they realize the primitive idea of monasticism in a way in which it is not realized elsewhere. When Antony and his followers withdrew to the deserts of Egypt, their object was not the pursuit of learning, or the benefit of their fellow-men, but retirement from a dangerous and distracting world, and leisure for devotion and religious exercises. This idea of monastic life is still maintained in the Eastern Church; and accordingly, as in those early times there was no distinction of Monastic Orders, so here one rule alone is followed, that established by St. Basil. Six or seven hours of every day, and more on Sundays, are occupied by the Church services; and on some of the greater festivals the almost incredible time of from sixteen to twenty hours is spent in church.⁷ Their life is one of the sternest bodily mortification. In the Cœnobite convents

⁷ For an account of the services and other details connected with the monasteries, the reader is referred to an elaborate and impartial article in the 'Christian Remembrancer' for April, 1851, to which I am much indebted.

they never touch meat, and rarely in the Idiorrhythmic. Nearly half the days in the year are fast days, and on these they take only one meal, which is generally composed of bread, vegetables, and water: and during the first three days of Lent those whose constitutions can stand it, eat *nothing*. In addition to this they never get an unbroken night's rest, as the first service commences between 1 and 2 A.M. The remainder of their time which is not occupied in public prayer is spent by the Superiors in the management of the affairs of their society, and by the lower monks in various menial occupations which are required of them. There is, however, a class intermediate between these two, whose time cannot be so easily accounted for. In the Idiorrhythmic convents any person who pays on entrance a sum equal to about 45*l.* of our money, becomes permanently free from any obligation to work in the monastery. Those who are on this footing must have a considerable amount of spare time, and, as far as we could discover, but scanty means of employing it. In some of the Cœnobite monasteries the brethren work in the fields; but even in these it is only for a few hours in the day; and in general this kind of labour, and other outdoor employments, such as fishing, are left to the Seculars.

As the system of life which has just been described is not such as to prove attractive to ordinary men, it will naturally be asked, what are the inducements and motives which lead men to come to Athos, and from what classes the monks are chiefly drawn, being, as they have been called, *gens æterna, in quâ nemo nascitur*. I have already stated that most of the inferior monks belong to the class of peasants and artisans: a large number of these come to this place early in life, between the ages of 15 and 25 years, being naturally quiet men,

and disposed for a religious life (*θρήσκεια*). Of those who come at a more advanced age, some have led irregular lives and desire to repent of their sins; some have been monks at other convents, such as those of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai; while others have been engaged in trade, and similar employments. Among those to whom we talked on the subject were a grocer from Corfu, a tailor from Constantinople, a merchant from Syra, a sailor from Cephalonia, and a leech-gatherer from Larissa in Thessaly, who had been employed there by a man who rented the monopoly of leeches from the Government. Very few, even of the superiors, are above the class of tradesmen or merchants. But when we came to enquire, further, what constituted the attractiveness of the monastic life, we constantly received the same reply—tranquillity (*ἡσυχία*), rest of body and soul, which was valued by some as freeing them from temptation and giving them time for devotion, by others as securing them comparative ease; by the greater number probably from a mixture of these two feelings. But to the Christian subjects of the Porte the first attraction is the security which they enjoy here, and freedom from the ill-treatment and exactions to which they are exposed elsewhere. No one could travel through the parts of Macedonia and Albania, which we visited later in the summer, and hear, as we heard, both from the natives themselves and from less prejudiced sources, of the utter insecurity of life and property among the *rayahs*, and their sad persecution by their Turkish oppressors—murders, violence, robberies, and extortion, being quite ordinary occurrences—without often saying to himself “Who would not gladly be a monk on Athos, rather than suffer these miseries?”

The monks of Athos are not the only persons in the

present day for whom the "tranquillity" of which we have just spoken has had powerful attractions. Fallmerayer, the German historian and man of letters, who is best known for his thankless attempt to prove that the modern Greeks have no Hellenic blood in their veins, confesses that, during his visit to this spot, he was sorely tempted to yield himself up to it. He thus describes his own feelings and those of the caloyers. "'Forsake the world and join us,' said the monks; 'with us you will find your happiness. Do but look at the Retreat there with its fair walls, at the hermitage on the mountain, how the westering sun flashes on its window-panes! How charmingly the chapel peeps out from the bright green of the leafy chestnut forest, in the midst of vine-branches, laurel hedges, valerian, and myrtle! How the water bubbles forth, bright as silver, from beneath the stones, how it murmurs amid the oleander bushes! Here you will find soft breezes, and the greatest of all blessings—freedom and inward peace. For he alone is free, who has overcome the world, and has his abode in the laboratory of all virtues (*ἐργαστήριον πασῶν ἀρετῶν*) on Mount Athos.' It was spoken in perfect sincerity; the pious fathers knew their man; they recognized in him the melancholy, the longings, the appreciation of solitude they knew so well, and the magic influence that wild woods and the fresh scenes of nature exercise on world-weary souls. I was to set up my abode in the neighbourhood of their holy society, not as a monk (for that a special vocation was required), but as an independent associate; and was to pass my time, free from all constraint, like a temporary participator in earthly joys, in prayer, in recollectedness of spirit, in devotional reading, in cultivating my garden, and in wandering alone, or with others, through the woodland thickets, but

evermore in peace, until the thread of life should have run out, and the dawning light of the brighter world appear. * * * * * It was, I confess, a seductive proposal.”⁸

He then proceeds to describe the jar of party conflicts, the confusion of thought, the weary search after knowledge, and all the other disadvantages which accompany the progressive movement of western civilization, and from which he might have for ever freed himself by embracing this proposal.⁹ Many others, when placed in the same circumstances, have felt like him. Many an Englishman, when, after being long engaged in the turmoil of business or political life, he has visited such a place of retirement as the Grande Chartreuse, will have understood the longing for the permanent enjoyment of the life of tranquillity. We cannot wonder, therefore, if beneath the sky of Greece, and in the midst of so many favouring circumstances, it proves highly attractive to the Oriental temperament. This state of mind has naturally given birth at various times to different forms of mysticism, the most remarkable phase of which is found in the tenets of those who from this cause received

⁸ ‘*Fragmenta aus dem Orient*,’ ii. p. 1.

⁹ Fallmerayer soon changed his mind when he got back to Salonica. His recantation occurs someway further on in his work, but it is amusing to put the two passages side by side:—“Thirty days’ penitential living on the Holy Mountain had forcibly reduced my spirits to a low pitch, and lent an impulse to the longing to enter once more within the sphere of European life. If the moral law could only be satisfied at such a price, I honestly confess that, little as I care for elaborate enjoyments, I should still occupy a very low position in the scale of righteousness.” And again:—“The eagerness with which, immediately after my journey to Athos, I devoured the political contents of the Augsburg, Paris, Malta, and Smyrna newspapers, perused the scientific reviews, and foraged in the select library of our hospitable consul, clearly showed how empty and unenjoyable life would be without the range of European ideas.”—pp. 147-150.

the name of Hesychasts (*ἡσυχάζοντες*) or Quietists. Of these persons, and their dogma concerning the light of Tabor, we shall have to speak further on. Whether religious contemplation forms any part of the life of the monks of the present day, it is very difficult to discover. Amongst those of the lower grades, of course, we should not expect to find it; the sum of their religious views is that heaven is to be won by mortification of the flesh and constant attendance on the Church services. But in the ranks of the more educated monks there is reason to believe that some devote themselves to it, and it is affirmed that the images which fill their minds are mainly drawn from the book of Revelation, and that in some circles traces of the spirit of mediæval mysticism may still be discovered.¹⁰

Continuing our journey from Iveron the next day, we rode for some distance along the coast, and then struck up the side of the mountain, through groves of ilex, arbutus, and catalpa, to Philotheu, which lies in a retired but pretty situation, rather more than a mile from the sea. It is the smallest monastery, containing only twenty-five monks, and very simple-minded they seemed. They spoke with pleasure of the smallness of their society, as a source of quiet, but in winter, they said, the cold was very great, owing to their elevated position, the snow often lying on the ground for several days together. When I asked whether they did not in consequence feel the severe fasting very much, they replied that this was the case, so that it even injured their health; in some ancient histories (*παλαιὰ συγγράμματα*) they had read that the Egyptian monks used sometimes to eat hardly anything for weeks together, and they wished they could imitate them; but

¹⁰ See Gass's 'Commentatio Historica,' p. 53.

there the climate was warm, and on Athos it was impossible to do so. They referred with some bitterness to the comparatively easy lives led by the monks in the larger convents. The church here has the unusual feature of a tower with a sloping roof, rising from the middle of the proaulion. They possess a curious cross, ornamented with ancient pearls, diamonds and emeralds.

From this place we descended to the path we had left, and after proceeding some way further along the lower slopes, once more climbed the mountain side to Caracalla, which occupies one of the finest positions on Athos, at the head of a gorge, with cultivated land, vineyards, and hazel groves about it, a wide expanse of sea below, and banks of woodland above, over which the great peak was visible. This place was the scene of Mr. Curzon's amusing story of the Abbot and the nuts, and we were forcibly reminded of it, for it was the nutting season, and all hands were busily engaged in gathering and storing them; the floor of one passage, which led to the guest chamber, was covered with them several inches deep.¹¹ The hegumen, however, on this occasion was an agreeable and sensible man, and talked more refined Greek than most of the monks; he had been a monk at Jerusalem, and had resided on Athos ten years. At dinner we were presented with the round Eucharistic cakes (*προσφορά*) which are used in the Greek Church, stamped in the centre with the words "Jesus Christ conquers" (*Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ*). When the monk who waited on us saw that we hesitated to eat them, not knowing whether they

¹¹ In default of a better explanation of the strange name of this monastery I would suggest that, like Caryes, it is derived from these nuts. *Κάρραι καλά* (the 'fine hazels') might, without much difficulty, be corrupted into Caracalla. The received story is that the convent was founded by one Antonius, the son of a Roman prince named Caracalla.

were intended for a common meal, he said, "Don't be afraid,—it's not sinful." We found that they are set before strangers because they are made of finer flour than what is commonly used in the monasteries. Our saltcellar and tumblers were curious specimens of old glass, and my tumbler in particular was engraved with most unmonastic Cupids. They may not improbably have come from Venice.

The road from Caracalla to the Lavra lies through the scenery which I have already described as the most beautiful in the peninsula. Its bowery glades were all the more delightful after the intense heat of the midday sun, which caused us to linger at the former monastery. As we also stopped to bathe about sunset, on a beach composed of pebbles of white marble, it was moonlight when we reached our destination, and the gates were closed; after knocking for a long time, and answering numerous questions which were put to us from within, to guard against the intrusion of objectionable visitors, we were at length admitted. The name Lavra, or Laura, signifies a street of cells, the early form of a monastery, and was given to this place as being the monastery *par excellence*, for it was once the largest on Athos, though it has somewhat declined of late years. It is situated at the south-east angle of the peninsula, and overlooks the sea at a height of some hundred feet, having a port below, guarded by a small fortress. It is the nearest point to the Island of Lemnos, which forms a conspicuous object, though at supper-time we discovered that the distance must be considerable, for the eggs of the monastery are brought from farms which they possess there (hens, as I have said, not being allowed on the Holy Mountain), and those which were set before us had taken so long on the passage that we were obliged to dismiss

them through the window, as soon as the monk who waited on us had left the room. During the night the neighbouring hill-sides frequently resounded with loud shouts and discharges of fire-arms, intended to drive away the numerous jackals (*τζακάλια*) which prey upon the vineyards.

We received great attention and kindness from the superiors of this society, but they seemed to care less about improvements or the introduction of learning than most that we had seen. One of them, called Melchizedek, a man of vast proportions, and overflowing with fun and humour, was a well-known character on the Holy Mountain. "Have you seen that great, stout man, Melchizedek of the Lavra?" was a question more than once put to us in other monasteries. The stories that were abroad in Salonica relative to some extremely rough-handed proceedings of his, certainly did not go to show that he was possessed of either a meek or a spiritual temperament, but whether or no the contrast which his burly frame and worldly ways presented to the ordinary monastic type had made an impression on his brethren, he certainly assumed something of the aspect of a hero in their eyes. The date of the foundation of the Lavra goes back to about the year 963, when a man of noble birth in Trebizond, who had been educated at Constantinople, and had subsequently devoted himself with great zeal to the monastic life, came to Athos, and set to work to establish it. He took the name of Athanasius, and though there is evidence of another regular monastery having existed on the Holy Mountain before this time, he found the monks and ascetics so scattered about throughout the peninsula, and in such a state of poverty, that he may virtually be regarded as the originator of the present conventual system. His great supporter in

this work was the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, to whom he had made a prediction that he would repulse the Saracens ; and when that came to pass, the grateful commander (it was before he came to the throne) sent a large sum of money from the spoils of his victory towards the erection of the new monastery. The principal church is probably coeval with its foundation, for it shows signs of great antiquity. The cupola, which is unusually large, is decorated at the top with a figure of Christ in mosaic ; and in the eastern apse, behind the altar, is the bishop's seat in stone, flanked with stone benches for the presbyters, according to the arrangement which is found in a few very early churches in the west, such as San Clemente at Rome, and Torcello at Venice. We were also shown a very old mosaic, finely executed, representing St. John the Evangelist, contained in a frame of delicate filigree work in gold or silver gilt, in which are set miniatures of the founder of the monastery.

Some of the relics preserved in this monastery are magnificent works of art, and were it not for fear of wearying the reader I would willingly describe both these and many others which are found elsewhere. As it is, I shall mention only a few of them here and there, referring those who are interested in the subject to Mr. Curzon's book for more detailed information. But as an account of the mountain would be incomplete without some general remarks on this point, I will here add a few words about them. They are mainly composed of heads, limbs, and bones of saints, partially cased in silver, and pieces of the true cross, which are frequently surrounded by filigree and flower work in metal, of great antiquity and the most exquisite workmanship. The caskets in which these are kept are often superb specimens of the goldsmith's art, and ornamented with diamonds, extremely

rare from their antiquity, and pearls, rubies, and emeralds, of immense size, and for the most part uncut. As works of art, however, they are not appreciated by the monks, who value the relics themselves, and not their decorations. They are always kept behind the Iconostase, near the Holy Table, and are brought out and arranged on a kind of desk when they are to be shown to pilgrims and visitors. It was curious to observe the various degrees of respect with which they were treated in different monasteries. Generally the candles were lighted in their honour, and the priest who handled them put on his stole (*ἐπιτραχήλιον*); but in some places the caloyers treated them with the utmost veneration, keeping silence in their presence, and kissing them fervently; in others they treated the exhibition more as a matter of course, and here and there they knew very little about them. Actual carelessness or irreverence we never saw; the nearest approach to it was on the present occasion, at the Lavra, when Melchizedech, as we were looking at them, observed aside to our dragoman, "When I am dead, and they preserve my relics, it will cost the monastery a *precious* lot to case my head with silver!"

Early the next morning we sallied forth to visit a Retreat (*κάθισμα*), which lies on the hill-side a few hundred yards above the monastery. The life in these Retreats, and in the sketes, which are composed of associations of them, differs from that in the convents, in respect of the amount of manual labour which is performed in the former. In these reside most of the artisans, by whom the shops at Caryes, and through them the monasteries, are provided with clothing and other necessary articles. In consequence of their laborious occupations, their inmates are considered to live a very severe life, and I was certainly far more favourably impressed with

these societies than with the convents. The one towards which our steps were now directed is dedicated to "The Forerunner" (ὁ ἅγιος πρόδρομος), as St. John the Baptist is called. The building itself has nothing to distinguish it from an ordinary cottage, except that in one part the apse and dome of a small chapel peep out; on different sides of it rise superb cypresses, while the sloping hillside below is covered with well-tended vineyards, which are cultivated by the monks themselves, and afford a proof of their careful husbandry. It was tenanted by four monks, one of whom was a priest, in consequence of which they were able to have all the services in their own chapel. Where this is not the case, the lay monks perform the ordinary services for themselves, and go for the Eucharistic service to some neighbouring monastery. They shewed us their cells, which were clean and well kept, and the workshop, where they make stockings and monks' caps, by which they get their livelihood. Very simple, gentle men they were, and appeared perfectly contented. They were surprised, but much pleased by our visit, and pressed us to partake of the same kind of refreshments as were brought to us on our arrival at a convent, but which we had not expected here. They were especially proud of their *light* water, the spring at the back of the retreat having been given to their predecessors by St. Athanasius, the founder of the Lavra. One old caloyer had come from "the city," *i. e.*, Constantinople,¹² at fifteen years of age, and had remained fifty

¹² The constant use of the term ἡ πόλις for Constantinople throughout the Ægean, just as, in England, London is called "town," confirms the derivation of Stamboul from εἰς τὴν πόλιν. There is, however, something to be said for the derivation from Constantinopolis, the first syllable having been lost (as in Salonica, from Thessalonica), and the rest compressed, as is constantly the case with names of places. *Stantinopol* would easily pass into *Stamboul*.

years on Athos, without once leaving it. They had a balcony, commanding a bird's-eye view of the monastery, together with its little harbour and tower below, and the wide blue sea beyond, with the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace. The monks delight in their views, though they rarely speak of them, and never criticise them: a fact which is worthy of the consideration of those who think that the ancient Greeks had no appreciation of natural scenery, because it is so little noticed in their writings. There was something very primitive and very prepossessing in the life of these men. If any one would see how near a resemblance to the life of the fourth century may be found in the nineteenth, I would ask him to compare this slight sketch with the elaborate and beautiful description of the Laura of Scetis, in Upper Egypt, in the first chapter of Mr. Kingsley's 'Hypatia.'

