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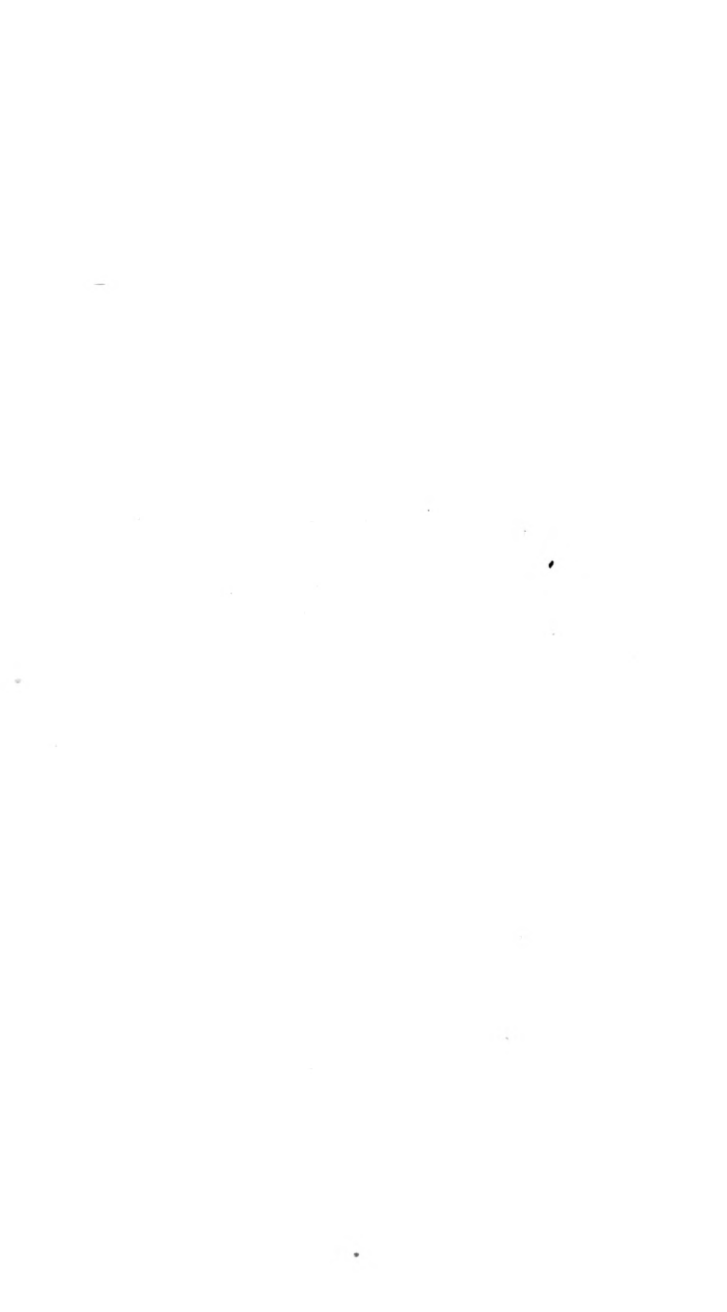


THE
MODERN TRAVELLER.

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

G R E E C E.

VOL. I.



THE
MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

BY JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

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THE MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

G R E E C E.

[A country of Europe, lying between lat. $36^{\circ} 15'$ and 40° N., and long. $20^{\circ} 10'$ and $24^{\circ} 5'E$; bounded, on the N., by Albania Proper and Macedonia; on the E. by the Egean Sea; on the W. by the Ionian Sea; and on the S. by the Mediterranean.]

THREE centuries and a half have elapsed since, by the cession of the Morea to the Ottoman conqueror of Constantinople, the name of Greece was blotted out from the map of Europe. It had long been reduced to a mere name. From the time that Athens fell before the arms of Sylla, (B. C. 86,) it had ceased to be an independent power. When the master of the Roman world removed the seat of empire from Italy to Thrace, Greece was still nothing more than a province of Rome; and the historian remarks, that "in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of Romans adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople."*

It is not true, that "the majesty of Greece fell under the scimitar of Mahomet II." It had long been despoiled of its honours by Christian invaders; and

* Gibbon.

the pillage of Constantinople by the Latin barbarians, in the fifth crusade, was not surpassed in horrors by that which ensued on the Mussulman conquest. In the partition of the empire by the French and the Venetians in 1204, Greece, "the proper and ancient Greece," again received a Latin conqueror in the Marquis of Montferrat, who is described by Gibbon as treading with indifference that classic ground. "He viewed with a careless eye the beauties of the valley of Tempe, traversed with a cautious step the straits of Thermopylæ, occupied the unknown cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos, and assaulted the fortifications of Corinth and Napoli di Romania, which resisted his arms." * The fertile island of Crete was purchased of the Marquis by the Venetians, "with the ruins of a hundred cities," and colonised with the refuse of the Adriatic. Slavonian robbers had desolated the peninsula before the Turks became its masters. All of ancient Greece that had not perished, consisted of its language, its monuments, and its haunted and teeming soil,—its "vales of evergreen and hills of snow,"—

"The sun, the soil, but not the slave, the same;
Unchanged in all, except its foreign lord."

* Gibbon, ch. 61. "It was evident," says Daru, "that this division of the empire would in a short time ruin the power of the Latins in the East. Powerful enough to destroy, they were not sufficiently so to preserve. When we read, in Villehardouin, of the conquests which this and that prince undertook with a hundred or six-score knights, we seem to be reading of the expeditions of the lieutenants of Pizarro or Ferdinand Cortes; and one is mortified to see the descendants of the Greeks and the remains of the Roman empire treated with such contempt. . . . These possessions were conceded to barons with titles hitherto unknown in the East. The earl of Blois was duke of Nicea; Villehardouin, marshal of Romania. The novelty of the titles bespoke the great change which had taken place in the constitution of society; and Greece must doubtless have been astonished at beholding an earl of Naxos, a prince of Lacedæmon, a duke of Athens."—*Histoire de Venise*, lib. iv. § 37.

“Some confusion,” remarks an accomplished Philhellenist, “has been occasioned by the different ideas attached by various writers to the denominations Greece and Greeks. When they are exclusively restricted to those commonwealths that took part in the Peloponnesian war, or those that sent deputies to the council of Amphictyons, Macedonia, Epirus, and Constantinople will be without their limits; and if a wider range be taken, there will be danger of confounding with the descendants of the Hellenes, many nations of perfectly different origin, but whose religion and habitual language have embodied them with the Greeks. The Wallachian colony that occupies the passes of Pindus and the frontiers of Thessaly and Macedonia, is distinguished from its neighbours by the preservation of a dialect retaining much more of the Latin than any of its other derivatives. They are supposed to have acquired this idiom from the Roman colonies planted by Trajan upon the Dacian frontier. A Slavonian race is immediately distinguishable in the figure, countenance, and habits of the Albanian: his native idiom bears also marks of the same origin. But the common tongue of both these tribes, even among themselves, is Greek; and few of the Albanian colonists of Peloponnesus retain even a recollection of their original language.* Mussulmans in their native mountains, the Albanians have generally assumed the Greek faith in their emigrations to the south, and are supposed to be equally negligent of both. Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and the eastern Morea, are full of their villages; and the effeminate Greeks are gradually

* Mr. Leake states, that the descendants of the Albanian colonists who, about two centuries ago, settled in Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis, still speak the Albanian tongue.—*Outline*, &c. p. 9.

yielding to a more hardy race, the care of the flock and culture of the field.

“ When the Russians, after their abortive expedition to the Morea, left its inhabitants, without protection, to the fury of their masters against whom they had rebelled, the Turks, too indolent for the work of slaughter themselves, turned the Albanian bloodhounds upon that devoted region ; nor was the task they had given them neglected. All the Morea, northward of the impervious mountains of Maina, remained many years in the possession of an unrestrained banditti. Some of these robbers, no doubt, settled in the country which they had pillaged ; but the tall, strong figures and sandy countenances of many of the peasants in Argolis and Arcadia, refer their Slavonian blood to a much earlier date. The despot of the Morea is said to have had Albanians in his service ; and Gibbon mentions several irruptions of Slavonians into that country so early as the eighth century. At present, the majority of the smaller villages is certainly occupied by the descendants of Slavonians ; and the pure Greek blood is more likely to be found in the islands of the Archipelago, than upon the continent, except in some singular cases. Eastward of the Strymon, the Albanians are but thinly scattered ; but the Bulgarians, who occupy the ancient Thrace, are united, by the Mussulmans, with both Albanians and Greeks, in the common appellation of *Giaour* or infidel, and agree with them in religion and in the general use of the same tongue.” *

The claims of the modern Greeks to the sympathy

* Douglas (Hon. F. S. N.) on certain Points of Resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks. 8vo. pp. 40—43. (3d edn. 1813.)

and aid of Christian Europe, cannot depend on the geographical, or rather historical question which relates to the proper application of the name. Their right and title to the soil, on the ground of inheritance, would seem to be not much more valid than that of the Welsh, the genuine Britons, to the sovereignty of the British isles. Whether, then, the Mainotes are descended, as they boast, from the ancient Spartans, or from Laconian pirates; whether the Hydriotes are Hellenists by descent, or belong, as has been contended by a modern traveller,* to “the worst and lowest species of Albanians;” whatever be the origin of the various tribes of the peninsula, or how mixed soever they may be with Slavonic or Venetian intruders, their cause is the cause of freedom and of humanity. Like the Copts of Egypt, they are doubtless both a mixed and a degenerate race. Still, the interest attaching to them as Greeks, and which, in spite of all that may be said against them, must attach to their name, linked as it is with every classical prepossession and with the proudest historical recollections,—this interest belongs to the soil, not to the race. Their substantial claims are those of a persecuted and oppressed people: the accidental interest of their cause arises from the dialect they speak and the country they occupy. It is felt as a violence done to every association, an incongruity in the political state of things, a disgrace to human nature,—that Greece, the cradle of western learning and the birth-place of liberty, where the language of Homer and Pindar and Plato is still the vernacular tongue, should be the seat of Tâtar barbarism and Mussulman intolerance, peopled only by tyrants and by slaves.

Sir W. Gell

The distinguishing, perhaps we might say the redeeming characteristic of the modern Greeks,—that bond which still unites the mixed tribes as one people, and at the same time connects them with the country and its ancient masters, is their language;—that brilliant phenomenon, alike wonderful in its preservation and in its origin, which has survived the political revolutions of thirty centuries, and which, disdaining to blend with the barbarous idioms of successive invaders, has triumphed over the Latin itself, and still vindicates its claim to be the only indigenous language of Greece.* Disguised as it is in the Romaic by various dialects and perhaps a corrupt pronunciation, it retains, if we may be allowed the expression, all its vital force, and is almost daily resuming more and more of its original character as embodied in the ancient literature. The little Greek spoken in Asia Minor, on the contrary, is nearly unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Peninsula, on account of the number of Turkish words with which it is interlarded.† Thessaly and the northern provinces have adopted the barbarisms of Albania, and an Italian may generally be substituted for a Greek word at Athens and in the Morea. The Megareans speak a language much less corrupt than what is spoken in Attica. The harsh and guttural utterance of the Mainotes has been remarked by more

* “The Greeks have preserved their original tongue in greater purity during an equal extent of years, than any nation with which we are acquainted, perhaps with the single exception of the Arabians; and I believe, the contemporary of William of Malmsbury or of Froissart would find more difficulty in conversing with his modern countrymen, than any Athenian of the purer ages with his.”—DOUGLAS, p. 91.

† See *Mod. Trav., Syria and Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 134; 155, 6; 173.

than one traveller. In Crete, where few even of the Turks understand their native tongue, the Romaic is universally employed in conversation, and appears to have retained the greatest number of ancient Greek words. Strange to say, the purest Greek is spoken by the Fanariots of Constantinople, many of whom employ the ancient idiom with as much facility as if it were still in general use; * but this is the result of cultivation. In Greece Proper, it seems to be the very effluence of the climate and the inspiration of the scene.

Upon the whole, the Greek language may be said still to prevail, more or less, over the whole of what was anciently considered as included in Hellas; namely from the Tænarian promontory to Upper Macedonia, together with the islands and coasts of the Egean Sea; and these are the countries that will now come more immediately under our observation. The division, political and military, which has been adopted by the Greek government, is that of Eastern Hellas, Western Hellas, the Morea, the Islands, and Crete. To this we shall adhere, adverting only occasionally to the ancient and other modern divisions. But first, we shall take a general view of the

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE long chain of mountains which, stretching across European Turkey from east to west, divides Servia and Bulgaria from Romelia and Albania, sends out two secondary ranges, one of which, the ancient

* The dialect spoken by the Greeks at Joannina, is considered as one of the purest forms of the Romaic.

Rhodope, runs in a south-easterly direction to the Sea of Marmora ; the other, improperly termed the Pindus Chain, separating the ancient Illyricum from Macedonia, extends southward through the whole of Greece, terminating in the Corinthian Gulf, while various collateral ranges on the western side, traverse Albania, and extend to the shores of the Gulf of Arta. This mountain barrier, dividing the country longitudinally into two unequal portions, separates what is now termed Eastern from Western Greece ; while, in the parallel of 39° , its lateral branches extend quite across the continent, from the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ on the shores of the Maliac Gulf, to the coast of Acarnania. This is the range known under the name of Mount \AA eta, which separates the plains of Thessaly from Bœotia. A double barrier of mountains divides the isthmus from Continental Greece, while an apparent prolongation of the great longitudinal chain traverses the whole of the peninsula, terminating in the rocky coast of Maina.

The Bœotian plains terminate to the north-west in the valley of Phocis and Doris, watered by the Cephissus and its branches, which have their origin in Mount \AA eta. This valley separates the mountains that rise from the Gulf of Corinth, and which anciently bore the names of Helicon, Corax, Parnassus, &c., from the mountains of Locris, the ancient Callidromus and Cnemis, which are a prolongation of Mount \AA eta, and the northern face of which looks down on the valley of the Spercheius and the Maliac Gulf. These two ranges are united in the region of the ancient Doris ; and from their junction, the central chain of Pindus continues in a N. or N.N.E. direction, gradually inclining towards the coast of the Adriatic, and giving

off collateral branches which intersect Albania. For about a hundred miles, this elevated range is nearly equi-distant from the eastern and western coasts.

In Western Greece, a series of plains and valleys lie between Mount Pindus and the irregular range which borders the entire extent of the western and southern coast. At some distance from the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Arta (the ancient Ambracia), which divides Epirus from Acarnania, rises a steep, woody mountain, now called Makrinoro (or Makronoros, the Long Mountain), which constitutes a pass of great strength and importance, corresponding to that of Thermopylæ at the eastern end of the Cætean range, and completing the barrier between Eastern and Western Greece. To the north of this ridge rises the vast and apparently insulated mass called Tzumerka ; * and still loftier mountains, rising to the N.E. and N. of this, divide the valley of the Aractus or river of Arta, from that of the Aspropotamo (the ancient Achelous). These mountains are commonly known under the name of Agrafa : as seen from the elevated plain of Ioannina, they appear to fill up, in the distance, the interval between the Tzumerka and the narrow and lofty ridge called Metzoukel, which separates the plain of Ioannina from the deep valley of the Aractus. Immediately beyond the river commences the ascent of a lofty groupe, the successive ridges of which conduct the eye to summits, supposed to be not less than 7000 feet above the level of the sea. These mountains, which now bear the name of the Greater Metzovo, are, apparently, the very nucleus of the chain of Pindus. The town of Metzovo is situated near one of the sources of the river of Arta, in the

* Supposed by Dr. Holland to be the ancient Tomarus.

bosom of these Alpine regions, and forms one of the most interesting geographical points in the country. From this part of the chain of Pindus, four considerable rivers take their rise, each pursuing its course to the sea in a different direction. These are, the Arac thus, which flows in a south-westerly direction into the Gulf of Arta; the Achelous, which rises at no great distance, and takes a southerly course through a mountainous district, entering the Ionian Sea near Messolonghi; the Peneus (or Salymphria), which, rising on the eastern side of that part of Pindus immediately above Metzovo, descends into the great plains of Thessaly, and pursues its course to the Archipelago through the precipitous defiles of Tempe; and lastly, the Viosa (Vioussa), or Aous, which has its origin in the mountains to the north of Metzovo, and flowing in a N.E. direction to Tepeleni, enters the Adriatic near the site of the ancient Apollonia.

One of the principal routes over Pindus, in proceeding from the western coast, lies through the canton of Zagora, in which one of the branches of the river of Arta has its source, forming its junction with the Metzovo branch in the deep hollow between Metzoukel and Pindus. The Zagora mountains are distinguished from most other parts of the Pindus chain by their summits spreading out into wide and open plains, instead of forming narrow ridges. Beyond Metzovo, in the same direction, is the ridge of Mavronoros, or the Black Mountain; and still further northward are the mountains of Tzebel and Samarina, which are believed to be among the most elevated points in Albania. The chain continues to run northwards, dividing Illyricum from Macedonia, till it unites with the mountains that enclose the basin of the Danube.

The upper ridge of Pindus, near Metzovo, appears

to be composed entirely of serpentine. The exposed surface of the rock is every where covered with a yellowish green steatite, generally disposed in a sort of scales upon the serpentine, which is probably superposed upon primitive slate. The ridge intervening between the plains of Ioannina and the valley of the Aracthus, exhibits a series of layers of calcareous slate, apparently of recent formation, interrupted at intervals by rocks of limestone, which come down in abrupt cliffs to the channel of the stream. This limestone probably forms the basis of all the country westward of the river of Arta, and is the material also of the lower parts of the Pindus chain on the eastern side. The bed of the river, however, and the channels of the streams which join it from the east, contain fragments of syenite, porphyry, and serpentine, and sometimes mica-slate, jasper, and conglomerate rock, indicating that the more central parts of Pindus are composed in part of primitive formations. In the valley of the Salymphria, there is a most remarkable groupe of insulated rocks, composed entirely of a conglomerate, consisting of granite, gneiss, mica slate, chlorite slate, syenite, greinstone, and quartz pebbles. The origin of this formation, which is of a very limited extent, presents an interesting problem to the geologist. Limestone, however, is the prevailing rock, for the most part cavernous, and with abrupt and precipitous faces. The whole chain of Cæta, in particular, appears to belong to the great calcareous formation of Greece. The general appearance of the limestone strikingly corresponds to that in the north of Ireland; its colour, in general, is nearly milk-white; it contains a great quantity of flint, either in layers or in nodules; and large deposits of gypsum have taken place upon it, particularly near the coasts of the

Adriatic and Ionian seas. The Scironian rocks on the southern coast of the Isthmus, consist of breccia, lying, as in Attica and over all the northern part of the Morea, on a stratum of limestone. In Thessaly, the limestone gives way to the serpentine breccia called *verde antico*; and that curious aggregate of dark diallage and white feld-spar, called by Italian lapidaries *bianco e nero antico*, is found in Macedonia. Other varieties of porphyry occur also in Thrace, particularly one of hornblende, resembling lava, in the great plain of Chouagilarkir, near the foot of the Karowlan mountains, a branch of the ancient Rhodope. But in Hellas Proper, with the exceptions above mentioned, to which may be added the breccia formation around Mycenæ, and the substratum of the rock of the Acropolis at Athens, the mountains so uniformly consist of limestone, that scarcely any other substance can be met with.*

The most fertile districts of Greece are Macedonia, Thessaly, and the eastern parts of Phocis and Bœotia.† The agricultural produce of Attica, owing to the lightness of the soil, is confined to barley and olives. The Morea is said to be susceptible of every species of cultivation.‡ The mountainous region of Epirus is the

* These geological observations are taken chiefly from Dr. Holland's Travels in the Ionian Isles, &c., and Dr. Clarke's Travels, part. ii.

† " Marathon, forgotten in every other respect, is now only regarded, as it was before its glory, for being the granary of the barren Attica. . . . Pindus and Cæta, with their various branches, are impracticable to the Albanian husbandman; though, in the little winding valleys (the *πτρυχαί*) that intersect them, we may be secure of always finding a village with its surrounding fields of maize or cotton."—DOUGLAS, p. 51.

‡ " The corn of the Morea has long been highly prized in the adjoining islands, and its culture is proportionally extensive. Its

most barren. Thessaly yields wool and silk ; and the soil of Macedonia is particularly favourable to tobacco : that of Yenige, on account of its balsamic odour, is preferred even to that of Latakia in Syria. Cotton also is extensively cultivated. But the principal wealth of Macedonia anciently consisted of its mines. The most celebrated were those of the mountain Pangæus, from which Philip annually derived a thousand talents

barley, however, is not so much esteemed, and its Indian corn had never been exported. The Peninsula is by no means a country for wine, the greater portion of its consumption being imported from the Archipelago. Two species, however, are admired by the Greeks ; the wine of Mistra and that of St. George in Corinth. Both are only of a light body, and acquire a disagreeable flavour from the turpentine with which they are purified. The grapes are neither large nor of fine flavour ; the best are produced at Gastouni. One species, however, the *raisin de Corinthe* (Zante currant), has been extensively cultivated of late along the shores of the gulfs of Lepanto and Salamis, where it has taken the place of tobacco plantations. Other fruits are likewise produced in abundance ;—lemons, not large, nor peculiarly fine ; oranges,—the best are found at Calamata ; peaches, pomegranates, apricots, almonds, and a variety of shell fruit. The figs, especially those of Maina, are remarkable for their sweetness. The markets of Napoli di Romania are plentifully supplied with cucumbers, love-apples, spinnach, asparagus, and other vegetables. Olives abound in every district, but especially in Maina and Argolis. Manna and indigo were formerly cultivated, but are now neglected, as well as the gathering of galls, which used to be found in every forest. Cotton was never grown in large quantities, but its quality was remarkably white and delicate. The culture of flax was but little known. The immense flocks of Argolis, Messenia, and the valleys of Arcadia, furnish a proportionate quantity of wool, the exportation of which to the Ionian Islands, together with the sheep themselves, and a little wine, constitutes the only remnant of the once extensive trade of Pyrgos." Large quantities of wax are still exported from Napoli to Syra. The barren and mountainous districts abound with beds of thyme, fennel, and mint ; but the honey of the Morca is decidedly inferior to that of Attica, and must be used with caution on account of its medicinal properties.—EMERSON'S *Journal in "Picture of Greece in 1825,"* pp. 314—1

of gold; and by means of the treasure thence extracted, he became the master of Greece. In the plain of Arta, one of the most fertile districts of Epirus, maize, wheat, rice, and tobacco, are cultivated; the vineyards are numerous, and the orange-tree and fig-tree are made objects of peculiar attention. The oak, the plane, and the chestnut, are the chief ornaments of the valleys; and the vast precipices of the Pindus chain are clothed with forests of pines. The forests of the Morea are in some districts very extensive, especially in Elis and on the western coasts, which have long furnished oak and pine for the construction of the Hydriot vessels, and large quantities of vallonias for exportation to Zante and Malta.*

* Among the extracts from Dr. Sibthorp's papers, given in Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, will be found a valuable list of Grecian plants, with an account of their medicinal and economic uses. Of seventy articles, the principal are the following: *Pinus maritima* (πιυκος); *pinus pinea* (πίτυς of the ancients; now called, from the fruit, *koukonaria*); *pinus picea*. *Quercus ægilops*; *q. ilex*; *q. coccifera*; (*q. cerris*?) *Arbutus unedo* (κομαριά), the fruit of which is esteemed a delicacy; a spirit is also drawn from it, and a vinegar of a bright gold colour; the flutes (φλουρία) of the Greek shepherds are made of the wood; *arbutus andrachne*, the fruit of which is not eaten. *Rhus cotinus*, yielding a beautiful yellow dye; the powdered fruit, called *sumach* by the Turks, is sprinkled upon meat as seasoning. *Laurus nobilis* (δάφνη), the most aromatic of the Greek shrubs; the oil expressed from the berries is used to anoint the hair. *Nerium oleander* (the ancient ροδοδάφνη); the flowers are used to adorn the churches on feast-days. *Vitex agnus castus*, the constant companion of the oleander; the leaves yield a yellow dye, and baskets and bee-hives are made of the twigs. *Salix Babylonica*. *Pistachia lentiscus*,—yielding the mastich; *p. terebinthus*; the fruit is eaten, and an oil expressed from it. *Juniperus orycedrus* (κίδρος). *Cercis siliquastrum*. *Daphne dioica*, yielding a yellow dye. *Myrtus communis*; the fruit μούρα is eaten in Greece, both the white fruit and the black; the plant is used in garlands and to ornament the churches; in Zante, a syrup is made from the fruit, and a purple colour is also obtained from the plant. *Ficus carica*. *Hedera helix*.

The zoology of Greece, so far as known, does not appear to furnish many distinct species. The lynx, the wild cat, the wild boar, the wild goat, the stag, the roe-buck, the badger, and the squirrel, inhabit the steeper rocks of Parnassus, and the thick pine-forests above Callidia. The bear is also sometimes found here. The rugged mountains about Marathon are frequented by wolves, foxes, and jackals; weasels are sometimes taken in the villages and out-houses;

Juncus acutus. *Cistus creticus*; the laudanum is not collected. *Arum maculatum*; the root is used in the Morea, in times of great scarcity, instead of bread. *Ceratonia siliqua*; the fruit is an article of commerce. *Rhamnus Græcus*; the berries yield a yellow dye. *Populus nigra* (λευκή). *Sambucus nigra*; it forms the hedge to the vineyards about Livadia. *Salsola fruticosa*; the alkali obtained from it is used in the manufacture of soap and of glass. *Amygdalus communis sylvestris*. *Nigella Damascena*. *Echium Italicum*. *Carthamus corymbosus*. *Erigeron graveolens*,—gives a green dye. *Satureia capitata* (θυμός); the plant to the flowers of which the Hymettian honey owes its celebrity. *Erica multiflora*,—flowers in winter, and during that season furnishes the principal food of the bee; but the honey made from it sells at half the price of that made during the summer from the wild thyme. *Salvia arborea*. *Rubia peregrina*; the root gives a red dye. *Hyoscyamus albus* (ἰσρός); the leaves are used as an opiate in the tooth-ach, externally applied, or the fumes of the burnt seed are inhaled for the same purpose. *Lolium temulentum* (ἄρα), supposed to be the zizanium of the New Testament (Matt. xiii.), the ziwān of the Arabians, and the rosch of the Hebrews: the seeds often become mixed with the corn, and when eaten produce violent giddiness. *Smilax aspera*; the flowers are extremely fragrant, and are put into wine to give it a grateful flavour; the root is used as a depurator of the blood. *Asphodelus ramosus*. *Amaryllis lutea*, used as a coronary or ornamental plant; and the Turks plant it on the graves of their friends. The mallow, the asphodel, and the myrtle, were used anciently for the same purpose. *Malva sylvestris*, used as a pot-herb. *Scolymus maculatus*, eaten as a salad. *Scilla officinalis*; the root is made into an electuary. *Asparagus aphyllus*; this is boiled and eaten during Lent.

nares* are too numerous to be particularised. The mole burrows in the rich ground of Livadia (Bœotia), and the hedge-hog is found in the environs of Athens. The otter inhabits the rivers and marshes of Bœotia, and the phoca and the porpoise are seen in the Corinthian Gulf and off the coast of Attica. The small species of bat flutters about the ruins of Athens, and a larger species inhabits the caverns of the island of Didascalo.