Returning to the monastery, I stopped at a *kiosk*, or summer-house, outside the gateway, to talk to two monks and a secular, whom I found seated there. After the usual questions about the health of the Queen, the conversation turned on the Suez canal, which was in everybody's mouth at that time. Lord Palmerston's unreasonable opposition to this scheme appeared for the moment to have seriously damaged the prestige of England in the East, for the idea was just one of those which captivate the Oriental imagination, and it seemed an act of selfishness on the part of England to obstruct it. Consequently M. de Lesseps was everywhere a hero. This subject naturally led to the canal of Xerxes, of the history of which the secular was aware. He had also remarked, what I myself observed on a former occasion,—though, as far as I know, it has not been noticed in any book of travels,—that a similar, though narrower and

shallower, dike has been cut through the Isthmus of Pal-lene, the westernmost of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice. It runs across from sea to sea, and is now filled with sand, and two dry lagoons have been formed at its western end ; on account of its narrowness, it never could have been passable except for boats and small vessels. Its length is about half a mile, and it was probably the work of the Venetians at the time when they occupied Salonica, as a wall of Venetian construction runs along the slopes on the southern side of it, near the site of the ancient Cassandra or Potidæa.

One principal object which we had in view in visiting Athos at this time was to be present at the festival of the Transfiguration, which is celebrated on the summit of the peak, on the 6th of August (old style). Any monk from any of the monasteries is welcome to attend it, though it is quite a voluntary matter ; and we found that they regarded the mountain expedition not by any means as a member of the Alpine Club would have regarded it, but in the light of a pilgrimage. We had arranged our plans so as to arrive at the Lavra, which is the nearest monastery, two days before : the monks, however, we found, had already started to make their preparations. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the day after our arrival, that is, on the eve of the festival, we rode along the paths which skirt the sea-face of the great peak at some height above the sea, until we reached the Retreat of St. Demetrius, one of the few buildings which stand at the southern end of the peninsula, where the ground descends with great steepness to the sea. It contained 12 monks, engaged in different occupations, but working for a common stock. Going into one of the rooms, I found a painter sitting by a window, which opened out on a lovely gorge running down to the sea, and engaged in painting on a

thick block of wood a picture in exactly the same style as those from which the early Italian artists copied. He was a small, emaciated, delicate-looking man, with a pensive countenance, and quite realised my idea of a mediæval artist. He wore the Great Habit (*μέγα σχήμα*), a kind of breastplate or stomacher of a woollen material, worked with a cross and other devices, which is the sign of the highest grade of monastic austerity. I afterwards discovered that he was a free Greek from Vostitza, on the Corinthian Gulf. He was so intent on his work that at first he hardly noticed me; and I watched him for some time, as he worked on without a copy, and yet too rapidly and mechanically to allow me to suppose that he was painting from imagination. However, when I asked him some questions, and he saw that I was interested in his art, he put down his brush, and showed me the secret of his inspiration—the ‘Guide to Painting’ of Dionysius of Agrapha, which has been translated into French by M. Didron, under the title of ‘Manuel d’Iconographie Chrétienne,’ from a MS. which he obtained from Athos. This remarkable book, compiled at an unknown, but very early period, by a man who professed himself a diligent student of the works of Panselenus, contains the explanation of the singular uniformity of design in the paintings, both ancient and modern, of the Greek Church, as it is composed of rules, very often of a minute description, for the treatment of all kinds of sacred subjects, specifying the position and attitudes of the figures, the expression of the faces, and the backgrounds and accompaniments. The art of painting has existed uninterruptedly on Athos, and it has possessed, and still possesses, so many artists, that we may say with M. Didron, “c’est véritablement l’Italie de l’église orientale.” Sir Thomas Wyse tells us, in his ‘Excursion in the Pelopon-

nese,'¹³ that he found one of the churches in Laconia, at the time of his visit, being decorated by a painter from the Holy Mountain.

Having left our baggage-mule at the retreat, we ascended from thence through forests of beech and fir, by an extremely steep mule-track, commanding views of indescribable beauty, until about sunset we arrived at a Chapel of the Virgin, situated in the midst of grassy slopes on a rocky projection of the mountain, just where the trees begin to cease. From this point the two other peninsulas, which form the trident of Chalcidice, were visible, and to the south the line of small islands which run off from the north of Eubœa : far below us a steamer was making its way like a fly on the water. A few monks were here, preparing, in an immense stewpan, the viands for the next day,—a suspicious-looking mess of fish and vegetables, of which they gave us a dish for supper. After this repast we commenced the ascent on foot, accompanied by two monks, one of whom was a sportsman and carried his gun, a curious contrast to his monastic dress, and talked with evident satisfaction of the price which wild boars fetched, when killed and exported. Before long the other monk and our dragoman fell into the rear ; but our sporting friend was in training, and we soon found ourselves rapidly mounting by a rough zig-zag path, and scaling the white marble summits, which looked almost like snow-peaks in the light of the brilliant moon. After about an hour of this work, when we had almost reached the top, we sat down to wait for our companions, to listen to the tinkling bells of the mules in the distance, and to watch the moonbeams streaming on the water thousands of feet below us. Our sportsman whiled away the time by relating to us some of the

¹³ Vol i. p. 83.

legends of the mountain ; how, before the birth of Christ, a heathen image had existed on the summit ;¹⁴ and how St. Athanasius, the founder of the Lavra, had destroyed it ; and how, when he was building his monastery, the Devil, according to that legend so common throughout Christendom, had thrown down the stones by night which he had put together by day. As a great mountain has the power of attracting legends, let me add a few of those which at different times have gathered round this peak. Listen to Sir John Maundeville's account in the fourteenth century. "And there is another Hille, that is clept *Athos*, that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lampne¹⁵ (Lemnos), that is an Ile ; and it is 76 Myle betwene. And aboven at the cop of the Hille, is the Eir so cleer, that Men may fynde no Wynd there. And therefore may no Best lyve there ; and so is the Eyr drye. And Men seye in these Contrees that Philosophres som tyme wenten upon these Hilles, and helden to here Nose a Spounge moysted with Watre, for to have Eyr ; for the Eyr above was so drye. And aboven, in the Dust and in the Powder of tho Hilles, thei wroot Lettres and Figures with hire Fingres : and at the zeres ende thei comen azen, and founden the same Lettres and Figures, the whiche thei hadde writen the zeer before, withouten ony defaute. And therefore it semethe wel, that these Hilles passen the Clowdes and joynen to the pure Eyr."¹⁶ Another tradition is said to have related that it was on this mountain that Satan placed our Lord at the Temptation ; and here, in 1821, just before the Greek Revolution, a cross of light was

¹⁴ There seems to have been an altar to Zeus here, as on many "high places" in Greece. See 'Pomp. Mela.', ii. 2.

¹⁵ The story dates from classical times. See Pliny, iv. 12.

¹⁶ Maundeville's 'Travels,' p. 20.

seen by the monks, with the words "in this conquer."¹⁷ At present, however, there is no trace remaining of these legends.

The summit of the mountain rises to so sharp a point, that it only just leaves room for a small chapel, dedicated to the Transfiguration, on the north side of which the crags descend in tremendous precipices, while to the south is a narrow platform of rock, a few feet wide, from which again the cliffs fall rapidly away. As we approached from the east, we first heard the sound of chanting from within the chapel, and when we came round to the platform in front, a scene appeared which I shall never forget. Distinctly seen in the moonlight were the weird, ghostly figures of the monks, closely wrapped in their gowns, with long dark beards and unshorn locks, some sitting close to the window of the little chapel, where service was going on, some lying about in groups, like the figures of the three Apostles in Raphael's picture of the Transfiguration; and on going about to different points we could see them lying relieved against the white rocks, or dimly seen in the dark shadows,—themselves "a shadowy band." There were about sixty of them, besides a number of Russian pilgrims. We were not less an object of wonder to them than they were to us; they even forgot the usual salutations. "Where *do* you come from?" (*ἀπὸ ποῦ εἰσθε*) was all that they could say. We told them we were Englishmen, and that we came from the Lavra; on learning which they brought us to the wood fire they had lighted, and made some coffee for us. In connection with the fire, the classical reader will remember that this peak was one of the stations of the fire-beacons, which carried Aga-

¹⁷ Sir G. F. Bowen's 'Mount Athos, Thessaly, and Albania,' p. 52.

memnon's telegram to Clytemnestra. At intervals, as we sat there, the priest came out, arrayed in gorgeous vestments, and swung the incense about us ; until at last, as the vigil service lasted the whole night, I betook myself to a small cornice in the rock, where I slept, wrapt in my plaid, for a couple of hours ; after which I lay awake, gazing up into the bright heaven, and feeling the strange sensation of being elevated on such a rocky pinnacle, with nothing but sea and sky around. One could almost realise the feelings of Simeon Stylites.

At dawn the service ceased, and the monks kissed one another, and were sprinkled with holy water. When the sun rose, the shadow of the peak was projected over sea and land to the west in a distinctly marked pyramid ; but daylight added little to the view, as the greater part of the peninsulas of Athos and Sithonia had been visible during the night, and the distance was hazy. Eight of the monasteries, however, could be distinguished, and the expanse of sea was an extraordinary sight. On a clear day both Ida and Olympus may be seen. Half an hour after sunrise the Eucharistic service—the Liturgy, as it is called—commenced ; and at its conclusion a bunch of grapes was brought in and blessed, this being the first day on which they are allowed to be eaten. They then descended the mountain by the zigzag path in companies, singing psalms ; and after breakfasting on the grass by the chapel of the Virgin, we dispersed to our several destinations.

There is an interest attaching to this festival, independent of its strangeness, from its carrying us back to a theological discussion of the 14th century, which was the *ne plus ultra* of controversial folly. In the only passage in Gibbon's history in which the monks of Athos are

mentioned,¹⁸ the historian points one of his bitterest sneers by a reference to the dispute as to the divine light of Mount Tabor, which was the doctrine of the Hesychasts, who maintained that after long abstinence and contemplation they could see in the middle of their belly, which was the seat of the soul; the light which appeared to the disciples at the transfiguration of Christ, and that this light was part of the essence of God himself, and therefore immortal and eternal. This view, which Gibbon describes as the product of an empty stomach and an empty brain, was combated by a Calabrian monk called Barlaam, and thereupon a fierce discussion arose, which ended in the discomfiture and condemnation of the sceptic, and the establishment of the doctrine of the uncreated light of Tabor. I endeavoured to discover if any traces of this controversy were still remaining, but I could find none. No monk now expected to see this light in ecstatic moments; the name of Barlaam was almost unknown, and the controversy forgotten: and though they still maintained that the light of the Transfiguration was an uncreated light, they did not anathematize those who held the contrary. Indeed, not only on this, but on most points connected with religion, I was forcibly struck by their breadth of view, which made itself seen in the midst of much formalism and superstition, and by their tolerance of others' opinions, and charitable feelings towards other Christian communions.¹⁹

Owing to the exposed position and southern aspect of this peak, the flowers were almost all past at this season

¹⁸ Smith's 'Gibbon,' vii. 404. Compare Mosheim, ii. 660.

¹⁹ On this, as a characteristic of Eastern Christendom, see Stanley's 'Eastern Church,' p. 57.

of the year, notwithstanding its great elevation. At the time of my former visit, however, which happened early in June, 1853, I found a considerable number, and it may be worth while to mention some of those which occur in the upper parts. Above the region of trees were *Viola tricolor*, *Saxifraga media*, *Saxifraga aizoon*, *Vesicaria utriculata*; and in 1861 I found *Saxifraga porophylla* and *Centaurea aurea*. Within the region of trees were first *Asphodelus luteus* and *Epipactis grandiflora*; and somewhat lower down *Melittis melissophyllum*, *Epipactis rubra*, and *Atropa belladonna*.

CHAPTER V.

MOUNT ATHOS (*continued*).

Descent to the Skete of St. Anne—St. Paul's—A Monastic meal—St. Dionysius—St. Gregory's—Simopetra—Russians and Greeks—Xeropotamu—Ancient diamonds—Xenophu—Docheiareiu—A Hermit—Constamonitu—Monastic group—Zographu—Chilandari—The Monks' views of other Churches.

WE now descended on the side of the mountain opposite to the Lavra, and entered on the first of a succession of dreadful roads, which run along the precipices of the south-west part of the peninsula, the like of which I have never seen in any country. These are sometimes cut or worn in the rocks, which overlook the sea at a height of several hundred feet; and sometimes, as in this first part of the descent, are formed of a series of steps, to which the sagacious mules of the mountain are accustomed, but which would be almost impassable to any other beasts of burden. These pathways are said to have been made by a former bishop, who resided on Athos, and is looked back to as a great benefactor; they are of the same kind as those commonly found in the mountainous parts of Turkey, the stone steps being intended to support the ground, and prevent the soil from falling away; indeed, in the winter, when the torrents come down from the heights, if it were not for these, the means of communication would be entirely destroyed; but in summer, from the hardness of the limestone of which they are composed, they become as slippery as glass, and greatly increase the difficulty of

travelling. At the bottom of the first long descent, following a narrow cornice in the rock, we reached the skete of St. Anne, which stands in a most precipitous position, and still at a great elevation above the sea; near its site is said to have been the place called Nymphæum in classical times; and if Virgil's description of such a spot—

“ In front, retiring from the wave,⁷
 Ope on the view a rock-hung cave,
 A home that nymphs might call their own,
 Fresh springs, and seats of living stone ”—

may guide us in our search for it, it would seem to correspond very charmingly. The dwellings of the monks are grouped round a central church, and niched picturesquely in the terraced cliffs. Amongst its 120 members it numbers many of the best artificers on Athos, including painters, calligraphers (who, however, are merely copiers of liturgies and other manuscripts), and singers (*ψάλται*), who go about to different monasteries for the great festivals. But the particular branch of the fine arts, of which this is the principal home, and for which the monks of Athos have been celebrated from time immemorial, is wood carving. This is employed both for the decoration of the churches, and for the manufacture of crosses and other mementos, which are bought by pilgrims, and are frequently of extreme delicacy and almost Chinese minuteness. A colony of carvers has existed at this skete for many centuries. They are mentioned by Archbishop Georgirenes in the 17th century, and had probably been there long before his time. The most famous, however, of all the artificers of the present day is a monk of the neighbouring

monastery of St. Paul, called Cosmas, who, when we saw him, was engaged on a very large and elaborate piece of work, which he was intending to send to the Great Exhibition of 1862.

We reached St. Paul's early in the afternoon. It stands on one side of a wide and deep gully, which runs down to the sea from the base of the great peak, and is inhabited mainly by Greeks from the Ionian islands (*ἐπτανήσιοι*), who consequently at that time were British subjects. They entertained us in first-rate style, and two fowls (cocks, of course), which were reserved for distinguished visitors, were slaughtered in our honour; but we could not avoid the uncomfortable feeling that we were treated rather as the patrons of "rayahs;" and it seemed to be an object with them to get us to say a word for them to the Consul at Salonica about a farm on the peninsula of Sithonia, concerning which they had a dispute with the monastery of St. Dionysius. Litigation is now, as it always has been, the bane of these societies. Another point in their life, which I may notice here, is the wonderfully intimate knowledge the monks have of what is going on in other monasteries. They seem to visit one another very little, though, when they do so, they are received in a very friendly and fraternal manner; but, notwithstanding this, if any hegumen left his monastery, or any other trivial occurrence happened in any other society, they appeared at once to get wind of it. There must be a vast amount of gossip on Athos.