The large vulture (*ἀγυίο*) frequents the cliffs of Delphi, and the woods and precipices of Parnassus. There are several species of the falcon tribe. Dr. Sibthorp particularises what he supposed to be the *falco chrysaetos* (called by the guide *aetos*), the *falco ierax*, and the *falco kirkenasi*. The latter, "half domestic, arrives early in the spring with the storks in immense numbers, joint inhabitant with them of the houses and temples of the Athenians, and retires with these birds at the end of August." He noticed also a large grey hawk of the buzzard kind on the plain of Marathon; another species, brown, with a white band on the wings, near Livadia; and a small dark hawk near Cape Sunium. The little owl (*strix passerina*) is the most common species of Minerva's bird in Greece: it abounds in the neighbourhood of Athens. The horned owl is sometimes, but rarely seen. The ash-coloured, the red-headed, and the small grey butcher-bird, frequent the olive-grounds. Of the crow tribe, the raven, the hooded crow, the jackdaw, the magpie, the jay, the *alcedo ispida*, and the Cornish chough, are found here. The latter generally confines itself to the mountainous

* *Taooshan*, hare, is the nick-name given by the Turks to the Greek islanders.

parts, inhabiting the broken cliffs and caverns of Parnassus, but sometimes descends into the plains. The hooded crow (called by the peasants *κορῶνη*), which retires from England during the summer, is a constant inhabitant of Attica. The roller frequents the gardens and olive-grounds. The cuckoo is heard early in the spring. The *merops*, attracted by the bees of Hymettus, appears at the latter end of summer. The *hoopoe* is also here a bird of passage. The *sitta* was seen on the rocks near Delphi. Wild pigeons abound in the rocks; and the turtle and wood-pigeon are found in the woods and thickets. The red-legged partridge abounds every where. Among the larks, the crested lark is the most frequent; but there are some of the other species. "Blackbirds frequent the olive-grounds of Pendeli; the solitary sparrow inhabits the cliffs of Delphi; and the song-thrush is heard in the pine-woods of Parnassus. Above these, where the heights are covered with snow, is seen the *emberiza nivalis*, inhabitant alike of the frozen Spitzbergen and of the Grecian Alps. The bunting, the yellow-hammer, and a species of *emberiza* nearly related to it, haunt the low bushes in the neighbourhood of corn-fields." The goldfinch and the linnet rank also among the Attic choristers; and the *fringilla flaveola* is not unfrequent about Athens. Of the slender-billed birds, the wheat-ear is the most general species throughout Greece, inhabiting alike the highest mountains and the lowest plains. The white water-wagtail haunts the banks of rivulets, and the red-start is found on the eastern coast. The king-fisher is also seen here. Various species of the duck tribe visit the salt lakes and the shores of Attica during the winter, retiring in summer to more unfrequented fresh-water lakes and deep morasses. Woodcocks, snipes, and bustards, in consi-

derable numbers, visit the neighbourhood of Athens during winter. The curlew and the red-shank, the purple and the grey heron, the long-legged, the grey, and the sand plover, also frequent the marshes of Bœotia and the eastern coast. The privileged stork generally arrives at Athens some time in March, and leaves it when the young are able to support a long flight, about the middle of August. The quail is another annual visiter. All the European species of the swallow tribe are found here, except the *pratincola*; also, various species of *motacilla*, confounded under the general name of *beccafica*. The sand-martin burrows in the cliffs of Delphi, and the goat-sucker still retains its ancient name, and the stigma attached to it. The storm-finch, the sea-gull, and the sea-swallow are seen on the coast of the Egean Sea.*

“ One of the most agreeably diversified countries of the globe,” says M. Beaujour, who was long resident in it, “ is Greece: it is the epitome of all climates. The plants which grow within the tropics, flourish in its plains and on its hills, and those of the most northern regions thrive on the mountains. Olympus, Pindus, Parnassus, the craggy mountains of Arcadia, preserve on their sides and summits a perpetual coolness, while the valleys lying at their feet enjoy a perennial spring. The lands unsusceptible of culture are still not destitute of vegetation, but produce spontaneously thyme, marjoram, and all the aromatic plants. Such a country would seem to be singularly adapted to yield rich pasture: accordingly, there are numerous herds. For six months of the year, indeed, it supports all those of the neighbouring regions.

* From the papers of the late Dr. Sibthorpe. Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 73—7; see also pp. 255—27

When the severity of the winter drives the Albanian shepherds from their native mountains, they descend to seek, in the fine climate of Greece, pastures more substantial and luxuriant. They enjoy the right of common in all the lands which are not under cultivation; and notwithstanding the tyranny of the Beys, who levy contributions upon them without mercy, their winterings in general cost them but little.”*

Nothing, it is said, can surpass the delicious temperature of the islands in autumn, and of the winter at Athens, where the thermometer rarely descends below the freezing point. The longevity of the natives bears testimony to the salubrity of the air of Attica, which was always esteemed for its purity, and is still the best in Greece. Its extreme dryness has greatly contributed to the admirable preservation of the Athenian edifices. The corn in Attica is ripe about twenty-five days sooner than in the Morea and in Crete, owing, it is supposed, in part, to the abundance of nitre with which the soil is impregnated. The olives and the honey are still the best in the world.† Many parts

* Beaujour. *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. 131. The number of sheep in Attica was computed, in 1786, at 60,000; the goats at 100,000; and 10,000 goats and 5000 sheep were killed annually. “During the winter months,” says Dr. Sibthorpe, “a nomade tribe drive their flocks from the mountains of Thessaly into the plains of Attica and Bœotia, and give some pecuniary consideration to the pacha of Negropont and the vaivode of Athens. These people are much famed for their woollen manufactures, particularly the coats or cloaks worn by the Greek sailors.”—WALPOLE’S *Memoirs*, p. 141.

† Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 7. Mr. Hobhouse, who was at Athens in the depth of winter, speaks in more qualified language of the climate. “The weather was never so inclement as to prevent an excursion on horseback. To the northern constitution of an Englishman, the Athenian winters are not commonly so rigorous as, from ancient accounts, you might be led to expect. After having

of Greece, however, are far from being salubrious; and it is probable, that great changes have taken place in this respect, owing to the desolation spread by war, pestilence, and oppression. The air of Corinth is so bad, that the inhabitants abandon the place during the summer months, through fear of the *malaria*, which is the scourge of the maritime plains.*

Lord Byron pronounces the air of the Morea to be heavy and unwholesome; but, on passing the isthmus in the direction of Megara, a striking change is immediately perceptible. The transition is equally great after passing the ridges of Citheron. The climate of Attica, he describes as a perpetual spring: rain is extremely rare, and even a cloudy day is seldom seen. Neither in the Spanish peninsula, nor in any other part of the East, except Ionia, in his Lordship's opinion, is the climate equal to that of Athens; but "I fear," he adds, "Hesiod will still be found correct in his description of a Bœotian winter."† "The unwholesome marshes of Bœotia," remarks Mr. Douglas, "are inhabited by a race whom the vanity of the Athenians still despises as inferior beings." Speaking generally of the country, he says: "The mixture of the romantic with the rich, which still diversifies its aspect, and the singularly picturesque form of all its mountains, do not allow us to wonder that even Virgil should generally desert his native Italy for the landscape of Greece. Whoever has viewed it in the tints

found it agreeable to bathe, a little before Christmas, at Thebes, where a poet of the country (Hesiod) describes the cold to be so excessive as to freeze up the spirits of all nature, animate and inanimate, and to inflict upon man himself the miseries of a premature decay, it will not be supposed that the inclemency of Attica was by us severely felt."—*Journey, &c.*, letter 24.

* Clarke's Travels, P. ii. § 2, ch. 9.

† Notes to Childe Harold, canto ii.

of a Mediterranean spring, will agree in attributing much of the Grecian genius to the influence of scenery and climate."*

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND POPULATION.

THE limits of Greece are too indeterminate to admit of any very correct estimate of its territorial extent. Including the southern parts of Albania and Macedonia, as high as lat. 42°, it is about 400 miles in length by a mean breadth of 160; but the whole of Greece Proper does not extend in length above 225 miles. Malte Brun gives, as the result of a comparative examination of modern accounts and maps, the following table:

	Square miles.
Eastern and Western Hellas, including Epirus, Thes- saly, and Livadia	14,915
Morea	7,227
Eubœa (Negropont) and the other Isles	3,806
Crete	4,613
	<hr/>
Macedonia	21,142
Albania Proper	16,645
	<hr/>
	37,787
	<hr/>
	68,348

Greece, including the peninsula and the islands, forms, according to this computation, not quite a seventh of Turkey in Europe, or, together with Macedonia and Illyricum, rather less than a third.†

The population of Greece has been very variously

* Essay on Anc. and Mod. Greeks, p. 52.

† "The extreme diminutiveness of Greece," remarks Mr. Hobhouse, "may make some readers suspect, that they and the rest of the world have fixed their admiration upon a series of petty and insignificant actions, scarcely worthy of a detail, or of finding a

estimated, and the dreadful effect of the revolutionary struggle render it nearly impossible to ascertain with any accuracy the present numerical amount. While some writers estimate the whole population of European Turkey at twenty-two millions, others reduce it to eight millions. By some, the Greeks have been supposed to amount to between two and three millions, but the Greek population of Asia Minor and the Crimea has probably been included. The Hon. Mr. Douglas thinks that, adopting Hume's estimate of 1,290,000 as the total of ancient Greece, exclusive of Laconia,* the present inhabitants of the country in all probability greatly surpass their ancestors in number; but "this computation," he adds, "will include all the natives of that country, whether Mussulmans or Christians, of whom the pure Greek race assuredly does not compose *above a third*, though the

place among the histories of empires; but others will feel only an increase of esteem and respect for a people whose transcendent genius and virtue could give an interest and importance to events transacted upon so inconsiderable a spot of earth. Greece Proper scarcely contained more space than the kingdom of Naples formerly occupied on the continent of Italy; and Sicily is considered as large as Peleponnesus. . . . A man might very easily, at a moderate pace, ride from Livadia to Thebes and back again between breakfast and dinner, particularly as he would not have a single object to detain him by the way; and the tour of all Bœotia might certainly be made in two days without baggage."—*Journey through Albania*, pp. 483, 275. The diminutiveness of Palestine has awakened similar feelings; but the ancient kingdom of Judæa was far more populous than Greece.

* "Hume has shewn, by very powerful arguments, the little faith that is to be attached to the extravagant accounts of the Greek population, to be found in Athenæus and other ancient authors. I am inclined to believe that ancient Greece was never a very populous tract. The vast ranges of barren mountains that intersect the whole country, together with the immense woods and marshes, still more considerable formerly than at present, must

proportion is very different in different provinces." * M. Beaujour states the total population of Greece at 1,920,000; but he includes Macedonia, to which is assigned 700,000. The remainder is thus distributed :

	Inhabitants.
Epirus	400,000
Thessaly	300,000
Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia	200,000
Attica	20,000
Morea	300,000
	1,220,000

But it is not a little remarkable, that the popula-

ever have been great obstacles to populousness; and we may perceive, in the importance attached throughout ancient Greece to the character of a citizen, (insomuch that the capital was often contemplated as the whole state,) a further proof that the population of the villages was comparatively insignificant. In Attica, where the number of *δημοί* is known, and where the people were noted for their attachment to a country life, there are now as many villages as in the time of its liberty. And as the people have no longer the same objects in flocking to the capital, the diminution of inhabitants in the cities cannot be taken as a criterion of a general decrease.... The plains of Messenia and Thessaly might be quoted as instances of population hardly equalled in any part of the world. In one view over the *Larissæ campus opimæ*, I have counted eight and thirty villages."—DOUGLAS *on the Mod. Greeks*, p. 44.

* In some parts of the Morea, (Messenia and Elis in particular,) as well as in all the large villages, the Turks outnumbered the Christians. In Attica and Bœotia, the Christians were supposed to be ten in eleven. In Thessaly and Epirus, the preponderance was very slightly in favour of the Moslems. The islands were generally free from the presence of a Turk; and even in Scio and Mytilene, they were few in comparison with the Greeks. Under the rapacious administration of Veli Pasha, the Morea was to a great extent exhausted of its Greek population by emigrations to Hydra and the opposite coasts of Asia Minor, and even to Albania. These fluctuations, occasioned by internal political changes, increase the difficulty of ascertaining the true state of the population.

tion of the islands should be wholly overlooked in this computation.* Col. Leake thinks, that, in the latter years of the reign of Ali Pasha, the population of Continental Greece, from Cape Tænarum to the northernmost limits at which the Greek language is in common use, was not much above a million. Mr. Waddington, one of our most recent authorities, professes himself to be strongly of opinion, that the whole number of "actual insurgents" is somewhat under one million, *including* the population of the islands, which he estimates at 250,000 souls. To Eastern and Western Hellas, he assigns 150,000,† and to the Morea, half a million.

In this estimate, Epirus and Thessaly are apparently put out of consideration, and only the "insurgent" Greeks are reckoned. Crete alone was formerly sup-

* Mr. Hobhouse says, that the number of Greek mariners, actually employed at sea, is supposed to be at least 50,000.—*Journey*, &c. p. 600.

† Since the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, the province of Western Greece, according to Mr. Waddington's representation, has been for the most part confined to the walls of Missolonghi. "I am assured," he says, "that during the second siege, nearly 40,000 souls were collected in the city, and that this number comprehended the great majority of the villages and mountaineers, who had fled to the only place of security. We may then calculate the whole population of the province at 60,000. I am the more inclined to attach credit to this estimate, because my own inquiries in Attica, respecting the physical force of Eastern Greece, led me very nearly to the same result. Many fugitives from both these districts, are to be found, as soldiers or shepherds, in the cities or on the mountains of the Morea."—*Visit to Greece*, p. 172. This last remark may account for the alleged increase in the population of the Morea, stated by Dr. Clarke at 300,000, and by this Traveller at half a million. M. Pouqueville states the population of the Morea, exclusive of the Mainoas, at 419,000; viz. 400,000 Greeks, 15,000 Turks, and 4000 Jews.

posed to contain a population of 280,000 souls, of whom 130,000 were Greeks.* If the total number of Greeks were the subject of inquiry, it would be necessary to include those of the more northern provinces of European Turkey, of Thrace and Wallachia, as well as those who have taken refuge under the empire of Russia, together with the Greeks of Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Syria. But the population of the country, whether Greek, Turkish, or Albanian, is the proper question; and the following, as a mean estimate, may perhaps be considered as an approximation to the fact:

	Inhabitants.
Eastern Hellas	80,000
Western Hellas	70,000
Mòrea	450,000
Crete and the Islands	350,000
	<hr/>
	950,000*
Epirus	400,000
Thessaly	300,000
Macedonia	700,000†
	<hr/>
	2,350,000

Of these, taking one province with another, it may be presumed, that about one third are Greeks; the other two-thirds being Albanians and Turks, with the exception of some few thousands of Franks and Jews.

The above general divisions of the country are those which have been adopted by the provisional govern-

* The Moslems in Crete, now become "an Egyptian province," are stated by Mr. Sheridan to be as 5 to 4, 150 to 120,000, and "the most daring and ferocious in Turkey."

† This allows, in Macedonia, 370 persons for every square league; about half the proportion which the population bears to the territorial surface in Spain, and not a third of that of Switzerland. In the pashalik of Salonica, however, which comprises all Lower Macedonia, and in the mousselimlik of Larissa, the proportion is 500 to every square league. Upper Macedonia is almost a desert.—See BEAUJOUR, *tom. i. p. 128.*

ment of Greece. Under the Turks, the whole of Greece was latterly divided into four great pashaliks, deriving their names from the seats of government. The pashalik of Tripolitza comprised the whole of the Morea; that of Egripo (Negropont), included that island, with Bœotia and the eastern part of Phocis; that of Salonica extended over the southern division of Macedonia; while Thessaly, Epirus, and part of Livadia, were included in that of Ioannina. Athens and Livadia had each its independent *waiwode*, and Larissa was governed by a mousselim. It will, perhaps, be acceptable to the reader, to have the corresponding ancient and modern subdivisions more distinctly laid before him. We shall take them proceeding from south to north.

The Morea, or Peloponnesus.

<i>Ancient Divisions. Venetian.</i>		<i>Turkish.</i>	<i>Chief Places.</i>
Achaia N.	Chiarenza.	Pashalik of Tripolitza.	Corinth. Patras. Napoli di Romania. Tripolitza. Arcadia. Mistra. Navarino. Modon. Kalamata. Pyrgos.
Argolis, N.E.	Sacania.		
Arcadia, Cent.			
Laonia, S.E.	{ Zaccunia or Maina.		
Messenia, S.W.	{ Belvedere.		
Eiis, N.W.			

Eastern Hellas.

Modern.

Attica.	} Livadia.	} Pashalik of Egripo.	{ Athens. Marathon. Livadia. Thebes. Egripo. Thermopylæ. Talanta.
Bœotia.			
Eubœa.			
Locris (<i>Opuntii</i>).			
Phocis.			
Doris.			
Locris (<i>Ozolie</i>).	} Pashalik of Ioannina.	{ Delphi. Suri. Gavria. Salona.	

Western Hellas.

Ætolia.	} Kari ili.	} Part of Pa-	{ Messolonghi. Lepanto.
Acarmania.*			
		Ioannina.	

Epirus.—Albania. †

Thesprotia.	Tzamouria.	} Ioannina.	{ Arta. Parga.
Molossia.	Ioannina.		{ Ioannina. Dodona.
Chaonia.	Liapuria.		{ Chimara. Ericho.
Thessaly.	Sanjiak of Triccala.		Triccala. Larissa.
Macedonia.	Pashalik of Salonica.		Salonica.

MODERN TRAVELLERS IN GREECE.

HAVING taken this general view of the physical and political-geography of these regions, we ought now to proceed to give the result of modern observation respecting the characteristic features of the population; but an account of their manners and local customs will naturally connect itself with the topographical details; and with regard to the moral and intellectual character of the Greeks, the testimonies of modern travellers are so much at variance, owing to the influence of political sentiment or personal bias, that it is difficult to form a just and impartial estimate. In fact, the most delicate and embarrassing part of our task, is to decide upon the degree of authenticity and correctness attaching to the conflicting reports of the host of modern travellers who have furnished us with accounts relating to Greece and its inhabitants.

The quaint narratives of Sir George Wheeler and Dr. Spon, who travelled through Greece in 1675-6, are referred to by Mr. Douglas as containing perhaps

* Acarnania belongs to Epirus, in ancient geography, but is included in Western Hellas.

† Albania comprises part of Macedonia, Illyria, Chaonia, and Epirus. Delvinachi is the frontier village of Epirus and Albania Proper.

the best information we possess in our own language. The merit, however, of having first drawn the attention of English travellers to the ruins of Athens, is assigned by Dr. E. D. Clarke to De la Guilletière, who visited Attica seven years before, and from whose work he accuses Wheler of borrowing without acknowledgement. Chandler's Travels are highly valuable as well as entertaining; yet, remarks Mr. Douglas, "after the description of Athens, in the second volume, much of which is borrowed from Stuart, he tells us little or nothing. Ill health and other causes compelled him to pass through the Morea in so much haste, as to be able to make but scanty observations, and the few he has given us are not always accurate, and are still seldomer interesting." Poccoke visited some parts of Thessaly and Eastern Hellas, but his narrative, in this part, is unusually vague and meagre. Lord Byron, complaining of the deplorable deficiency of information on the subject of the Greeks, remarks, that Eton and Sonnini have led the public astray by their panegyrics and projects, while De Pauw and Thornton have debased the Greeks beyond their demerits. "It would be worth while," he adds, "to publish together and compare the works of Messrs. Thornton and De Pauw, Eton and Sonnini; paradox on one side, and prejudice on the other." With regard to Eton, Mr. Douglas remarks, that "it is vain to expect a correct estimate of the Greeks from an author whose every sentence shews his original intention to have been, the eulogy of the Russians and the satire of their enemies.* Neither is the pen which has undertaken his refutation, however excellent upon other topics, less pre-

* The emperor Paul," says Mr. Eton, "is a prince of the most scrupulous honour and the greatest integrity."—Pref. p. xix.

judiced in respect to the Greeks. Thornton, as has been observed by the author of *Childe Harold*, could scarcely form a correct judgement of that nation from a constant residence at Pera; and what little he has recorded, bears often the appearance of a wish to convict his antagonist, rather than of an impartial inquiry after truth."

"The French," continues this accomplished critic, "abound in writers upon Greece. Of these, the more modern, particularly Sonnini and Savary, have fallen into two great faults incidental to the degeneracy which seems to have taken place in the taste of most of their countrymen. A tedious superabundance of sentiment, lavished upon every thing that comes in their way, not to mention its intrinsic dulness, diminishes our confidence in the facts which they relate. We are still more disgusted, however, by their affected contempt for all established opinions and sound learning. Chateaubriand is only obnoxious to the first of these charges, and he amply redeems all the errors of his slight sketch of Greece, by his eloquent delineation of Palestine. Dr. Pouqueville, the French resident at Ioannina, has collected much curious information respecting the Morea. His account of the Albanians, though debased by the bigotry of a partisan, gave us our first knowledge of a people whom the genius of Ali Pasha has raised to a level with the greatest nations of the continent.* But the most useful, the

* "Pouqueville is always out," is the pithy remark of Lord Byron, in reference to his mistaking the lake of Ioannina for Acherusia. "It is a curious circumstance," adds his Lordship, "that Mr. Thornton who so lavishly dispraises Pouqueville on every occasion of mentioning the Turks, has yet recourse to him as authority on the Greeks, and terms him an impartial observer. Now Dr. Pouqueville is as little entitled to that appellation, as Mr. Thornton is to confer it on him."

most amusing, and the most accurate traveller that ever visited those regions is Tournefort. It is to be regretted, that his tour was confined to so small a portion of the Levant."

Since the publication of these remarks upon preceding writers, the list has been greatly extended, and we can no longer complain of a dearth of information. In the years 1794 and 5, several parts of Greece were visited by Mr. Morritt, Mr. Hawkins, and Professor Sibthorp, valuable extracts from whose manuscript journals are given in the *Memoirs* relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, edited by the Rev. Mr. Walpole.* In 1801 and 2, Colonel Leake, Lieut.-Colonel Squire, Dr. E. D. Clarke, Mr. Dodwell, and several other accomplished travellers, explored these classical regions. Sir Wm. Gell and the Hon. Mr. Craven travelled in 1804; Mr. Hobhouse and Lord Byron, in 1809-10; the Hon. Mr. Douglas, in 1811; Dr. Holland, in 1812-13; and the Rev. T. S. Hughes, in the following year. To the researches of these gentlemen, most of whom have published an account of their tours, we shall be chiefly indebted for our descriptive and topographical details. There now occurs a considerable interval, during which the attention of English philhellenists seems to have been diverted from the classic attractions of Greece by the interest of passing events nearer home. In 1821, the revolutionary struggle commenced; and now, within the past two or three years, the press has teemed with memoirs and journals relating to this unhappy country. Mr. Waddington's *Visit to Greece in 1823-4*, is characterised by its apparent fairness and impartiality. Mr. Bulwer passed his "*Autumn in Greece*" in 1824,

* 4to. London. 1817. *Travels in Continuation of Memoirs*. 4to. London. 1820.

and Colonel Stanhope visited the country, as agent of the Greek Committee, in the same year. A Picture of Greece in 1825 has been furnished by the journals of Messrs. Emerson and Humphreys and Count Pecchio; and the Journal of the Rev. Charles Swan comes down as late as September last. Some of these publications betray rather too evidently the warmth of the partisan, while others have been written under an opposite bias, the result of disappointment or personal disgust.* It will be our business, so far as possible, to elicit a consistent statement from their conflicting representations.

* "It is remarkable," observes Mr. Leake, "that travellers who visit Greece, generally return with an unfavourable opinion of the people. But it is not difficult to account for this. From a real or supposed want of time, or in consequence of the disgust and impatience usually produced by the privations and inconveniences of a semi-barbarous state of society, travellers are generally contented to follow the beaten route of Athens, the Islands, the Asiatic coast, Troy, and Constantinople: their journey is concluded before they have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to form any impartial estimate of the national character; and they come chiefly in contact with those classes upon which the long subjection of the nation to the Turks has had the greatest effect, such as persons in authority under the government, or otherwise under Turkish employ, servants, interpreters, the lower orders of traders, and generally, the inhabitants of those towns and districts in which the Turkish population has a great preponderance of numbers."—"Among the various foreigners resident in Athens," remarks Lord Byron, "French, Italians, Germans, Ragusans, there was never a difference of opinion in their estimate of the Greek character, though on all other topics they disputed with great acrimony. M. Roque, a French merchant of respectability, long settled in Athens, asserted, with the most amusing gravity: 'Sir, they are the same *canaille* that existed in the days of Themistocles!'—an alarming remark to the *laudator temporis acti*. In short, all the Franks who are fixtures, and most of the Englishmen, Germans, Danes, &c. of passage, come over by degrees to the same opinion, on much the same grounds that a Turk in England would condemn the nation by wholesale because he was wronged by his lacquey, or overcharged by his washerwoman."

In addition to the above-mentioned works, the unfinished revolution has already found its historians. Mr. Blaquiere has given, in a modest volume, a sketch of its origin and progress to the close of the third campaign. M. Pouqueville has put forth a history of Greece from the year 1740 to 1824, in four volumes octavo; and M. Raffanel, in three successive volumes, brings down the history of events in Greece to the close of the campaign in 1825. Our limits would not admit of our entering very fully into the florid recitals of these rival French writers, even could we place an implicit reliance upon their fidelity; but, as our readers will expect some account of the revolution, we shall endeavour to put them in possession of the leading facts, availing ourselves occasionally of all these works, as well as of the intelligent observations of Mr. Leake, in his "Historical Outline," recently published.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

To whatever circumstances we may ascribe the first insurrectionary movements in Greece, the determined and heroic spirit in which the struggle has been maintained, leaves no room to doubt that causes had long been in operation, to which the new position and character assumed by the Greeks must ultimately be traced. For more than nineteen centuries they had ceased to exist as a free people; or, if we consider them as Græco-Romans, Romaïks (to apply to them the name of their language), and date their political bondage from the time when it was sealed by the treaty between the Turks and Venetians in 1454, which secured to the latter the commerce, and to the former the territory of Greece,—still, three centuries

and a half of patient vassalage might seem sufficient to have extinguished every hope and every feeling allied to political independence. Indeed, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the country had not ceased to be the seat of contest between the Venetians and the Ottomans; and all that the Greeks could hope for, was a change of masters, between whom there was not much to choose, the Latins being, even on religious grounds, the objects of nearly as great antipathy as the Moslems. When, however, in 1685, Francis Morosini, the general of the Republic, invaded the Morea at the head of an army of German mercenaries, the inhabitants of Maina declared for the Republic, and contributed to the defeat of a body of troops commanded by the capitan-pasha in person, which made the Venetians masters of that province. Napoli di Romania, then the capital of the peninsula, fell in 1686, and Athens was taken by them in the following year. By the peace of Carlowitz in 1699, the Porte ceded to the Republic all its conquests in the Morea, as far as the isthmus, together with the isle of Egina on one side, and that of Santa Maura on the other, while the fortifications of Lepanto, Romelia, and Prevesa, were to be demolished. This peace, however, was not of long continuance; and the reconquest of the Morea by the Turks in 1714, almost without resistance, reflected equal disgrace on the pusillanimity of the degenerate Italians, and the barbarity of the ruthless Ottomans.* Crete was lost in

* Corinth capitulated after five days' siege, notwithstanding which, the greater part of the garrison were put to the sword, and the remainder were sent prisoners on board the galleys of the capitan-pasha, to be beheaded before the port of Napoli, in sight of the Venetian troops on the ramparts. That place was taken by storm shortly after, and a general massacre of the inhabitants

the following year ; and the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, in which the Republic was included, without being consulted in the negotiations, finally deprived that once haughty and powerful state of all its vast dominions in the East, with the exception of the Ionian Isles, and the territories of Cattaro, Butrinto, Parga, Prevesa, and Vonitza, on the continent.

In the mean time, a new maritime power was growing up in the north of Europe ; and the founder of St. Petersburg was forming that infant navy which was destined to prove a more formidable enemy to the Ottoman than all the fleets of the Adriatic. To Peter the Great is ascribed the first conception of the project more earnestly taken up and pursued by his successors, the restoration of the eastern empire in the person of a Russian prince, and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.* In the year 1769, the first war broke out between the Russians and the Turks, which, in its issue, proved so calamitous to the Greeks,

struck with panic terror the garrisons of the towns that yet held out. Malvoisie was given up by the Venetian commander, Badouer, without a blow. " We can no longer recognise," remarks Daru, " in this series of disasters, either the brave defenders of Candia, or that audacious navy which had so repeatedly destroyed the Ottoman fleets. Officers and soldiers, all were equally struck with terror ; and the government shewed itself to be as devoid of activity and energy as of foresight. Candia had been defended during five-and-twenty years : the Morea was lost in a few months. And it was within less than half a century, that a government—a nation had thus degenerated."—*Hist. de la République de Venise*, liv. xxxiv. § 13.

* " Au nom de Pierre le Grand," says M. Pouqueville, in his flowery style, " le Hellade aperçût d'autres cleux et un nouvel horizon ! Les insulaires de l'Archipel osèrent, nouveaux Argonautes, porter leurs regards vers la mer de Colchos : ils découvraient le labarum dans un lointain mystérieux, quand le nouveau Constantin qu'ils attendaient, Pierre I. accable par les Turcs sur

its only victims. To the astonishment of Europe, instead of attacking Turkey from its southern frontier, the Empress despatched an armament from the Baltic, consisting of twenty sail of the line, besides smaller vessels and transports, which had to circumnavigate Europe, and actually wintered at Leghorn, before it was brought into action. Intrigue had been actively employed by Russian agents in the interim,* in order to secure the co-operation of the Greeks. The delay of the expedition is ascribed to the indecision or indolence of Orloff, to whom Catherine had capriciously intrusted the command. The whole winter passed away ere it was determined in what part of Turkey to strike the first blow. The Greeks themselves decided the question. The result we give in the words of the Author of Anastasius, who has min-

les bords du Pruth, trop heureux d'obtenir sa liberté d'un visir, au prix de quelques-unes de ses conquêtes, les laissa sans avenir."—*Tom. i. p. 4.* That the "children of Pindus and Parnassus," as the Doctor calls them, sympathised with the Czar in this defeat, is, we suspect, an embellishment.

* In the reign of the Empress Anne; Russian emissaries had been sent into Greece by Marshal Munich, to sound the disposition of the natives, or, as M. Pouqueville phrases it, *qui parlaient aux Chrétiens de patrie, de religion, et de liberté.* This was the secret prelude to the war already contemplated. A partial insurrection was the consequence; but the Greeks were abandoned to their fate at the peace of 1739. Among the emissaries employed by Munich, the Russian prime minister, was a Greek priest, who endeavoured to excite the popular enthusiasm by recalling to mind a traditional prediction, that the Ottoman Empire should be overthrown "by a fair nation named *Ros*, proceeding from the north, and united to them by the ties of religion." On the accession of Catherine II., a new agent was employed to sow the seeds of insurrection in Greece,—Gregory Papadopoulo, a native of Larissa, an artillery officer in the imperial guard of Russia, and a creature of Orloff's. In 1767, the false Peter III., at the head of his Montenegrins, declared war against the infidels, but was soon compelled to take refuge in the mountains. M. Pouqueville represents the court of

gled so much real history with his romance, that it may vie in authenticity with the romances of the historian.

“ A few turbulent *codgea-bashees* (heads of districts) of the Morea, fearing the lash of their Turkish governor, sent to the Russian commanders a forged plan of insurrection as one already organised; and, on the return of the deputation, employed the promise of Russian assistance thus fraudulently obtained, to produce the commotion which they had already described as on the point of breaking out. Their labour was assisted by the Turks themselves. Suspecting a plot against their tyranny, these pusillanimous oppressors acted like men who, from the very fear of a precipice, plunge headlong down it. In their panic, they massacred a whole troop of Zacuniote peasants, peaceably returning from a fair at Patras, whom they mistook for an army of rebels marching to attack them. The cry of revenge now resounded from all quarters; and

St. Petersburg as acting on this occasion a very insidious part. “ While it was sending arms, ammunition, and money to the Greeks, it requested the sultan to crush its rebellious subjects, and to deliver up Stephano Piccolo,”—the name of the adventurer. “ In the meantime,” continues M. Pouqueville, “ Alexis and Theodore Orloff, who were residing at Venice, were using every effort to engage Greece in the interest of Russia. Assisted by the banker Meruzzi, a native of Yanina, they repeatedly forwarded to Suli, to Acroceraunia, and to the Morea, military stores, arms, and money, which were distributed from hand to hand by secret agents, till they reached the *Armatolis* of Pindus and Parnassus.’ A worthy coadjutor of the ambulatory diplomatist, Papadopoulo, presented himself in an enthusiast named Tamara, who is said to have gone about throughout Hellas and the Morea, endeavouring to persuade the deluded natives that the august Catherine was about to restore them to political freedom. The correspondence between Voltaire and the King of Prussia, proves that that ambitious princess had no such liberal intention.—See *POUQUEVILLE*, tom. i. pp. 5, 22, 40.

when, therefore, in the spring of 1770, the Russian fleet cast anchor in the bay of Vitulo, its commanders were eagerly received by the bishops of Lacedæmon and Christianopolis, followed by Greeks of all descriptions, who only begged as a favour, permission to enlist under the Russian banners. Fair as seemed this beginning, the understanding between the two nations was short-lived. The Greeks expected the Russians alone to accomplish the whole task of their deliverance. The Russians had laid their account with a powerful co-operation on the part of the Greeks. Each, alike disappointed, threw on the other the whole blame of every failure. Their squabbles gave large troops of Arnauts time to pour from every neighbouring point of Roumili into the peninsula; and the Russian commanders, seeing all chance of success vanish in that unpromising quarter, sailed higher up the Archipelago, leaving the Moreotes to their fate, and carrying away no other fruits of the momentary contact of Greeks and Russians, than an increase of rancour between the two nations,—too nearly allied in faith, not to feel towards each other the most cordial aversion.*

* M. Pouqueville gives the *words* of the altercation that took place between Alexis Orloff and Mavro-Michalis, the bey of Maina. His narrative agrees substantially with Mr. Hope's spirited recital, and he states, that he derived his information from M. Benaki, the Russian consul-general at Corfu. A number of Greeks who had taken refuge in the island of Sphacteria, were perfidiously abandoned by Dolgorouki, the Russian commander, and massacred by the Turks. M. de Vaudoncourt represents the Empress to have been deceived by her own agents, who, in order to flatter and gain favour, gave assurances that nothing more was necessary than for a squadron to appear on the shores of Greece, when the whole Greek population would receive their liberators with open arms. "All the memoirs presented to the Russian Government contained the same exaggerations; nor is it indeed astonishing that the Government

“ The ferocious mountaineers of Albania, who, under the name of Arnoots, form a chief part of the forces of the Ottoman empire, and of the body-guard of its various pashas, present in their rugged yet colourless countenances, the greatest contrast to the regular features and rich complexions of the Greeks. In the faith of the two nations, the difference is less marked : the worship of the Arnoots is generally determined by the master whom they serve ; and many of those who, on the spur of pay or plunder, came to assist the Moreote Mussulmans against the Christians, themselves professed the Christian faith. Their total number was computed at about 20,000. When their work was achieved, they demanded their wages. The money was wanting, or at least the pay was withheld. This furnished them with a plausible pretence for disbanding on the spot, and paying themselves by pillaging the country. Some, after laying waste the villages, drove the inhabitants before them like herds of cattle through the *derwens* or defiles that guard the entrance of the peninsula, and thus regained, with their new slaves, their native mountains. Others remained stationary in the Morea : by installing themselves in the houses and lands of the Greek peasantry, they deprived the soil of its husbandmen and the Turks of their subjects ; and at last, finding no more

should have blindly believed what was announced by men expressly sent out for the purpose of examining the state of things on the spot. It was not that the enthusiasm of the Greeks failed at that time to be carried to the highest pitch, or that they would have been unable to expel the Turks, if they had been furnished with the proper means ; but the Russians brought with them neither arms nor warlike stores. As soon as they had effected their landing, instead of scattering money in the country, and thus giving some earnest of the promises they had lavished, their officers thought of nothing else but pillaging those they were come to defend.

*rayahs** to oppress, turned their violence against the Moslems themselves, and treated like the vanquished, those whom they had come to defend. Nine succeeding years had seen eleven different governors arrive, one after the other, with peremptory instructions to exterminate the banditti, and again depart without succeeding; some for want of sufficient force to repress their outrages; others, it is said, for want of sufficient resolution to resist their bribes. At length, in 1779, the famous Hassan Capitan-pasha received the sultan's orders to expel from the Morea the refractory Arnaoots." †

M. Pouqueville shall tell the sequel. "The principal corps of *schypetars*, reckoned at 10,000 men, were entrenched under the walls of Tripolitza. Hassan, not having been able to succeed in making them accept a paternal capitulation, resolved to subdue them by force of arms.● He had been encamped during a month at Argos, when, on the 10th of June, 1779, he set out immediately after the mid-day prayer, and having marched during part of the night, appeared at day-break before Tripolitza. He immediately attacked the rebels, and routed them; and before the end of the day, he had erected before the eastern gate of the town, a pyramid of more than 4000 heads, of which I saw the remains in 1799. Those of the *schypetars* who escaped, were relentlessly pursued, and being tracked through the windings of the Ænian mountains, were exterminated at the bottom of a woody

* The name given to subjects of the Porte, not Mohammedans, who pay the capitation-tax, such as Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gipsies.

† Anastasius, vol. i. pp. 26—29. The Hassan Pasha alluded to is the same that effected the destruction of the Sheikh Dahher.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. i. p. 23, and *plate*.

gully, which has since been known under the name of the Defile of the Massacre.*

When the treaty of Kainardji, signed in July 1774, put an end, for the time, to hostilities between the Empress and the Porte, an article was introduced, guaranteeing protection and immunity to such Greeks as had taken part in favour of the Russians during the war. No sooner, however, had the islands taken by the Russians been restored, than, with the most profligate disregard of this solemn stipulation, the Turkish Government, while it let loose the Albanians on the Morea, committed to the capitan-pasha the punishment of the islanders. It has been affirmed, we know not on what distinct evidence, that a hundred thousand Greeks, of both sexes, either perished by the sword or were carried into slavery, the victims of Turkish vengeance.†

In the year 1787, a war again broke out between Turkey and the allied powers of Russia and Austria, and again the Empress issued her manifestoes to the Greeks, calling upon them to co-operate with her in expelling the enemies of Christianity from their natal soil. On this occasion, however, the North of Greece was the scene of insurrection.‡ A Greek of the name

* *Histoire de la Regen. &c.*, tom. 1. ch. 2.

† Mr. Eton states, that a deliberate proposal was made in the divan, to exterminate all the Greeks of the Morea in cold blood. "Nor was this," he says, "the first time that the massacre of the whole Greek nation had been seriously debated; it was, however, in the present instance, successfully opposed by Gazi Hassan. The chief argument which he used, and which alone carried conviction to his hearers, was: If we kill all the Greeks, we shall lose all the capitation-tax they pay. Even without such a provocation, Sultan Mustafa, predecessor and brother of Abdulhamid, on his accession, proposed to cut off all the Christians in his empire, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it."—ETON, p. 356.

of Sottiri was sent into Epirus and Albania to organise a revolt, and Suli was the head-quarters. The pasha of Ioannina was defeated by the insurgents; his son was killed in the encounter, and the rich armour of which he was despoiled, was transmitted by the hands of three deputies to her imperial majesty, accompanied with a memorial, imploring her succour, and denouncing as a traitor the Captain Psaro to whom the Russian Government had entrusted the distribution of the subsidy and ammunition intended for the Greeks.* Mr. Eton states, that the Venetians, still unwilling to offend the Porte, had thrown obstacles in the way, obstructing the communication with the Russians by means of the port of Prevesa. On the other hand, the Venetians were suspected by the Porte of having an understanding with the Muscovites, as it was in the Ionian Isles that Papadopoulo had matured the plan for the first rising in the Morea. More than a hundred thousand Christians are said to have taken refuge from the scimitars of the Moslems in those islands and in the territory of Naples, while vast numbers of fugitive Romeliots had found an asylum among the *armatolis* of the mountains of Agrafa. Sicily had been fixed upon as the station where the above-mentioned Captain Psaro was to establish magazines for the Russian armament that was to co-operate with the Greeks. But whether he was really a commissioned agent of Russia or an artful adventurer, seems very questionable. The Empress, it is pretty evident, whatever might be her ulterior views, had, at this time, no serious intention of undertaking the deliverance of the Greeks. The three deputies, after doing homage

* Eton, p. 364. If the engagement between the Suliots and All Pasha be referred to, the account is very incorrect: he lost no son on the occasion.

to the Grand-duke Constantine, as the future king of the Hellenes, were sent to Prince Potemkin, then with the army in Moldavia, whence they proceeded to Greece by way of Vienna, accompanied by Major-general Tamara. They were to prepare every thing, but to undertake nothing till they should receive directions from the court of St. Petersburg. Things remained in this state till the campaign in Moldavia had ended, and Prince Potemkin had returned to the capital. Early in the following year, before Potemkin had rejoined the army, the preliminaries of peace between Russia and the Porte were already signed. Lambro Canziani, a brave Greek, who had fitted out a small armament at Trieste, by means of private subscriptions, and who, after his little fleet had been destroyed, had again sailed in a single ship to attack the Turks, was declared a pirate; being disavowed by Russia, he was suffered to be imprisoned for debts contracted in fitting out his vessel, and was released only by the contributions of his countrymen.*

The Empress Catherine died in 1796, and with her expired for the time the hopes of those who looked to

* The statements in the above paragraph are taken chiefly from Eton, the panegyrist of the Russian court; they may therefore be presumed to be substantially authentic. He gives at length the memorial of the Greek deputies, Pano Kiri, Christo Lazzotti, and Nicolo Pangalo. From the style, the French, rather than the Greek, would seem to have been the original of the document. That they were authorised to implore, as the wish of their nation, that the Empress would deign to give them her grandson Constantine as a sovereign, Catherine was too shrewd to believe, though Mr. Eton seems to give them credit for it. Their plan of operation was magnificent; but one is astonished to find any thing so absurdly visionary gravely reported. Whether they were knaves or enthusiasts, is not clear. The memorial was probably of foreign manufacture. The only humane part of the Empress's conduct was, the paying their expenses to Moldavia, and enjoining them not to act till they heard from her.

see another Constantine on the throne of Constantinople. In the mean time, another personage had risen into commanding influence and importance in the mountains of Epirus, who at one period bade much fairer to become the king of Greece, than any one who had appeared on the theatre of Europe since the extinction of the eastern empire. This was no other than the celebrated Ali Tepeleni, pasha of Ioannina. Before we proceed, however, to give a sketch of this extraordinary man's romantic and revolting history, with which the cause of the Greeks has been closely implicated, we must advert to other political changes, which, towards the close of the last century, produced a very material alteration in the character, condition, and resources of the Greeks.

Whatever regret we might have felt at the occupation of classic Greece by the barbarous Ottomans, or whatever an ambitious policy might have dictated to any of the powers of Christian Europe, had no internal changes taken place among the Greeks themselves, they must still have continued to be the passive, crouching slaves or helpless victims of their Frank or Musulman masters. Their country had been made the scene of repeated conflicts between the soldiers of the cross and of the crescent; but, except at the instigation of foreign emissaries and under a foreign standard, the natives had made no attempt to shake off the Turkish yoke. In Greece, at all events, the crusades had no beneficial influence, but were fatal alike to learning and to liberty. But the same causes which gave the first impulse to European civilization in the tenth century, and to which the revival of letters and the first movements of freedom are ultimately to be ascribed, were now gradually preparing the Greeks, after a political extinction of nineteen centuries, ag: in

to assume the form and rank of a nation.* Towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, Marseilles

* “Warton appears to have unconsciously approximated the true solution of the question, when he fixes on commerce as the real source of that influx, not of poetry and romance indeed, but of liberal ideas, productive industry, and wealth, to which the revival of learning must be ascribed. The shores of the Mediterranean still commanded and concentrated, at that time, the commerce of the world; and in the wake of commerce, Christianity, freedom, literature, and the arts, have uniformly followed. The Italian republics derived their riches and their greatness from the commerce of the Levant; and to the same cause the maritime capitals of Provence and Catalonia owed their commercial and political greatness. Barcelona was recovered from the Moors by Louis the Debonair, early in the ninth century. For seventy years after, it was governed by French viceroys, till at length, in 874, it was acknowledged as an independent earldom. From the earliest times, there appears to have been a close connexion between the Catalonian capital and Marseilles. In the former city, great numbers of Jews are said to have found shelter, bringing with them their well-known habits of mercantile enterprise. Refugees and adventurers of all nations would naturally be attracted to those free and populous cities which held out at once religious toleration and encouragement to industry. The effect of commerce upon internal trade and manufactures need not be pointed out. The manufactures of Barcelona were famous in the thirteenth century, and are probably more ancient, while those of Marseilles were equally, if not more considerable. It is remarkable, that the *Cathari* or Puritans, who began to attract attention early in the twelfth century, and whom there is good reason to identify with the Albigenses and Vaudois, are said to have been called in France, *Tisserands*, weavers, because numbers of them were of that occupation:—a singular coincidence, that the Protestants, the Hugonots of that day, should be distinguished by a name that recalls the origin of our own silk-manufactures, for which we are indebted to the edict of Nantz. It is not, therefore, a mere hypothesis, but an historical fact, that the first buddings of literature, after the dreary winter of the dark ages, the first kindlings of intellectual and moral life, took place in the immediate neighbourhood of those great maritime cities, which furnished at once a vent and mart for the productions of industry, and an inlet to knowledge as well as to wealth, and every humanising influence.”—*Eclectic Review*, April 1826, p. 315.

almost monopolised the commerce of the Levant. France was the only power in favour with the Divan; her consuls maintained throughout the dominions of the Porte her commercial ascendancy, and the French language was, in Greece as well as in Turkey, Anatolia, and Syria, the only medium of commercial intercourse. A great part of the internal commerce of European Turkey was still indeed in the hands of the Greeks. Notwithstanding the superiority which the Frank merchant enjoyed over the Greek native, in paying a single *ad valorem* duty of three per cent on imports and exports, while the *rayah* paid five per cent, in addition to repeated charges on moving his merchandise, and the illegal extortions to which he was subject,—the advantages which a native merchant always possesses, had gradually enabled the Greeks to drive the Frank traders from the fairs of Greece; and their competition is even said to have occasioned the decline of the European factories which had long flourished in the principal Turkish marts. But the immediate cause of their rapid transformation from a nation of pirates into active merchants, requires explanation. The following account is taken from the pages of an intelligent French writer.

“The foreign ministers to the Porte generally received a kind of diploma called a *barat* (berath), which secured to the bearer a special protection. He was treated as a subject of the power to whose ambassador the *barat* had been granted, and as such, was secured from all the risks of Turkish despotism. These *barats* were originally intended for subjects of the Porte employed in the service of foreign ambassadors and consuls. A great number of Christian merchants soon became anxious to procure them, to enable them to trade freely, and save them from being exposed to

any ill usage. The ambassadors of the great powers sold them as high as ten thousand piastres each : those of powers of the second rank, whose protection was less effectual, sold them at a lower rate. Thus was purchased the right of becoming a foreigner in Turkey, and of enjoying by this means the rights of man. Russia was eager in procuring an extraordinary quantity of this description of charters, and distributing them among the Greeks, to increase its influence over them. The Russian *baratarians* (berathlees) increased rapidly, and a part of the subjects of Turkey was thus transferred to a hostile court. The ignorant and indolent Divan was not sensible of this abuse till long afterwards, and even then, not till it was warned by powers jealous of Russia. In the year 1806, the Porte protested against it, and declared that it would recognise no baratarians but such as actually resided with the respective consuls. This declaration produced a long opposition from the foreign ministers, who derived a considerable portion of their income from the sale of these. At last the Porte, not to alienate in this manner a part of its subjects, and not to give up to others so considerable an advantage, resolved to take the regulation of the barats into its own hands, and to increase their privileges. New barats were issued, which secured to the holder the protection of the dragoman of the Porte, (who, though a Greek, possessed almost the power of a minister,) and of the *cadi* of every city in the Ottoman dominions ; they secured him against the pachas, who were bound, on pain of being disgraced, to respect him ; they conferred on him the right of carrying on trade with Europe, without paying any higher duties than other nations ; they allowed him to unite with the other holders of barats, to choose deputies and a chancellor, to open

chambers of assurance, to be judged by arbitrators, and to conform to the laws of commerce, instead of being subject to the Turkish jurisprudence. The purchase of these rights, which were only those of man, was made for a pretty moderate sum, and the Jewish, Christian, and Greek merchants made haste to obtain them; and the number of their holders has increased so much, as to form, in the midst of the Turkish empire, an independent and powerful corporation, which has at its disposal all the rich commerce of the East. The Greeks especially have made considerable advances in commerce, by becoming almost all of them baratarians. Their industry has thus given them a taste for, and courage to maintain their independence. The acquisition of barats has been to them, what the emancipation of the communes was to the French serfs in the twelfth century. Both obtained this emancipation by means of money; and it is always the need which governments have of men, that secures their liberty."*

The French Revolution had a further effect in extending the commerce of the Greeks, by placing in their hands the greater part of the carrying trade of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, which had formerly been enjoyed by the French and the Italians.† With the possession of Malta, the sovereignty and guardianship of the Mediterranean had passed into the hands of Great Britain. For several years before the present insurrection broke out, there were between 4 and 500 Greek ships employed in the commerce

* Thiers. "Pyrenees and South of France in 1822," p. 52.

† "The island of Hydra is inhabited chiefly by sailors and ship-owners, who, at the beginning of the Revolution, when France was shut out of the Baltic, supplied her with corn from the Archipelago."—HOPE'S *Anastasius*, vol. i. ch. 7, note 3.

of the Black Sea alone. The extension of education and the increase of knowledge had kept pace with this rapid improvement in their political condition. Colleges with professorships in various branches of instruction were instituted at Kidonies (Haivali)* and Smyrna, at Scio and at Ioannina,† besides the smaller establishments at Patmos,‡ Salonika, Ambelakia, Zagora, Athens, and Dimitzana, in the Morea: some of these were of old date, but had recently been revived or increased. “And here,” remarks Mr. Leake, after adverting to these facts, “the reflection may be made, that if Greece should achieve her liberation, she will be indebted for the return of civilisation and independence to the same peculiarities of geographical position and structure, to the same indelible features of nature, which raised her to greatness in ancient times. While her extensive sea-coast and numerous islands and harbours rendered her the country of maritime commerce, and were the original cause of the opulence which led to perfection in the enjoyments and arts of civilised life, the mountainous structure of the interior generated that free and martial spirit, which, however cruelly suppressed, has never been completely destroyed.”§

Between the mountaineers of Greece, the Mainote pirates, the Albanian Moreotes, the Romeliot kelphts

* The college at Halvall was founded in 1803. For a history of this once flourishing town, and its founder Economos, see *Mod. Trav., Syria and Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 176, &c.

† Ioannina was famous for its schools more than half a century before, under the celebrated Methodius; and modern Greek literature was cultivated there at a time when it flourished in no other part of Greece.

‡ About 1770, Daniel of Patmos had a school of considerable repute, which sent out several good masters.

§ Outline, p. 25.

and armatoli, and the sailors and merchants of Hydra and the other islands, there is, however, as wide a difference of character and sentiment, and almost as little disposition to coalesce, as existed between the ancient inhabitants of Athens and Sparta. Even the distinctions of national origin are less marked and less attended to, than those which arise from opposite modes of life and local habits;* and in the new Greeks, (as we might designate the Albanian Christians of Southern Greece and the Islands,) the country possesses, perhaps, its most effective population. The Fanariots, or Constantinopolitan Greeks, and the Greek clergy, may be added to the enumeration, as in some respects distinct and differing from all. It will be necessary to explain these distinctions.

The mountains of Greece have never been completely subdued by the Ottomans. While the Christian inhabitants of the plains either retired before the conquerors or became their vassals, the hardy peasantry of the mountains retained possession of their native soil, where they were joined by many of the lowlanders fleeing from Turkish tyranny. From thence they waged a predatory warfare, which was not confined to their oppressors. The depopulation arising from these circumstances, together with frequent visitations of the plague, has produced, in many of the most fertile parts of Greece, desolation and consequent insalubrity. And the effects would have been still more extensive, had not the vacancy been in part supplied by successive migrations from Albania and

* In 1818, there was a colony of Moreote refugees residing in a suburb of Haivali, who had been established there ever since the calamities brought upon their country by the Russians in 1770. Yet they preferred to live apart from the other Greeks, and retained a different dress.— See JOWETT'S *Christian Researches*, vol. i. p. 66.

Bulgaria, where local wars, Mussulman persecution, or redundant numbers on a very poor soil, had occasionally caused even greater distress than had driven the Greeks from their native lands. About two centuries ago, a large colony of Christian Albanians settled in Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis, and a small tribe passed over into the barren island of Hydra, where they founded the community which has since been so conspicuous for its commercial enterprise and opulence. The want of hands in the plains of Greece attracted great numbers of labourers during the harvest, the vintage, and the olive-crop, from the islands of both seas, who returned home at the end of the season with the produce of their well-paid labour.

The greater part of the peasantry in the plains of Northern Greece, and in the neighbourhood of the great Turkish towns, were unarmed; but, in the more mountainous parts, and generally throughout the Morea, there were few who did not possess a weapon of some kind. In case of any alarm of war with a Christian power, the Porte never failed to issue its decree for disarming all rayahs; but the Turks, not being very fond of venturing into the mountainous districts, were always willing to accept a small pecuniary compromise; and the sultan's commands, like many other of his decrees relating to his Christian subjects, ended in a contribution to the provincial governments. In some of the more mountainous parts, villages, and even whole districts, were left to the management of the primates (*proesti* or native magistrates), who were responsible for the payment of the ordinary contributions, and who generally farmed the taxes from the Turkish Government. In some parts, not even the kharadj, or mountain-tax, was paid. These village oligarchs are represented to have been,

in many cases, as oppressive towards the peasantry as they were contentious and jealous of each other; and the more powerful chieftains would often league with the pasha to plunder their fellow Christians. "These persons," says Mr. Leake, "being interested in the continuance of ignorance and Turkish tyranny, were, together with some of the higher clergy, the greatest obstacles to national improvement; for the latter class, having generally procured their ecclesiastical dignities at a considerable expense, were (except in the greater permanence of their offices) placed in a situation very similar to that of the Turkish governors of provinces and districts, whose object it necessarily was, to exact from the governed as much as they possibly could during their transitory authority."

The *armatoli* were originally a species of militia, an establishment of the Byzantine empire, whose most important office was to keep the roads clear of robbers, and to guard the mountain passes. The Ottomans found it necessary to maintain the same kind of police; and all Greece, from the river *Axius* to the Isthmus, was gradually divided into seventeen *armatoliks*. Of these, ten were in Thessaly and Livadia, four in Etolia, Acarnania, and Epirus, and three in Southern Macedonia. The Morea never contained any. The rank of a captain of *armatoli* was hereditary. The members of each band were called *palikàrs* (bravos or heroes), and the *protopalikàr* acted as lieutenant and secretary to the *capitanos*. In addition to the bodies of *armatoli* acknowledged by the Porte, all the mountain communities maintained a small body of *palikars*, professedly for the protection of the district; but more frequently they were employed against a neighbouring rival, or to withstand either Turkish or Albanian encroachments.