As this was a festival day we had an opportunity of being present at a monastic meal. There is generally a little difficulty in persuading the monks to admit you to their public meals, as they consider it a greater honour that you should be entertained alone, or with some of the

dignitaries, and thus they are able to set before you somewhat better fare than is allowed at the common table. On this occasion we asked permission, as a special favour, and no objection was made. When dinner was ready, one of the superiors, in the absence of the hegumen, came to escort us to the refectory,—a room having the proportions of a college hall, but with a flat roof, and entered by a doorway in the middle of one side, opposite to which there runs off a semicircular alcove. Two rows of pillars run down the hall, thus dividing it into a nave and aisles: the nave was left open, while the aisles were occupied by oblong tables, placed across between the wall and the pillars, each accommodating eight persons. At the upper end of the nave was the high table, a semicircular marble slab, at which we were seated with three of the principal monks: the rest of the dark-robed company sat at the other tables, and at the bottom of the hall were some Russian pilgrims, who had come for the festival. Besides a piece of bread and a tankard of light red wine, two small dishes of fish and a pear were set before each of us. During dinner one of the monks read a homily on the Transfiguration from a lectern placed near our table: there was a pulpit attached to the wall near the centre of the building, intended for this purpose, but it did not seem to be used. Talking, of course, was interdicted. At the conclusion of the meal the reader prostrated himself before the Superior, and received from him a piece of bread, in token that he was allowed to have his dinner: after this all rose, and turned to the East, while the Superior said grace, and then we filed out of the hall. As we passed through the doorway, the two cooks and the reader prostrated themselves on the steps, and remained in that position until all the

brethren had gone by, to signify that they asked pardon for any shortcomings in the entertainment.

The saint from whom this monastery takes its name is not the Apostle of the Gentiles, but a monk who was its founder in the fourteenth century. Among the relics is kept an iron cross, which he used to wear suspended from his neck. There is also a large silver cross, set with jewels, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere; it stands about 3 feet high, and has exquisite miniature pictures in enamel inlaid in it, the heads of the saints being encircled with tiny pearls. It is a superb work of art, and is said by the monks to have been the gift of the Emperor Constantine Romanus, though what emperor they meant I cannot tell. The principal church is of recent erection, and differs from the usual type in having no wall of separation between the body of the church and the narthex. The division is made by a curtain instead, the effect of which is not very good; the use of it, however, is ancient, for similar ones are represented in the mosaics of S. Apollinare di dentro at Ravenna. Another consequence of this arrangement is that other pillars are introduced besides the four that support the central cupola. This assimilates the building more to the western type, but it greatly destroys the unity and proportion, in which the impressiveness of a Byzantine interior consists.

The precipices which intervene between this monastery and that of St. Dionysius are so tremendous, and the paths so bad, that the monks do not like their mules to go that way. Accordingly we were provided with a boat and two naval caloyers (*ναυτικοὶ καλόγεροι*), who rowed us round, and landed us under the latter convent, which stands on a steep rock that projects over the sea from the mountain-side. Owing to its position, it is much

confined for room, and only contains sixty monks, though it holds a high rank among the other convents. The buildings, though closely packed together, are among the handsomest on Athos, especially the church, the refectory, and a] corridor with pillars in front of that structure, all of which are covered with frescoes and gilding. A young monk, who had been a pupil of an older member of the same society, was restoring some of these paintings. The illuminated MSS. also, and the relics which are kept in the church, are singularly fine. The casket in which one of these, the arm of St. Nephon, is kept, is one of the most curious remains of ancient art. It is thus very accurately described by Mr. Curzon:—“This shrine was the gift of Neagulus, Waywode or Hospodar of Wallachia. It is about 2 feet long and 2 feet high, and is in the shape of a Byzantine church; the material is silver gilt, but the admirable and singular style of the workmanship gives it a value far surpassing its intrinsic worth. The roof is covered with five domes of gold; on each side it has sixteen recesses, in which are portraits of the saints in niello, and at each end there are eight others. All the windows are enriched in open-work tracery, of a strange sort of Gothic pattern, unlike anything in Europe. It is altogether a wonderful and precious monument of ancient art, the production of an almost unknown country, rich, quaint, and original in its design and execution, and is indeed one of the most curious objects on Mount Athos.¹” Several other works of art, which Mr. Curzon describes, are now no longer shown, and some of them the monks refuse to acknowledge that they possess, saying that they have been carried off by the Turks, or making some other excuse: but

¹ ‘Monasteries of the Levant,’ p. 382.

on both occasions that I have visited this convent I have found its inmates singularly suspicious, and unwilling to show their treasures. The library, in which the MSS. are kept, is over the church porch: while we were there I had a long conversation on theological subjects with the librarian, who was the best-informed person we had met with on Athos, while other pale fathers sat round, stern and grim, looking like the impersonifications of controversial theology. We talked of the light of Tabor, the differences of the Greek and Anglican churches, and many other points; and I found him quite up to the subjects under discussion, and quick in his way of putting his arguments. Amongst other things, he asked why our priests shaved, not suspecting how soon the Anglican clergy might be converted to the practice of the Orthodox. This, however, he allowed to be an unimportant point, though such has not always been the case, as is shown by the remark of Sir John Maundeville:—"Also thei saye that wee synne dedly in schavynge our berdes."²

Returning to our boat, we coasted along to St. Gregory's, a monastery of 100 monks, mostly from free Greece, which lies under the rocks close to the sea. It is the poorest of all, and as it has been rebuilt within the last hundred years there is nothing to see. So, after a long talk with the hegumen, an earnest and intelligent man, who had been a merchant in his early life, and afterwards was a monk at St. Paul's, we re-embarked and rowed in the direction of Simopetra, or the rock of Simon, the anchorite, the most remarkable in its situation of all the monasteries, which is conspicuous from a long distance off on this side of the mountain. We landed at a

² Maundeville's 'Travels,' p. 24.

tiny port, provided with a pier and landing-place, above which the monastery towers, perched on a rock, at a height of 800 feet. Shortly after our arrival a monk appeared, and finding that we wanted our saddle-bags carried up, took out a large speaking-trumpet and shouted through it to the monastery in Greek, "two mules" (*δύο μνλάρια*). He was answered from above, and not long after, as we sauntered up the zigzag path, we met the animals on their way down. Just below the monastery the ground is carefully made into terraces, where vegetables are grown, while vines and gourds trail over the high supporting walls. From these rises the perpendicular rock on which the building stands, isolated on all sides from the surrounding ground, except at the back, where it is joined to the cliffs by an aqueduct with two rows of arches. The upper part of its high walls is lined with wooden balconies and corridors, which are supported on projecting brackets, and rise, tier above tier, to the roof, with the most picturesque irregularity. Inside, the buildings are most curiously packed away. In the lower part are the storehouses, between the side-walls and the upper part of the rock which crops out in the interior court; the court itself is so narrow that the whole building has been roofed over, the light penetrating by side windows and a variety of openings and crevices. In consequence of this the church is not isolated, as in most of the monasteries, but closely surrounded by the other buildings, and its walls are pierced with numerous windows for a Byzantine edifice, in order to admit more light into the interior. The view from it is magnificent, comprising a wide expanse of sea, with the opposite coast of Sithonia, and towards the south the steep cliffs of the peninsula and the peak of Athos. It was a superb sight at nightfall to see the vaporous clouds gather like a

glory on the summit, and creep down or circulate round it, while the moon rose and poured her golden light over the whole scene.

Amongst the inmates of this convent there was an old Russian monk, who was evidently the butt of the others. Poor old fellow! five-and-twenty years he had been in the monastery, and yet he could hardly speak a word of Greek. "Two, three words I know," he said; "wine, bread—no more." His principal companion was a clever tom-cat, which he had trained to turn most wonderful somersaults, and which was brought out into the court of the monastery to perform before us. "Ah!" exclaimed a sharp-witted young Zantiote, who was standing by, with a look of compassion, "the Russians are thick-skulled" (*οἱ Ῥώσσοι εἶναι χονδροκέφαλοι*). Besides this Zantiote there was another very clever young monk—the same, whom I have mentioned as finding difficulties in Thucydides, who for inquisitiveness and thirst for knowledge was a thorough Greek, and a striking contrast to the Russian. He knew all about the Greek authors and their dialects, and his acquaintance with ancient Greek history was as minute as if he had just been preparing it for an examination. Again, he was perfectly familiar with modern European geography, and understood the position of second-rate towns, such as Strasburg and Buda. He asked numerous questions about the "English Episcopal Protestant (*διαμαρτυρουμένη*) Church," and when he discovered my companion was in the militia he asked for information about the English army, the different branches of the service, the sub-divisions of the regiments, the officers, and a variety of other points. Seeing that he had an evident taste for secular subjects, I was curious to discover whether a grain of scepticism had entered his mind with regard to the system of beliefs by

which he was surrounded, and accordingly I put one or two leading questions to test this; but nothing of the kind was traceable. He spoke of the miraculous legends with the same simple faith as the others, and on any point of doctrine referred at once to the Councils as being of unquestionable authority.

The next morning a three hours' ride over the mountains, in the midst of scattered shrubs, with views of the sea far below, brought us to the monastery of Xeropotamu, or "The Torrent," which is so called from the ravine and river-bed which lies directly beneath it. The Superior, by whom we were entertained during the few hours we spent there, had been a grocer at Corfu, and though he talked of the delights of tranquillity, yet the fidgetty restlessness of his manner suggested the idea that he would have been much happier behind the counter. In his company we visited the church, which is truly magnificent, perhaps the finest on Athos, and contains two very remarkable relics. One of these is a fragment of the true cross, and consists of one long piece of dark wood, and two cross pieces, one above the other, the upper one, which is the shorter of the two, being intended for the superscription. Though not exactly a crucifix, it has a small figure of our Lord on the middle of it, in ivory or bone; from the great abhorrence in which anything approaching an image is held in the Greek Church, even this would probably not have been spared, had it not been a reputed present from the Empress Pulcheria. Near the foot is a representation in gold plate of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and under it, in ancient Greek characters, the inscription, *Κοσταντίνου Εὐφροσύνης καὶ τῶν τέκνων*; but what is most remarkable about it is the wonderful size of the uncut diamonds and emeralds with which it is set. This is, in all

probability, the same piece of the true cross which is mentioned in a golden bull of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus (A.D. 924) as having been taken from the Queen's treasury, and presented by him to this monastery after his recovery from a severe illness, on which occasion it was conducted thither with great pomp and ceremonial.³ The Euphrosyne mentioned in the inscription is probably the daughter of Constantine VI., who was married to the Emperor Michael the Stammerer (A.D. 820). In the monastery of Sphigmenu there is another cross, inferior in other respects, but not less valuable for its ancient diamonds, and the two together form a pair which it would be difficult to match elsewhere. It has lately been pointed out that the great rarity of large diamonds in ancient works of art, even in Byzantine times, when we should have expected that the gorgeousness of the Court, and the communication with Asia, would have introduced them, is to be accounted for, not by the scarcity of the gem itself at that period, but by the prohibition which was imposed by the Indian sovereigns against the exportation from that country of any above a certain size.⁴ The other relic is noteworthy for the curious superstition attached to it. It is a cup, which is said also to have belonged to the empress Pulcheria, covered on the outside with old red gold; inside there is very curious and beautiful carving, representing figures, done in bone, or, according to the legend, in the horn of a serpent. This had the power of curing a person who had been poisoned, if wine or water were administered in it to the patient; it is still used by the monks for the same purpose, and they say that if liquid remains in it for any length of time it will boil. The same idea is

³ Gass, p. 7.

⁴ King, on the 'Natural History of Precious Stones,' p. 21, note 4.

found to exist elsewhere. Thus, Mr. Hamilton, in his 'Researches in Asia Minor,' speaking of an Armenian physician whom he met in that country, says: "His medical skill was proved by producing what he called a snake's horn, which he asserted was an infallible antidote against poison. 'If,' said he, 'a small quantity be scraped off with a piece of gold, and swallowed in a little water by one who has been either poisoned or stung, he will be immediately cured.' It appeared to me to resemble a boar's tusk, and may have been a piece of simple harts-horn; its chief efficacy being in the piece of gold—supplied, of course, by the patient."⁵ A similar superstition to this in the west of Europe was attached to the tusk of the narwhal, which passed for the unicorn's horn, and was reputed to possess the virtue of neutralizing and even detecting the presence of poison. Edward IV. gave to the ambassador of Charles of Burgundy a cup of gold, garnished with pearls and a great sapphire; and the chronicler adds, "in the myddes of the cuppe ys a grete pece of an Vnicornes horne."⁶

To the north of Xeropotamu the declivities of the western coast become more gentle, and the scenery softer and more wooded. We continued our journey in the evening, and passing the Russian monastery on our left, arrived at that of Xenophu, which lies on the sea-shore. From this place, notwithstanding its low situation, the magnificent summits of the Thessalian Olympus were visible at sunset over the northern part of Sithonia. For our supper, amongst other things, the monks brought us a dish of rice and *heptapodi*, a kind of sea polypus, which is allowed to be eaten on fast days because it is supposed to be bloodless. The object of most interest

⁵ Hamilton's 'Asia Minor,' ii. p. 127.

⁶ See 'Our English Home,' p. 61.

which they had to show was the new iconostase which they have erected in their church ; it is composed partly of Tenian and partly of Athoan marble, and is certainly very imposing.⁷

It is less than half an hour's ride along the coast from this place to Docheiareiu, or "The Steward's Monastery," so called because it is said to have been founded by a monk named Euthymius, who was at one time steward or bursar of the Lavra. This and Xeropotamu are the only two Idiorrhythmic convents on this side of Athos, the ruggedness of the ground being apparently favourable to the retention of the older system. The buildings here are very grand, and the works of art, which seem to have escaped Mr. Curzon, are singularly fine. There are two splendid crosses ; one a single cross, magnificently set in gilt filigree work adorned with gems, the spaces between the limbs being also filled up with the same kind of ornamentation, so that it assumes, roughly speaking, a diamond shape ; the other is a double cross, like that at Xeropotamu, and has beautiful metal flower-work wreathed all about it. In the library, too, is the finest illuminated MS. that I saw on Athos. It is a book of

⁷ Attached to this altar-screen was a copy of verses, which I append, in illustration of the *cultus* of the Virgin in the Greek Church. It is written in ancient Greek, and composed in the modern accentual rhythm, rhymed :—

“ ἐγὼ δέ σε, πανάχραντε, ὡς πάντα δυναμένην,
ὁμολογῶ μητέρα σε Θεοῦ δεδοξασμένην.
κηρύττω σου τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν ἐνεργεσίαν,
τὴν εἰς ἐμέ σου ἄμαχον, δέσποινα, προστασίαν.
ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἐλέους σου αἰεὶ με σκεπασάτω,
ἐξ ἀοράτων με ἐχθρῶν καὶ δρατῶν σωσάτω.”

It must, however, be remembered that the worship of the Virgin has not been hardened into dogma in the Eastern, as it has in the Western Church ; nor has it overshadowed the worship of our Lord, as one cannot help feeling to be the case in the Church of Rome.

Lives of Saints of the 11th century, decorated with miniatures of the saints, most delicately executed, and initial letters bordered with exquisite arabesques. The manuscripts here were bound in modern binding, and had been looked after by the master of the school at Caryes.

Shortly after leaving this monastery I was fortunate enough to have an interview with a hermit. In one place, where the path lies along the beach, we had stopped for my companion to gather some pebbles, when our dragoman, looking up the steep cliffs, exclaimed that he saw a man standing at some distance above us. Guessing what he might be, I dismounted, and scrambled up 20 or 30 feet to the mouth of a cave, where I found a dark hollow-cheeked man, clothed in a single garment of rough cloth. In the inner part of the cave, which was divided off from the rest by a low wall, was his bed of straw, and one book of prayers was lying on the wall. In this place he lived both winter and summer. He came originally from Argyro-Castro, in Albania, and had served for some years as a corporal in the army of the King of Greece; but after a time he was seized with a desire for the life of retirement, and came as a caloyer to the skete of St. Anne. After remaining there for three years, he devoted himself to the life of a hermit, in which he had passed his time for seven years. His food was brought to him from the neighbouring monasteries. He spoke distinctly, like a man who had had some education; and slowly, as one unaccustomed to conversation. As we were looking down on the tumbling waves, I said to him before leaving, "Here you have near you God and the sea." "Ah!" he replied, "we are all sinners," as if to deprecate the idea that he was on a higher spiritual level than other men. His answer illustrates the entire absence of pretension

which we observed amongst the monks: they never represented themselves as more learned, or more religious, or having higher aims, than was really the case; and when they had devoted themselves to the monastic life from mixed motives, they did not hesitate to avow it.