The *klephtai*, or robbers, (and they gloried in the name,) differed chiefly from the *armatoli* in preferring open rebellion and the adventurous life of marauders, to any compromise with their Turkish masters. In fact, the only distinction vanished, when, as often happened, the discontented or oppressed *armatole* became a *klepht*, or when it suited the Turkish pashas to include them under one common title. Owing to this, the terms came to be often used indiscriminately; and in Thessaly, the word *klepht* designated either or both. Their general character and habits are thus portrayed by an enthusiast in the cause of Greece, to whose hereditary talent we are indebted for a translation of some of the more popular ballads still current in the highlands,—the minstrelsy of the Grecian border.*

“ The *klephts* were hardy to a degree scarcely credible. They had no fixed encampment, wandering in summer among the higher, in winter, over the lower mountainous regions. But they had always a spot for rendezvous and occasional sojourn, called *limeri*, situated near the *armatolik* from which they had been driven. When not engaged in an expedition, their chief resource for amusement was found in martial games, and particularly in firing at a mark. Constant practice in this led to a surprising degree of skill. By day-light, they could strike an egg, or even send a ball through a ring of nearly the same diameter, at a

* Sheridan's "Songs of Greece." London, 1825. One highly characteristic mark, Mr. Sheridan says, distinguished the *klepht* from a regular *armatole*: this was a worsted rope coiled round his waist, for the purpose of binding the Turks whom he might capture, who were generally kept for the sake of ransom; "though, on occasions when it was impossible to make prisoners, they were killed like wolves, without hesitation."

distance of 200 paces; and in the most pitchy darkness, they could hit an enemy, directed only by the flash of his musket. The activity of their limbs equalled the correctness of their eye. Niko Tzaras could jump over seven horses standing abreast, and others could clear, at one leap, three waggons filled with thorns to the height of eight feet. Their powers of abstinence were not less surprising. A band of klephts have been known to combat during three days and nights, without either eating, drinking, or sleeping.* Pain found their courage as untameable as thirst and hunger, although every klepht taken alive was inevitably subjected, before death came to his relief, to the most dreadful and protracted tortures. The klephts combined to a degree very rare among a rude tribe, an enthusiastic piety with a distrust of the

* The instance referred to in substantiation of this statement, is that of the famous Thessalian klepht, Niko Tzaras, who, on his road to join Prince Ipsilanti in Wallachia, at the head of 300 klephts, was stopped at the bridge of Pravi, on the banks of the Karasou, by 3000 Turks: he "broke through them, crossed the bridge, and entered Pravi, where his gallant band refreshed themselves, after a fast of four, and a fight of three days." This was in 1804 or 5: he perished about two years after in an affray, by the hand of an assassin who had been one of his own palikars.—SHERIDAN'S *Songs of Greece*, p. 63. Another remarkable story is that of Spiros Skyllo demos, of an ancient arnatoli family in Acarnania. In 1806, he fell into the hands of Ali Pasha, who threw him into a deep dungeon, where he lay for many months, chained and immersed in mud and water. By means of a long sash and a file, he one night escaped from prison, but the gates of the citadel were closed. As his sole chance of escape, he buried himself to the throat in the forest of reeds which fringes the lake of Joannina, endured in this situation during three days and nights the extremes of cold and hunger; then, seizing a boat, crossed the lake and escaped by mountain paths into Acarnania. He was subsequently pardoned by Ali, and became *protopalikar* to Odysseus, when appointed by that pasha commander in Livadia.—*Ibid*, p. 52.

clergy, and of that union of church and state, the efficacy of which, for the support of despotism and the rivetting of mental chains, was no where better understood than in Turkey, where the sultan was in fact the real head of the Christian, as well as of the Mohammedan hierarchy. Yet, in their wildest solitudes, in their most pressing dangers, they performed the ceremonies of their religion; and the captain who plundered a chapel or a votive offering, was as unrelentingly put to death as if he had insulted a female captive. Blachavas, with his *protopalikar*, left his beloved mountains, at the age of seventy-six, to visit the holy city on foot, and actually died at Jerusalem. Frequent as apostacy was for ages among the harassed inhabitants of the plains, never did a klepht hesitate to prefer captivity, death, and even tortures, to the denial of his Redeemer. Yet, they had the sagacity to perceive, that the clergy, who looked to the Turks for promotion, and whose corporate property the infidels always respected, must be suspicious friends, and often dangerous enemies to the revolted Greeks. The clergy of Greece have been her curse, alike under the Byzantine and under the Tatar systems of tyranny, and would equally continue to be so if the Scythians seized the country. Contemporaneous documents exist to shew, that the Russian cabinet fully expects to receive this assistance from the hierarchy of Greece. Next to their touching piety, the most striking qualities among the klephts were, generosity to their poorer and more timid countrymen, and especially to the herdsmen who shared the mountains with them; devoted love of their country in general, and of their own rugged haunts in particular; and tenderness in those domestic affections which formed a beautiful

relief to the stern and rugged parts of their character.”*

Such were the klephts, with a view to the extirpation of whom, the Porte bestowed on Ali Pasha of Ioannina the important office of *Dervenji Bashi*, or Grand Inspector of the Passes of Northern Greece,—an appointment from which he dated his fortune and his power. Having succeeded in recommending himself to the Turkish Government as a fit and proper person to undertake to clear the roads of robbers and rebels, he soon made himself at once too useful and too powerful to be displaced. The steps by which he arrived at the height of his all but absolute power, must now be briefly traced.

Ali, whose surname was Hissas, was born at Tepelehi, a small town of the Toshke clan, situated on the left bank of the Voïussa, about the year 1748.† His family had been established in that place for several centuries; and one of his ancestors, named Muzzo, having been very successful in the honourable profession of a klepht, procured for himself the lordship of Tepeleni, which he transmitted to his descendants. Ali's grandfather, Mouktar Bey, was deemed the

* Sheridan, pp. xxv.—xxx. The character of the religion of the Greeks, and of klephtic piety, will be considered hereafter. The above remarks would seem to apply more particularly to the higher order of clergy, but the Writer's indiscriminate censure of the hierarchy is alike indiscreet and unjust. The Revolution has drawn forth many patriotic priests and prelates, and not a few of the order have been its victims. In fact, Greek priests are represented by Col. Stanhope as having been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution; many of them fought in the ranks, some as captains; and several members of the executive, as well as of the legislative body, are ecclesiastics.

† M. Pouqueville, indeed, makes Ali to have been 78 years of age in 1819, which would carry back his birth to 1741; but he does not give his authority.

greatest warrior of his age, and fell bravely fighting at the siege of Corfu, leaving three sons. Veli Bey, the father of Ali, was the youngest: though in early life a professed klepht and a fratricide, he is said to have been a man of humane disposition and extremely well disposed to the Greeks.* He held for some time the pashalik of Delvino, but was deprived of it by the intrigues of a cabal, and retired in chagrin to his native lordship of Tepeleni, where, harassed by the neighbouring beys and agas, and unable to make head against his enemies, he is stated to have died of grief and vexation at the age of forty-five, leaving five children.† The mother of Ali and of his sister Shainitza, was a woman of uncommon talents and undaunted courage, fierce and implacable as a tigress. "I owe every thing to my mother," said Ali, alluding to the education he received from her, and the ambitious projects with which she inspired him. At the death of his father, Ali was under fourteen years of age,—an obstinate, petulant, intractable child; but he was attached to his mother, and she was well able to assert her authority. So long as Veli Bey lived, Khamco had appeared only an ordinary woman; but now, with courage equal to her ambition, she renounced the spindle for the sword.

* This excellent person, as Mr. Hughes characterises him, having been expelled his paternal home by his two brothers, on the death of the father, followed for some years the profession of knight-errant of the mountains, till, having collected a sufficient sum to retire on, he suddenly appeared with his banditti before Tepeleni, and burned his two brothers in their own citadel. He then took quiet possession of the family title and estates, prudently renouncing his old trade for ever.

† M. Pouqueville says that he was carried off by a disorder, "*attribuée à des excès bachiques.*" He says nothing of his having filled the office of pasha of Delvino, and attributes his quarrels with his neighbours to his unsubdued klephtic propensities.

the veil for the helmet, and with a handful of faithful followers, defended the remainder of her possessions against the hostile clans, and effectually checked their encroachments. At one time, she was taken prisoner, together with her daughter Shainitza, by the inhabitants of Gardiki, who are said to have treated their captives with almost incredible brutality: if authenticated, it would go far to extenuate the dreadful retribution with which, forty years after, the town was visited at the hands of Ali. After enduring this barbarous treatment for more than a month, they obtained their liberty,—it is said by ransom; at all events, Khamco was reinstated at Tepeleni, where she still continued to maintain her authority, till Ali grew old enough and powerful enough to take the burden of government off her hands.*

* In attempting to combine the various accounts of Ali's early life in a consistent narrative, we are met at every step by irreconcilable contradictions or discrepancies. The Rev. T. S. Hughes, who appears to have taken considerable pains in collecting authentic materials, states, that Vely Bey left *two* widows and *three* children, attributing to Khamco, Ali's mother, the poisoning both of her rival and of the elder son. M. Pouqueville (whom the compiler of the Life of Ali Pasha, 8vo. 1823, has copied) states, that Vely left *five* children, but that the mother of the elder two died before him. He imputes to Khamco the poisoning of the elder brother, and says, that the idiocy of a second was believed to have been caused by her hand. According to M. de Vaudoncourt, on the contrary, whose narrative bears stronger internal marks of authenticity, the brother was made away with at the time that Ali seized the reins of authority from the hands of his mother, and the suspicion of fratricide attached to Ali. "The partisans of Ali Pasha," he says, "assert, that Ali's mother caused him to be poisoned, in order to secure to her own son the remains of his father's inheritance, and free him from a dangerous rival. This report is, at least, most prevalent throughout the whole of his states. His enemies, on the contrary, affirm, that it was he himself who stabbed his brother, having persuaded the multitude that he was engaged in a treacherous correspondence with their enemies. It is thus also that the story is related in the Ionian Islands." M. Pouqueville,

Ali's first exploits, undertaken, as it should seem, without the sanction of his mother, were more daring than successful. Before he had attained his sixteenth year, he had acquired as much celebrity as the fabled offspring of Jupiter and Maia, and in the same honourable calling. He plundered all his neighbours, till he found himself possessed of means sufficient to raise a small number of partisans; and now commencing operations on a bolder scale, he undertook an expedition against the town of Chormovo. He was beaten, and re-entered Tepeleni a fugitive, where he had to encounter the indignant taunts of his mother, who bade him, coward as he was, go join the women of the harem. Again, however, he took the field, and having commenced hostile operations in the *sanjak* of Avlona, was taken prisoner. Kourd Pasha, into whose hands

too, kills *one* of Ali's brothers at this period. Again, with regard to the alleged treatment of Ali's mother and sister at Gardiki, Mr. Hughes tells us, that the people of that town secretly attacked Tepeleni by night, and succeeded in carrying them off; that their subsequent escape was effected through the generous aid of an individual Gardikiote, named Dosti, "whose turn it was to receive them into his dwelling;" he escorted them in safety to Tepeleni, "where they found the indignant Ali *just preparing*" (after the lapse of a month!) "to attempt their liberation with a large body of troops he had collected;" further, that, on discovering the flight of their captives, the people of the town pursued them, but in vain, and on their return, set fire to Dosti's house. M. Pouqueville's version of the story is, that Ali was taken prisoner with his mother and sister; that it was by means of an ambuscade; and that their liberation was effected by a Greek merchant of Argyro Castro, who ransomed them for 22,800 piasters (about 3,700*l.*). The atrocious treatment they are said to have met with, the most improbable as well as revolting part of the tale, is, strange to say, the only point in which the two stories agree. M. de Vaudoncourt, without advert-ling to the circumstances alluded to, simply says: "It was about this time that she (Ali's mother) was taken prisoner by the inhabitants of *Goritzza*, when her ransom absorbed the greater part of the treasures she had been able to save."

He had thus fallen, was an old man of mild and humane character. Struck, it is said, with the youthful beauty, the graceful manners, and the natural eloquence of the young klepht, he satisfied himself with reprimanding him, and, after a friendly detention, dismissed him with presents.*

It must have been about this period that, at the head of thirty palikars, he entered into the service of the pasha of Egripo. From this engagement, though it could not have been of long duration, he reaped sufficient wealth to enable him, on his return to his native mountains, to re-commence operations as a klepht on a grander scale. After some successes near Tepeleni, he turned his steps towards the passes of Pindus, and pillaged some hamlets of the canton of Zagora; but being overtaken and defeated by the vizir of Ioannina, he was made prisoner a second time. And now, we are told, the neighbouring beys, and more especially

* M. Pouqueville's account of this transaction is as follows:—
“ On s'attendait qu'Ali Tébelen, dont les compagnons d'armes furent pendus, serait puni du supplice réservé aux brigands; mais quand Courd pasha vit à ses pieds un jeune homme avec lequel il avait des liens de parenté, il eut pitié de ses égarements, et retint sa colère. Ali était dans cet âge où l'homme intéresse. Une longue chevelure blonde, des yeux bleus, remplis de feu et brillants d'esprit, une éloquence naturelle, achevèrent de gagner le cœur du vieux visir, qui le garda plusieurs années dans son palais, où il lui prodiguait ses bienfaits, en tâchant de le ramener dans le sentier de la probité. Enfin, touché par les prières de Khamco, qui redemandoit sans cesse son cher fils, il le lui rendit, en les prevenant l'un et l'autre, qu'ils n'auraient plus de grace à espérer s'ils osaient troubler l'ordre public. Ils promirent donc de rester tranquilles, et ils tinrent parole aussi long-temps que Courd pasha vécut.” Mr. Hughes makes both the wife and the daughter of Kourid Pasha fall in love with the young hero; and adds, that in a war which broke out between Kourid and the pasha of Scutari, Ali so distinguished himself and gained on the affections of the soldiery, that Kourid's *hasnadar* (treasurer) advised his master either to put him to death, or make him his son-in-law. Kourid preferred the *middle course* of honourably dismissing him with presents.

Selim, pasha of Delvino, urged the necessity of inflicting summary justice on the incorrigible marauder. The vizir, however, had his reasons for not obliging them in this matter. He knew that he had less to dread from Ali than from the beys of Argyro-castro and Premeti, while Selim's Venetian connexions rendered him equally an object of suspicion ; he therefore was not sorry to afford them fresh occupation, and he turned Ali loose again, who, it is said, gave him no further cause for inquietude during the rest of his days. Nevertheless, collecting the remains of his scattered troops, he again ventured to take the field, but was beaten afresh near the sources of the Chelydnus ; and so complete was the rout, that he was obliged to seek for refuge alone on Mount Mertzika. Here he was reduced to pledge his scimitar, in order to procure barley for his horse, no longer able to carry him.

On returning again to Tepeleni, a fugitive, he was assailed by his mother with harsher reproaches than ever. When, with great difficulty, he appeased her, and obtained further supplies, they were accompanied with the injunction not to return again but either as a conqueror or a corpse. " With the money thus obtained, Ali immediately collected 600 men, and directed his march through the valley of the Chelydnus towards Mertzika and Premeti. His first battle was again unsuccessful, and he was obliged to retire with loss. Having encamped the remnant of his troops in the vicinity of a deserted chapel not far from Valera, he entered into the solitary pile to repose, as well as to meditate on his bereft situation. There, he said, (for it was from himself the narrative was obtained,) reflecting on that fortune by which he was persecuted, calculating the enterprises he was still able to attempt, and comparing the weakness of his means with the

forces he had to combat, he remained a long time in a standing posture, mechanically furrowing up the ground with his stick, which the violence of his sensations caused him frequently to strike with vehemence. The resistance of a solid body, and the sound which issued from it, recalled his attention. He bent down, and examined the hole he had unconsciously made, and having dug further, had the happiness to find a casket. The gold which it contained, enabled him to levy 2000 men, and having been successful in a second battle, he returned to Tepeleni a victor. From this period, fortune never abandoned him.”*

* Vaudoncourt, p. 226. Mr. Hughes tells the same tale, with some slight variation. M. Pouqueville says, the whole story is a fiction, invented by a Greek named Psallida, and that Ali himself told him so. “*Cela donne une physionomie miraculeuse à ma fortune,*” was his indignant remark. It may be true, nevertheless. In Mr. Hughes's narrative, nowever, Ali is represented as having dated the commencement of his good fortune from a still more romantic circumstance. He had, it seems, got married, and having raised fresh levies, was determined to make one last desperate effort against his ancient foes. In this expedition he was accompanied by his mother and his bride. The confederate beys of Argyro-castro, Gardiki, Kaminitza, Goritza, Chormovo, &c. opposed him with an overwhelming force, and the Tepelenites were totally routed. The chiefs of Argyro-castro and Gardiki had returned home, when Ali resolved on the bold and decisive manœuvre of going alone by night to the camp of the other confederates, and placing his life and fortunes in their hands. The hazard he ran was not so great as might at first appear, since a voluntary suppliant is sure of obtaining protection from an Albanian chieftain; but Ali aimed at something more than securing his own safety. He sought to win them over to his cause, by representing that his enemies were in fact theirs; that the absent chiefs were already too formidable, and that they sought his destruction, only to be enabled the more easily to place the yoke on their necks. And so well did he succeed in rousing the jealousy of the beys, that they not only determined to spare his life, but to range themselves under his standard. Ali's mother, who, on discovering his flight, had, we are told, given way to transports of alarm or vexation, met him returning at the head of the troops who ha

And now it was, as it should seem, that Ali resolved to take the management of affairs into his own hands. Having gained over the principal chiefs of Tepeleni, he took possession of the fortress, and confined his mother thenceforth to the harem. She died soon after.* The state of his coffers being, however, unequal to his ambitious projects, he resolved to have recourse to his old profession. Having secured the whole of the defiles leading across the chain of Pindus into Thessaly and Macedonia, he pillaged and ransomed travellers and caravans, levied contributions on the villages, and sacked several defenceless places, till the ravages committed awakened the attention of the divan, and the *dervenji-pasha* was ordered to march

fought against him. By the support thus obtained, he secured an honourable peace, and secured his future fortune. On reaching Tepeleni, he took possession of the place as its master.

* Her death, Mr. Hughes says, has been ascribed to Ali's jealous policy, but without foundation. M. Pouqueville, indeed, gives a most horrific account of her death. "*La moderne Olympias, atteinte depuis long-temps d'un cancer utérin, fruit honteux de sa dépravation, termina sa carrière, après s'être dévouée par le poison du dernier des frères consanguins d'Ali Pacha. Telle fut la fin de sa vie, dont elle employa les derniers moments à se faire relire son testament, monument digne des furies. Cet acte prescrivait à Ali et à Shainitza, d'exterminer, dès qu'ils le pourraient, les habitants de Cardiki et de Cormovo, dont elle avait été l'esclave, ainsi qu'eux; leur donnant sa malediction s'ils contrevenaient jamais à ce dessein. . . . La personne de qui je tiens ces détails, ajoute, que, suffoquée par une hydrothorax, et rongée par un ulcère dévorante, elle expira dans des transports de rage, en vomissant d'horribles imprecations contre la providence éternelle.*" This is sufficiently dramatic. Ali, it is added, did not arrive at Tepeleni till an hour after his mother had expired; he bedewed her remains with his tears, and joining hands with his amiable sister, swore to accomplish the dying injunctions of his mother. That part of her will, however, which directed that a pilgrim should be sent to Mekka, to present an offering at the tomb of the Prophet for the repose of her soul, was never performed, because the law requires that the property so offered should have been legitimately acquired!!

against him. The office was at this time held by no other person than Ali's old friend Kourid Pasha, who soon found it advisable to attempt to settle matters by negotiation, as there was little prospect of accomplishing it by force of arms. He invited Ali to a conference, at which the latter displayed his usual address, and the old vizir was induced to accept of his services in the warfare he was prosecuting against the rebel pasha of Scutari. The effective aid which Ali rendered, secured the success of the expedition, and his conduct was represented in the most favourable light at Constantinople.

Supported by this powerful alliance, Ali now came to be held in high consideration, and the pasha of Argyro-castro granted his daughter to him, by whom he had his two eldest sons, Mouktar and Veli.* His ambitious projects soon began to develop themselves. The towns of Kaminitza and Goritza first fell under his power: they were taken and pillaged. His next attempt was a daring one. The old pasha of Argyro-castro, Ali's father-in-law, had died, and the elder son had been assassinated by his brother. Ali hastened to allay the civil war this murder had given rise to; but the inhabitants, aware of his designs, united against him, and he was compelled to withdraw.† About this period, he is stated to have

* His marriage must have taken place long before this, if, as M. de Vaudoncourt states, he was only twenty years of age when he married.

† M. Pouqueville gives a totally different account. In the first place, he states, that Ali was about twenty-four when he married Emina, the daughter of Capelan the tiger, pasha of Delvino, who resided at Argyro-castro; this said Capelan, urged on by his worthy son-in-law, is represented as having secretly favoured the Montenegrins, while Ali gave secret information of his disloyalty to the

entered into a war with the town of Liebovo (or Libochobo), which, after an ineffectual resistance, submitted to his arms. Lekli, Giates, and some other places were subdued in the same manner. He now determined to attack the strong place of Chormovo, on the inhabitants of which he had vowed vengeance. Internal dissensions favoured his project. The inhabitants, alarmed at his approach, endeavoured to propitiate him by submission; but Ali, having decoyed the chief citizens to a conference, had them treacherously seized, while his troops fell upon the defenceless inhabitants, massacred a great number, and razed the town to the ground. The women and children were sold into slavery. One individual particularly obnoxious to Ali, named Papas Oglou, or Krauz Prifti (son of a priest), is stated to have been impaled and roasted alive by his orders: the executioner was a black slave, his foster brother. By this execrable act of

Porte. Capelan was consequently sent for to answer for his conduct, and his son-in-law strongly urged him to obey the summons; he lost his head of course, but the pashalik was given to Ali of Argyro-castro, and the traitor was disappointed. The insurrection of Stephano Piccolo took place in 1767; and, if this account be correct, Ali must have been born before 1747, or he could not have become Capelan's son-in-law by that time at twenty-four years of age, and have acted subsequently the part here ascribed to him. M. Pouqueville goes on to state, that a marriage was brought about between the new pasha of Delvino and Shainitza, Ali's sister; but the pasha in vain endeavoured to conciliate the good-will of his brother-in-law by benefits. Not having been able to persuade his sister to poison her husband, Ali found means to persuade the pasha's brother Soliman to turn assassin, on condition of marrying the widow! Again, however, Ali was disappointed of obtaining the vacant pashalik, which was given to Selim Bey, whose treacherous assassination by his dear friend Ali, is not very consistently made to follow close upon the breaking out of the war in 1768. According to this statement, Ali must have got rid of three successive pashas of Delvino in about a twelvemonth!

vengeance, he spread a terror of his name throughout the neighbouring tribes.*

These expeditions had made him master of the whole valley of the Chelydnus in front of Argyrocastro, which he held under observation, while the inhabitants on their side established a sort of redoubt, and a post of 500 men on the bridge below the city. He is said to have even made attempts at this time on both Ioannina and Arta, but was repelled. Shortly after, by means of his emissaries at Constantinople, he procured a commission for attacking Selim, pasha of Delvino, who had fallen under the displeasure of the Porte for having delivered up to the Venetians the fortress and territory of Bucintro. Resorting to his favourite measures of deceit, he appeared before Delvino with only a small band of troops, under pretence of flying from his enemies. Having gained the confidence of the unsuspecting Selim, as well as of his son Mustafa, he was enabled to surround them with his own satellites. He caused the father to be beheaded, and the son to be arrested, and succeeded in carrying off his prisoner in the precipitate retreat which he was obliged to make, in order to escape from the indignation of the inhabitants. He obtained a large sum as a ransom for his captive, but this was the only fruit of his perfidy.

* This act of diabolical cruelty, which reminds us of the crusaders, seems to be the best attested part of the narrative. Vassily, Mr. Hobhouse's attendant, (who appears to have been a native of Chormovo, although the name of the place is not given,) told him, that he had many a time gone down with the men of the village, and broken Ali's windows with shot when he durst not stir out of Tepeleni. "Well," he was asked, "and what did Ali do to the men of your village?" "*Nothing at all; he made friends with our chief man, persuaded him to come to Tepeleni, and there roasted him on a spit: after which, we submitted.*"—HOBHOUSE'S *Albania*, letter xi.

In the mean time, Kourd Pasha having fallen into disgrace,* a new *dervenji pasha* had been appointed, who, either actuated by the policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, or influenced by more substantial inducements, named Ali as his lieutenant. Instead of clearing the roads of banditti, Ali commenced a trade in licenses, which he sold regularly to the klephts, receiving over and above, a per centage on their booty. This traffic did not last, however, above six months, though Ali is said to have cleared 150,000 piastres by the job. The country, as the natural consequence, having become quite impassable, the *dervenji pasha* was recalled, and paid the penalty of his head, while his crafty lieutenant bought himself off.

So high did Ali's character, however, now stand for bravery, or so well was his money laid out at Constantinople, that, on the breaking out of the war with Russia, he obtained a command, at the head of his Albanian corps, in the army of the grand vizir, Jusouf. "His conduct during the war," we are told by M. de Vaudoncourt, "was brilliant: his military talents and the valour of his soldiers, inured by twenty years of war and victory, obtained for him general esteem, and at the same time tended greatly to enrich him. But his attention was not withdrawn from his ambitious projects. Hitherto, he had no government, no title, and he wished to be a sovereign, whatever was the sacrifice. Under the pretext of obtaining the

* Kourd Pasha is styled by Mr. Hughes and M. Pouqueville, vizir and pasna of Berat. M. de Vaudoncourt says, he was vizir of Avlona; that, on his disgrace, the *sanjak* of Avlona was dismembered, several districts passing under the control of the vizir of Scutari, while others were united to the *sanjak* of Elbassan, whose pashé was created a vizir, and fixed his residence at Berat.

release of Mahmoud, one of his nephews, who had been taken prisoner by the Russians, he entered into correspondence with Prince Potemkin. The correspondence soon became active, and took a direction favourable to the interests of Russia, who would have been able at that time to rely on Ali Bey in case of a fresh expedition to the Mediterranean. The correspondence between Ali and the Russian Government lasted till he had become master of Ioannina, as well as of nearly all Albania, and had no longer any direct interest in aiding the designs of that power.”*

The war being ended, Ali had gained sufficient credit at Constantinople to have himself nominated to the government of Triccala in Thessaly, with the rank of a pasha of two tails. The situation of this place was particularly adapted to his views. It commands the passage of merchandise from Ioannina to Constantinople; and whoever possesses the country has it in his power to intercept all supplies of corn from the fertile plains of Thessaly, upon which the provinces of Western Greece frequently depend for their subsistence. Here he established himself as absolute master over all Thessaly, except Larissa, which is an independent jurisdiction. The people of Ioannina, particularly the Greek merchants, who feared his exactions, beheld with the more alarm their formidable neighbour, inasmuch as complete anarchy then pre-

* Vaudoncourt, p. 234. The Author himself saw at Ioannina a watch set in diamonds, which Potemkin presented to Ali after the treaty of peace had been signed, “in testimony of esteem for his bravery and talents.” Mr. Hughes says, that Ali had conceived strong hopes of being acknowledged sovereign of Epirus when his friend should be seated on the throne of Constantinople; that the correspondence which Potemkin held with Ali and many other Greek and Turkish chieftains, became known to Catherine, and probably precipitated the fall of the favourite.

vailed in that city. The turbulent and powerful beys were not only in rebellion against the pasha, but were engaged in the fiercest contests with one another, so that it was frequently unsafe for a person to stir out into the streets. The most atrocious murders were committed in open day, till the very bazar became deserted. At length, the death of the pasha afforded Ali the golden opportunity he had been watching for. We give the sequel in the words of Mr. Hughes, with whose narrative the statement of M. de Vaudoncourt substantially agrees.

“ When Ali thought affairs were ripe enough for his presence, he collected a considerable number of troops, passed the chain of Mount Pindus, and made his appearance on the plains to the north of Ioannina. This manœuvre caused great consternation in the city: the beys, in imminent danger, stifled their enmity towards each other, joined their forces together, and advanced to meet the invader. In a great battle which was fought at the head of the lake, they were beaten and driven back into the city by Ali, who encamped before it with his victorious troops. Not being strong enough to attempt it by storm, he employed a surer method for success. He had already gained a considerable number of adherents amongst the Greeks in the city, and especially in the district of Zagori: these by bribery and large promises he engaged to enter into his views and send a deputation to Constantinople, to solicit for him the pashalik. They acted as he requested; but the opposite interest proved too strong for them at the Porte, and they were made the bearers of an order to their principal to retire immediately to his own government and disband his troops. One of the deputies, most attached to his interest, rode forward night and day, to give him

early information of the failure of their mission, and on this occasion Ali executed one of those strokes of policy which have given him such advantage over the imbecility of the Ottoman Porte. After a short consultation with his friend, he dismissed him to return and meet the deputies, who waited a few days on the road, and then proceeded straight to Ioannina. The beys, to whom its contents had been already intimated, advanced as far as the suburbs to meet the firman. It was produced, and drawn out of its crimson case; when each reverently applied it to his forehead, in token of submission to its dictates. It was then opened, and to the utter consternation of the assembly, it announced Ali, pasha of Ioannina, and ordered instant submission to his authority.

“The forgery was suspected by many, but some credited it; whilst others, by timely submission, sought to gain favour with the man who they foresaw would be their ruler: in short, his partisans exerted themselves on all sides, the beys were dispirited, and whilst they were irresolute and undetermined, Ali entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace. His chief enemies in the mean time sought their safety by flight, passing over the lake and taking refuge in the districts of Arta, Etolia, and Acarnania.

“Ali’s first care was to calm the fears of all ranks; to the people, he promised protection; to the beys who remained, rich offices and plunder; his friends were amply recompensed, and his enemies reconciled by his frankness and engaging affability. In the mean time he put a strong garrison into the castron or fortress, and thus acquired firm possession of the pashalik before the imposture of the firman was discovered. It was now too late to dispossess him of his acquisition: his adherents increased daily; a numerous and

respectable deputation, led by Signore Alessio's father, carried a petition to Constantinople, and seconding it with bribes to a large amount, ultimately prevailed in establishing his usurped dominion. Thus, according to custom, despotism succeeded to the turbulence of faction, and the people not unwillingly submitted to the change."