A wooded gorge that runs inland near this point led us to the small and secluded monastery of Constamonitu, one of the very few which do not command a sea view. On our arrival we were ushered into the guest chamber, a small gloomy room, where we were soon after visited by the hegumen—a kind, hearty old man, and very simple in his ideas, having been very little away from Athos; yet we soon discovered that he knew everything of what was going on in Europe and America; he was even aware that in England we use steam machinery in agriculture; and a smile of grim satisfaction played over his features as he spoke of the probable downfall of the Papacy.⁸ While we were talking with him, there came in a very old man, so venerable in his appearance,

⁸ At Cutlumusi and other monasteries there is a curious tradition that they were destroyed by the Pope of Rome, who came here “about the time of the great schism.” The foundation for this was probably some attack of the Crusaders at the time of the Fourth Crusade; or the expedition of the Emperor Michael Palæologus to force the monks to accept the terms of the Concordat of Lyons, on which occasion they suffered great injury at his hands. The name Caryes, which, as I have before mentioned, means “The Hazels,” is derived by many of the monks from *κάρα* (a head), in accordance with a story that the Pope cut off the heads of all the representatives of that period, and placed them round the Protaton, or principal church of the place. Some authorities maintain the derivation from *κάρα*, though on different grounds from those given by the monks. According to them the earlier form of the name was *Καρέαι*, or *Καράι*, and consequently they consider it to mean “head centre” (Gass, p. 19). But the name Caryes, as “The Hazels,” is so frequently found, and the custom of calling places from the trees found there is so common, especially in Greece, that there can be little doubt that this derivation is the right one.

that the most thoughtless person could not but have risen up in his presence. His flowing beard was snowy white, his limbs spare and ascetic, so that he looked more like one of the ancient hermits than anything else that we saw. Just such a figure Spenser has described in his portrait of heavenly contemplation :

“ — that godly aged sire,
 With snowy lockes adowne his shoulders shed;
 As hoary frost with spangles doth attire
 The mossy braunches of an oke halfe ded.
 Each bone might through his body well be red,
 And every sinew seene, through his long fast:
 For naught he cared his carcas long unfed;
 His mind was full of spirituall repast,
 And pyn'd his flesh to keep his body low and chast.”—

Faerie Queene, i. x. 48.

He was born in Mitylene, and was employed in a merchant's business in Egypt at the time of Napoleon's expedition : after this he retired to the convent of Mount Sinai, and, when he had spent three years there, came in 1809 to Athos, where he had remained ever since. He had been tutor to the old Hegumen, with whom he had maintained a warm and unbroken friendship. The man, who waited on us, was a tall, gaunt caloyer, with a hard Scotch cast of features, who might have sat for a likeness of a Covenanter. He talked with fervour of the protection afforded to them by the sacred relics, of the devoted lives of some of the hermits, their prophetic power, and the need of sternly subjugating the passions, in order to gain an insight into the higher spiritual mysteries, until at last he looked almost like one inspired ; and his utterance became so indistinct, that we could understand but little of what he said. The sight of these three men together in the dark monastic chamber was one not to be forgotten ; and it is a characteristic

instance of the hospitality of the Holy Mountain that, though they were sternly fasting, they pressed us to feast on the best of what they had, and the Covenanter replenished our wine-glasses.

On leaving this place, we crossed a range of hills, and descended into another rich valley, where in the midst of numerous cypresses stands Zographu, or "The Painter's"—a monastery of 100 monks, all Bulgarians, who have the service in the old Slavonic tongue. The legend which is given to explain the name relates that a picture of St. George, now in the monastery, which was painted by himself, having originally existed in Palestine, transported itself to Athos by its own wonder-working power. But when we consider that it is a Slavonic monastery, there is a strong probability that the Greek name is the corruption of an original Bulgarian one; and this may very well have been Zagora ("behind the mountain"), which we find in many parts of Turkey. This would accurately describe its retired position. It is a handsome structure, and part of it has been lately rebuilt in consequence of the destruction caused by an earthquake, but it does not contain much that is worth seeing. A school, which was established here some time ago, has died a natural death, and the Hegumen spoke despondingly of the prospect of introducing study, which he feared was not reconcilable with monastic pursuits. He was the only one of the inmates that we met with who could speak Greek. The Greek monks in the other convents betrayed the spirit of their ancestors in an amusing manner, by always speaking of the Slavonic caloyers as "barbarians."

We passed the night at Zographu, and continued our route the next morning across the peninsula, through country different from that of any other part of Athos—

upland valleys and forest scenery, in the midst of which the light green foliage of the Isthmian pine was conspicuous, the same of which the crown was composed at the games of the Isthmus. At last we caught sight of the blue Strymonic gulf, and descended to Chilandari, the second of the two Bulgarian monasteries, which contains also a number of Servians. It stands between wooded hills at the head of a narrow valley, and in consequence of its position is somewhat unhealthy. In the church is kept the staff of Andronicus Comnenus, who retired hither at the end of his life, and also a MS. the most precious of all that exist on Athos, which was the gift of that emperor, and is in perfect preservation, from having been kept with the sacred relics. It is a 4to Greek MS. of St. John's Gospel, of about the 12th century, written in gold letters on white vellum: there are very few manuscripts like it in existence.

On both our visits to this monastery I was struck with the intelligence shown by the leading monks. On the first occasion I was much impressed by a father called Hilarion, and on enquiring for him subsequently, I found that he had been promoted to a high office in Bulgaria, and having taken the national side in the Bulgarian movement against the Patriarch of Constantinople, had afterwards been deprived. This time I had a long conversation with one of the superiors, called Nilus, a man of imposing appearance, whose strong countenance, quick eye, long grey hair, and benevolent expression, were eminently attractive; and he was liberal-minded as well as devout. Speaking to me of other churches, he said, "The Church is now divided, but all are Christians, and our first object ought to be to make it one again. The proper way to bring this about is to ignore minor differences as far as possible, and to leave each Church

free to maintain its established customs. If I were to visit England, I ought to be free to worship according to the rites to which I am accustomed; if a member of the English Church comes here, he should have the same freedom." He thought there was hope of bringing this about, especially in case of the downfall of the Papacy, which he regarded as the great difficulty in the way of the unity of the Church. A book of travels is not the proper place for discussing theories of Christian union or comprehension, but I believe Nilus struck the right nail on the head. All honour to those who, in whatsoever way, endeavour to promote harmony among Christian communions; but when we consider the vast differences which almost necessarily exist between them, arising in great measure from temperament, from modes of thought, and from deeply-rooted associations, it is hard to conceive that a permanent basis of agreement could be fixed on any other principle than that just stated. No doubt, in such a case, some common standard of doctrine would be required, which should be accepted by all; but such a one we have ready to hand in the one only form of faith which has been established and ratified by the whole Christian Church—the Nicene creed.

When we talked to the monks, as we often did, about their relation to other Christian churches, and to our own in particular, the answers they gave us were almost always sympathetic and liberal. "Do you receive the Gospels? Do you believe in the Trinity? Are you baptized?" asked one. "Very well; then you are a true Christian." Another volunteered the remark that all the Churches are one, the test being belief in Christ. "The Ottomans," he said, "have also a Church, but them we cannot include, because they do not believe in

Christ." These expressions, however, we must not take for more than what they really mean. When I was discussing the subject with the librarian of St. Dionysius', who was a rigid disciplinarian, and seized the points of difference in preference to those of agreement, I asked him at last the plain question, "Do you then consider us to be heretics?" "No," he replied, "you are not heretics, but you are not of the Orthodox Church." This exactly represents the point of view from which we are generally regarded by members of the Eastern communion; and the same thing is taught in their catechisms, namely, that the universal Church is the aggregate of all the bodies of Christians which are found throughout the world, but that to belong to one of these is a very different thing from membership in the Church to which they have the privilege of belonging. In short, they regard us almost exactly in the same way as a large number of English Churchmen regard the dissenters in their own country—that is to say, they acknowledge the reality of our Christian faith, and its vitality, as shown by the fruits it produces, and would shrink from denying that we shall ultimately be saved; but at the same time they feel themselves unable to consider us as being in the same safe and, so to speak, guaranteed position as themselves. It will be seen, however, that there are some, like Nilus, who take a wider view.

CHAPTER VI.

MOUNT ATHOS (*continued*).

Canal of Xerxes — Sphigmenou — The Central Ridge — The Russian Monastery — Estimate of the Monastic System — The future of the Holy Mountain — History of the Community — Earliest Period — Time of the Comneni — Attack by the Latins — Time of the Palæologi — Cantacuzene — Theological Movements — Submission to the Turks — Later History.

WE have now reached the last of the monasteries at this end of the peninsula ; but before we turn our faces once more in the other direction, a few words ought to be said about the canal and its environs, which we investigated when returning from Athos to Salonica by land in 1853. The isthmus through which it was cut is just a mile and a half in width, and the ground immediately about it is low, so that even in the middle, where there are some slight undulations, it hardly rises more than fifty feet above the sea. Thus the description of Herodotus is very accurate, as he speaks of it as “a neck of land about twelve furlongs across, the whole extent whereof, from the sea of the Acanthians to that over against Torone, is a level plain, broken only by a few low hills.”¹ Through this isthmus the canal of Xerxes was cut, and the deep dyke which still remains, and forms the boundary of the Holy Mountain, is now called by the inhabitants *Provlaka*, which name is evidently the corruption of a word (*προαὐλαξ*) signifying “the canal in

¹ Herod. vii. 22.

front of the peninsula of Athos." Thus the doubts of Juvenal and other writers, both ancient and modern, as to the execution of Xerxes' project, are proved to have been groundless. In the middle, it is true, it is not traceable for some distance; but it has been suggested, with great probability, that this part was afterwards filled up in order to allow a more ready passage into and out of the peninsula. The canal is best traceable on the southern side, where it is deep and continuous, varying in breadth from time to time from the soil having accumulated in places, and marshy at intervals, even in summer; in the wet season a considerable stream of water is said to flow down through it. Near the point where it reaches the sea on this side stood the ancient town of Sane. The whole place was carefully surveyed for the Admiralty by Captain Spratt. I may here mention, also, that when approaching from this direction the neighbouring village of Erisso (Acanthus), which lies on the other side of some low hills to the north-west, I passed a large and high mound, which at first I took for the acropolis, until the real acropolis came in view, with remains of Hellenic walls on one of its sides. I have little doubt that this was the tomb of Artachæes, who superintended the cutting of the canal, for Herodotus speaks of his having been buried at Acanthus, and of a mound having been raised over his grave by the whole Persian army.²

The next monastery to Chilandari is Sphigmenu (τοῦ ἐσφιγμένου), which derives its name from its *confined* position between wooded heights, which here approach one another in the recesses of a little bay. We were much interested in this place, because at the time of our

² Herod. vii. 117.

former visit a large part of the front had been washed down by the encroachments of the sea, and the hegumen expressed great anxiety about obtaining funds to restore it. During the interval he had visited Russia and other countries, where he had collected the requisite sums, and the new building had been finished about a year, and presented a substantial and handsome appearance. The hegumen himself, too, had grown stout and hearty in the process; he was much pleased with the contribution which we tendered to him, having been unable to find any channel of communication with him while we were in England. Anthimus, the ex-patriarch of Constantinople, was residing in the monastery at this time: after his deposition he had come here of his own accord.

It took us five hours to ride from Sphigmenu to Caryes, by a path along the central ridge, descending occasionally on one side or the other, and frequently overlooking precipitous banks of wood, which shelved downwards from our feet. At one point the humble and homely Constamonitu appeared, nestling in its narrow valley; in the opposite direction the lordly buildings of Vatopedi were conspicuous on the shore. In many places the peak was visible, and the wide sea of course lay below us on both sides; but the prettiest effects were produced by the vignette views, seen through the depressions, where now and then two or three peeps of the blue water opened out at once on different sides. It is one of the finest rides in the peninsula. In one place a large eagle rose just below us, and soared away. On reaching the village we had a parting interview with the "First Man," and, after revisiting our friends at Cutlumusi, mounted again to the ridge by a steep track through dense forests, and then descended to Russico, or the Russian monastery, on the western coast, where

we arrived just before the gates were closed for the night.

In this society there are 300 monks,—Greeks, Russians, Servians, and Bulgarians,—and it has the name of being a very strict and well-ordered body, notwithstanding the various elements of which it is composed. The Greeks predominate in numbers, and the hegumen is of this race, but many of the features of the place are Russian, such as whitewash, green cupolas, chiming bells, and tea. This is the only convent where the service is performed in two languages. In the others, if any members of other nationalities come to reside, they have to conform to the worship of the majority—a thing which is not very edifying to them, as they can understand but little: here, however, there are two principal churches, one for the Greek and the other for the Slavonic service. The Russian church has very few Byzantine features about it; the architecture and pictures are Italian; it was consequently uninteresting enough, but the harmonious and musical sound of their chanting, and the chiming of the bells for Vespers, was highly agreeable. On great festivals the bells are sounded, as they are ordinarily in Russia, during the recital of the Nicene Creed; a custom which has been noticed as illustrating the prominence which Eastern Christianity has always given to doctrinal orthodoxy. Amongst the Greeks, however, it is unknown.

On the evening of the following day the Russian steamer from Constantinople touched here, on her way to Salonica, and we embarked on board of her, and bade farewell to the Holy Mountain. And now that we have left the sacred shores, let us cast a retrospective glance at them, and see what opinion we have formed of these monasteries, which are the very centre of the Greek

Church, and are regarded with so great veneration by all Eastern Christians.

Our estimate of them will vary, as we fix our thoughts on the present or the past. Probably a considerable number of the monks regard the monastic system in no other light than as a source of personal benefit to themselves. The theory, however, which the more thoughtful of them maintain is this,—that these bodies serve as an example of holy life, as they contain a number of men devoted to piety and religion ; that they maintain intact the old customs and principles ; that their constant prayers are a support to the Church ; and that in prosperous times they become seats of learning. How far this theory, even supposing it to be tenable, is carried out in practice, may be gathered from the fact that our dragoman, a trustworthy man, assured us that he had never heard so much foul and disgusting language as in the conversation of the lower monks, among whom he was thrown. We are not to suppose that this applies to the conversation of the ordinary monks, but to a certain number of *mauvais sujets*, who are to be found in each monastery ; yet it is in part the result of the system. Take a number of uneducated peasants from any country, separate them from female society, and give them a certain amount of leisure ; the result will be, that even the purest religious influences, unalloyed by superstition, will not prevent a large amount of evil from being fostered among them. Notwithstanding that we find much that is pleasing in the life of the monks, and that strict morality is enforced by the rigid discipline, yet we cannot but draw the conclusion that eastern monastic life has here been tried on a large scale, is displayed to the greatest advantage—and has failed.

But, whatever may be their faults, and however false,

in a healthy state of the church, the monastic system may be, yet, looking to the past, we must remember that they were once to a certain extent strongholds of learning, and still more strongholds of faith in the midst of unbelievers. To one who reads, however cursorily, the history of the Greek Church, the great source of wonder is, not that its faith has been overlaid by superstition, but that it has retained its Christianity at all: and to this the monasteries have in no slight degree contributed. Besides this, they have served as refuges for the persecuted, and for those perplexed by the distractions and confusions of the world. Thousands have been saved from suicide by their means. And from this point of view the need of them cannot be said to have wholly passed away; for as long as the Turks remain in Europe, the Christians will be persecuted, and as long as they are persecuted, they will need a refuge.

It is a difficult matter to speculate on what may be the future of the Holy Mountain. It was a subject on which we often talked to the monks, and they invariably connected their own future with the political future of Turkey. When the happy period arrives, to which all Greeks look forward, when they are to regain Constantinople, Athos, they think, may once more become the learned place which they believe it to have been in former times. Yet some of them were not slow to see that freedom would open to men various sources of occupation, which would cause them to be less disposed for the monastic calling. It may also be doubtful how far an educational system can be engrafted on the present life of the place, as the experiment was tried in the last century by Eugenius Bulgaris, whose school, as I have already mentioned, ultimately failed. Yet this is the best thing which we can hope for them. We should not wish

to see so venerable an institution destroyed, root and branch, if it is possible by any means to adapt it to the exigencies of a coming time. Let us hope that its suitability for a seat of learning, from its central, healthy, and secluded position, may hereafter be appreciated, and that its fine buildings may not be left to the ravages of time, to the unavailing regret of future generations.

In conclusion, let me add a very brief history of this unique community, the permanence of which as an institution is altogether unparalleled. The first distinct mention of monks on Athos is in the reign of Basil the Macedonian, who issued a rescript in the year A.D. 885, forbidding the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to disturb "the holy hermits." At that time it appears that these monks were dependent on a monastery at Hierisso (Erisso)—a restriction on their freedom which was removed by the next emperor, Leo the Philosopher: and from the fact that they are termed "hermits" (*οἱ τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον ἐλόμενοι*), we may conclude that no monastery had yet been founded on the Holy Mountain. Very shortly afterwards, however, such a society must have been formed, for in 924 a golden bull of Romanus Lecapenus speaks of the restoration by that emperor of the monastery of Xeropotamu, which had been destroyed by the Saracens, and was now rebuilt, with a handsome church, strong walls and towers, and dwellings for sick persons and strangers. But its prosperity was not of long duration, though whether it was again destroyed by the Saracens, or what other causes may have contributed to its downfall, we know not: but otherwise we could not account for the miserable condition in which the inhabitants of the mountain are described as being at the time of the building of the Lavra, and the fact that its

founder, St. Athanasius, is regarded as the real author of the existing system. Of the erection of his monastery (about A.D. 960), with the help of Nicephorus Phocas, we have already spoken ; but his ideas on the subject of the monastic community and its future development seem to have extended beyond this, for the office of "First Man" was founded in his time, apparently as a means of combining and regulating a number of separate societies. About the same period the village of Caryes, which even before this had been a meeting-place for the hermits, was appointed to be the seat of government. The effect of this is seen in the establishment, within a few years, of three other important convents, also on the eastern coast of the peninsula—Iveron and Vatopedi before the end of that century, and Sphigmenu at the commencement of the next. By the time of Constantine Monomachus, less than 100 years from the time of St. Athanasius, the monastic buildings, which had then numbered 58, amounted to 180, containing 700 monks. From that emperor they received a second constitution, in which the intrusion of the female sex was strongly prohibited, and various disputes about land, which had already risen between the various societies, were settled. From him also the peninsula received the name of the Holy Mountain.

Then follows the time of the Comneni (1056-1204); characterized by violent opposition to the Latin Church and Western ideas, together with a temporary resuscitation of Byzantine literature. The emperors of that race, finding the monastic system a support to them in carrying out those ideas, showered their favours upon these convents, and made them independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who in early times had appointed the First Man, and exercised a visitatorial authority. Meanwhile the monasteries of Philotheu and

Caracalla had arisen on the eastern coast, and those of Xenophu and Docheiareiu on the western; and to these Pantocratoros and Cutlumusi were added under Manuel and Alexius Comnenus. The fact that one so much interested in literary and theological pursuits as the latter of these two emperors should have been so partial to these convents, renders it probable that at that time they were homes of study and learning. Another event of some importance to the Greek Church, from its tendency to combine the nationalities of which it was composed, took place during his reign in the foundation of Chilandari, the first purely Slavonic monastery. Fallmerayer, indeed, maintains that the majority of the inmates of all the convents were from the first of Slavonic origin—a conclusion which he bases mainly on the fact that old service books in that language are found in many of the libraries.³ And though this assumption is contrary to historical probability, yet it is shown by the evidence of names, that some persons of that race had settled on Athos as early as the end of the 10th century. But this convent was founded exclusively for them, with the leave of the emperor, by the Servian Prince Stephen Nemanja, who himself retired thither; and so independent was their position that at first they were not subject to the control of the First Man, and the other monks were forbidden to interfere in their affairs. These circumstances serve to explain its remote position at the further end of the peninsula.

The taking of Constantinople by the Latins (A.D. 1204) could not fail to have disastrous consequences for the Holy Mountain. Everywhere the Greek rite was treated with the utmost contumely, and the Greek priests and

³ 'Fragmenta aus dem Orient,' ii. p. 32.

monks were regarded as heretics, and made the objects of unrelenting persecution. With a barbarity worthy of the Saracens, a number of the invaders landed on the coast, and having erected a fort to serve as their head-quarters, destroyed the churches, pillaged the monasteries, and put the monks to the torture, in order to discover the secret of concealed treasures. Reduced to despair by this merciless treatment, the unfortunate community applied for aid to a quarter which, under other circumstances, would have been the last for them to have recourse to—Pope Innocent III. That far-sighted prelate, amongst whose extensive plans the reconciliation of the Eastern Church was one, seized the opportunity of displaying his power and his magnanimity. His answer to the monks breathes a tone of lofty conciliation. He believed the time was come when Samaria would return to Jerusalem. The mountain of the Lord, to which all nations flow, had chosen *their* mountain as a representative of its name; and it was a holy spot, a house of God, a fitting arena for the struggle with Satan. In answer, therefore, to their humble supplications, he agreed to take them under the protection of St. Peter and the Holy See, confirmed to them the immunities and privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, and undertook to defend them from their persecutors. What was the effect of this letter we have no means of judging, but we may conclude that the influence of the Pope availed in their favour, as we hear nothing more of Athos until after the expulsion of the Latins from Constantinople (A.D. 1261).

The succeeding period was not marked by events of any great importance. The Palæologi seem to have followed the example of their predecessors in bestowing

donations of land on the monasteries, and they were further enriched by gifts from the Servian princes. Among the latter the distinguished Stephen Dushan is mentioned as having visited them in 1345, together with his wife; from which we gather that the exclusion of females was not absolute; though, in fact, the same thing has occurred in the present day, Lord Stratford having been allowed on one occasion to bring some of the ladies of his family to the monastery of St. Paul. At this time also Zographu, the second Slavonic convent, was founded. In the struggle between Michael Palæologus and the Patriarch Arsenius, and in the movements resulting from the intrigues of that emperor with the Western Church, the monks took the popular side against him, and in consequence, on one occasion, brought down his vengeance upon them. The other notices which have come down to us refer mainly to restrictions on the power of the First Man, whose office had gradually assumed overweening proportions. The Patriarch now once more regained his influence over the society; the neighbouring Bishop of Erisso, who from early times had had certain episcopal rights over the peninsula, was restored to his former footing; and there are traces of the establishment of a consultative body, composed of the leading monks, which may have been the original of the present representative system. But even with these limitations, the office with its executive powers was something very different from what it is at present, when its holder is merely the president of an assembly.

The middle of the 14th century, however, brought with it events, both political and theological, in which the monks of Athos took a prominent part. The

leading personage of this period is John Cantacuzene, who in his successive characters of rebel against Andronicus I., friend and counsellor of Andronicus II., regent and guardian of his son John Palæologus, and ultimately of emperor, stands out as the most prominent figure in the later Byzantine annals. His history is in many ways interwoven with that of the monks. Already, in the struggle between the two Andronici, the elder of the two emperors had sent Isaac, the First Man of Athos at that period, to his grandson in the character of a mediator ; and, later on, after the death of the younger Andronicus, when the queen, his widow, was persuaded to declare against the authority of Cantacuzene as regent, the same man was employed by him, together with Macarius, the hegumen of the Lavra, the future patriarch Callistus, and another monk famed for his sanctity, to exhort the queen to peace, and to warn her against introducing the horrors of civil war. So intimate was Cantacuzene's connection with the monks of the Holy Mountain, and so consistently did he defend them from the charges of heresy brought against them, that he was suspected of having betaken himself to them during the lifetime of Andronicus II., in order to avail himself of their prophetic power to discover his future prospects. At last, when the tide of fortune finally turned against him, he determined to embrace the monastic profession, for which he had for some time cherished a secret longing, and retired to Athos, where he composed his history and ended his life. His son Matthew, too, who had been associated with him in the empire, and the historian Nicephorus Gregoras, with other writers of the period, betook themselves to this retreat, so that Athos became a home

at once for men of learning, and for politicians weary of the world.

Among the theological movements of this time, the most prominent was that of the Hesychasts, who maintained the doctrine of the uncreated light of Tabor, together with other mystical views connected with it, which we have already noticed. The dispute, which gave occasion for four councils, and involved emperors and patriarchs in its confusion, continued for ten years (1341-51), Gregory Palamas being the leader of the monks' party, on which side also Cantacuzene was found, while Nicephorus Gregoras supported Barlaam and their other opponents. But this was not the only cause of theological excitement. It was commonly reported, and there is good reason for thinking the charge well founded, that the belief of many of the monks was impregnated with the tenets of the Massalians, a sect which had arisen among the Slavonic races in the reign of Alexius Comnenus. They were Dualists, and their doctrines in many respects resembled those of some of the early Gnostics—a class of views to which extravagant asceticism has always proved favourable. The suspicion went so far, that in 1351 a formal investigation was set on foot against the First Man Nephon, before the bishops of Salonica and Erisso; and though they decided that he had done nothing more than receive beggars and needy strangers of that sect, and “that the sun is sometimes darkened with clouds only to shine with greater lustre afterwards,” yet for a time the caloyers were brought into considerable disrepute.

The century which intervened before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks was a time of prosperity to these societies, nor did the long death-struggle of the

empire affect them injuriously. It seemed almost as if the emperors and leading men of that time, conscious of the increasing weakness of their position, were disposed to make over a part of their possessions to what seemed to them the safer keeping of the monks. The number of the convents on the western coast was increased in the latter half of the fourteenth century by St. Dionysius', Simopetra, Constamonitu, Russico, and St. Paul's, and numerous dotations in land and tithes were made to those already existing. When the councils of Ferrara and Florence (1438-9) were held, and the last attempt was made to enlist the powers of the West in the defence of Constantinople, by the reunion, or rather submission, of the Eastern to the Latin Church, these caloyers were the strongest opponents of any such concessions. But for themselves, they had already made their terms with the conqueror. The siege and storming of Salonica by Sultan Amurath had in all respects been a lesson to them. There the conqueror had made favourable offers to the Greek Christians, as opposed to the Venetian garrison, whom he treated as Western intruders; and the pillage which accompanied his conquest warned them what they had to suffer in case of resistance. Moreover, the violence and oppressiveness of the Latins had caused the ecclesiastics to regard the advance of the Mahometans in the light of a deliverance. Accordingly they sent an embassy to him, offering to submit to his government, and requesting a confirmation of their immunities and the possession of their territories—a request to which they obtained an unexpectedly favourable reply. So far indeed was the goodwill carried between the monks of that time and the Turkish conquerors, that in a MS. lately discovered by Professor Tischendorf, there is found

an exaggerated laudation of Mahomet II. by Critobulus, a caloyer of Athos, in which his heroic deeds are celebrated, and every virtue ascribed to him.

From that time to the present the fortunes of the Holy Mountain have been for the most part uneventful, and its position almost unchanged. Soliman the Magnificent is the only Sultan who seems to have attacked the monks ; in his reign their territory was laid waste with fire and sword, and great injury inflicted. On the other hand, his predecessor Selim I. bestowed great favours on them ; and though they have had to bear heavy taxation and exactions, yet they have been allowed to exercise their religion undisturbed. In this way their isolation as a purely Christian community in the midst of the Mahometans caused them to become a bulwark of the Christian faith, and a beacon-light to the whole Eastern Church. The last founded of the monasteries was Stavroniceta, which was established in 1545. The protectorate, which had previously been exercised by the Greek emperors, now passed into the hands of the Hospodars or Voyvodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, who enriched the societies with numerous benefactions. For some time, learning seems to have flourished among them ; thus Metrophanes Critopulus, a young man who was sent to England and Germany by the reforming prelate, Cyril Lucar, with a view of introducing western learning into the east, had been educated on Athos. But the natural tendency of their mode of life, in the absence of any stimulus from without, worked itself out as time went on, and left them as they are now, uninstructed and unprogressive. In all probability, the present century will prove to have affected their fortunes more than any preceding one. The confiscation of their goods in free Greece by Capodistrias, at

the end of the War of Independence, was the beginning of a change, and now the loss of their property in the Principalities must affect them still further. The next move, whatever that may be, will probably accompany the downfall of the Turkish empire, whenever that event comes to pass.⁴

⁴ The facts contained in this notice are mostly from Gass's '*Commentatio Historica de Claustis in Monte Atho sitis*;' the original documents are to be found in the '*Urkundenverzeichniss*,' in J. Müller's '*Denkmäler in den Klöstern von Athos*.'

CHAPTER VII.

SALONICA TO MONASTIR.

Salonica — Its Triumphal Arches — Inscription — Population and History — The Egnatian Way — Roads in Turkey — The Vardar — Khans — Site of Pella — Yenidjé — Vodena — Its Beautiful Situation — The Ancient Edessa — Village and Lake of Ostrovo — Subterranean Channels — Gurnitzovo — Pigs in Turkey — Nidjé and Peristeri — Approach to Monastir.

ABOUT nine o'clock on the morning after we left Athos, the steamer cast anchor in the harbour of Salonica, which forms the innermost bay of the long gulf in which the *Ægean* terminates towards the north-west. As seen from the sea, the aspect of the place is very striking, and recalls the appearance of Genoa, though it is far inferior to that magnificent city. From the water's edge the houses rise gradually up the hill sides towards the north, until they reach the castle which crowns the summit. Like that at Constantinople, it bears the name of the Seven Towers, and was probably called so before the time of the Turkish occupation. Behind it rise the lofty heights of Mount *Khortiatzi*, from which it is separated by a ridge and a depression; at this point two valleys commence, and gradually diverge from one another as they descend towards the sea, while their inner sides are surmounted by the picturesque lines of white walls which enclose the city, and are defended at their extremities by two massive towers which rise from the water. In this way, its triangular form, the compact mass of buildings which it presents at one view to the eye, and the numerous elegant minarets which

stand up among them, combine to form an imposing spectacle.

Within, the place is intersected in its lower part by one long street, which runs from east to west, marking the line of the old Via Egnatia, and crossed by two Roman triumphal arches, through which the road entered Thessalonica from the two sides. One of these, which lies some little way within the eastern wall, is a fine arch of brick springing from piers cased in white marble, which are ornamented with an elaborate cornice, and below with sculptured representations of a triumphal procession. This has been thought to have been erected in honour of Constantine, who visited this place after subduing the Sarmatians; but from the very debased character of the sculpture, Leake is disposed to attribute it to the time of Theodosius, whose victories over the Goths were a common subject on the monuments of his age. The other and smaller arch is situated just inside the western wall, close to the Vardar gate, as the modern entrance is called, from its leading in the direction of that river. It is massively built of stone, but the construction is rude, and hardly worthy of a monument erected in commemoration of the battle of Philippi, as Beaujour supposed it to be. Another argument against its being of so early a date, is the occurrence in an inscription on one of the piers of the names *Flavius Sabinus* as belonging to one of the magistrates of that time; from which we may infer that it is later than Vespasian's age, as those names must have been adopted from his family.¹ On the outer side of the arch, under the capitals of both pilasters, is the figure of a horse with hogged mane, and by its side a man wearing a toga. But the principal interest attaching to it is owing to the

¹ Boeckh., 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' No. 1967, *note*.

name of "Politarchs," which is given in the inscription to the chief officers of the city, thereby confirming the passage in the Acts (xvii. 6), where the magistrates of this place are called by the same unusual name. In fact, this title does not occur again, except in one other inscription, also referring to Thessalonica, which is mentioned by a French writer of the last century.² They seem to have been seven in number.