Soon afterwards, Ali, doubtless by the same potent agency—gold, obtained from the Porte the important office of *dervenji-pasha* of Rumelia: whether he had a lieutenant, is not stated, but if he had, he took good care that he should not trade in licenses to the *klephts*. This office not only augmented his revenue, but gave him an opportunity to create an influence in many provinces of the Turkish empire. His next step was to pick a quarrel with his neighbour, the Pasha of Arta, and to annex his territories, as well as the whole of Acarnania, to his own dominions. Then, in order to establish a free communication between Ioannina and his native territory, he attacked and took possession of the strong post of Klissura, following it up by the reduction of Premeti, Ostanizza, and Konitza, which secure the whole course of the Voïussa, from its source in Mount Pindus, to Tepeleni.*

* Klissura is situated at the entrance of the narrow defile anciently called the *Fauces Antigoneæ* or *Stena Aoi*, where, in the first Macedonian war, Philip stopped the advance of the Roman legions till the key of his position was betrayed to Flaminus by a shepherd. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5. The mountains forming the defile are now called, those on the north side Trebechina and Mejourani, those on the south Melchivo. The defile is about ten miles in length from Klissura, (which, from the remains of Cyclopean masonry observable there, Mr. Hughes supposes to be the site of Antigonea,) to the junction of the Aous with the river of Argyrocastro above Tepeleni. The precipices on each side are tremendous, being not much less than a thousand feet in perpendicular height. Premeti, which some persons have taken for Antigonea,

Soon after this, Ibrahim Pasha, of Berat, who had formerly rejected his alliance, gladly accepted the proposal to affiance his three daughters to the two sons and nephew of Ali, who himself espoused the rich widow of a pasha with a considerable dowry in land.

The accession of Ali Pasha to the government of Ioannina is stated by M. Pouqueville to have taken place towards the end of the year 1788. In the following year the Sultan Abdulhamid died, and was succeeded by Selim III., who, on his exchanging the imprisonment of the seraglio for the throne, confirmed Ali Pasha in all his honours and appointments. The situation of the Turkish empire was at this period most critical. The plan for the seizure of the Ottoman territories is said to have been arranged in the personal interviews between the Emperor Joseph and the Russian Czarina, during their journey to the Crimea, in 1787,* and they were carrying on their preparations for opening the campaign with an attack along the whole line of the Turkish frontier in Europe,

is about twelve miles higher up the Aous or Vioussa. Hughes ii. p. 119. M. Pouqueville states that the bey of Klissoura at this time was Mourad, Ali's own nephew; and he gives a very minute account of his assassination by his uncle, who pretended to have been attacked by him. Mr. Hughes says, "I have read, in an account which pretends to be genuine, that Ali shot his favourite nephew in one of the apartments of his palace at Litoritza. But mark the difference! I once spent an hour in that very apartment with Ali's chief physician, waiting for an audience. This gentleman, in whose arms the young bey expired, gave me the particulars of his death, which was the consequence of a fever: he informed me that the vizir was so doatingly fond of the youth, that he could scarcely be induced to quit his bed-side, and so inconsolable at his loss, that he had never once entered into the room from that time to the present. And this relation was amply confirmed to me by others." HUGHES, vol. ii. p. 108.

* Thornton cites a curious passage from the letters of the Prince de Ligne (dated Baktcheserai, June 1, 1787). "*Leurs majestés*

when the Porte anticipated them in the declaration of war. It is stated by M. de Vaudoncourt, that Greek officers in the service of the Emperor, accompanied by engineers, had gone over the coasts of Albania, the Morea, and the gulfs of Lepanto and Avlona; that they had made plans of the fortified towers of Navarino, Modon, and Patras, and reconnoitred the isthmus; that by means of a Greek archbishop, whom he had allured to Pesth, and of Greek merchants settled at Trieste and Fiume, he had opened communications with all parts of Greece; that he kept up a large number of emissaries in Albania, who had extended themselves as far as Ioannina and even Larissa; that at Ragusa, the Emperor had forty-four vessels, placed under the name of a merchant, which in a few days could be equipped as frigates; that, in a word, the Austrian Government at that time had neglected nothing to obtain the support of the Greeks, who, in fact, began to consider Joseph II. as their future liberator, and to feel towards him the same attachment they had always entertained for Russia.*

*imperiales se tâtoient quelquefois sur les pauvres diables de Turcs. On jetoit quelque propos en se regardant. Comme amateur de la belle antiquité, et d'un peu de nouveautés, je parlois de rétablir les Grecs; Catherine, de faire rendre les Lycurgues et les Solons. Moi, je parlois d'Alcibiade; mais Joseph II., qui étoit plus pour l'avenir que pour le passé, et pour le positif que pour le chimere, disoit, Que diable faire de Constantinople ?"—See also COXE'S *Life of Catherine II.*, vol. iii. p. 291.*

* “ Under the pretence of furnishing Hungary with cultivators, he sought to induce Greeks to fix their residence there. He not only favoured the emigration of whole families, seeking to flee from the oppression of their masters, but he also spread decoyers in the most distant provinces of his dominions. Another not less efficacious mean was his edict of toleration, issued in 1782. He therein formally promised the Greeks who might come to establish themselves within his states, to admit them to all civil and military dignities, according to their merits. A great number of Greeks flocked there from all parts. Many formed establishments

But if ever there was any cordial union between the two imperial confederates who planned, at this time, the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, the death of that emperor terminated the dangerous alliance. The mutual jealousy by which each power was actuated, prevented their union in any common effort; and the war was prosecuted by Austria, as much for the sake of checking or thwarting its too powerful rival, as with any view to the conquest of Greece. Thus it was that their united attack on a tottering and debilitated empire produced nothing but the capture of Oczakow and Belgrade, followed by separate treaties of peace.* By the treaty of Yassy, Russia added to her vast dominions only the steppe between the Bogh and the Dniester.

Ali Pasha received orders to join, at the head of his contingent of troops, the Turkish army on the banks of the Danube. According to M. Pouqueville, he had seen only the smoke of the German bivouacks, when he re-entered his winter quarters at Ioannina,

in Trieste and Fiume; others were admitted into the military service. The Archbishop of Patras, Parthenius, who had been one of the most ardent in stirring up the Morea in favour of Russia, in the year 1770, and who had been obliged to take refuge at St. Petersburg, was allured to Pesth, where Joseph made a handsome provision for him, and whence he carried on an active correspondence with Greece. In 1782, two Albanian captains penetrated to Maina, and entered into negotiations with that republic, offering succour in warlike stores and money, and promising to transport field-pieces there by a sea conveyance."—*Vaudoncourt*, pp. 24—31.

* The reduction of Orsova, in April 1790, was the only military event of importance that took place on the part of the Austrians after the death of Joseph II. The insurrection in the Low Countries, the transactions on the Prussian frontier, and the influence of Great Britain, compelled the Emperor to enter into an armistice, and finally to conclude a separate peace with the Porte, on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*.

bringing home with him, instead of captives, some hundreds of Servians and Bulgarians, peaceable subjects of the Grand Seignior, whom he formed into two little colonies at Bonila and Mouchari, in the interior of Epirus. This appears to have been in 1789. Whatever were Ali's views at this time, the death of his friend Potemkin, and the unexpected turn of affairs in Europe, appear to have decided him on identifying his interests with those of the Porte. But his correspondence with Potemkin had got wind, and his enemies at Constantinople were endeavouring to make use of the circumstance, to undermine his influence in the divan. Fertile in expedients, he found means to counteract these plots, and to allay the coming storm; principally, it is asserted, by the good offices of the French minister at the Porte, whose protection he obtained through the means of the consul at Prevesa.*

It does not appear, that the long-protracted contest between Ali and the little republic of Suli, had any political causes for its origin. M. Pouqueville represents the Suliots to have been instigated to hostilities by Ibrahim, the vizir of Berat, and the agas of Thesprotia; but he seems to think that their minds were inflamed by the flattering statements brought back by the Greek deputies from St. Petersburg. It is not, however, at all likely, that they would have attempted a rising at so inauspicious a crisis, contrary to the express injunctions of the Russian Government. It may be true, that at Suli, the rebellion was planned under Lambro Canziani, that was to have liberated the Greeks from

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 118. Vaudoncourt, p. 238. The latter tells an improbable story of Ali's writing to Louis XVI., and receiving from the French minister an insulting reply, declining his proposals, on which he turned his rage on the French consul at Arta.

the Ottoman yoke;* and Sottiri may have endeavoured to engage the mountaineers of Epirus in the visionary plans of a revolution to be undertaken under the faithless auspices of Russia. But the Suliots were genuine klephts; and nothing was more inevitable than that their proceedings should clash with the official duty and private interests of the dervenji-pasha, in which capacity the Vizir of Epirus had most legitimate grounds for waging warfare against them. It seems that the first force which was sent out against these mountaineers, was defeated with great slaughter, and pursued to the very plain of Ioannina. This is said to have taken place before Ali joined the army of the Danube, and must apparently have happened in the time of his predecessor. In the spring of 1791, the Suliots, who had been for some time quiet, issued from their retreats, and ravaged Amphilochia. "Pillaging alike friends and foes," says M. Pouqueville, "they carried their imprudence so far as to embroil themselves with the chiefs of the *armatolis*, and even with the Turks of Thesprotia. All commercial intercourse was interrupted in Lower Albania. The defiles were no longer passable without numerous escorts, which were often defeated by these audacious mountaineers. They even ventured to spread themselves over Pindus, and only withdrew to their own country at the approach of winter, at which season the snows render the rocky heights of Epirus uninhabitable." It seems pretty clear, that, in his attempt to restrain and punish these marauders, Ali was supported by the Greek *armatolis*, whom he is stated to have taken into his pay, but who had themselves suffered from the incursions of the klephts. In his first serious expedi-

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 122. Eton. p. 364.

tion against the Suliots, it is expressly mentioned, that to the forces of the agas of Chamouri, and a corps of auxiliaries furnished by Ibrahim, pasha of Berat, were joined the *armatolis* of Agrafa, headed by Demetrius Paleopoulos, his brother-in-law Anagnostis Canavos, and Hyscos of Karpenitza. Altogether, the army is stated to have amounted to 15,000 men.* At the head of this formidable force, Ali set out from Ioannina on the 1st of July, 1792. To conceal his designs, he began his march in the direction of Argyro-castro, but he had scarcely proceeded twenty miles when he halted and encamped. A copy is given by Mr. Hughes of a letter which he is said to have sent to Botzari and Tzavella, two of the most distinguished Suliot leaders, requesting them to join his army at the head of their palikars, and promising them double pay. Suspicious, as it should seem, of his real intentions, Tzavella only obeyed the summons at the head of seventy palikars. All of these

* Pouqueville, vol. i. pp. 51, 90. This Demetrius Paleopoulos, a native of Karpenitza in *Ætolia*, is celebrated as a man of distinguished bravery and talent. In the heroic age, says M. Pouqueville, he would have been a Theseus. At it was, he was only a klepht, till promoted by the Porte to be a vaivode of his native district. He had attached himself to Ali as far back as 1786, when they met at Triccala, and their fathers are said to have been intimate. On the occasion of the Suliot war, this Greek patriot took the lead against the klephtic republic. Nicolas Cojani, Boucovallas, Stathos, his son-in-law, Euthymos Blakavas, Zitros of Olosson, Macry-Athanasios, and Macry-Poulios of Greveno, Christakis of Prevesa, and Andriscos, the companion in arms of Lambro-Canzianis, — are mentioned by Pouqueville as maintaining on this occasion an armed neutrality. A pretty clear proof that the cause of Suli was not then considered as identical with that of Grecian liberty. The number of the troops which were sent against Suli, is stated by M. Perevaux, "the historian of Suli," at 28,000 men. Mr. Hughes says, "about 10,000, all tried Albanian troops." This, all were not.

were now seized and bound, except one, who escaped by swimming the river Kalamas, and gave the alarm at Suli. When Ali made his appearance in that district, therefore, he found the Suliots fully prepared to give him a warm reception. Having ordered Tzavella to be brought before him, the wily Pasha now offered him the amplest reward if he would procure the submission of the republic, holding out the horrible alternative of being flayed alive. Tzavella represented, that his countrymen would never treat while he remained a prisoner, but he offered his son Foto as a hostage, if Ali would let him return to Suli, to endeavour to bring about a negotiation. His proposal was accepted, and as soon as he had regained the mountains, and consulted the other captains, he sent back a letter of defiance, in which, anticipating the sacrifice of his son, he swears to revenge him.* Foto, however, was not put to death, but subsequently obtained his liberty. The Pasha now prepared to attack Suli by force of arms; but at this crisis, the campaign had well nigh been terminated by the death of their enemy. A detachment of these brave mountaineers, to the number of 200, having learned that Ali was encamped with his body-guard at some little distance from the main army, marched out with the determination to take him alive or dead; and but for the timely information conveyed to Ali by a traitor, they would probably have succeeded. Ali, now infuriated to the utmost, put his troops immediately in motion.

The four villages which formed the principal seats of this martial clan, occupied a sort of natural citadel in the heart of the Cassopæan mountains, consisting of a small plain about 2000 feet above the bed of the

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 130. Pouqueville, vol. i. p. 99.

Acheron: a grand natural breast-work descends precipitously to the river, while behind towers a lofty range of mountains. "The Acheron (Kalamas) after passing through the valley of Dervitziana, first enters this chasm at the gorge of Skouitias, so called from a small village of that name. A narrow path, which winds through the dark woods on the right bank, conducts the traveller in about two hours to a narrow cut across his path, called Klissura, admirably adapted to stop the progress of an enemy. This defile was commanded by a fort called Tichos, and near it was the first Suliot village, called Avarico. From this point, a gradual ascent leads to the deserted site of Samoniva, thence to Kiaffa (a word signifying a height), and lastly to Kako-Suli, the capital of the republic. Near the spot where the mountain-path leaves the side of the Acheron, to wind up the precipices between Kiaffa and Kako-Suli, a conical hill overhangs the road, called Kunghi, on which stood the largest of the Suliot fortresses, named *Aghia Paraskevi* (Saint Friday).* At this point, another small river, flowing from the Paramithian mountains, joins the Acheron, which, descending the romantic defile of Glyki, enters the great Paramithian plain, and empties itself, after flowing through the Acherusian lake, into the Ionian Sea, near the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre." †

The Suliots, being obliged to retreat before superior numbers, were closely pursued by Ali's forces down

* *Paraskeve* and *Kuriake* (Friday and Sunday) are among the common names given to Greek girls.

† Hughes, vol. ii. p. 121. The name of Suli is probably a corruption of the ancient Selli; (HOMER, *Iliad*, lib. xvi. 233,) but no vestiges of any ancient cities have been discovered within the district of the Suliotes. The distance of Suli from Joannina is 14 hours; from Prevesa, 13; from Arta, 14; from Parga, 8; from Margarita, 6; from Paramithia, 8.

the valley of the Acheron, but, at the pass of Klissura, they made a stand. And here the Albanian troops were assailed by such volleys of musketry from the fortress of Tichos, and from behind the rocks which form the defile, that the passage became nearly choked up with the slain. The ammunition of the Suliots at length beginning to fail, they were compelled to retire towards Kiaffa. This also was soon found to be untenable, and, followed by the Pasha's army, they retreated towards Kako-Suli. The great fort of *Aghia Paraskevi*, which commands the *Tripa*, a deep chasm between Kiaffa and the capital, was at this time so thinly garrisoned, that Suli would have been lost but for an act of female valour, which well deserves comparison with that of Telesilla and her Argives. "The heroine Mosco, (the wife of Tzavellas,) arming all her female warriors, rushed out of the town sword in hand, stopped the retreat of husbands and brethren, headed them in a valiant attack upon the assailants, now breathless from their pursuit of the fugitives up these steep acclivities, and in a moment turned the tide of war. The Albanians in their turn retreated and fled; the garrison of Paraskevi, reinforced by a number of fugitives, made a sally to increase their confusion; heaps of stones were rolled down upon the flying foe, who were again intercepted at the fort of Tichos, and almost annihilated. Hundreds of dead bodies were rolled into the bed of the Acheron, whose torrent was encumbered with the slain.

"Arrived at this tower, Mosco discovered the body of her favourite nephew, who had been killed in the first attack on this position. Animated with a desire of vengeance at the sight, she kissed the pale lips of the corpse, and calling on the Suliots to follow,

she led them, like a tigress bereft of her whelps, against those troops who remained about the Pasha in the upper regions of the valley. Terrified by the fate of their companions, these took immediately to flight, and were pursued by the victorious Suliots as far as the village of Vareatis, within seven hours of Ioannina: they lost all their baggage, ammunition, and arms, which were thrown away in the flight, besides an immense number of prisoners, whose ransom served to enrich the conquerors. Ali himself killed two horses in his precipitate escape, and when he arrived at his capital, he shut himself up in his harem for several days. About 6000 men are said to have been slain and taken prisoners: the remainder, having been dispersed over the woods and mountains, did not collect together at Ioannina for several weeks. This battle occurred July 20, 1792."*

Ali now saw that the conquest of Suli must be given up for the present, and he is said to have made peace on most degrading terms, ceding to them possession of their acquired territory as far as Devitziana, and paying a large sum as ransom for his captive troops, besides restoring the palikars whom he had trepanned, and Foto Tzavella among the rest.

During the ensuing four or five years, Ali appears to have kept quiet, directing his attention to the improvement of his capital, the construction of roads for the facilitating of internal commerce, and the extirpation of the robbers who infested all parts of the

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 132. M. Pouqueville says, that Ali escaped in disguise, having exchanged clothes with Paleopoulos; and that the greater part of those who rallied round him were *armatolis*, who had formed his body guard; those who perished in the defile, were chiefly Moslems.

country. His subjects had to complain of his oppressive *avarias* ; but it seems to be admitted, that, at this period, he did not display that severity of character which subsequently broke out into so many acts of wanton cruelty ; and his despotism was on the whole a beneficent one to the country. In the meantime, French revolutionists were busy about Ali, flattering him with the hope of being enabled to throw off the yoke of obedience to the Porte, and to assume the independent sovereignty of Epirus ; and when, in 1797, he saw the Venetians driven from the Ionian Islands and their continental dependencies, in pursuance of the treaty of Campo Formio, and the French flag waving on the shores of Epirus, he eagerly entered into secret negotiations with General Bonaparte, then at the head of his victorious army in Italy. The benefits which he drew from this alliance, were substantial and immediate. He gained permission to sail with his flotilla through the channel of Corfu, in spite of former treaties ; and he surprised and captured the two independent towns of Aghio Vasili and Nivitza, on the coast opposite to that island, massacring the inhabitants in church one Easter Sunday, while engaged in divine service. Soon after this, he took possession of the important fishery at Santa Quaranta, as well as of the excellent harbour of Porto Palermo, where he built a large fort, thus drawing a cordon round the pashalik of Delvino. His agents at Constantinople made a merit of these acts, by representing them as done solely for the advantage of the Porte and the subjugation of infidels, which Ali did not fail to confirm by paying tribute for every place he conquered. Still further to raise his credit at Constantinople, he headed his contingent of Albanian troops, and joined the Grand Vizir in his campaign against the

rebel pasha of Widin, Paswan Oglou.* He was engaged in this expedition when he received intelligence of the invasion of Egypt by the French, and the approaching rupture between France and Turkey. Foreseeing that the Ionian Islands would probably again change hands, he hastened back to Ioannina, leaving his son Mouktar in command of his troops, that he might be in readiness to avail himself of any events that might be converted to his own advantage. In fact, he did not wait long before he commenced operations by seizing on Prevesa, the strongest and most important of all the ex-Venetian possessions on the continent. The alleged detention of one of his brigs sailing into the Gulf of Arta, was made the pretext for attacking his former allies. The unfortunate Prevesans had scarcely time to send their families and moveable property to the neighbouring islands; and many, discrediting the report of the Pasha's approach, neglected that precaution. The place was ill-prepared to make any defence. The French garrison capitulated after a short resistance, and the Prevesans being easily routed, their city was given up to pillage.† Vonitza, Gomenitza, and Bucintro subsequently fell into his hands, and Parga and Santa

* An anecdote, highly characteristic, is related of him at this period. The grand vizir, under pretence of bestowing public approbation upon his conduct, requested his attendance in full divan. Ali, conscious how much more he merited the bow-string than half the victims who had been honoured with that Turkish martyrdom, went, but had the precaution to surround the vizir's tent with 6000 of his Albanians. As might be expected, his reception was courteous, but the conference was short.

† The bishop of Prevesa is said to have been an active agent in forming a party at Prevesa in favour of Ali; but, disgusted with his atrocious cruelties, he afterwards deserted him. Upwards of 300 Prevesans are stated to have been massacred, by Ali's orders, in cold blood.

Maura narrowly escaped ; the former, through the determined conduct and bravery of the inhabitants, the latter, through the timely interposition of a Greek captain in the Russian service, who arrived off the island just in time to intercept Ali's flotilla. No failure in his schemes, it is said, ever annoyed him so much as this disappointment.

In March 1800, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the independence of the Seven Islands was guaranteed under protection of the former power, upon payment of an annual tribute of 75,000 piastres to the Porte: the continental dependencies were all annexed to the dominions of the Sultan, except Parga, which resolutely maintained its independence. When the Russian forces had retired, Ali, unwilling to abandon his project, still indulged the hope of being able to seize on Corfu and Santa Maura, the possession of which would have consolidated his power on the adjacent part of the continent. Under pretext of sustaining the pretensions of the nobility, he excited the first commotions that broke out in those islands, of which he availed himself to represent to the Divan, that the only means of restoring tranquillity, would be to allow him to garrison Corfu, Parga, and Santa Maura. His representations and his gold would probably have prevailed at Constantinople, had not the Ionian senate defeated his intrigues by throwing themselves in the arms of Russia. This measure, which overturned all his projects, did not fail to increase his jealousy against that power, and he was thenceforth its implacable enemy. Anxious to extend his foreign relations, he now availed himself of the appearance of a British squadron in the Ionian Sea, to open a correspondence with the admiral ; but it does not appear

that his negotiations led at this time to any definite result, and he soon reverted to his French connexions.

It was some compensation for the disappointment of his schemes, that the ambitious Vizir now received the public thanks of the Sultan for his eminent services, together with a present of the *kelick-caftan* (a fine ermine pelisse) and a sword decorated with brilliants. To complete his elevation, he was made *Rumelie-valisee* or viceroy of Romelia. Bound by the duties of his office to visit the provinces confided to his jurisdiction, he did not fail to turn to good account the discharge of this obligation. Being charged to collect the arrears of contributions due to the imperial treasury, as well in money as in kind, he increased them, it is said, in the proportion of three to five, reserving two-fifths as his per-centage for the trouble of collecting. He took up his residence for some time at Monastir, a large town about a day's journey west of the lake of Ochrida, which he pillaged in the most shameless manner, carrying away nineteen waggons laden with valuable effects. It is calculated that, besides money and other articles, 20,000 sheep were, by this visitation, added to his property; and the sum total of the exactions wrested from these provinces has been estimated at 10,000,000 of piastres.

The victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg, by which Dalmatia and Illyricum were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, recalled the attention of Ali towards France. As Russia still continued in hostility with Napoleon, and had just seized on Cattaro, Ali thought that a favourable opportunity was now afforded for attacking that power in the Ionian Islands. He accordingly sent a secret agent to Bonaparte, to solicit that a French consul might be sent to reside at his capital; and M. Pouqueville was selected for the

office, with the title of consul-general, while his brother was appointed vice-consul under him at Prevesa. The French minister at the Porte at this time governed the divan. Through his interest, Ali procured the pashalik of Lepanto for his elder son, Mouktar, and for Veli, his younger son, that of the Morea. In return, he assisted Sebastiani in promoting the rupture between Turkey and Russia. Hostilities having commenced, he engaged to push the war so vigorously against the Russians in the islands, that they should be unable to annoy the French army in Dalmatia, provided that he were supplied with artillery and engineers. At the commencement of 1807, he appeared to be on the point of obtaining the object of his wishes. Fifty artillery men, several officers, together with ordnance and military stores, were sent out to him in a gun-boat and a corvette from the kingdom of Naples, while Colonel Vaudoncourt, a skilful engineer sent out by Marshal Marmont, remained with Ali to superintend operations. Under his direction, additional works were thrown up round Ioannina, Prevesa was fortified, and the siege of Santa Maura was begun. Notwithstanding a well-timed diversion promoted by the Russians, who excited a general insurrection of the Tzamouriot and Paramithians, it was prosecuted with vigour. The explosion of a powder-magazine having dismantled one of the forts, a landing-point was left uncovered, and orders were given to construct a sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats to turn it to advantage. Indeed, every thing was ready for the arrival of a corps of 10,000 Albanians, when the peace of Tilsit most opportunely put a stop to hostilities. Ali would fain have prosecuted his operations; but the French officers refused to consent, and Santa Maura was saved. Napoleon was sufficiently informed

that all Ali's selfish views centered in the occupation of the Septinsular republic, and Mehemet Effendi, an Italian renegade despatched by Ali to the emperor, used every exertion to obtain a promise from Napoleon, that at least Santa Maura and Parga should be ceded to his master. The integrity of the Ionian Republic was, however, one of the bases of the negotiations resolved upon at Tilsit, and his agent could accomplish nothing. Parga, of which he endeavoured to gain possession, placed itself under the protection of the Ionian Government.

As soon as Ali saw the islands occupied by French troops, his friendship with Napoleon was at an end. He now again turned to England, and requested that an accredited agent might be sent out to him from this country. In the autumn of 1808, a British agent had a secret conference with the Vizir at Prevesa, at which the plan of operations was concerted. Ali engaged to second, by all his influence, the attempts of Sir A. Paget to bring about a peace between Turkey and Great Britain; and to him it is stated to have been entirely owing, that the point was carried. At that moment, the insurrection of the janissaries and the death of the Grand Vizir had thrown every thing at Constantinople into such confusion, that Mr. Adair was about to quit his station in despair, when Ali wrote to him to urge his remaining to wait the event. So important, indeed, were his services deemed by the British cabinet, that, by way of acknowledgement, a very fine park of artillery, with several hundreds of the then newly-invented Congreve's rockets, were sent him on board a transport, while Major Leake, who had the care of the artillery, was ordered to remain to teach his Albanian troops the use of it, and to act as English resident. The expulsion of the French from

Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, and the occupation of those islands by the English in the autumn of 1809, confirmed his determination openly to espouse the interests of Great Britain. He now opened his ports to our merchants and cruisers, and granted supplies, on most liberal terms, for our navy and the army in the Spanish Peninsula. By this means, he secured a powerful ally against the hour of need; and when, in 1813, the Divan, instigated by Andreossy, the French minister at the Porte, had, as it appears, well nigh determined on his destruction, the representations of the British ambassador had no small influence in averting the storm from the dominion of so useful an ally.*

We must now go back a little, to give the sequel of the history of Suli. On his return to Ioannina, after his expedition to Romelia in 1800-1, Ali determined to recommence operations against this little republic, to which he was more particularly incited by its intimate connexion with Parga and Corfu. Botzari, one of the most distinguished leaders, had been, in the mean time, bought over to his interests, and the Pasha was led to believe that Suli would surrender on the first attack. He was, however, woefully mistaken. Foto Tzavella survived, and together with the Amazon Mosco, a martial calayer or monk, named Samuel, of wild, enthusiastic character, and some other leaders of

* M. Pouqueville asserts, that Ali actually received orders to quit Ioannina, and to retire to Tepeleni; and he gives a long conversation which he alleges to have passed between the Vizir and himself on the occasion of his departure. The French had then just entered Moscow. But no sooner had the tragical twenty-ninth bulletin of the grand army spread through Greece the news of Napoleon's disasters, than Ali returned to Ioannina. "*A son attitude, on aurait imaginé qu'il avait aussi triomphé de ces armées vaincus par le climat*" vol. i. p. 395.

kindred spirit, still defied his power. Ali took the field with about 18,000 men: the number of Suliot palikars never exceeded at any time 3000.* But numbers, far from being of avail in such a field of action, only served to create confusion and embarrassment. The Albanian troops, on endeavouring to penetrate the defile of Glyki, were overwhelmed with huge stones poured down from the overhanging precipices, and with volleys of musket-balls from unseen marksmen. Foto Tzavella, at the head of about 200 chosen palikars, is stated to have routed with great slaughter a detachment of 3000 Albanians, while his own loss did not exceed twenty men. The total loss, in killed and prisoners, on the part of Ali, in various successive attacks, exceeded in numbers the sum total of the Suliot army. Botzari was himself repulsed in a treacherous attempt to lead a party over the mountain of Raithovuni; and his death, a few months after, was supposed to be the effect either of chagrin or of poison administered by his own hand.