The day after our arrival we paid a visit to Mr. Wilkinson, at the British Consulate, and there made the acquaintance of Mr. Crosbie, the Scotch Presbyterian missionary, who is well known for the attention which he shows to visitors to Salonica. Under his auspices we visited the ecclesiastical antiquities of the place; and as the ancient churches have all been converted into mosques, the assistance of one who is acquainted with the Mahometan guardians was of great service in procuring a speedy admittance. Two of these were originally Pagan temples, and several others, which are of Byzantine construction, are of the greatest value for the history of art: in this respect, Salonica is only second to Constantinople. As full details and illustrations of these buildings have been lately published in Texier and Pullan's magnificent work on Byzantine architecture, which is principally devoted to this city and Trebizond, there is no need for me to say anything further about

² The Abbé Belley, in the 'Académie des Inscriptions,' xxxviii. p. 125. All attempts to recover the original of this inscription have been unavailing. The inscription on the gateway has often been copied, but the only accurate reproduction of it is that given by Mr. Vaux of the British Museum in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. viii., new series. Since this was written, my friend Mr. Curtis, of Constantinople, has found an inscription at Monastir, brought from a place twelve miles distant from that city, in which the magistrates are called Politarchs. This shows that the title was not confined to Thessalonica, but was found elsewhere in Macedonia. See Appendix B.

them. But as we shall return more than once to this city in the course of our travels, it may be well for me to give some information as to its population and history.

Of the sixty thousand inhabitants of Salonica two-thirds are Jews, the rest being Turks and Greeks, together with a few Wallachs, Armenians, and Franks. The number of Jews is at first sight surprising, and the variation of numbers in the computations of different travellers is so great as to suggest doubts on the subject. Thus Leake estimates them at only 13,000; Cousinéry at 20,000; the 'Jewish Intelligencer' for 1849³ at 35,000; Miss Mackenzie at 40,000. These differences illustrate the difficulty of arriving at accuracy in matters of statistics in Turkey, while in the present case the question is more than usually involved by the Jews having contrived, in order to avoid taxation, that their numbers should be returned officially at a very much lower figure than the reality. But when we find that Paul Lucas, writing in 1714, estimates them at 30,000, and remember that they have always been highly favoured in this place, and that no cause has operated to check their increase, we see no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement given above. From early times the Hebrew race seems to have been attracted by the commercial advantages of Salonica. Thus when St. Paul preached there, he found a considerable Jewish community. And in the twelfth century the traveller of that nation, Benjamin of Tudela, speaks of them as amounting to five hundred. But by far the larger proportion of the present Jewish population are descended from those who were expelled from Spain and migrated hither in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, as is proved by their still speaking among themselves a debased form of Spanish. A large number

In Conybeare and Howson's 'Life and Epistles of St. Paul,' i. p. 383.

of them are rich merchants, and a great part of the wealth of the place is in their hands.

To turn now to the history of Salonica. The Greek city of Therma, which first occupied this site, though a place of some consideration, did not give promise of its future greatness. It was not until Roman times, when, under its new name of Thessalonica, it became an important point on the line of communication between Rome and the East, that it came to be regarded as a centre, and was acknowledged as the chief city of Macedonia. From the establishment of the Imperial power to the building of Constantinople it was the capital of the whole country from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; and the position of the two gates now existing, together with the Roman work found in the modern walls, prove that its extent could not have been very different then from what it is at present. After the founding of the new seat of empire it retained its importance as a stronghold of resistance to the barbarians, who now began to inundate the neighbouring countries. From the fourth to the end of the eighth century it succeeded in repelling the invaders; first the Goths, and then the numerous Slavonic tribes who descended from the Danube. But it is from the calamities that have befallen it at various times that Thessalonica is principally known in history. The fearful massacre of the citizens by the order of Theodosius, which has been rendered famous by the excommunication of that emperor, and his exclusion from the cathedral of Milan by St. Ambrose, was the first in this list of tragedies. It was occasioned by the murder of the emperor's lieutenant by the populace; on hearing the news of which, in an access of fury, Theodosius sent word from Milan, where he then resided, that the inhabitants should be gathered together into the hippodrome

on pretence of a spectacle, and there slaughtered by his soldiers. A memorial of the scene of this event still remains in a handsome white marble portico near the centre of the town, which was probably the entrance to the hippodrome. It is called by the neighbouring Jews, in whose quarter it stands, *Las Incantadas*, or "the enchanted women," from the eight caryatides which stand in the upper part of the structure, and were supposed to have been petrified by the effect of magic. Subsequently to this, the city was three times besieged and captured. In the year 904 a Saracen fleet appeared before it, and after storming the sea-wall, pillaged the whole place, and butchered the citizens without respect of sex or age. A large number of those who were spared were carried off and sold as slaves in various parts of the Mediterranean. Again, in 1185, another enemy arose from a different quarter. The Normans of Sicily, under their commander Tancred, having landed at Dyrrhachium, marched across and gained possession of Thessalonica after a ten days' siege. An account of the barbarities that were perpetrated on that occasion, and the wanton insults offered by the Latins to the Greek rite, has been left us by Eustathius, the celebrated commentator, who was Archbishop of that city at the time. Still later, in 1430, occurred the final siege by Sultan Amurath II., which has already been referred to in connection with Mount Athos. Since that time it has remained in possession of the Turks, and has continued to be a place of importance; though, if Mr. Finlay is right in estimating its population at 220,000 at the time of the Saracen siege, it must have greatly declined since the Middle Ages. But from its fine harbour and admirable commercial position relatively to the interior of European Turkey, it can hardly fail at some future time, under more favourable

auspices, to regain a considerable portion of its former greatness.

After remaining two days at Salonica, we were prepared to start afresh, and penetrate once more into the interior; our object being now to make for Corfu, which was the next stage in our journey. There are two routes by which that place may be reached from Salonica; the one by Larissa and Joannina, the other through Central Albania, by Monastir, Elbassan, and Berat. The former of these is in some respects the most interesting, as it comprises, besides the two cities already named, the Vale of Tempe and plains of Thessaly, the monasteries of Meteora and Zitza, and the gorge of the Acheron. This route we had taken on a former occasion, and I hope to give some account of it later on. We now determined to follow the more northerly course, which gives you unusual opportunities of studying the various races of European Turkey, especially the wilder tribes of Albanians. Besides this, as far as Elbassan, it corresponds in great measure, if not entirely, to the line of the Egnatian Way, which for many centuries was the great artery of communication between Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem; and again, during the Middle Ages, it was on two occasions the route by which the Normans made inroads into the Eastern empire, and was the scene of many important conflicts in later Byzantine history.

During the two days that we remained at Salonica the weather had been cloudy and stormy, and I then realised what I had never felt before—the pleasure of pale colours. After the glare of sunshine and bright tints to which we had been accustomed, the cool greys and browns of the sky and mountains were quite a relief to the eye. When, however, on the 27th of August, we left Salonica by the

Vardar gate, we were unpleasantly reminded of England by a driving rain and northerly wind. The first part of the way we rode along the remains of a wretched road, full of ruts and mire, the history of which is worth relating, as a specimen of the way in which things are done in Turkey. The authorities determined that a *Route Impériale* should be made from Salonica to Monastir; the Pasha fixed a day for the inauguration; all the foreign consuls were requested to appear, each with his spade; the Turkish engineer also came with a theodolite, which he did not know how to use; the ceremony was celebrated with great pomp; and the result is—that from Salonica to Vodena, the most important part of the way, almost the only approach to a road is this wretched piece, which has now been allowed to fall into decay. Escaping from this we entered on a sandy plain, which reaches for sixty miles westward from Salonica, and is bounded on three sides by mountains of considerable height; in this part it is tufted by numerous tamarisk bushes, and bears many large tumuli. The only persons whom we met on the way were a few traders with pack-horses. Throughout the whole distance, at intervals, we found two parallel trenches cut, about twenty yards apart, being the commencement of the route, but there were no signs of the road being in course of making. The need of means of communication is the first obstacle in the way of improvement in Turkey at the present day, nor does there seem any prospect of a change for the better in the condition of things in this respect. Now-a-days the cause is rather the inertness of the Government, and the peculation which pervades every branch of the public service; but in former times there was a rooted dislike of any attempt to facilitate locomotion on the part of Turkish politicians, and this in all probability survives

among a certain class of them even now. M. Kinneir has pertinently remarked on this subject, in his 'Memoir of the Persian Empire,' that "It is a favourite idea with all barbarous princes that the badness of the roads adds considerably to the natural strength of their dominions. The Turks and Persians are undoubtedly of this opinion; the public highways are therefore neglected, and particularly so towards the frontiers."⁴

We had been late in starting from the city, in consequence of the *kharidji*, or carrier, whose horses we had hired for the journey, refusing to go, on account of the bad weather. We had neglected to take from him the *caparra*, or deposit, which may always be required when an agreement of this kind is made, until the horses are forthcoming: thus we had no means of holding him to his bargain, and were forced at the last moment to look out for another man. In consequence of this we were unable to reach the town of Yenidje, as we intended, and were forced to stop at a country *khan*, or inn, on the banks of the Vardar or Axios, whose red muddy stream is here crossed by a long wooden bridge. The turbid water of this river is mentioned by Strabo,⁵ who finds a difficulty in reconciling it with the Homeric description, "the fairest stream that flows on earth." The unhealthiness of the neighbourhood was shown by the appearance of the *khanji*, or innkeeper, a young Greek, with a yellow face and swollen legs. In like manner Salonica, from the proximity of marshes and undrained land, has a bad name for fevers throughout the Levant; and though the English residents there combat this statement, yet it was confirmed by the numerous Italian *commis voyageurs* who occupied the same *locanda* with

⁴ Kinneir's 'Persia,' p. 43.

⁵ vii. Fragm. 21, 23.

ourselves, almost all of whom were suffering from malaria. As the general features of most khans are the same, I will describe our resting-place. It is a square enclosure, on one side of which are haylofts and stables, while on the opposite side are a number of small chambers, destined for the human part of the company, with clay floors and walls, and a thatched roof, through a hole in which, in the absence of windows, ventilation is conveniently carried on. The only furniture is a rush mat for each person. In one of these unpromising abodes, if there are neither rats nor scorpions (we heard of the latter, but never saw them), you can make yourself fairly comfortable. I used to have a quantity of hay brought in to serve as a bed; on this were spread railway rugs, of which we had a plentiful supply; and over all the *levinge*,⁶ or sleeping-bag, within which the traveller is safe from all kinds of vermin. A knapsack or air-cushion, with a great coat, used to serve as a pillow. No doubt a tent and mattresses will ensure you greater comfort, but apart from the expense and delay inseparable from a number of extra baggage-horses, there is one fatal objection to tent-life in these countries—it separates you from the people, and prevents you from seeing their life and habits. The khans in the towns are somewhat less simple in their arrangements than what I have described, but the quantity of vermin that breeds in their wooden floors will soon make you wish yourself back in the country again.

On starting the next morning, I asked our host the name of a mountain to the south-west, whose broad base alone was visible beneath a dense mass of cloud. "Elympos," was his reply. It is remarkable that the great

⁶ A description of this inestimable contrivance is given in Murray's 'Handbook for Greece.'

centre of Homeric mythology should have retained its name to the present time,—alone, I believe, of all the Greek mountains; unless, perhaps, Liakura, the modern name of Parnassus, is a corruption of Likorea, the former name of one of its summits. Athos also must be excepted, but there the name has been preserved by the monks; possibly the existence of the name Olympus may be due to the same cause, for there are several very ancient monasteries on its sides. But, at all events, it is not a mere revival of the classical name, as is the case with so many places in free Greece, for it occurs in some of the Romaic ballads. Further to the south the conical peak of Ossa was visible, separated from Olympus by a depression which marked the position of Tempe, and beyond all rose the broad hump of Pelion. The northern continuation of the range of Olympus, which is called the Bermian chain, lay in front of us, forming the western limit of the plain. After crossing another branch of the Axios by a ferry, we rode on for some distance, passing on the way numbers of four-wheeled carts of very simple construction, drawn by oxen or blear-eyed buffaloes, and driven by peasants with long lance-like staves. The country population throughout the whole district is Bulgarian. At last we reached a khan by the road-side, opposite which is a spring of water issuing from a ruined mass of Roman masonry. The ruins are called "The Baths" (*τὰ λουτρά*) by the people of the country, and are probably the same baths which, in classical times, are alluded to as producing bilious attacks;⁷ the khan and its vicinity bear the name of Pel. This name, together with some pieces of pottery and marble blocks in the fields and Turkish cemeteries, and a number of large

⁷ See the story in 'Athenæus,' viii. p. 348.

tumuli on the low hills to the south, in the neighbourhood of the village of Alaklisi, are the only remains of what was once Pella, the birthplace and capital of Alexander the Great. It is not a striking position for a great metropolis, but its nearness to the sea must have been its chief recommendation. We are now entering the land of the two Iskanders: in this neighbourhood our thoughts are all of Alexander the Great, and before long we shall be passing the country of

“ — his namesake, whose oft-baffled foes
Shrank from his deeds of chivalrous emprise—”

the heroic Scanderbeg. We halted about noon at the town of Yenidje, the views of which, as we approached, were backed by a fine mountain ridge, the Peik Dagħ. In the neighbourhood of this place and of the khan of Pel there extends to the southwards a dull green marsh, and beyond it a lake, though this is not visible from the plain: we were told, however, that a fish which was brought us for our dinner had been caught there. A canal, which ran in this direction in former times, formed a communication between Pella and the sea. The fish of this lake were also famous among the ancients, and were said to be particularly fat in summer.⁸ The marsh used to bear the unprepossessing name of Borboros, or “Mud,” as we learn from a satirical epigram directed against Aristotle, in which that philosopher is attacked for preferring the company of Philip and Alexander to that of the Athenians: he is there said to have “preferred the mouth of the Borboros to the Academy.”⁹

⁸ “Τὸν χρόμιν ἐν Πέλλῃ λήψῃ μέγαν· ἐστὶ δὲ πῖων,
ἀνθέρος ᾗ.”—(‘Athen.,’ vii. p. 328.)

⁹ In Plutarch, ‘De Exilio,’ εἴλετο ναίειν ἀντ’ Ἀκαδημίας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς.

From thence pursuing our course along the plain, later in the day we forded the broad shallow stream of the Moglenitiko, which was probably called Lydias in ancient times. The stream which carries the waters of the lake of Pella into the sea was certainly called by that name, and as the Moglenitiko flows into that lake, and is its principal feeder, it probably bore the same appellation, and was regarded as passing through it. In the lower part of its course it seems to have changed its direction since the time of Herodotus, who speaks of it as joining the Haliacmon,¹⁰ whereas now it flows into the Vardar, just before that river reaches the sea : but in a wide extent of plain, intersected by several large rivers, such a change is easily explicable.¹¹ In the neighbourhood of the Moglenitiko we passed some scenery of a very English character—an open common, with cattle grazing, near which was a Bulgarian village in the midst of trees. At sunset we entered a narrower plain, which forms an offset from the great plain of Salonica. The stream which waters this is a tributary of the river just mentioned, and leads up to Vodena.

This city stands in a singular and most beautiful situation. Below three ranges of mountains, which, when seen from a distance, seem to rise one behind the other, a valley descends, about a mile and a half wide ; nearly half-way down it is filled up from side to side by a level table of land, the base of which projects towards the plain with a gradual curve, like the side of an amphitheatre, and then falls in precipices of some two hundred feet in height. The town lies on the level, and some of its houses overhang the edge of the precipice, which is

¹⁰ 'Herod.,' vii. 127.

¹¹ The statement of Strabo (vii. Fragm. 20), that the lake of Pella was formed by a branch of the Axios, is undoubtedly erroneous.

further diversified by poplars and other trees, and in one or two places by the tall minarets which rise behind. The precipices themselves, which consist of conglomerate rock, are picturesquely ornamented with bushes, while the well-irrigated plain below is covered with fruit-trees, and crops of maize, often rising to the height of ten feet. But the most marked feature of all are the cascades ; for the clear river, which descends from the upper part of the valley, divides into a number of smaller streams, which pass through the town, and plunge at various points down the steep rocks, forming an exquisite addition to the view, wherever a number of them can be seen together. The view from the city, especially that from the Archbishop's palace, which is situated on the verge of the cliff, is not less fine. Beyond the orchards and maize-grounds, which are below you, you look over the narrow plain hemmed in by mountains, and beyond this the wide plain, only bounded, at a distance of sixty miles, by the heights beyond Salonica ; a bright stripe of sea also appears, and the lake of Pella, which from its marshy character we had not seen when crossing the plain : on both sides are fine mountain ranges, and to the south the chain of the *long, many-crested, snowy* Olympus (*μακρὸς πολυδειρὰς ἀγάννιφος Ὀλυμπος*). As it is seen from this point, all the Homeric epithets are strikingly applicable ; even at this season the northern slopes were thickly patched with snow in consequence of the late storms. The position of this city is not less remarkable in a geographical point of view, commanding, as it does, the principal pass, which leads from the plains into the upper regions of Macedonia ; it was this which caused it to be selected early as the site of Edessa, the original capital of Macedonia, before the seat of government was removed to Pella by Philip of Macedon. Even after

that time it continued to be the national hearth of the Macedonian race, and the burial-place of their kings. It may in every respect be truly called a magnificent nursery for a magnificent kingdom.

The interior of the place presents few objects of interest, but in passing through it the eye is everywhere refreshed by the abundance of water, which gushes forth from walls in unexpected places, and courses at will down the middle of the rough pavement of the streets. The point where the stream divides at the back of the city is the favourite lounge of the wealthier citizens, and is admirably adapted for Oriental enjoyment. Here twelve enormous plane-trees rise together in a group, affording a grateful shade, and forming a dim twilight of glancing green, while the ear is soothed by the murmur of rushing waters. The division of the river is said to be of natural formation, but at present its appearance is certainly artificial. Its numerous branches, together with the cascades below, have given the city its Slavonic name of Vodena, or "the place of waters" (*voda*, Slav. for "water").¹²

The valley behind Vodena is green and fertile, and at its head the *Route Impériale*, which in this part for some little distance is a very fair road, winds up a steep mountain-side, commanding superb views over the town and the wide expanse to the east. We were now leaving lower Macedonia, and entering the upper and more mountainous districts of that province. At intervals the valley opened out into narrow plains, the green vegetation of which might at a distance be taken for rich crops,

¹² The ancient name, Edessa, had the same signification, being derived from *bedu*, the Phrygian word for "water." Similarly the Edessa in Mesopotamia is said by Stephanus to have received its name from the force of its waters. *Ægæ*, also, the earlier name of the Macedonian Edessa, perhaps corresponds in meaning to our "springs."

but in reality is nothing but the waving reeds that cover undrained morasses. At the sides of the roads are numerous melon gardens, which, being entirely open, render necessary a constant watch. Thus at some conspicuous point a shed of branches is raised upon a small platform to shelter the guardian of the fruit. The weather had now cleared up, and was bright and fresh, and in consequence of the rain, and the wonderful transparency of the atmosphere, every leaf on the trees, and every stalk of maize, was clearly defined and extraordinarily bright. From this time until we reached Corfu, though travelling in so hilly a country as Albania, we had a continuance of almost unbroken sunshine. The upper part of the pass was rugged and uncultivated. When we began to descend on the other side, we came in sight successively of two lakes; first, the small lake of Gugova, which is situated high up a hill-side; and afterwards that of Ostrovo, a large sheet of water, which appears ten miles long by two broad, running nearly from north to south, and deeply imbedded amongst wild and bare mountains, one of which, above the head of the lake, was sprinkled with snow. This was the peak of Mount Nidjé, the highest point in all the district, reaching an elevation of between seven and eight thousand feet; in respect of its position also it is important, since the mountain system of these parts may be regarded as culminating in it, while to the north of it commences the Babuna range, which forms the eastern boundary of the plain of Monastir.

From the village of Ostrovo, which lies on the shore near the upper end, the object which most attracts the eye is a single mosque with a minaret by its side, which rises out of the water at the distance of half a mile. On inquiring from the inhabitants the history of this building, we found that it is the remains of a submerged town,

which formerly extended from this point to the present line of the shore. Less than a century ago there was no lake in this region, and many towns existed in various parts of the valley; but about sixty years from the present time (so we were told) the waters rose and overwhelmed all the lower part of the valley; and about twenty-five years ago there was a further rise, and all but a small part of the town of Ostrovo was submerged. Again, in 1859, the lake rose several feet, but fortunately retired again: the signs of this last inundation are traceable in several places about the head of the lake. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the formation of the valley, which, like those in the Morea, which contain the lakes of Pheneus and Stymphalus, is so closely hemmed in by the mountains that it has no escape for its waters. No doubt, as in the case of these lakes, there is a subterranean channel, by which the water was formerly carried off, and discharged in the form of a river at a considerable distance, and the lake was formed in consequence of the stoppage of the channel; so that at some future time, when the weight of water is sufficient to remove the obstruction, the lake of Ostrovo may again be replaced by a green valley, and its submerged towns may reappear. When I visited the lake Stymphalus in the spring of 1853, the waters were low, and the cavern, which formed the mouth of the outlet, or Catavothra, as it is called (*τὰ καταβάραθρα, καταβῶθρα*), was visible: the people of these parts did not know of the existence of such a place, but of course, while the lake is full, it is covered by the water. At the same time I should mention that, on bathing near the village, we found the water deep close to the shore, and that there is reason to believe that a lake, though not necessarily of any size, existed here in former times.

The name of Ostrovo is in itself an evidence of this, being derived from *Ostrov*, the Slavonic word for "island." But it is possible that at one period in the interval the lake may have become completely dry.¹³

The phenomena just mentioned seem to have given rise to a variety of legends among the ancient Greeks, such as that of Alpheius pursuing Arethusa beneath the sea, and the reappearance of the latter as a fountain in the island of Ortygia at Syracuse. A curious version of this legend arose at a later period, after it had been modified, apparently, by the pious fancies of Christian pilgrims. It is mentioned by Marifiotti, an old Italian writer,¹⁴ that the Syracusans of his time gave credit to a popular tradition concerning this fountain, that there existed a connexion between it and the river Jordan, since in autumn the fountain was said to throw up leaves of such trees as were known to flourish only on the banks of that river. A similar story with regard to the Alpheius still exists in the islands of the Strophades, which lie off the west coast of the Morea. In the account of those islands, appended to his book on the 'Condition of the Greek Church,' Dean Waddington tells us: "There exists a traditionary circumstance, by which it would seem that nature has intended a perpetual union between the Strophades and the continent; for the monks inform me of faithful records to prove that the Alpheius has frequently presented himself at a well in this island, and deposited there shrubs, flowers, roots, or leaves, which had been confided to him in Elis. The

¹³ The Mediævals seem to have had the idea of there being a catavothra from the lake of Ostrovo, but they supposed its waters to be carried to Vodena. Thus Cedrenus writes (ii. p. 453, ed. Bonn):—"φρούριον δὲ τὰ Βοδηρὰ ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀποτόμου κείμενον, δι' ἧς καταρρεῖ τὸ τῆς λίμνης τοῦ Οστροβοῦ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ γῆς κάτωθεν ῥέον ἀφανῶς κακείσῃ πάλιν ὑποδύμενον."

¹⁴ Quoted in Wilkinson's 'Magna Græcia,' p. 15.

monks, who are certainly not very credulous except where their superstitions are concerned, are bold enough to disbelieve this story; but to me it seems nothing improbable that in his subteraqueous journey to visit his Arethusa, the old river god should pause at this delightful resting-place, and here resign some portion of the tribute intended for his Syracusan mistress."¹⁵ The ancients had not failed to notice the same phenomenon. Thus Pliny, in one of his Letters, speaks of a lake being carried off by a river, "but when this has been visible for a short time, it disappears in a cavern, and flows at a great depth below; and whatever it received before it was engulfed is preserved and brought forth again."¹⁶ Catullus also has framed a somewhat laboured simile out of the disappearance of the water of the lake Pheneus,—

"'Twas then, Laodamia, oh most fair!

From thee was torn a husband, prized above
Thy life and soul; so wert thou hurried there,
Upon the whirling torrent of thy love,

"Into a steep-down gulf, as dark and deep

As that which erst, in Grecian story famed,
Where rolls Pheneus by Cyllene's steep,
From oozy marsh the fertile soil reclaim'd."¹⁷

In cases where the river reappears at a great distance from the lake which supplies it with water, such as the instance which Herodotus mentions, of the Erasinus in Argolis being connected with the Stymphalian lake,¹⁸ the real way in which the correspondence is proved is

¹⁵ 'Waddington, on the Greek Church,' p. 105.

¹⁶ Pliny, viii. 20.

¹⁷ Catull., lxxviii. 109 (Theodore Martin's translation). Mr. Martin reads *Peneus*, which does not suit the passage, and the word is pronounced *Phēnēus*.

¹⁸ Herod. vi. 76.

by the subsidence of the one coinciding with the overflow of the other.¹⁹

We rode round the head of the lake, the heavy oppressive atmosphere of which reminded my companion of that of the Dead Sea, and ascended the rough stony heights on the other side, leading up to the pass which connects this valley with the plain of Monastir. From one point we caught a glimpse of another lake to the south; not, however (as Mr. Lear says, in his 'Journals of a Landscape Painter'), the lake of Castoria, which is hidden by intervening mountains, but that of Sarigöl. At the summit of the pass we stopped the night at the village of Gurnitzovo, the inhabitants of which we at once discovered to be Christians by two infallible signs, one negative and the other positive—the absence of minarets and the presence of pigs. These signs have been noticed by other travellers. In the Journal of the Patriarch Macarius we find the observation, "There is a church in the town, and hogs feed at large in the streets," and Dr. Walsh, in his 'Journey from Constantinople to England,' says of a village in Bulgaria, "Its appearance at once struck me that I had got into a Christian country. In the green before the houses was a large herd of swine, the first I had seen since my arrival in Turkey." In consequence of the pig being in this manner a Christian animal, there is a tax on pigs in Turkey, and this at the present time is of a very oppressive character. Up to the year 1858 it was moderate enough, but since that date the rate has been ten piastres

¹⁹ The numerous words used in Greek to describe this phenomenon show how familiar it must have been to the ancients. Thus the subterranean passage itself was called *βάραθρον* (in Arcadia, *ζέρεθρον*), *βόθρος*, *πόρος*, *ρείθρον* *ὑπόνομον*, *ἔναυλος*, *ἐκρυσις*. The entrance was termed *χάσμα*, the exit *ἐκρηξις*, *ἐκβολή*, *ἀναβολή*, *ἀναχοή*. See Ulrichs' 'Reisen in Griechenland,' p. 223.

(about twenty pence) per head, which is charged when the animal is three months' old. The risk incurred from the payment of so large a tax on so young an animal is so great, that many of them are killed shortly after birth, and the decrease in the numbers bred of late years has been fully 50 per cent. In this way an important article of food is being lost to the peasantry, and subsistence rendered more difficult to them, without any corresponding advantage to the exchequer of the empire.²⁰ The subject population in the country districts of all this part of Turkey is composed of Bulgarian Christians; there is also a considerable Turkish population, and the two races are found sometimes, as at Ostrovo, living together in the same village, sometimes in separate villages. Gurnitzovo was sold by the Porte to Ali Pasha, or, more probably, was forcibly seized by him, and reduced to the condition of a farm, or peculiar. The same thing occurred to a great number of places throughout Thessaly and Epirus. On the death of that chieftain, and the overthrow of his government, the Porte thought fit to retain them as government farms, and in addition to this they are taxed most unmercifully. The people here complained bitterly of their condition. The imperial farms are said to be very badly managed, even as regards the land itself; for since the Government is unwilling to grant long leases, and the tenure is for the most part from year to year, the occupants are naturally unwilling to expend their energy or capital upon it, and the rental is very small, while the land is exhausted without care for the future.

Owing to the elevation of this place (for it is 2900 feet above the sea), the air the next morning was clear and

²⁰ See Farley's 'Turkey,' p. 110.

cold. As we descended, at an hour's distance from the village, we reached a ridge, from which we beheld in front of us the long plain of Monastir stretching away to the north, with the town dimly visible at the foot of the mountains on the western side. The outline of this chain is flat, so that the view can be called grand only from its extent; and the one summit of great elevation, which rises above the rest, lies back from the plain, and is little seen from its opposite side. This is Mount Peristeri, which reaches an elevation somewhat higher than that of Mount Nidjé, and overlooks the valley behind Monastir. Its name, which signifies "The Dove," is an almost singular instance in this part of the country of the use of a Greek word to designate one of the natural features, the rest being almost universally either Turkish, or, as is most commonly the case, Slavonic. Descending still further, we passed the tomb of a Mahometan saint and a Turkish cemetery, while on our right the snow-capped ridge of Nidjé once more appeared. Shortly after this we arrived at the pretty village of Tulbeli, which is dignified in Greek with the name of a *κωμόπολις*, or country town, as places of this size are called, to distinguish them from an ordinary village (*χωριόν*), and a town (*πολιτεία*).²¹

From thence we rode over an expanse of loose stones, the aspect of which might almost recal the plain of the Crau, near Arles, in the south of France, where Jupiter, according to the legend, is said to have cast down the boulders and pebbles with which it is covered, to provide missiles for Hercules in his contest with the Ligurians. When at last we reached the plain, our track lay across it in an oblique direction towards the city. The small

²¹ On the scene of Brasidas' retreat from Lyncestis, see Appendix C.

streams which we passed were running northwards, for the river Czerna, the ancient Erigon, by which the plain is drained, after flowing from north to south throughout the greater part of its course, bends round to the north-east, where it reaches the lower end, and passing between Mount Nidjé and the extremity of the Babuna mountains, descends towards the Vardar, which river it joins some way below the city of Kiuprili. As we approached Monastir, we once more joined the *Route Impériale*, on which we met numerous passengers—some on foot, others mounted on donkeys—as we entered the avenue which leads up to the city. Earlier in the year, the road is said for a time to be crowded with strings of horses and mules, which carry the corn that is grown in this upland region for exportation to the sea.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONASTIR AND OCHRIDA.

Monastir — Its Importance — Massacre of the Albanian Beys — Monastery of Bukova — Plain of Monastir — Legend of the Temenidæ — Turkish Outrages — The Bulgarians — Their History — Bulgarian Church Movement — Monastir to Ochrida — Lake of Presba — Lake of Ochrida — The City — Ancient Statue and Crucifix — Legend of St. Clement — Cyril and Methodius — Statues and Pictures.

MONASTIR, or, as the Christians call it, Bitolia, which is the military centre and most important place in this district of Turkey, is situated in an angle running in from the western side of the plain. Its appearance from outside is beautiful from the trees, especially the bright glistening poplars, which are interspersed among the houses, and the numerous minarets and domed mosques, the latter of which features we had not seen since leaving Cavalla : inside, too, there is a more cleanly and regular appearance about the streets than is found in most Turkish towns, and there is an unusual air of business, and shops of some pretensions. Here, also, one meets once more such unwonted sights as cavalry barracks, a parade ground, Turkish soldiers, and foreign consuls. In the winter there is a force of about 4000 men stationed here, but at other times of the year they are dispersed about the country. We could not learn that any of them had been drawn off to join in the operations which were then preparing against Montenegro ; indeed they can hardly be spared, as there is no other military force in the country nearer than Salonica on the one side

and Scodra on the other. The military importance of Monastir is great from several points of view. In the first place it is the meeting-point of several lines of road, from Salonica on the Ægean, from Durazzo on the Adriatic, and from Uskiub and Adrianople in the interior. Besides this, it is the most accessible point from which an army can penetrate into Albania, and the passage into that country which it commands, though difficult, is yet considered practicable for artillery. To this it must be added, that from here it is possible to act independently against Northern and Southern Albania, and separate the races which inhabit those countries respectively. The population is about 40,000, and is principally composed of Turks and Wallachs, the latter being the mercantile class, as the Bulgarians are the cultivators of the soil. There are also a few Greeks.