Despairing to subdue such valiant and determined enemies in open warfare, Ali turned the siege into a blockade, resolving to trust to famine and treachery. But his troops began to desert; and while the Suliots, according to a Parghiot historian, lost in nine

* Before their first war with Ali Pasha, the Suliots possessed sixty-six villages, "all conquered by their arms;" but the republic consisted of the four stations, Kako-Suli, containing 425 families; Kiaffa, 60; Avarico, 55; and Samoniva, 30; total 570. The settlement is said to have originated with a few goatherds about the middle of the seventeenth century. In the notes to Sheridan's *Songs of Greece*, among which will be found several relating to Suli, it is stated, that the Suliots never reckoned more than 1,500, and seldom above 1000 muskets. The population is set down at 5000 souls. But little dependence can be placed on Greek statements.

months but twenty-five men, Ali lost, by defection and in various skirmishes within the same period, nearly 4000. In the desperate emergency to which the besieged were sometimes reduced, many stratagems were resorted to for procuring provisions, among which the contrivance of Gianni Striviniotti deserves particular mention. "This man, having received intelligence that the Turks had lately procured a large supply of cattle from the neighbouring pastures, dressed himself in his white capote and camise, and concealing himself till the shades of evening had descended, walked out on all fours from his lurking place, and mingling with the herds, entered together with them into the stalls where they were shut up. In the dead of the night he arose silently, opened the doors, unloosed the oxen, and drove them towards a party of his friends who were in waiting to receive them. The Albanians heard the noise, but were so alarmed by suspicion of an ambuscade, that they lay still, and preferred the loss of their cattle to the danger of their lives."

About this time, Ali was called off by orders from the Porte to lead his contingent against Paswan Oglou, and the Suliots availed themselves of his absence to lay in stores both of provisions and arms. On his return, he again had recourse to a false and treacherous proposal of peace, on the conditions of being allowed to build and garrison one tower within their district, and of their banishing the brave Foto Tzavella from the Suliot territory, as the chief impediment in the way of tranquillity. It does not appear that the former condition was complied with; and yet, the folly and infatuation which a compliance with it would have displayed, would not have been greater than the Suliots were actually guilty of in "requesting the secession"

of their bravest captain, whose highest panegyric was conveyed by the insulting proposal. Ali's ambassadors on this occasion were, as usual, two traitors who had deserted their country's cause; and by dint of threats and promises, they prevailed. Foto, on finding himself forsaken by his deluded followers, set fire to his dwelling, declaring that no enemy of Suli should ever cross the dwelling of the Tzavellas; he then buried his sword, and left his countrymen "much in the same state," remarks Mr. Hughes, "as the silly sheep who were persuaded by the wolves to dismiss their guardians." After this act of folly and baseness, one really feels a diminished interest in the fate of the republic.

Whether a peace was or was not nominally concluded, or whether the Suliots were still in a state of blockade, is not very clear; but in May 1803, the Suliots made a vigorous attack upon an Albanian fortress at Villa, which served as the principal magazine for Ali's army. This they succeeded in taking, and destroyed by fire and sword nearly the whole garrison. So daring an achievement could not but inflame their implacable enemy to the utmost height of fury. He issued proclamations, calling upon every Mahommedan throughout his dominions to avenge this slaughter upon the heads of the infidels, and an immense army was again brought into the field against this small band of mountaineers. Treachery opened to the invaders the otherwise impenetrable passes, and the Suliots, worn down at length by war and famine, and strictly blockaded, were reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation, which Ali never meant to fulfil. The treaty was ratified on the 12th of December, 1803, by which the whole population was to be allowed to emigrate and settle wherever they might please. Men, women, and children being

gathered together, they separated into two bodies; one taking the direction of Parga, the other that of Prevesa. Both parties were waylaid by the troops of the perfidious tyrant: the former fought their way through, but the latter all eventually perished. A party of about a hundred women and children, being cut off from the rest, fled, it is stated, to a steep precipice near the monastery of Zalongo; there, the children were first thrown over the rocks by their mothers, and then the matrons, joining hand in hand, and raising their minds to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by native songs, whirled round and round in a species of frantic dance till they approached the edge of the cliff, from which they one and all threw themselves headlong. Another small detachment, having been taken captive, was subsequently released and allowed by Ali to settle at Vurgareli at the foot of Mount Tzumerka; but this was only a treacherous respite: they were afterwards extirpated by a detachment of Albanians, except a few that escaped into Acarnania. The scattered remnant of the tribe took refuge, some at Santa Maura, others with the Albanian boys; but the greater part retired to Parga and Corfu, to subsist on charity, or to enrol themselves in the service of their protectors. A number of them subsequently entered into the Russian service, and formed a regiment in the Albanian battalion. After the peace of Tilsit, this corps passed into the service of the French under Colonel Minot. Foto Tzavella and Mosco, his *mother*, both held commissions for some time, but resigned them from disgust at ill-treatment. The former passed over to Ioannina, threw himself at the feet of the destroyer of his country, and was received into his service. Mosco, who accompanied him, married a second husband, and was living in the capital at the

time of Mr. Hughes's visit. Their native mountains then formed the strongest post in their conqueror's dominions, and a splendid fortified serai adorned the highest top of Kiaffa as a monument of his base triumph.

The history of Ali Pasha now becomes interwoven with a complicated series of intrigues and counter-intrigues on the part of Russian, French, and English agents, which it is very difficult to develop. M. Pouqueville admits, that Ibrahim Pasha of Berat had written to the French Government, entreating to be taken under its protection, and offering the exclusive commerce of the port of Avlona, as well as proposing to admit some French artillery-men into that fortress. The expedition of Ali against Berat, was not undertaken, therefore, without a plausible pretext. The vizir of Ioannina had good reason to dread the machinations of the French in that quarter; and notwithstanding M. Pouqueville's pathetic and sentimental exclamations against the cruel treatment of the venerable Ibrahim, who, as being in the French interest, must needs have been one of the very best of men, there can be no doubt that, had not Ali seized upon Berat, his own dominions would soon have been invaded from that quarter.* The citadel of that town,

* "*J'ignore de quel artifice son perfide antagoniste se servit, pour le porter à s'adresser au gouvernement Français, qu'il priait de le prendre sous sa protection, parceque le divan l'abandonnait à un ennemi qui était vendu au ministère Britannique.*" — POUQUEVILLE, tom. i. p. 310. It is impossible to read this Writer's highly-embellished narrative, without being continually disgusted with his gross unfairness, or without the suspicion that he has drawn very largely on his invention. "His main design," as Mr. Leake justly remarks, "appears to have been, as a true disciple of the Napoleon school, to throw blame and odium upon England and Englishmen." The British Septiusular government, he politely entitles the "Pandemonium of Corcyra;" and he is indignant that the

planted on a lofty hill on the right bank of the Apsus, had hitherto been deemed impregnable; but so effectively plied were the newly-invented rockets under the direction of the English engineer officer (Major Leake), that Ibrahim was obliged to capitulate upon condition of retiring with all his suite and treasure to Avlona. "Ali, in his carriage," (we borrow the account from Mr. Hughes,) "surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the river till Ibrahim had passed over the bridge; he then entered and took possession of Berat, not only without the sanction, but even without the knowledge of the Porte. He thought it proper, however, to send a despatch to Constantinople, informing his sovereign, that a great part of Upper Albania being in a state of revolt, and Ibrahim Pasha being not only incapable, by reason of his age and other infirmities, to restore order, but lying under strong suspicions from his attachment, first to the Russians, and lately to the French, he had deemed proper to secure this important fortress with troops that could be relied on. He also sent very large sums of money to be distributed among the members of the Divan, and thus procured, not only pardon, but approbation from the Sultan, who yielded immediately to his request of conferring the government upon his son Mouktar. The three tails, however, were not taken, as is usual on losing a pashalik, from Ibrahim, whose character was held in high estimation both at Constantinople and in his own dominions.

ashes of Nelson should repose at *Westminster*, (a specimen of his accurate information,) chiefly because he addressed a complimentary letter to "the hero of Epirus," and fell in love with Lady Hamilton. This high-toned morality disappears, however, from his pages, when the English are not the objects of his virtuous animadversions; and he dispenses the crown of martyrdom on all the victims of Ali's tyranny with more than catholic liberality.

“ This success threw into the hands of Ali, not only the strongest fortress, but the finest province of Upper Albania ; for the great plain of Musakia is the very granary of the country. He at first used his victory with great moderation, lest the people, if persecuted, should join the standard of their former chief. Leaving this new acquisition in the hands of his faithful follower, Usuff Araps, Ali returned speedily to his capital, to take every advantage of the success of the British in the Ionian Sea. During the bombardment of Santa Maura by our troops, he encamped opposite that island with a large force, anxious to find some opportunity of mingling in the affray, and urging his own claims to the occupation of the island. These he pressed vehemently after its surrender, but, being unable to substantiate them, he deceived our commanders by cunningly gaining permission to build barracks for his soldiers ; instead of which he threw up two strong fortresses, each commanding an entrance into the *Dioryctos* or channel, and one of them even the castle of Santa Maura.

“ But, though Ali could neither gain from his British allies the possession of Santa Maura, nor persuade them at this time to drive the French out of Parga, that he might himself occupy that fortress, he did not think it his interest to shew any sign of ill-humour at present : he still had a great game to play, in which no ally could afford him such material assistance as England. He was placed in a most advantageous position between the great rival powers, and he was determined to make the most of it. Five of the islands were under the protection of the British, and two under that of the French ; the former courting his assistance, the latter dreading his enmity. In this conjuncture of circumstances, he played his cards ad-

mirably. He encouraged us to blockade Corfu, under promise of co-operation, while he took advantage of its distress to introduce provisions secretly for his own gain and profit.* Forging letters of correspondence between the French generals and Ibrahim Pasha, or the rulers of other states upon the coast of the Adriatic,† he very easily procured the assistance of our naval commanders in all his enterprises; while those hardy and warlike tribes who had hitherto resisted his aggressions, because their own valour *had been seconded by the powers which possessed the Ionian Isles*, finding their succours thence cut off, and their offers of devotion rejected, were obliged to surrender unconditionally to his arms, or run the chance of extermination. The Chimarriots, descendants of the ancient Chaonians, and the bravest people of Epirus, whose very trade was war, defended their rugged mountains to the last extremity, fighting sword in hand with very little intermission for three successive days, after they had expended all their ammunition. Ali, however, had gained possession of their principal village, called *Vouno*, by his old art of bribery, and

* “ *Il m’aida également, en les trompant (the English), à procurer des approvisionnements, des signaux de reconnaissance aux assiégés; et il offrit même, si je voulais engager notre general à évacuer la citadelle, de l’occuper et de faire cause commune avec nous contre les Anglais.*”—POUQUEVILLE, tom. i. p. 321. The French Consul claims great merit for rejecting these proposals, and for permitting things to take their course. The fact is, that the French would have gained nothing by surrendering the island to Ali; and if the crafty vizir really made this proposal, he could have entertained no very high opinion of the Consul’s sagacity.

† Whether they were *forged* letters, as Mr. Hughes asserts, may be questioned. M. Pouqueville admits, that Ibrahim Pasha had transmitted proposals to the French Government; and Mr. Hughes, in the latter branch of this same sentence, speaks of an actual correspondence between the Chimarriots and the French and Russian authorities in the Ionian Isles.

falling upon the rear of these warriors, cut the greater part of them to pieces. The country then surrendered, and the Vizir, having garrisoned its strong holds, carried to Ioannina 250 hostages for the peaceable conduct of the inhabitants.

“ In 1810, Ali escaped the greatest danger with which he had hitherto been threatened. This was nothing less than a plan of operations concerted between the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte, to attack him by a force from the island of Corfu, and at the same time by a large corps under Marshal Marmont from Dalmatia. Nothing but the success of the British armies in Spain, which called Marmont’s army to that quarter, preserved Ali from destruction. The French, however, never totally gave up the plan, and would have made the attempt from Corfu alone but for the intervention of a British fleet.* Poor Ibrahim Pasha had been implicated in the formation of this enterprise, and was now left alone to resist the attack of his irritated and powerful adversary. Ali besieged him so closely in Avlona, while two English frigates blockaded the port against the introduction of supplies from the French, that Ibrahim fled in disguise, with a few of his principal followers, and took refuge in the mountains of Liaberi or Liapuria. There, he was soon after betrayed, and was conducted by his conqueror in a species of mock triumph to the city of Konitza, whence, after the lapse of a year, he was conducted to Ioannina, and confined a

* M. Pouqueville takes credit for originating the plan that “ was destined to rid the earth of one of its most cruel devastators.”
“ Le secret fut promis à celui qui vivait sous le glaive de Damocles sans être assis à son banquet. Les moyens demandés furent agréés par le sultan, au mois de juillet 1810. Sans préciser le temps où il les mettrait à exécution, la perte d’Ali et de sa race sanguinaire fut érigée en maxime par le sultan.”

close prisoner in a solitary tower, where this venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali's two sons, might be seen like a wild beast through the iron bars of his dungeon.

“ The Pasha of Delvino, with the chiefs of Liapuria, Argyro-castro, and Gardiki, alarmed at the storm which they saw gathering round them, speedily assembled their forces, which were attacked and defeated by Ali in the plains between Argyro-castro and Delvino. He then entered and took possession of the latter place, making prisoners two sons of Mustafa Pasha, whom he sent to Ioannina, and confined in a convent of the island. Two others made their escape to Corfu, where they were soon assassinated by an emissary of the Vizir's. Mustafa himself had retired to Gardiki. The great city of Argyro-castro next surrendered after a short conflict, upon condition of becoming a *chiflik*; and the whole valley of the Druno, the richest and most populous in all Albania, fell entirely under the Vizir's dominion.” *

No place now remained for him to conquer, but Gardiki, which had first offended him, and upon which he resolved to pour the vial of his wrath. This place, the population of which was entirely Mohammedan, surmounted a fine conical hill, surrounded with an amphitheatre of the most splendid mountain scenery. Well knowing what they had to expect from the resentment of their ancient foe, the Gardikiotes prepared for the most vigorous defence. For a long time, operations went on slowly. Ali's own generals discovered a reluctance to execute his vindictive intentions, upon which he despatched a confidential officer, at the head of a large body of Greek and Albanian troops, with

* Hughes, vol. ii. pp. 187—191. .

instructions to act promptly in combination with all the other Greeks in the army. They, he well knew, would exterminate a Mohammedan tribe with the greatest alacrity; and as the Turkish generals did not dare interfere, the city was soon given up to all the horrors of assault. Very few persons escaped. Those who were reserved as prisoners, were afterwards, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, massacred in cold blood in the presence of Ali, their bodies being left unburied, to rot upon the place of execution, which was a large khan near the commencement of the Gardikiote territory. The gateway of the area was then walled up, and an inscription placed over it cut in stone, which signifies, "Thus perish all the enemies of Ali's house." It is stated, that every individual victim underwent a personal examination by the Vizir himself, previously to the order being given for the execution, and that some few were in consequence spared, probably on its being found that they were unconnected with the old inhabitants. On the same day, seventy-two Gardikiote beys and other prisoners of distinction, who had been conveyed to Ioannina, and treated with a delusive show of clemency and respect, were all strangled. From the khan, Ali marched to Gardiki itself, which he laid in ruins, placing it under an anathema, and prohibiting it from ever again becoming the habitation of man. The property of its citizens he had already converted to his own use; and as they were great merchants, he is stated to have kept an accurate account of all the debts due to them, and to have exacted the most punctual payment. "Every Gardikiote that was subsequently discovered within the dominions of Ali, was arrested and put to death, when his corpse was sent to augment the mouldering heap of his unfortu-

nate countrymen at the khan of Valiarè. The Vizir was grievously offended with his son Vely, who refused to put to death some Gardikiotes in his service, or surrender them up."

This crowning act of atrocity took place on the 15th of March, 1812. Mustafa, Pasha of Delvino, died soon after in prison at Ioannina, not without suspicion of having been starved to death.* A few months after this, Ibrahim Pasha disappeared: it was the general belief at Ioannina, that he too had been put to death, and the French consul despatched a courier with the intelligence to Constantinople. A *capigi-bashee* of the highest rank was consequently sent to Ioannina, with orders to investigate the affair. On his arrival, Ali expressed the greatest astonishment, and directed the officer of the Porte to be conducted to Ibrahim's apartment, where the object of his visit was found surrounded with every comfort, and professing to be perfectly happy in the society of his daughters and their children. The *capigi-bashee* was dismissed with magnificent presents, and, on his return, gave a most favourable report of Ali's conduct. This attempt to draw down on him the vengeance of the Porte, only turned therefore to his advantage; but Ali was not ignorant of the danger to which he had been exposed, or of the quarter in which it had originated.†

In the mean time, the battle of Leipsig had totally

* M. Pouqueville states, that his fate was the same as that of Toussaint Louverture. In his anxiety to blacken the dark character of Ali, he forgets that he was himself at this time the agent of Toussaint's murderer.

† Mr. Hughes considers the whole to have been a manœuvre of Ali's, having for its object to sound the feelings of the Divan, prior to his venturing on the murder of Ibrahim. This does not appear, however, to be more than a probable surmise. If it was so, the French consul was clearly outwitted.

changed the aspect of political affairs in Europe, and Ali saw himself on the point of being relieved from any dangers arising from French influence in the Divan. Foreseeing that the French possessions in the Ionian sea would fall into the hands of the British, he resolved to be before-hand with us in seizing upon Parga,—“that single, solitary rock, which alone, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, was illuminated by the rays of liberty.” “Having failed,” says Mr. Hughes, “in the alluring temptations which he held out to M. Pouqueville and General Denzelot (the commandant at Corfu), he determined upon one of those prompt movements which are so habitual to him, and for which he had been some time prepared, feeling little doubt that, if he should once gain possession of the place, he could find means to justify his conduct or to appease resentment. Unauthorised, then, by his Government, which, at this time, was at peace with France, and without any declaration of war, he moved an overwhelming force against Parga, in the month of February 1814; at the same time ordering his flotilla to sail from Prevesa for the purpose of aiding in the siege, and of intercepting all the inhabitants that might endeavour to escape to the islands. These directions, however, were rendered nugatory by the spirited conduct of some English cruisers, who refused to let his vessels approach. On the 28th of February, Ali’s troops carried by assault Aja and Rapesa, two frontier villages of the Parghiot territory, putting to death many of the inhabitants, and sending the remainder into slavery. Here a small fort was erected, and the army advanced upon Parga. The French garrison retired into the citadel without any show of resistance, the only opposition being made by the bravery of the inhabitants. These marched out

with exultation to the defence of their country, accompanied by women and children, who handed ammunition, and loaded the muskets of their husbands and parents. The contest was neither long nor sanguinary; for the Parghiots, having the advantage of ground and shelter, effectually checked the Vizir's troops; especially his cavalry, as they charged up a narrow causeway leading to the city, so that they were obliged to retreat, after losing several of their companions, among whom was a near relation of Ali's, the commander of the Albanian forces.*

In spite of this victory, the Parghiots had sufficient cause to tremble; and they had additional reason for alarm when they discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on between their inveterate foe and the commandant of the French garrison.† In this dilemma, they despatched a message to Captain Garland, who had lately taken possession of the little island of Paxo, requesting to be received under British protection..... With the utmost secrecy, a plan was organised for taking possession of the citadel. An English flag, concealed under the girdle of a boy, was brought into the fortress without exciting suspicion; a signal was given by ringing a bell to the conspirators, who, rushing forward, disarmed the centinels, seized upon the rest of the garrison, and hoisted the British standard in place of the tri-coloured flag. Only one man lost his life in this almost bloodless conspiracy: he was a Cefalonian in the French service, and commissary of police, who, thrusting his head out of a window, with loud exhortations to blow up the magazine, was in-

* Athanasius Macrys.

† M. Pouqueville pretends, that Colonel Nicole had not been in correspondence with Ali, but his own statement makes against him.

stantly shot. The inhabitants being now in full possession of the place, the Hon. Sir Charles Gordon landed with a detachment of British troops, sent off the French garrison, under terms of capitulation, to Corfu, and took possession of the place on the 22d of March, 1814.

“ Under the powerful ægis of Great Britain, Parga remained for about three years comparatively happy, increasing both in wealth and population, although the mention of its name was omitted in the treaties of Vienna and Paris, which consigned to English protection the Septinsular Republic.....But Ali Pasha’s ambitious mind could not rest quietly when disappointed in a design which lay nearest his heart; and his gold proved in this, as in many other instances, all powerful at Constantinople. Parga was demanded by the Porte as the price of her acquiescence in our occupation of the Ionian Isles; and a secret treaty consigned over to Mohammedan despotism the last little spot of ancient Greece that had remained unpolluted by her infidel conquerors. An article, however, was inserted in this treaty, which provided that every person who emigrated should be remunerated for the loss of his property.” *

* Hughes, vol. ii. pp. 200—204. We have purposely refrained from going into the delicate question relating to the policy and humanity of ceding Parga to the Porte. Mr. Hughes stigmatises the transaction as unjust, cruel, and impolitic; and his account of Sir Thomas Maitland’s conduct gives almost as unfavourable an idea of his character, as the caricature portrait inserted in M. Pouqueville’s History does of his physiognomy. The statements of Colonel de Bosset and the French consul have met with a very insufficient and equally suspicious reply from a party writer in the Quarterly Review, whose illiberal aspersions on the Parghiots are disproved by every respectable authority. The pretence urged in justification, that Ali Pasha had nothing to do with the negotiation, that it was ceded to the Porte, is a paltry subterfuge.

On the 10th of May, 1819, the unfortunate inhabitants, resolved not to live under Turkish despotism, prepared to evacuate their native soil; and when Ali Pasha reached the walls, he found the city silent and deserted. The whole population had embarked, voluntary exiles, for the Ionian Isles. Still, he exulted over the barren conquest, which made him the master of continental Greece "from the Attic boundary of Parnes to the rugged mountains of Illyricum."

But the career of this modern Herod was now drawing to a close.* The accidental destruction of his palace at Tepeleni by fire, is stated to have led to the discovery of the immense wealth concealed within its walls, exaggerated accounts of which reaching the ears of the Sultan Mahmoud, excited the cupidity, while it offended the pride of that monarch. Ali, however, might yet have been permitted to die in his bed, and the Porte would have been contented to become his heir, had it not been for the secret measures taken by his implacable enemy, Ismael Pacho, whom Ali's emissaries had repeatedly attempted to assassinate. Having gained over Khalet Effendi, who had formerly been in the interest of Ali, but whom the avaricious Vizir had imprudently ceased to salary, Pacho resolved to make use of his powerful influence in the Divan, to execute his long-cherished scheme of vengeance against the family of Tepeleni. Ali heard with dismay, that the object of his hatred and fear was nominated a *capigi-bashee*; and the next intelligence was, that his son Veli was dismissed from the government of Triccala to the pashalik of Lepanto. It was evident, either that

* In 1819, Ali himself was, according to M. Pouqueville, seventy-eight years of age. Of his family, there were living, Mouktar, beglier-bey of Berat, aged fifty; Veli, vizir of Thessaly (Triccala), aged forty-six; Salik, pasha of Lepanto, aged 18.

his gold had lost its charm at Constantinople, or that it had not been of late so liberally distributed as formerly; and there is some reason to believe that his avarice paved the way for his downfall. It was, however, now too late to intrigue, and Ali resolved to intimidate the Divan by one of those bold strokes which he had often found to succeed. Two Albanians were despatched to Constantinople with orders to destroy Pacho Bey. The attempt was made, but their intended victim escaped; and one of the culprits being pursued and overtaken, after confessing that they had been employed by Ali Pasha, was hung before the gate of the imperial seraglio.* The Divan now thought it high time to take strong measures; and in a council specially summoned, the sentence of *fermanly* was pronounced against the old Pasha, by which he was placed under the ban of the empire, unless within forty days he should appear at the golden threshold of the gate of felicity, to answer to the charge of high treason. His old enemy, Ismael Pacho Bey, was nominated pasha of Ioannina, and appointed to the command of the expedition that was directed to proceed against this too formidable subject. And to give the greater effect to these decided measures, a bull of excommuni-

* M. Pouqueville tells us, that Ali sent *three* assassins; that they all fired at Pacho Bey, as he was on his way to the mosque of St. Sophia, but that he was only slightly wounded; and that all three were seized in the very act, and executed. An anonymous but more credible account, given in a private letter, states, that the chamberlain was fired at while looking out at his window; that the assassins scampered off at full gallop, and that one only was overtaken at a village about sixty miles from Constantinople. In this account, the promotion of Pacho Bey, who had previously been sentenced to death, through the machinations of Ali, is ascribed to the influence of the viceroy of Egypt, to whom he had fled for protection.—See HUGHES'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 221.

cation and anathema was issued against Ali by the mufti, the primate of Islam.

These events took place in the month of February, 1820. March, however, passed away without the army having been put in motion; and an interval occurred, which might have been turned to good account, had Ali possessed talents and energy equal to the occasion. But he seems to have halted between a desire to be reconciled to the Grand Seignior, and the determination to defend his possessions; and thus divided, he took no effectual or decisive steps to accomplish either. His mind does not appear to have been enfeebled by age, so much as by avarice and distrust, which infallibly attend the last stage of a despot's career, neutralising or paralysing the passion of ambition itself. Ali's avarice had raised up his most formidable enemies, and it now withheld him from making the sacrifices which might yet have propitiated the Divan, or defeated its measures. On the other hand, he had reason for distrusting his Mohammedan subjects, well knowing that their religious scruples would restrain them from openly resisting the imperial *firmahn*, backed as it was by the anathema of the mufti. Under these circumstances, Ali had no alternative but to call the Armatolis to his aid, and to put arms into the hands of the Albanian and Greek Christians, with the promise of liberal pay and ample booty. At the same time, he despatched emissaries to the Montenegrins and Servians, to excite them to a simultaneous revolt. It is even said, that he dissembled so far as to profess an intention to embrace Christianity; that he talked of emancipating the Greeks as a nation, and driving their Ottoman tyrants beyond the Bosphorus. The Armatolis rose in a mass at his call, and dispersing themselves over the mountain roads and defiles,

performed with alacrity his orders in intercepting all couriers, plundering the caravans, and putting a stop to all intercourse with the western provinces. But it does not appear that Ali placed much reliance on these guerilla bands; and his object seems to have been, to intimidate the Porte by this manœuvre, rather than to repel invasion. The time had been, when the Divan might have been compelled by these means to come to some amicable arrangement; but in vain did the primates now represent that Ali alone was capable of repressing these disorders: the stratagem, if such it was, did not take. The Turkish authorities had recourse, indeed, to a very dangerous and impolitic expedient for counteracting these operations. Suleyman Pasha, on entering Thessaly as seraskier, addressed a proclamation to the ecclesiastics, civil primates, and other persons in authority, authorising the people to take up arms against Ali. It has been supposed, however, that this measure was either an unauthorised act of the Turkish commander, and disapproved of by the Porte, or that it was the result of intrigue, perfidiously devised by Suleyman's Greek secretary, Anagnostis, who issued the proclamation in his own language only. However this may have been, or whether Suleyman had really entered into any correspondence or not with the rebel Vizir, he was suddenly recalled, and, in his way to Constantinople, was met at Salonika by the fatal *capigi-bashee*, who came for his head. The pashalik was given to Mohammed Drama Ali, the father-in-law of Ismael Pacho.

And now the war against Ali appears to have been undertaken in earnest; and while Ismael Pacho received orders to hold himself in readiness to march on Epirus, a Turkish squadron appeared in the Ionian

Sea. Elated by some trifling successes, and deceived by hollow protestations of fidelity and the semblance of enthusiasm in the people of Ioannina, Ali appears to have been lulled into a fatal security. Could he have depended upon his troops, indeed, his situation would have been by no means hopeless. All his fortresses, twenty-five in number, had been put into a state of complete defence, and he was amply supplied with warlike stores. But the beys and warlike chieftains of Albania who might yet have rallied round his standard, had been exterminated; and all faithful Moslems eagerly longed to be delivered from the infidel; while the Greeks, who were for the most part little disposed to confide in his professions, were again looking to Russia for deliverance, and the despot of Epirus was the enemy of Russia. On former occasions, Ali had been able to play off the Greeks against the Moslems and the Moslems against the Greeks; and holding the scales between contending foreign factions, he had been indebted alternately, more perhaps than he was aware, to Russian, French, and English co-operation, in defeating his enemies. But alike selfish and faithless, he had betrayed all his allies by turns; and left to himself, the colossus fell as by his own weight. The *armatolis* of Thessaly submitted to Mohammed Drama Pasha without a blow. Vely, at the approach of the Turkish army, abandoned Lepanto, and took the road to Ioannina, sending away his harem and all his moveables by sea to Prevesa. Avlona and Berat opened their gates to the Pasha of Scutari; and when the Capudan-bey, having seized the port of Panormo and the fortresses of Delvino and Butrinto, appeared before Parga, young Mehemet Pasha, Ali's grandson, embarking with about thirty followers in a felucca, surrendered at dis-

cretion. Finally, as soon as Pacho Bey had entered the defiles of Anovlachia, Omer Bey Brioni, Ali's seraskier and favourite general, together with his lieutenants, Mantho (who had been one of the Vizir's private secretaries) and Alexis Noutza, primate of Zagori, went over, with their divisions, to the invading army. Thus Ali, who had reckoned upon 17,000 men, suddenly found himself without generals and without an army.

Ali's means of defence, however, were still formidable, and he had prepared for the worst. His castle and vast fortress on the lake of Ioannina were fortified with 250 pieces of cannon, and by means of a small squadron of gun-boats, he still commanded the navigation of the lake. Hither, therefore, he now retreated with his remaining adherents, while Ioannina, after being pillaged, was set on fire in order to prevent its affording shelter to the enemy. The ruins of the capital were yet smoking, when Pacho Bey, on the 20th of August, made his public entry, and set up his three-tail standard as pasha of Ioannina and Delvino. From the bastions of his castle, Ali might hear the acclamations of the Turks saluting his successor, and the *cadi* reading the sentence of deposition and anathema: a brisk fire from the guns and mortars of his fortress was his comment upon the proceedings. Ali's garrison was about 8000 strong, all firmly attached to him; and the castle on the lake to which he had retired, was provisioned for four years. The Turkish army, on the contrary, had brought neither heavy artillery nor engineers for commencing the siege in form; and their provisions had begun rapidly to diminish, exciting symptoms of discontent and even mutiny, before mortars and cannon arrived. The approach of winter rendered Ismael

Pasha's situation still more critical. Already the early snows began to cover the summits of Pindus, and the different hordes of Macedonia and Thessaly had disbanded for the purpose of reaching their homes. Discontent soon found its way among the Albanian militia, unaccustomed to the tardy operations of a siege; and dissensions broke out between the Moslems and the Christians. In order to procure fuel, the Turks were obliged to rummage among the ruins of the town; provisions, too, had become scarce, as the convoys were generally attacked by the banditti headed by Odysseus, who, after a pretended desertion to Ismael, had disappeared, and collected a band of klephts or armatoles in the mountains. The total consumption of their harvests and the devastation of their villages, made the inhabitants regret even the government of Ali. In the mean time, seditious movements in the northern provinces occasioned fresh alarms, and the Rumelie-valisee, Achmet Pasha, received orders to quit Epirus for the banks of the Danube. More than 5000 bombs had already been thrown against the castles of Ali, without producing any considerable effect; and the Sultan, growing impatient, addressed a *hatti shereef* to Ismael Pasha, blaming the inefficiency of his plans for reducing the rebel Vizir.

Ali, in the mean time, greater in adversity than he had ever shewn himself in the day of his power, maintained an unshaken firmness and tranquillity, and set his enemies at defiance. He seemed, indeed, to have triumphed not only over his years, but over his passions. When informed that his sons Mouktar and Vely, who held the fortresses of Argyro-castro and Prevesa, had capitulated to his enemy, on the faith of

the deceitful promises of the Porte,* he told his followers, that thenceforth the brave defenders of his cause were his only children and heirs. The aged Ibrahim Pasha and his son, he set at liberty to gratify his troops ; and when they next demanded an advance of pay, he immediately raised it to about 4*l.* a month, saying, “ I never haggle with my adopted children : they have shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing in comparison with their services.” Having exact information as to the state of the besieging army, he insultingly sent Ismael Pasha some sugar and coffee, and even offered to sell him provisions. His communication with the interior was secured by the gunboats which still commanded the lake ; by this means he was able to obtain better intelligence than the seraskier himself, and to disperse his emissaries in all directions. So well did they execute their commission, that the Suliots entered into the service of their ancient enemy, on condition of receiving 2000 purses, and being reinstated in their strong holds. Joining the armatoles under Odysseus, and 800 Zagorites under Alexis Noutza, (whose desertion seems also to have been a mere feint,) they gave a new character to the contest ; and the winter of 1820 had hardly expired, when Ali found himself unexpectedly supported by a general insurrection of the Greeks. It is possible, that he might even imagine himself to be the prime mover of a revolt to which he only furnished the stimulus of opportunity, and perhaps gave the sig-

* The proposals made were, that Vely should be nominated pasha of Acre, and Mouktar and Salik were to be appointed to *sanjakats* in Anatolia. Both of them subsequently fell by the hand of a *capiji bashi*, on the very doubtful charge of holding a secret correspondence with their father.

nal; and he talked of planting the Greek standard upon the walls of Adrianople. If this was not mere bravado, the subsequent defeat of the insurgents, by Khourshid Pasha, must have convinced him that no Greek army was likely to come to his relief.

Ismael Pasha had been superseded as seraskier by this general in the spring of 1821, but Khourshid's presence was soon required in other quarters, and it was not till November, that he re-appeared before Ioannina with a powerful reinforcement, and made preparations to carry the fortresses by storm. In the July of this year, Ali's castle on the lake had taken fire from accident, and almost all his magazines had been destroyed. Owing, it may be presumed, to this disaster, he began to be straightened about December for necessaries. Disease and desertion had reduced his garrison to 600 men; and now his chief engineer, a Neapolitan adventurer named Caretto, went over to the enemy, and perfidiously instructed the besiegers how to direct the fire of the batteries with the greatest effect. The island of the Lake was taken towards the close of December, by a small flotilla which the Turks had at length fitted out. Treachery opened to Khourshid the gates of the fortress of Litaritza soon after this; and "the Old Lion" was at length reduced to take refuge, with about sixty resolute adherents, in the citadel, to which he had previously transported provisions, all his remaining treasures, and a tremendous quantity of gunpowder. The sequel is as differently told as every other part of Ali's eventful story. The following account, given by Mr. Waddington, is stated to be derived from the official communication verbally made by the Reis Effendi to the first interpreter of the Britannic Embassy, for the information of his Excellency Lord Strangford.

“ Khourshid Pasha, informed of this arrangement, sent his silikdar to Ali, to propose to him to surrender at discretion, to restore the part of the citadel which he possessed, and to consign his treasures to that officer ; for such appeared, in the extremity to which he was reduced, to be the only rational determination which remained for him to adopt. He added, that he knew a report had been spread, that Ali had resolved, in case he should be thrown into despair, to set fire to the powder, and to blow up himself with his treasures, and all those who surrounded him ; but that this threat did not frighten him, and that if Ali did not decide immediately, he would come himself and apply the torch. Ali Pasha replied to the silikdar, that he was well assured that in his situation there was no other choice, and that he was determined to surrender as soon as he should be assured of his life.

“ The silikdar undertook to carry his answer to his master ; and returned soon afterwards to inform him, in the name of Khourshid Pasha, that the fulfilment of this request depended exclusively on the Sultan ; that the Pasha would willingly give him his good offices with his Highness, but that he could not do it with any hope of success unless Ali should previously deliver up all he possessed ; that he proposed to him consequently to effect the surrender of the fort, of the treasures, of the stores, &c. &c., and to retire and await the arrival of the resolution of the Sultan in the small island on the lake near the citadel.

“ Ali Pasha asked time at first to reflect on the decision which he should make ; at last, after several conversations with the silikdar, he consented to leave the citadel, and he retired into the island with all his little troop, with the exception of one of his trusty

friends, with whom he agreed on a signal which would instruct him whether he was to set fire to the powder, or give up all that was intrusted to his care to the officers of Khourshid Pasha.

“ The silikdar received Ali Pasha in the island, at the head of an equal number of men with that which accompanied the Vizir ; they paid him all the honour due to his rank, and, after having been treated for several days by Khourshid Pasha with the greatest respect, Ali had confidence enough to order the surrender of all that he had left in the citadel. They immediately made haste to transport the powder into a place of safety.

“ Directly afterwards, Ali Pasha requested that one of his officers who commanded a small party of a hundred men in the environs of Ioannina, might be permitted to join him in the island. Khourshid Pasha consented to this, but sent at the same time a detachment, composed of an equal number of men, to keep Ali's troops in awe.

“ Different pashas of inferior rank had been several times to visit Ali. On the 13th day of the moon Djemaziul Awwel, (the 5th of February,) Mohammed Pasha, governor of the Morea, offered to procure for Ali every possible comfort, naming particularly provisions. Ali replied to this offer, that he desired nothing more than a supply of meat ; he added, however, that he had still another wish, though his unwillingness to offend the scruples of religion forbade him to give utterance to it. Being pressed to name it, he owned that it was wine which he wished for, and Mohammed Pasha promised that he should receive it. The conversation continued for some time in the most friendly manner, till, at last, Mohammed Pasha rose to take leave. Being of the same rank, they rose at the

same moment from the sofa, according to the usual ceremony, and before leaving the room, Mohammed Pasha bowed profoundly. Ali returned the compliment, but, at the instant of his inclination, Mohammed executed the will of his sovereign, and put him to death by plunging a poniard into his left breast. He immediately quitted the apartment, and announced that Ali had ceased to exist. Some men of Mohammed's suite then entered, and divided the head from the body. The former having been shewn to the Sultan's troops as to those who had embraced the rebel's part, a strife followed, in which several men were killed. But the minds of the people were soon calmed, and all discord was appeased by shouts of 'Long live Sultan Mahmoud and his Vizir Khourshid Pasha.'''*

* M. Pouqueville must be allowed to kill Ali in his own way, and it will be confessed, he does it with more dramatic effect; but he omits to mention his authorities. "It was five o'clock," says the Historian with his accustomed precision, "when the Vizir, who was sitting opposite to the entrance gate, saw arrive with gloomy countenances, Hassan Pasha, Omer Briones, Mehemet, Khourshid's selictar, his *kafetangi*, several officers of the army, and a numerous suite. At their appearance, Ali rises with impetuosity, his hand on the pistols in his girdle. 'Stop! what do you bring me?' he exclaims to Hassan in a voice of thunder. 'The will of his Highness; do you know these august characters?'—shewing him the brilliant gilded frontispiece which adorned the firmah. 'Yes; I reverence it.' 'Well, then, submit to fate; make your ablutions; address your prayer to God and the Prophet: your head is demanded by'— 'My head,' replied Ali, furiously interrupting him, 'is not to be given up so easily.' These words were no sooner uttered, than they were followed by a pistol shot, which wounded Hassan in the thigh. With the rapidity of lightning, Ali kills the *kafetangi*, and his guards firing at the same moment on the crowd, bring down several *tchoadars*. The terrified Osmanlis flee from the pavilion. All perceives that he is bleeding: he is wounded in the breast. He roars like a bull. They fire from all parts on the kiosk, and four of his palikars fall at his side. He no longer knows where to make head. He hears the noise of assailants beneath his

Thus fell a man who, for nearly sixty years, had braved every danger and dared every crime, and who, for half that period, had virtually ruled the greater part of Continental Greece and Epirus. With regard to his character, there cannot be two opinions: it was one of pure, unsophisticated evil, with scarcely a redeeming quality; one of those rank productions of the hot-bed of Turkish despotism which are remarkable only for their enormous growth; not differing otherwise, in a moral point of view, from the vulgarest specimen. Ali Tepeleni, Djezzar, Kutchuk Ali, Mohammed Ali, have all risen to power by the same profligate means; and their biography consists of a repetition of the same crimes or intrigues. The horrible political system of which they were component parts, the government of which they were the legitimate and

feet: they fire through the wooden floor which he treads. He has just received a ball in his side; another, fired upwards from below, hits him in the vertebral column; he totters—catches at a window—falls on the sofa. ‘Run,’ he cries to one of his *tchoadars*; ‘go, my friend, and despatch poor Vasiliki’ (his favourite wife), ‘that the unhappy woman may not be outraged by these wretches.’ The door opens: all resistance is at an end. The polikars, who have ceased to defend the tyrant, throw themselves from the windows. The *selictar* of Khourshid Pasha enters, followed by executioners. Ali was yet full of life. ‘Let the justice of God be accomplished,’ said a *cadi*; and the executioners seizing, at these words, the criminal by the beard, drag him under the peristyle; there, placing his head on one of the stairs, they had to strike repeatedly with a notched cutlass before they could effect his decapitation.”—*Histoire, &c.* tom. iii. pp. 374—6. M. Pouqueville’s sentimental reflections on the agonies which Ali is represented to have suffered, and on the warning which his fate reads to tyrants, we have not thought it necessary to give. If his authority may be relied on, the head of Ali preserved something so imposing and terrible, that the Turks could not help gazing on it with a sort of stupor; Khourshid rose when it was brought him, bowed thrice, and kissed the beard of the deceased hero; and the lamentations of the warlike Epiriotes, were eloquent and unparalleled!

patronised depositaries and ministers, must be considered as, in fact, the parent of all the evil. Estimating Ali with a reference to the habits of his country, the system of his education, and the principles of his religion,—comparing him with his predecessors and his rivals,—there was nothing in his character out of nature, nothing enormous but his power. And if we consider the state of social disorder to which his strong government succeeded, the multitude of petty tyrants and brigands which he swept away to make room for the foundation of his empire, the number of smaller reptiles which this arch-serpent swallowed up, we shall be disposed to adopt Mr. Hughes's conclusion, that his government was on the whole a blessing to the inhabitants.

Nothing could be worse, that Traveller remarks, than the implacable feuds between fierce and independent tribes, and the perpetual civil dissensions which desolated the western pashaliks prior to the consolidation of Ali's power; and so lawless were the natives of the wild mountains, to such an extent did brigandage prevail, that agriculture was neglected, commerce languished, the very arts of civilization began to disappear, and the whole land presented one unvaried scene of poverty and wretchedness. But, under Ali, though all were subject to one mighty despot, no petty tyrants were permitted to exist, and protection was given equally to the Turk, the Greek, and the Albanian against the aggressions of each other. Religious toleration was freely granted, and the regularity of monarchical power had in some measure succeeded to the factions of aristocracies and republics. "There exists at present," says Mr. Hughes in 1819, "a security in these dominions, which we should seek for in vain elsewhere where the baneful influence of the

Crescent extends. A police is organized, robbers are extirpated, roads and canals are made or repaired, rivers are rendered navigable; so that the merchant can now traverse the Albanian districts with safety, and the traveller with convenience. Agriculture, in spite of all obstacles, improves; commerce increases; and the whole nation advances, perhaps unconsciously, towards higher destinies and greater happiness." *

The author and main spring of these improvements may have been licentious,—he was a Moslem; cruel and pitiless,—he was born and bred a brigand; faithless and perfidious,—he was a compound of Turk and Greek, and all mixed castes inherit the vices of both sides; besides, he had Turks and Greeks to deal with. In a word, totally devoid of religion, he was restrained by no conscientious scruples, no moral principles. But he must be admitted to have possessed at least a capacity for greatness; and he deserves to rank, in this respect, not with the Djezzars or Domitians of the earth, but with the Herods and the Napoleons.

The fall of Ali was the occasion of high satisfaction and triumph to the Porte. The exhibition of his head at the imperial gate in February 1822, and the triumphal conveyance into the capital of part of his spoils, excited a high degree of popular enthusiasm at a critical moment. Only a small part of the Pasha's gold, however, found its way into the imperial treasury; and the Porte gained but little in the substitution of one Albanian for another in the government of Epirus, when it bestowed on Omer Vrionis the pashalik of Ioannina and Arta, as the reward of his

* Hughes, vol. ii. p. 215. Some further anecdotes relating to Ali Pasha's personal character and habits will be given in the description of Ioannina. It is in a political point of view chiefly, that the historian has to contemplate him.

treachery. "Ali Pasha," remarks Mr. Leake, "may have thwarted the execution of all the measures of the Porte which tended to reduce his authority, and, in general, those which did not originate with himself; he may have transmitted a larger sum to Constantinople in the shape of presents to persons in power, than in that of tribute to the imperial treasury; and, in the latter respect, he may never have sent as much as would satisfy the wishes of Government; nevertheless, it is probable that the Porte, during his reign, was more truly master of Greece than it had ever been before, and that it derived, upon the whole, as much revenue from the country; while it is certain, that, by leaving Ali to oppose the armed Greeks to one another, and to suppress the spirit of revolt by the military strength of Albania, she most effectually secured herself against the consequences of foreign intrigues among the Christian subjects of European Turkey;—that the concentration of power in Ali's hands was the best protection which the empire could possess, on a frontier where it was (at one time) endangered by the increase of the power of France, not less than the north-eastern side was menaced by the encroachments of Russia.....Affairs, in fact, became less favourable to the future influence of the Porte over Albania, after his fall, than they had been under Ali, or than they would have been under the government of his sons." *

It appears pretty certain, that the rebellion of Ali Pasha determined, more than any other known event, the period of that extensive insurrection, for which things had long been in a course of preparation; and it seems equally clear, that the explosion was prema-

* Outline, pp. 34, 62.

ture. Other circumstances had concurred to excite that fermentation, which led to the first irregular movements in the cause of Grecian independence.

An association of Greeks, styling itself the Society of Friends (*ἡ εταιρεία φιλική*), had been formed in the dominions of Austria and Russia, about the year 1814, in imitation of the revolutionary societies then prevalent in Italy and Germany. The liberation of their country, which had long been the cherished object of the Greeks settled in those countries, was the project to which the members of the Hetaria bound themselves by oath to devote their lives and fortunes.*

* The object of the Society is thus expressed in the Romaic document cited by Mr. Waddington, from whose volume these particulars are taken: "The Hetaria consists of native Greeks, patriots, and is named the Society of the Friendly. Their object is the purification of this nation, and, with the aid of Heaven, their independence." The principal oath, or form of adjuration, contained the following clauses: "In the presence of the true God, spontaneously I swear, that I will be faithful to the Hetaria in all and through all; I will never betray the slightest portion of its acts or words; nor will I ever in any manner give even my relatives or friends to understand that I am acquainted with them. I swear, that henceforward I will not enter into any other society, or into any bond of obligation; but whatever bond, or whatever I may possess in the world, when compared with the Hetaria, I will hold as nothing. I swear, that I will nourish in my heart irreconcilable hatred against the tyrants of my country, their followers, and favourers; and I will exert every method for their injury and destruction." [Then, after two or three clauses binding the members to acts of friendship and mutual assistance, and referring to the introduction of others into the society, it proceeds.] "I swear, that I will ever so regulate my conduct, that I may be a virtuous man; I will incline with piety towards my own form of worship, without disrespectfully regarding those of foreigners; I will ever present a good example; I will aid, counsel, and support the sick, the unfortunate, and the feeble; I will reverence the government, the tribunals, and the ministers of the country in which I may be residing. Last of all, I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country (*ὦ ἱερά καὶ ἀβλῖα πατρίς*),—I swear by thy long-endured tortures,—I swear by the bitter tears which for

Its members were divided into three classes (*καθμοί*); *blamides* or chiefs, *systemeni* or coadjutors, and *hiereis* or priests. The three classes had distinct signs and private means of communication by the position of the hand and fingers, as in free-masonry; and each class had a separate cipher; though they appear to have possessed also a common method intelligible to all. The facility afforded for the admission of new members was very great, as any one member, with the privity of a second, had the power of admitting a candidate whom he deemed qualified. The requisite qualifications were, that he be a true Hellene, a zealous lover of his country, and a good and virtuous man; that he be a member of no other secret society; and that his desire to be *catechised* into the Hetaria proceed from no other motive than pure patriotism. The funds of the Hetaria are believed to have been very considerable, derived principally from the sum paid by every member on his admission. They were deposited in the hands of Greek merchants at Odessa, and were for the most part consumed by the calamitous expedition of Ypsilanti. In fact, there seems to be little doubt, that the focus of the Hetaria was in the southern provinces of Russia, and that the numerous Greek residents there, formed by far the majority of its members. Few, if any Athenians, Mr. Waddington says, were Hetaryists, and some of the principal Hydriotes, though frequently invited to become members, refused to give any countenance to the society.

so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children,—I swear by the future liberty of my countrymen,—that I consecrate myself wholly to thee; that henceforth thou shalt be the scope of my thoughts, thy name the guide of my actions, thy happiness the recompense of my labours."

With regard to the immediate originators of the society, and the author of the catechism and oath, we have at present no certain or specific information. It seems that an association of *seven* individuals had been formed as far back as the year 1792, of whom the celebrated Riga, styled the Modern Tyrtaeus, was one,* the object of which was to prepare the minds of the people for a new effort in favour of emancipation; but whether the Hetaria was in any way connected with that association, does not appear. In a memoir on the origin of the revolution, written in Greek, referred to by Mr. Waddington, it is stated, that Prince Mavrokordato, the ex-hospodar of Moldavia, conceived and executed, during his exile in Russia, as early as the year 1802, the project of forming a society of Greeks for the purpose of instructing and enlightening his countrymen. This society, it is stated, had no immediate political view: its only ostensible object was the education of Greece. Prince Mavrokordato died in 1814; and the direction of the society falling into the hands of less patient politicians, it changed its name, its nature, and principles, and became such as the *Hetaria Philike* has been described. Four persons, whose names are not mentioned, are represented

* This accomplished Greek, whose name is still held in the highest honour by his countrymen, was born in Thessaly about the year 1760, and finished his education in Italy. He subsequently made the tour of Europe. On his return home, he devoted his whole soul to the endeavour to rouse the spirit of freedom in his countrymen. In addition to his odes and songs, which are to be heard in every part of the country, he had commenced translations of the *Travels of Anacharsis*, *Marmontel's Tales*, and some other French works. He was also the first person who published a map of Greece with a nomenclature in the vernacular tongue. The seizure of Riga on the Austrian territory by Turkish emissaries, and his execution at Belgrade, with the connivance of the Imperial Government, is an indelible stain on the cabinet of Vienna.

as having then assumed the direction of it, who drew up the statutes and the formula of the terrible oath to be subscribed by the members. "The more active chiefs of the Hetaria sustained the ardour of the society by repeated promises of Russian protection; their sincerity, however, was sometimes doubted, and a Moreote named Galabi, or Galeotti, was sent to St. Petersburg to ascertain the real state of the case by a personal conference with Capo d'Istrias. That minister immediately undeceived him as to any hope of assistance from Russia, and Galabi returned to inform his countrymen; but he had scarcely set foot in the Morea when he died."*

The first operations of the Hetaria were conducted, apparently, with little prudence, since in 1815, Ali Pasha obtained possession of a copy of the catechism, which he sent to General Campbell, (at that time commander of the forces in the Ionian Isles,) for his inspection. Fortunately, the Vizir mistook the origin of the document, attributing it to some private machinations of the Philo-music society, an association purely literary, and which was fortunate enough to obtain the patronage of crowned heads.

In the year 1819, Count Capo d'Istrias visited Corfu, his native island; and his journey, whatever was its real object, excited intense interest and sanguine expectation on the part of the Hetarists, who regarded him as their great patron and protector, and were ready to hail his appearance as the hour of their

* M. Pouqueville, who affects to know all about the Hetaria, says, that it was founded in 1814 at Vienna. Mr. Blaquiere states, that its head-quarters were at St. Petersburg. The latter statement is no further correct, we imagine, than as Capo d'Istrias was looked to as its patron. As to the former, the reader will recollect Lord Byron's remark—"Pouqueville is always out."

redemption and the signal for revolt. So sudden an explosion, however, would not have coincided with the views of the wily politician. To allay the effervescence thus unintentionally excited, and to prevent any premature insurrectionary movements, he drew up a very singular document, entitled, "Observations on the Means of meliorating the Condition of the Greeks." In this paper, which has been supposed to be intended as a land-mark to direct the blind and irregular movements of the Heterists, the Writer labours more especially to inculcate the necessity of an entire devotedness to the Greek Church, and of doing nothing except through the medium and with the concurrence of the priests.* The publication of this document had for the time its intended effect. Every thing remained tolerably quiet till the period of the rebellion of Ali Pasha, which took place about a year and a half after Capo d'Istrias's visit to Corfu. "A new fermentation

* "*Quelques soient les chances des evenemens, soit que la situation actuelle de notre patrie ait à se maintenir inalterable pour des longues années, soit que la Grèce ait à subir une crise, il est toujours d'un grand intérêt ; 1e. Que la Nation soit entièrement dévoué à son Eglise, et que par là, le peuple de chaque contrée soit porté naturellement à reconnaître et à chérir les chefs qui se trouvent avoir le plus travaillé à son bonheur. 2e. Que les Pasteurs soient, autant que faire se pourra, les organes de ce grand résultat. 3e. Que l'instruction publique soit identifiée à celle du Clergé, que l'une ne puisse jamais se détacher de l'autre, moins encore être en divergence.*" "*Fils de notre Sainte Mère Eglise, nous sommes tous frères,*" is the first sentence in this document. But why confide education exclusively to the hands of an illiterate and degraded priesthood, which is admitted to require almost entire re-organisation? "For this plain reason," remarks Mr. Waddington, "that, in any matter of political importance, the Greek priesthood were quite sure to be the machine of the only power in Europe professing the Greek religion. Here it is, then, that we discover the ambiguous features of the political Heterist. Under the well-disposed drapery of the patriot of Greece, it is here that we recognise the minister of Russia."

was then perceived throughout Greece, and all the springs of the Hetaria were once more put in motion. Agents or members of that body, styling themselves apostles, pressed down in swarms from the banks of the Danube, the Dniester, and the Dnieper, and proclaimed by their presence the approach of the crisis which they were hastening by their exhortations. The sedative which had proved formerly of so much avail, was again administered; and during the winter of 1820-1, written copies of the "Observations" were once more distributed. But the disease had increased in violence, or the medicine had lost its efficacy, and the voice of moderation and policy was lost in the explosion of the Greek Revolution."*

The time originally fixed by the Hetaria for carry-

* Waddington, p. 1. These "Apostles" (as they were styled by their employer), were known to the lower classes, Mr. Blaquiere says, only under the denomination of philosophers. Their appearance in Greece coincided with the first movements of Ypsilanti. "They went about," says Mr. Blaquiere, "circulating reports that the Sultan had declared his resolution of transporting all the Greeks into Asia Minor, and establishing Turkish colonies, drawn from that portion of the empire, in their place; that Prince Alexander was abetted and supported by Russia, and that he was marching at the head of a large force upon Constantinople. Some of them affected to imitate the language and gestures of the old Grecian orators; and a ludicrous scene occurred at Spezzia, where an apostle, who had proposed Demosthenes as his model, mounted a rostrum, and freely indulged in such reproaches as that great master of his art used not unfrequently to address to his countrymen; but the Spezziots, less accustomed to such harangues, and by no means so gifted with patience as the Athenians, pulled the modern censor from his pedestal, and rewarded his frankness with a sound drubbing. On the whole, however, these emissaries produced a great effect; their reports were greedily swallowed by the people, while the Greeks, influenced by their characteristic ardour, neither lost a moment in deliberation, nor in waiting for more correct information of what was passing elsewhere, but rushed at once into the enterprise."—BLAQUIERE, p. 96.

ing its great enterprise into execution, is said to have been the year 1825. The quarrel between Ali and the Porte, the seditious attitude of Servia, and the discontents in Wallachia and Moldavia, which, in February 1821, had broken out into open acts of violence, were the circumstances which led to the firing of the train. On the 7th of March, 1821, Alexander Ypsilanti, then a major-general in the Russian service, and son of a former Greek governor of Wallachia, entered Moldavia with a Greek corps, and, in concert with Michael Sutzo, the reigning viceroy, issued a proclamation calling on the Christians to take up arms, and promising them, in not very ambiguous terms, the support of Russia. This, he was not only unauthorised to promise, but, if the Greek authority cited by Mr. Waddington may be relied upon, he knew would not be afforded. It is stated that, not long after the first deputation from the Morea had waited on the Russian minister at St. Petersburg, Ypsilanti had allowed himself to be called to the direction of the Hetaria,* and having obtained a two year's leave of absence from his military duties, had fixed his head-quarters at Kischenow, where he took measures to organise the insurrection. The Moreotes, however, still distrustful, sent two other deputies to ascertain the real posture of affairs; one to St. Petersburg, the other to Kischenow. "The latter became the dupe of Ypsilanti, and returned to the Morea with a fictitious ukase, in which the Emperor was made to hold language the most favourable to the Greeks and the most hostile against the Porte. Camarina, the other deputy, repaired direct

* " *Il se declara l'organ officiel de cette puissance occulte ; il crea des Ephoris, ou committees dirigeants sur divers points de la Grece ; il leur recommanda l'emploi de tous les moyens propres à seduire les Grecs, à organiser l'insurrection.*"—WADDINGTON, p. lv.

to St. Petersburg. There he had an interview with Count Capo d'Istrias, who, not content with giving an express verbal disavowal of Ypsilanti's enterprise, put into the hands of the Moreote deputy, circular letters for the primates of the Peninsula, in which he pointed out the abyss into which the attempt was likely to precipitate them. But Camarina was to share the fate of Galabi: just as he was about to embark at Galatez to cross the Danube, he died by the hand of an assassin, and his death again intercepted that intelligence respecting the true state of the case, which the Moreotes had twice attempted to obtain. Ypsilanti then attempted to excite the Servians to revolt; but his papers were intercepted by the Turkish authorities at the passage of the Ada on the Danube, and discovered his designs. The emperor Alexander, moreover, who was then at Laybach, having immediately disavowed the proceedings of Ypsilanti and Sutzo, the issue of the attempt could not long be doubtful. After some acts of cruelty on both sides, the expedition ended in the evacuation of Yassy by Ypsilanti, and of Bukarest by Theodore, chief of the Vlakho-Moldavian insurgents, whom Ypsilanti shortly afterwards seized and put to death.* He himself, after a single encounter with the Turks, which exhausted his resources, was compelled to flee into the Austrian dominions, where he was immediately seized by the government, and thrown into a dungeon."