The parade-ground, which we had seen on entering the city, at the end of the avenue by which we approached, was in 1830 the scene of an event of considerable importance in later Turkish history—the massacre of the Albanian Beys. It was an act of the most scandalous perfidy, contrived with the utmost deliberation; but, since the fall of Ali Pasha, no other circumstance has tended so much to establish the Ottoman power in these parts, as it led to the final overthrow of the local chieftains in Albania. The history of it is as follows. After the conclusion of the Greek War of Independence, the Albanian soldiery who had been employed by the Turks in that struggle returned to their native country, and there began to pillage the villages indiscriminately. When at last this state of things became unendurable, the petty chiefs combined themselves into a sort of oligarchy for the purpose of restoring order, the lead being taken amongst them by three persons—Seliktar Poda, who commanded

Central Albania, and had gathered round him the remains of Ali Pasha's faction—Veli Bey, who held Yanina and the rest of Epirus, and concealed his ambitious designs by pretending to support the reforms introduced by the Porte—and Arslan Bey, a noble and dashing young officer of twenty-five years of age, who professed to represent the national party, and was consequently the most popular of the three. In reality, however, another personage of greater importance was behind the scenes in this movement, which he was prepared to employ for purposes of his own, in the shape of Mustapha Pasha of Scodra, the last of the hereditary Pashas of that place, and the most formidable chieftain then remaining in Albania. The three leaders just mentioned were at first at variance among themselves, and by their rivalry paralysed one another's action: when, however, they found that the Porte was about to undertake operations against them, and the danger became pressing, a conference was arranged between Veli and Arslan, at which, after a protracted discussion, they gave one another the kiss of peace, and then proceeded to proclaim to their troops that they had made common cause with a view to united action. Meanwhile the Grand Vizir, Reschid Pasha, perceiving that mischief was brewing in Albania, and well aware of the ambitious designs of Mustapha, had assembled a force at Adrianople, with which he marched to Monastir. On reaching that place, when he received intelligence of the reconciliation of the two chiefs, he conducted himself as if compelled to change his plan of action, and after proclaiming a general amnesty, invited all the Albanian Beys to a grand banquet at Monastir, to celebrate the re-establishment of friendly relations with the central government. The invitation was

accepted, and the Beys presented themselves, to the number of four or five hundred, headed by Arslan and Veli.

But the proposed meeting was only a device to conceal an act of the basest treachery. On their first arrival the Vizir received them with great affability and kindness, and encouraged them with the most specious promises. But when, at the time appointed for the banquet, they approached the *rendezvous*, which was the parade-ground already mentioned, they were dismayed to find a thousand regular troops drawn up on two sides of a square, the one along their route, the other facing them. On seeing this, Arslan Bey exclaimed to Veli, "We have eaten dirt;" to which the other replied, "This is the *regular* way of doing honour." Immediately after, a fatal volley poured in amongst the Albanians, followed by a charge with the bayonet. Veli Bey instantly fell, but Arslan and others survived, and were wheeling off to the right, when the volley and charge of the second Turkish line took them in flank. From this Arslan alone escaped, and was soon at a distance from the bloody scene. But his flight had been observed, and Khior Ibrahim Pasha, one of the Grand Vizir's subordinates, immediately mounted a swift horse and gave chase. At the end of three miles he came up with him, when Arslan turned suddenly round, and, facing his opponent, discharged his pistol at him, which brought down his horse. But Ibrahim had already placed his lance in rest, and, as he fell, he ran Arslan Bey through and through. The scalps of the Beys were salted, and conveyed to Constantinople.

The effect of this disgraceful massacre was to leave only two powers in Albania capable of making any resistance. The one was Seliktar Poda in the south, who had

made himself master of Yanina in the interval ; but when a force of 16,000 men was sent against him, he was forced to fly, and the whole of Epirus fell into the hands of the conquerors. The other was Mustapha Pasha, a more formidable opponent. His resistance was of a serious character, and had he known how to profit by his opportunities, he might have taken Reschid unprepared at Monastir, where he was accompanied by only a small body of troops. As it was, he gave that wily general time to enlist the Christians in his service, by holding out to them an opportunity of taking vengeance on their hereditary enemies, the Albanians ; and to win the support of the Mahometan chiefs in Macedonia, by showing to them that the dismemberment of the empire would lead to their subjugation to Russia. The decisive struggle took place near Perlepe, where, after a hard fight, the Albanians were defeated. Mustapha Pasha was forced to retire to Scodra, where he was besieged in the fortress of Rosapha, and ultimately compelled to surrender.¹

By the kindness of our consul, Mr. Charles Calvert, we were invited to pass the night at the little monastery of Bukova, or "The Beeches," which nestles in the mountain-side, at a height of several hundred feet above the town, and in which he had taken refuge from the intense heat of the summer. As we were riding out we met some of the Pasha's hawks, which were being brought home by mounted attendants from a hawking expedition ; for that amusement is still a favourite one in these parts. The plain, which is forty miles in length by ten in breadth, is a wonderful sight as seen from the monastery ; it is extremely fertile, though at the end of August it was brown, from the crops having been removed. All

¹ Cyprien Robert, 'Les Slaves de Turquie,' ii. pp. 197-212 ; Urquhart, 'Spirit of the East,' i. pp. 308-310.

down the centre runs a long line of green, caused by the marshes which form along the banks of the river Czerna, the ground near which has never been drained; and in various parts lie 170 villages, the inhabitants of which are partly small cultivators, partly peasants employed by the large proprietors. The whole plain is environed by fine mountains: directly opposite, to the east, is the long Babuna chain, which, though not seen in its full proportions, on account of the elevation of the plain, presents a picturesque and broken outline: but the most conspicuous of all are the distant snow-capped heights of Kritchova to the north-east. Close to the foot of these, in another plain, lies the town of Perlepe, where a great fair for the whole of this territory and Albania is held once a year in the month of August. Traders resort to it from all parts of the country, and the retail dealers depend on it in great measure for their supply. A great quantity of merchandize is brought overland from Vienna; but this year, in consequence of the financial and commercial crisis throughout the Levant, hardly any business was done. This part of the country appears to be a great mart for Austrian wares; whereas in southern and part of central Albania the goods are, or were, almost entirely from England, being introduced by way of Corfu: this was one considerable advantage which this country used to derive from the possession of that island. The plain of Monastir, in consequence of its position, being removed from the sea, and 1500 feet above it, and surrounded by high mountains, is exposed to great and sudden changes of temperature; in summer the glass frequently standing at 104 in the shade, while in the winter for two months the ground is thickly covered with snow. It is the natural consequence of this that, as at Madrid, which is in a similar position, diseases of the

chest are very common ; and furs are much worn at all times of the year, from the danger of sudden chills.

The district, comprising this plain and that of Perlepe, was called in ancient times Pelagonia, and this name is still used to designate the bishopric of Bitolia.² The site of Monastir itself was probably occupied by Heraclia, which was one of the principal cities on the line of the Egnatian Way. The Pelagonian plain was one of the primitive seats of the Macedonian race, and, as Mr. Grote has remarked,³ formed a territory better calculated to nourish and to generate a considerable population, than the less favoured home, and smaller breadth of valley and plain, occupied by Epirots or Illyrians. In this way a hardy yet thriving race was developed which had in it the germs of a great nation. In the same district is laid the scene of the story which Herodotus has given of the foundation of the Macedonian monarchy, and which, from its quaint and graphic character, deserves to be introduced here. How far it contains historical elements, we cannot say ;⁴ but, as it stands, it bears a singular resemblance to those Popular Tales which since Grimm's time have been recognised as the heritage of the peasantry in every country of Europe. The three brothers, the youngest of whom is the wisest and the

² The derivation of the modern name Bitolia is doubtful. Boué suggests that it is derived from the Albanian word *vittolja*, a "dove," as the place was inhabited by the Skipetars before the Slaves. This he would connect with the corresponding name of Peristeri, given to the mountain which rises above ('Recueil d'Itinéraires,' i. p. 257). Von Hahn, however, prefers to derive it from the Slavonic *obitavati*, "to inhabit," and considers it a translation of the name Monastir. This latter name originated in the monastery of Bukova itself (Hahn, 'Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik,' p. 115).

³ 'History of Greece,' iv. p. 15.

⁴ The historical side of the story is well given by Von Gutschmid, in the 'Symbola Philologorum Bonnensium.'

most successful—the enigmatical conversation about the sunshine—the sudden swelling of the river to save the fugitives—are all features commonly found in this class of stories; in addition to which the general cast of the narrative is such as cannot fail to suggest a close resemblance to the Popular Tales to one accustomed to study this branch of literature. So that we need have no hesitation in finding a relationship between it and ‘Cinderella,’ ‘The Sleeping Beauty,’ ‘Jack and the Beanstalk,’ and the innumerable other stories which a careful search is continually bringing to light.

“Three brothers, descendants of Temenus, fled from Argos to the Illyrians; their names were Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas. From Illyria they went across to Upper Macedonia, where they came to a certain town called Lebæa. There they hired themselves out to serve the king in different employes. One tended the horses; another looked after the cows; while Perdiccas, who was the youngest, took charge of the smaller cattle. In those early times poverty was not confined to the people; kings themselves were poor, and so here it was the king’s wife who cooked the victuals. Now, whenever she baked the bread, she always observed that the loaf of the labouring boy Perdiccas swelled to double its natural size. So the queen, finding this never fail, spoke of it to her husband. Directly that it came to his ears, the thought struck him that it was a miracle, and boded something of no small moment. He therefore sent for the three labourers, and told them to be gone out of his dominions. They answered, ‘They had a right to their wages; if he would pay them what was due, they were quite willing to go.’ Now it happened that the sun was shining down the chimney into the room where they were; and the king, hearing them talk of wages, lost his wits, and said, ‘There are the wages which you deserve; take that—I give it you!’ and pointed, as he spoke, to the sunshine. The two elder brothers, Gauanes and Aëropus, stood aghast at the reply, and did nothing; but the boy, who had a knife in his hand, made a mark with it round the sunshine on the floor of the room, and said, ‘O king! we accept thy payment.’ Then he received the light of the sun three times into his bosom, and so went away, and his brothers went with him.

“When they were gone, one of those who sat by told the king what the youngest of the three had done, and hinted that he must have had

some meaning in accepting the wages given. Then the king, when he heard what had happened, was angry, and sent horsemen after the youths to slay them. Now there is a river in Macedonia to which the descendants of the Argives offer sacrifice as their saviour. This stream swelled so much, as soon as the sons of Temenus were safe across, that the horsemen found it impossible to follow. So the brothers escaped into another part of Macedonia, and took up their abode near the place called 'the Gardens of Midas, son of Gordias.' In these gardens there are roses which grow of themselves, so sweet that no others can come near them, and with blossoms that have as many as sixty petals apiece. It was here, according to the Macedonians, that Silenus was made a prisoner. Above the gardens stands a mountain called Bermius, which is so cold that none can reach the top. Here the brothers made their abode, and from this place, by degrees, they conquered all Macedonia."⁵

We soon discovered that the monastery at which we were staying, though built in many respects like the smaller Greek monasteries, was such only in name. It has, it is true, a central church, and a warden and one monk to perform the services; but the buildings round the court are intended, not for monastic cells, but for places of meeting for the members of different guilds of tradesmen in Monastir, who come here to hear service, and afterwards to feast and make merry, on the festival days of their patron saints. The great monastery of St. Naum, near the southern end of the lake of Ochrida, is a similar institution. These guilds, which are found among the Christians in many of the cities of Turkey, and are governed by statutes of their own, and presided over by a judge elected by the body, correspond very closely to our corporations of the Middle Ages. We were lodged in a room belonging to the Worshipful Company of

⁵ 'Herod.,' viii. 137-138 (Rawlinson's translation). The gardens here spoken of are the rich and fertile district in the neighbourhood of Verria (Berrhœa), to the south of Vodena. What is said of the roses reminds us of the name of that flower in modern Greek, *triantaphyllon*, or "the flower of thirty petals."

Greengrocers. The sitting-room occupied by Mr. Calvert and his wife was formed by an angle of the wide open gallery which here runs round the building, and was screened from the sun by a canvas covering extended from the wall to the balustrade of the gallery. The history of the old warden was a very sad one : he was in the last stage of a decline, brought on by a melancholy of several years' standing, in consequence of the death of his brother, who was wantonly murdered by a Turk, in the open streets, by his side. The murderer, after a few months' imprisonment at Constantinople, again walks the streets of Monastir, and from time to time comes to the monastery with others to levy black mail, and require entertainment from the brother of his victim. But these things are of common occurrence. It was revolting to hear, from the best authority, of the outrages which the Christians in these parts are continually suffering at the hands of the Turks. Besides the extortion carried on by government agents in the collection of the taxes, murders, assaults, robberies, and pillage, are constantly happening. The Turks have no occupation, either agricultural or mechanical ; they support themselves by stealing from their neighbours. One seeming improvement has been introduced of late years, in the taxes not being farmed ; but the unscrupulousness and cupidity of the collectors remain the same. The people, in consequence of this, are afraid to show any outward signs of prosperity lest they should be despoiled. And so great is the fanaticism of the Mahometans, that until a very few years ago no Christian woman, not even a Frank lady, was allowed to appear in the streets unveiled. The wife of the Austrian consul, who was the first representative of Western Europe that appeared here, was for some time obliged to wear a veil.

One story that we heard at this time, which was well authenticated, is a remarkable instance of retribution. In the neighbourhood of Elbassan, in Central Albania, where the dearth had lately been so great as almost to amount to a famine, a young Mahometan, who was reduced to excess of want, went out foraging by night. He met a man driving a mule laden with sacks, and having shot him, according to the custom of the country, brought home his store of grain. The next night he went off to get it ground, and his father, desiring to emulate his son's success, started also to try his hand on a similar exploit. He also shot his man, and brought home the captured sacks. On examining them, he found that they were his own, and that the victim was his son.

The Bulgarians, who form the largest element in the Christian population from Salonica to the confines of Albania, are a very interesting people, and are highly spoken of for industry and honesty. They are the most numerous of all the nationalities inhabiting European Turkey, and are estimated at between five and six millions. There can be no doubt that the original Bulgarians were of Turanian descent, and near relations, if not actual descendants, of Attila's Huns; but after their settlement in Bulgaria Proper, on the Danube, they became so intermingled with the Slavonian inhabitants of that country that they adopted their language. A large number of them seem to have emigrated into Western Macedonia before the ninth century, and there, in all probability, received a further infusion of Slavonic blood. The traces of this are very evident in the present appearance of the people; for the Tartar type of face, which generally is remarkable for its permanence, has here for the most part disappeared. Notwithstanding this, you will not often find a people with such well-marked

characteristics. They have straight noses, high cheek-bones, flat cheeks, and very commonly light eyes ; their complexions are frequently almost swarthy from exposure to the sun, but the children are generally fair. The dress of the women is peculiar ; the principal garment is a long coat, open in front, reaching nearly to the feet ; besides this and an under garment, there is a broad belt, elaborately embroidered, and an apron of bright colours ; they wear a veil, somewhat resembling the Turkish *yashmak*, but not so closely drawn. The national instrument is a small flute, the Arcadian sound of which may sometimes be heard in the wild unfrequented valleys.

At an early period of Byzantine history this people was one of the most dreaded foes of the Greek empire. They first appeared on the further side of the Danube at the end of the fifth century, and not long after this their invasions commenced. Two centuries and a half later, in the time of the Iconoclastic emperors, we find their power so greatly increased that it required all the energy and military talents of Constantine Copronymus (A.D. 757) to keep them at bay, and on one occasion they carried their ravages up to the walls of Constantinople. As might be expected from a rude and needy people settled in the neighbourhood of an old civilization, their inroads were continually renewed, and from these they usually returned home laden with plunder. In the beginning of the ninth century their king, Crumn, was an able and warlike leader. After a protracted struggle with the emperor Nicephorus I., he defeated and slew that prince, who had invaded his territory, in a night attack on his camp, and converted his skull into a drinking-cup for his table. Until the end of his life Crumn was continually at war with the two succeeding emperors, and proved a terrible scourge to the provinces

of Thrace and Macedonia, from the merciless way in which he ravaged the country, sacked the cities, and carried away the inhabitants into captivity. He seems, however, to have exhausted his own people in these wars, for after his death they remained tranquil for some time. The next occasion on which we hear of them was one of considerable importance. In the year 861 the country on the southern side of the Balkan range was ceded to them, and received from them the name of Zagora. At the same time the Bulgarian monarch Bogoris embraced Christianity, which had been introduced into his palace by his sister, who had been carried as a prisoner to Constantinople and educated there, and had afterwards been restored to her native country. At his baptism the Emperor Michael became his sponsor, and it was pretended that the cession of territory had been made as a baptismal donation. By the influence of Bogoris, who was a wise and beneficent prince, his entire people was converted to Christianity and advanced in civilization. He ultimately resigned his kingdom to his son Simeon, and retired into a monastery, where he died.

The Bulgarians had now become a commercial nation, and were the most advanced in the arts of life of all the northern barbarians. Placed as they were between the Byzantine empire and the German and Scandinavian tribes, they became the medium for supplying the latter with the manufactures and gold of the former, and with the products of Asia. The trade thus caused was a source of great profit to them, but also involved them in war with Constantinople. Thus the peace which had been concluded with Bogoris was brought to an end, during the reign of his son, by the rapacity of the Greeks, who farmed the customs of the empire, and in so doing