Thus, then, it would seem that the insurrection was immediately produced by the artifices and false representations of Ypsilanti, who made use of the machinery

* M. Pouqueville says, that Theodore had betrayed to the Grand Vizir the projects of Ypsilanti and the Hetarists, in the hope of obtaining for himself the government of Wallachia.

of the Hetaria for the accomplishment of his schemes. A Russian subject, whose activity in exciting revolutionary movements in Greece during the autumn of 1820, can be sufficiently proved, is supposed to have been either his agent or his dupe. What were Ypsilanti's motives for thus rashly embarking in so desperate an enterprise, in direct opposition to the advice of the Russian minister, can only be matter of surmise. Was he in the confidence or in the pay of the Vizir of Ioannina? It seems to be nearly certain, that Ali Pasha had at least information of his designs. "Only assist me *till March*," he said to the Suliots, "and the Sultan will then have enough upon his hands." In March, Ypsilanti issued his proclamation. At another time during the siege of his castle, the Vizir declared, that in a few months he would shake the empire, and that those who attacked him should tremble even in the heart of Constantinople. "Exe-crable city!" he exclaimed; "before he dies, Ali shall yet behold thy palaces in ashes."*

That a grand plot was formed at Constantinople for the burning of the city and the murder of the Sultan, Mr. Waddington says, is not at all generally doubted; and the contemporaneous seizure of all the Turkish fortresses in the Morea, was another part of the same extensive conspiracy. The existence of some such conspiracy is established by the fact, that the principal merchants of the Islands had, as early as the October preceding, recalled the greater part of their vessels, which were detained in port in condition for immediate service. And it was the detection of this plot by the Turkish Government, that is said to have forced the conspiracy into action before it was ripe, or the

* Pouqueville, tom. ii. p. 163.

arrangements necessary for its success had been completed. The prematurity and failure of Ypsilanti's expedition, are attributed to this circumstance.* Nothing, however, can justify Ypsilanti's disingenuous concealment of the unfavourable disposition of the Russian court, and the false information by which he deceived his fellow patriots. The only probable explanation of his conduct is, that being as vain as he was ambitious, and having committed himself by holding out the idea that he was countenanced by his own Government,—a supposition which he knew to be essential to his success,—he could not brook that the truth should be discovered; he therefore resolved at all hazards and by all means to drive on his projects, in the hope that, if successful, he should be able to justify his conduct.†

* Waddington, pp. vi. lxxviii. M. Raffeneil, in his "poetical History of the Revolution," (as Mr. Waddington justly characterises it,) affirms that the Porte received its first information of the meditated revolt, from the British ambassador, Lord Strangford. The fact is, that his Excellency did not reach Constantinople till the 21st of February, and Ypsilanti was issuing proclamations at Yassy on the 6th of March; an interval which would not have allowed of the requisite communications. Ypsilanti's letters to the Servians had indeed been intercepted by the Turks some weeks prior to Lord Strangford's arrival. Such a conspiracy, however, had it come to his Lordship's knowledge, it would have been hardly consistent with his diplomatic character not to reveal. M. Raffeneil belongs to the same school as M. Pouqueville. An amusing specimen of his learning and accuracy may be given, in his etymology of the word Hetarists, which he writes *Ætheristes*. "It would be difficult," he says, "to give the exact sense which the Moldavians attach to this word: they intend to express by it all the purity of their intentions,—the sublimity of their enterprise. It is the Greek word *ÆTHER* in all its force."

† M. Pouqueville gives the following portrait of Ypsilanti: "Destitute of talent (*dépourvu de talents*), but educated, according to the custom of the *sol-disant* princes of the Phanal, by preceptors who had taught him to speak correctly several languages, he was

Transitory as were the effects of this rash and ill-conducted enterprise in the Dacian provinces, it had the greatest influence, in connexion with the rebellion of Ali Pasha, in exciting the insurrection in Greece. The example of resistance was set, towards the end of March, by Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, who, having been summoned to the capital, had proceeded as far as Kalavryta, when, finding the people, together with a body of *armatoli*, well disposed to his views, he openly raised the standard of independence. This was immediately followed by a similar manifestation at Patras; but there, the attempt had no other effect than to cause the destruction of the town, while the castle, being strongly garrisoned, remained in the possession of the Turks. The *Mainotes*, descending from their rugged mountains, speedily occupied the plains of Laconia and Messenia. . Before the end of April, a senate had assembled at Kalamata, and the fleet of Hydra had proceeded to the little island of Psara, which, strong in its fortified rock and numerous ships, had been among the first to set the example of

learned without possessing that masculine knowledge which is the result of well-directed study; a poet without inspiration; amiable without urbanity; a soldier without being warlike, although he had lost the right arm at the battle of Culm. But what especially characterised Alexander Ypsilanti was, the vanity common to the Phanariots, their spirit of intrigue, the ambitious end of which terminated in becoming *hospodars* of the brutish nations of ancient Dacia, and a feebleness of character which shewed itself in his suffering himself to be ruled by persons unworthy of his confidence."—*Histoire*, tom. ii. p. 307. What persons are alluded to, the Historian does not explain. Mr. Waddington says, that proofs were presented at the congress of Verona, of a correspondence of some extent between the Greek patriots and the *Carbonari*, and that the revolution of Naples was hailed by the misguided *Heterists* as the beacon of liberty.

insurrection, although situated on the advanced posts of the enemy.

In the mean time, orders had been transmitted by the Porte to all the pashas, instantly to disarm all the Greek population; and the signal for a war of extermination was given by Sultan Mahmoud and his janissaries at Constantinople. On the 22d of April, being Easter-day, the greatest of the Greek festivals, Gregorius, patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Greek Church, acknowledged and appointed by the Porte, and who had recently issued his anathemas against the insurgents, was seized and hanged before the patriarchal church in which he had been officiating; and, as a consummation of ignominy in the eyes of the Greeks, his body was delivered to Jews to be dragged through the streets. This murder was accompanied or speedily followed by that of several other ecclesiastics of the highest rank, in the capital and other parts of the empire, as well as by that of many other Greeks of every class.* The motive for these atrocious proceedings, was probably the hope of terrifying the Greeks into submission; but they excited more indignation than terror, and only tended to make the insurrection universal. The destruction of several

* Mr. Blaquiere says, that the number of Greeks *sacrificed* during the first three months of the contest, is estimated at 30,000; but this must be intended to include those who fell in different conflicts, and even then is doubtless an exaggeration. The murder of the patriarch was preceded by that of Prince Morousi, "one of the most enlightened and patriotic men possessed by Modern Greece." Three archbishops are stated to have been hung at the very threshold of the church, besides the primate, who was upwards of seventy years of age. He is stated to have been a man of unaffected piety and simplicity of manners; and it is no slight testimony to his worth, that he is said to have died poor.

Greek churches heightened the exasperation of the Christians, and a general conviction prevailed, that these proceedings were but a prelude to an intended extermination of the whole nation. The priesthood of the islands of the Morea, thinking themselves to be peculiarly marked out for destruction, did not hesitate to increase the ferment by their spiritual influence, and to inspire the rebellion with all the energy and malignity of religious warfare. Hence, neither the reverses in the Dacian provinces and the overthrow of the Heterists, nor the failure of the conspiracy at Constantinople, prevented the prosecution of the warfare in Greece, where the fond persuasion that Russia was on the eve of a rupture with the Porte, contributed to sustain the enthusiasm and exertions of the insurgents.

Hydra, Psara, and Spezzia were able to enter upon the naval campaign with a force of between eighty and ninety vessels, of the average bulk of 250 tons and the average strength of 12 guns. Fifty or sixty of a smaller class, and many others still smaller, were supplied by the other islands. In the latter end of May, the inferiority of the Turkish marine in skill and enterprise, was shewn in the loss of one of their two-decked ships of war, which, having been separated from the Turkish squadron near Lesbos, was burned by a Hydriot fire-ship. Soon after Midsummer, not only in the Morea, but throughout a great part of Northern Greece, as far as Salonika, the Turks had retired into the large towns and fortified places, all the mountains and open country being either in the hands of the Greeks or exposed to their incursions. Agents had been sent to Europe for the purchase of arms and ammunition; many volunteers, Franks as well as Greeks, had arrived in the Morea; and

some generous contributions of money and stores had been received, both from foreigners and from opulent Greek merchants settled in different European sea-ports.

The native Greeks who took the lead in the Peninsula were, Petros Bey, since better known under the name of Mavromikhali, who had been nominated Bey of Maina by the Sultan ; Constantine Kolokotroni, in person an Ajax, who, like his father, had long been a *capitanos* of *armatoli* in the Morea, and had held military rank in both the Russian and the English service ; Demetrius Ypsilanti, who, like his brother Alexander, was an officer in the Russian army ; and Alexander Mavrokordato,* also of a distinguished Fanariot family. Demetrius, who reached Hydra in June from Trieste, bore a commission from his brother, appointing him general in chief of all the forces in Greece. He was received by the Hydriots with discharges of artillery and other demonstrations of joy. Among his followers were a younger brother of Prince Cantacuzene and an individual named Condiotti, who had been *valet de chambre* to Count Capo d'Istrias. On proceeding to the Morea, Ypsilanti assumed the command of the patriot army before Tripolitza, which was readily conceded to him, under the idea that he had brought with him large sums of money and a quantity of military stores. But this illusion soon vanished ; and as soon as the disastrous issue of his brother's expedition became known, little disposition was shewn to defer to his authority. Condiotti soon withdrew, not without having incurred suspicion of being one of those who had embezzled part of the sums raised by the Heterists. Affendouli, another deter-

* Mavrokordato joined the army in August.

mined partisan of Russia, went to Crete, and obtained the command of the insurgent troops in that island, but was subsequently obliged to flee, being driven away as an impostor.

Demetrius, however, is generally represented to be a high-minded and honourable man, courteous, humane, and disinterested.* He was now not more than twenty-two years of age; and his situation, alike delicate and arduous, called at once for more than the energy of youth, tempered by the counsels of age. "Ypsilanti," says Mr. Blaquiere, "had two import-

* Mr. Waddington, who found him living at Tripolitza in 1823, in perfect privacy, characterises him as "an honest, well-meaning, disinterested patriot," but, unfortunately, possessed of "neither wealth, talents, nor physical power sufficient to qualify him for any eminent situation, civil or military; and the magic of his name had nearly passed away." "His violent personal jealousy of Mavrokordato will prevent him, I fear," adds this writer, "from any cordial co-operation with a person whose energies are proved by every collision to be so far superior to his own." Count Pecchio thus describes him. "He is bald, short in stature, and of a slight form; but if nature has not gifted him with a military presence, I was assured that he had always shewn himself intrepid in war. He adopts the European habits, and speaks French well." "Though considered deficient in energy," says Captain Humphreys, "he possesses tried personal courage, great judgement and discrimination of character, sincere patriotism, disinterestedness, and integrity, little common in Greece; and though by descent a Fanariot, is not addicted to intrigue. His predilections appear Russian; but I believe no Greek has the welfare of his country more sincerely at heart. His shyness is much to his disadvantage in his intercourse with strangers, but to his intimates he shews an amiable character; and I have observed, the officers and dependents of his suite have never left him in his retirement." "His greatest fault, perhaps," says Mr. Blaquiere, "is that of not possessing sufficient energy, and being too mild for the circumstances in which he was placed, and the men with whom he had to act. . . . Although no man had deeper reasons for hating the Turks, yet he constantly interposed to save them from insult and ill-treatment when vanquished; and by example as well as precept, endeavoured to check the excesses inseparable from such a war."

ant objects in view : one of these was, to establish a general and central government for all Greece ; the other, to put the army upon a regular footing, and to assimilate it to the troops of Europe. Both the above designs met with numberless obstacles ; the first would have destroyed the influence of many interested individuals, who were at the head of different states of the confederation, and the second was calculated to lessen the power of the military chiefs. The captains and ephors therefore joined in opposing them, and in other respects created such difficulties as to render the situation of the Prince exceedingly irksome. In the meanwhile, two events occurred, which, though favourable to the cause of independence, tended, by their consequences, to exasperate Ypsilanti still more. The strong fortresses of Malvasia and Navarin surrendered to the patriots in August. The former, situated on the eastern coast of Laconia, is a place very difficult to reduce, being built on a rock washed on every side by the Egean sea, and communicating with the continent only by a bridge. Defended in this quarter by a strong treble wall, it is inaccessible at every other point, containing within itself sources of excellent water, and a small patch of cultivated land, sufficient to support a garrison of fifty or sixty men. Below this impregnable citadel, is a port and suburb, where most of the inhabitants reside. The Greeks had kept it closely blockaded both by sea and land, since the month of April ; Cantacuzene arrived in the camp about the middle of July, and took the command. Famine had already made dreadful havoc amongst the Mahometans, who, after prolonging their existence by the most unnatural aliments, were at length reduced to feed on human flesh, eating their prisoners, and even their own children. Nor was this a solitary in-

stance, as most of the strong holds in the Peloponnesus presented similar examples. To such extremities will men go, in obedience to the great and irresistible law of self-preservation. But while the majority of the population was thus suffering, the governor, shut up with two hundred soldiers in the citadel, enjoyed abundance, and gave himself no trouble about the fate of his countrymen in the lower town. These last were disposed to furnish rather than trust to the mercy of the peasants and Mainotes, who were investing the place; but the arrival of Prince Cantacuzene having inspired them with some degree of confidence, they ventured to open a negotiation. Full protection was stipulated for their lives, moveable property, and the honour of their families; it was also agreed, that they should be transported in Greek vessels to the coast of Anatolia. On the faith of these assurances, a part of the inhabitants got into the castle by stratagem, seized and disarmed the governor and his troops, and on the 3d of August, opened the gates to the besiegers.

“ Prompted by those feelings of irritation and revenge which have been so often betrayed under similar circumstances, and impressed with a notion that the garrison was not entitled to the benefits of a capitulation entered into with the inhabitants of the town, the Greek soldiery, strangers to discipline, fell on the former, of whom numbers perished. To the credit of Cantacuzene, it should be added, that he displayed equal prudence and firmness on this occasion, interposing his authority with such effect, as to save a number of lives; and he eventually succeeded in putting a stop to the excesses, though not without considerable risk from his own soldiers, who conceived they were only retaliating the countless murders previously committed by the infidels. Considering the relative situ-

ation of the parties now opposed, and the nature of the war, it could hardly be expected that the minor articles of the capitulation should be very scrupulously observed. The Turks were, however, shipped off in three Ipsariot vessels, and landed on a small island close to the Asiatic coast, whence they reached the continent. Though the Greeks have been reproached for this act, they can scarcely be blamed for not entering an Ottoman port, well knowing that such a step would have been attended with certain death.

“ Navarin, which also surrendered soon after, was the theatre of another tragedy, to which none but wars between slaves and their task-masters ever give rise. Well fortified, and possessing one of the finest harbours in Europe, this city is built in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Pylos. It was ably defended by the Turks, who made several vigorous sorties, but at last, every kind of sustenance being exhausted, after devouring even their slippers, they were forced to capitulate. Ypsilanti had sent one of the best and most distinguished of his friends, Tipaldo the Cephalonian, to conduct the siege. Tipaldo was a man of virtue and abilities, who, after practising as a physician in Bessarabia with great success, abandoned the rising prospect of wealth to take his part in the national war. He manifested great spirit, at the head of some Ionians, in the various actions which were fought under the walls, and it was his presence that chiefly induced the Turks to treat about a surrender; for such was their obstinate resolution, that they had placed barrels of gunpowder under their houses, with the intention of blowing up the town, when a longer resistance should become impossible: the same terms were granted here as at Malvasia. It was while the siege of both these places had been carrying on, that the news of the

patriarch's murder, and that of the Greek clergy at Adrianople, together with the profanation of the Christian churches throughout the empire, spread through Greece: the fury of the troops, worked up to madness, was therefore vented on the garrison, of whom a considerable number were sacrificed. Tipaldo endeavoured in vain to arrest the heart-rending spectacle: the infuriated soldiery answered his exhortations by citing some act of personal suffering or oppression, and directing his attention to the recent massacres of the capital and other places.

“ These disorders, joined to the opposition he experienced in other respects, roused the indignation of Ypsilanti, who determined to withdraw until a clearer understanding could be established. He accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he inveighed bitterly against the cruelties and indiscipline of the Peloponnesians, and giving up the command, proceeded to Leondari. The primates and captains being, however, alarmed at this step, sent a deputation to the place of his retreat, and persuaded him to resume his functions as generalissimo.” *

In the mean time, Samos and most of the islands in the Archipelago had followed the example of Hydra; and the presence of Ottoman garrisons, reinforced from Anatolia, alone kept Lesbos, Rhodes, and Scio in subjection. Ten thousand Syrian troops were also transported into Cyprus, and the horrible atrocities committed there, without an attempt at a rising on the part of the inhabitants, formed a counterpart to those of the capital.† In the month of June, the

* Blaquiere, pp. 125—130. Cantacuzene quitted Greece altogether in disgust in October, and repaired to Italy.

† The number of Christians who perished in Cyprus, is estimated, somewhat too roundly, at 10,000.

Greek marine, emboldened by their successes, are believed to have been meditating an attack on Smyrna, when intelligence was brought them that Kydonies (Haivali) was menaced by the Turks. The contest which followed, by which that opulent and flourishing town was reduced to a heap of cinders, forms a melancholy episode in the history of the Revolution.*

The capture of Navarin and Malvasia was followed by the investment of Tripolitza, of which Ypsilanti undertook the superintendence. This place, which is of modern origin, is built on the southern edge of a long and elevated plain, surrounded with the bleak and rugged mountains anciently known as Mount Mænalus, about half way between the ancient Arcadian cities of Mantinea and Tegea. "The town," Mr. Blaquiere says, "is irregularly constructed, mostly of stone, with narrow, dirty, and crooked streets, having on the whole a very mean appearance. With respect to the fortifications, they consist of a wall of masonry nine feet high, six feet thick at the bottom, three at the top, and furnished with a double row of ill-contrived loop-holes: at about two-thirds of its height from the ground, runs a narrow and inconvenient banquette, which can only be ascended by flights of steps, placed at unequal distances for this purpose. Instead of bastions, there are demi-towers at different points, where cannon are placed, the rest of the wall being only defended by musketry. A citadel has been constructed west of the town, and on a somewhat more regular plan, with casements whose roofs are bomb-proof; but as these are open at the sides, and the whole interior space is extremely small, it is in-

* For an account of this interesting colony and its catastrophe, see *Mod. Trav., Syria, &c.*, vol. ii. pp. 175, 194.

capable of defence, if regularly attacked. The artillery, composed of thirty pieces of brass, and partly of old iron guns, many of them honeycombed, was mounted on loose blocks of wood, instead of carriages, and but very indifferently supplied with ammunition or shot. Besides these disadvantages, another rocky eminence, commanding the town and citadel, within little more than two hundred yards, completely screens the approaches of a besieging army."

Besides its own population of about 25,000 persons, Tripolitza now contained an influx of Turks from all quarters; especially fugitives from Londari, and almost the entire population of Bardunia, (a part of Mount Taygetum,) consisting of a colony of Mohammedan Albanians, resembling the Mainotes, their neighbours, alike in their warlike disposition and predatory habits. In addition to these, the town was garrisoned by between 3 and 4000 men, half of them Albanians, under the command of the *kihaya* (lieutenant) of Khourshid Pasha. The Greeks were at first very inferior in numbers, and many of them were scarcely armed; they had no cavalry, and their artillery consisted only of five or six cannon and two mortars, managed by a few European adventurers. The hopes of the besiegers depended on cutting off the supplies of the town; but their opponents had a formidable cavalry, and so long as the Turkish horses were fit for service, the Greeks did not attempt to occupy the plain. As the ground is entirely parched up in autumn, and the only forage consisted of vine-leaves, the Mussulman cavalry were gradually ruined, and the Greeks were enabled to render the blockade closer, by posting themselves in the hamlets round the town. Frequent skirmishes were brought on by the attempts of the Turks to penetrate into the vineyards, and on or

occasion, a detachment, who had made a sally on a foraging expedition, fell into an ambuscade on returning, and were defeated by Kolokotroni with the loss of a hundred men. Provisions soon began to get scarce, and the besiegers having cut the pipes that conveyed water to the town, the distress both of the garrison and the other inhabitants became excessive. An epidemic disease committed great ravages; and symptoms of mutiny were discovered among the Albanians. Towards the middle of September, the besieged were led to cherish some hopes of relief by the intelligence of the arrival of the Turkish fleet, which, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Kalamata, and throwing supplies into Mothoni and Koroni, had been joined at Patras by some Algerine ships and by the Capitan-bey, who had been employed on the coast of Epirus against Ali Pasha. This hope of succour, however, was soon dissipated. Ypsilanti having proceeded to occupy the Arcadian passes towards Patras, no attempt was made from that quarter to relieve Tripolitza. One cause of this inactivity on the part of the Turkish commander, was the failure of an attempt, made in the early part of the month, to penetrate from Thessaly into Bœotia. The Turkish forces had been met by the insurgents at Fondana, in the pass leading from the head of the Maliac Gulf over Mount Cnemis into Phocis, and had been obliged to retreat with considerable loss. No hope remained, therefore, of any co-operation by way of the Isthmus.

At length, the Ottomans began to make some indirect overtures for a capitulation; but the absence of Ypsilanti and of the Europeans who accompanied him, having put an end to any thing wearing the semblance of a regular army, it was impossible to arrange any

terms in which the besieged could place confidence; nor were they agreed among themselves. In fact, there seems to have been an end to all discipline and concert on both sides. While the *kihaya* was treating with an officer of Ypsilanti's staff, left behind for that purpose by the Prince, the Bardouniots were negotiating with the Bey of Maina, and the Albanians with Kolokotroni. The latter soon came to an understanding: it was agreed that they should be allowed to return to Epirus, to enter the service of Ali Pasha. On the 1st of October, the Bardouniots, to the number of 2,500, came out and surrendered to the Mainotes. Several rich Turks and Jews purchased the promise of a safe conduct from Kolokotroni and Mavromikhali; but these chiefs, though they received the price of their engagements, were not able to execute them. "On the 5th of October, some of their followers, having discovered what was passing, and being resolved not to be defrauded of their expected plunder by the selfish avidity of their leaders, assaulted the walls on the northern side, and were speedily followed into the city by all the besieging army."*

* Leake's Outline, p. 54. Mr. Blaquiere's account of the transaction is as follows: "On the 5th of October, a *verbal* capitulation is said to have been agreed upon; but scarcely was it concluded, when a fortuitous circumstance rendered the compact of no avail, and brought on a terrible catastrophe. A few Greek soldiers, having approached the gate of Argos, entered into conversation with the Turkish sentinels, and began as usual to barter fruit. The Turks were imprudent enough to assist them in mounting the wall, with a large basket of grapes, in exchange for which they gave their arms; but no sooner had the Greeks gained the summit, than they hurled down the unguarded Mahometans; opened the gate, the only one that was walled up, to their comrades, and displayed the standard of the cross above it. When this emblem was perceived from the camp, it acted like an electric shock; the whole Christian army instantly rushed from all sides to the assault, and

For two days, the town was given up to the unbridled fury and vengeance of a savage soldiery. Every kind of excess which a thirst for plunder, the wantonness of cruelty, and the lust of revenge could instigate, was perpetrated by the victors. "The Arcadian peasants, naturally fierce and ungovernable, and who had long suffered every species of outrage and indignity from the haughty Moslems of Tripolitza, shewed themselves both cruel and relentless towards their fallen oppressors; while the Mainotes, less greedy of blood than of spoil, secured the largest share of booty. About 6000 Turks are said to have perished, and some thousands were made prisoners, while numbers escaped to the mountains. The loss of the Greeks was never very exactly known, but was estimated at 500 killed and wounded. The Albanians, to the number of fifteen hundred, marched out of the town as the Greeks entered, without the least hostility passing between them, and were escorted by 500 of Kolokotroni's troops to Vostizza, whence they crossed over to Romelia. On finding themselves, however, on the other side, out of danger, the remainder of their march was marked by the greatest excesses."

the disorder, once begun, could not be stopped, for the Turks immediately opened a brisk fire of cannon and small arms upon them from the citadel and ramparts. The principal Greek officers, who certainly could not have restrained their men, were drawn away by the torrent: Colocotroni was one of the last to hear what was passing, and as he would not deign to follow the steps of any other captain, he determined to force a passage for himself, so that his troops suffered severely. After the gates were broken down and the walls scaled, a furious struggle was maintained in the streets and houses; but the Peloponnesians, flushed with victory and spurred on by vengeance, were irresistible; and before sunset, all opposition was quelled in the blood of the unfortunate Moslems. The citadel, where a large body of Turks had taken refuge, having held out till the following evening, surrendered at discretion."

The barbarous conduct of the conquerors of Tripolitza has been very unfairly adduced by the enemies of the Greeks, in order to throw discredit on their cause. Mr. Blaquiere asks: "What means did they possess of guarding the Turks as prisoners, or of sending them out of the country? A scarcity bordering on famine had already overspread the land. Patras, Corinth, Modon, Coron, and Napoli were still in the hands of the enemy; a formidable Turkish fleet was at sea, and an Algerine squadron was cruising among the islands of the Archipelago." It may be questioned, however, whether considerations like these weighed with the victors. It is a more direct exculpation of the leaders in the cause, that Ypsilanti was absent; that there existed, in fact, neither concert between the chiefs, nor discipline among the troops; that the besieging force consisted in great measure of a lawless peasantry, who had long smarted under oppression; and that the war in which they were engaged was, on the part of the Turks, a war of extermination.* The Greek chiefs are stated most sincerely to have lamented the excesses committed on the occasion; excesses, nevertheless, execrable as they were, that have attended, in a thousand instances, the progress

* Many were the fathers and husbands, we are told, who were drawn to Tripolitza for no other purpose than to be avenged for the robberies and nameless injuries that had been perpetrated by Turkish troops. "The palace of the bey at Tripolitza, was one of those which afforded the greatest facility for defence to the Turks. When the assault commenced, 700 of the infidels shut themselves up here, and continued to fire on the Greeks from the windows, until the latter were obliged to set it on fire to dislodge their opponents. Such was the horror in which this edifice was held, that the Greek peasantry rased the walls to the ground, rather than suffer the sight to offend their eyes, and remind them of those terrific scenes of which it had been the theatre."

of the disciplined troops of the Christian powers of Europe.

On the 15th of October, Prince Demetrius, having hastened back on receiving intelligence of the fall of Tripolitza, made his public entry into the capital. "Nothing," says Mr. Blaquiere, "could be more deplorable than the appearance of the town: not a single door-lock, and scarcely a nail was left, the Mainotes having carried off every thing of that description. The plunder was taken home on the backs of their wives, who came down in great numbers for this purpose from their native fortresses. Ypsilanti had intended to appropriate the lead which covered the mosques, to the public service, but it had all been stripped off. When every other portable article was gone, peasants were seen driving away their asses loaded with doors and window-shutters. Of the immense booty, nothing was assigned to the exigencies of the nation, except the artillery: every thing else became private property. Most of the chiefs and primates enriched themselves; the Prince alone sternly refused to convert any thing to his own use. The streets were incumbered with dead bodies; even the houses were filled with the slain of either party; while the mountaineers and shepherds, accustomed to dwell in rocks and woods, had now established their bivouacs amidst the broken fragments of oriental luxury. Fires broke out in the town every night, and the Prince himself was burnt out of his quarters a few days after his arrival. The only thing that occupied the Greeks, was the unequal manner in which the spoils had been shared. Complaints were heard on every side, and while some wished to conceal their gains, others murmured loudly at being defrauded of a fair portion. Ypsilanti's first object was

to put an end to the great confusion that prevailed. He certainly succeeded in restoring some degree of order, but this was chiefly owing to the breaking up of the army, which gradually dispersed and melted away, carrying into the furthest corners of the Peloponnesus those discontents and heart-burnings, the seeds of which were sown at the sacking of Tripolitza. There now remained only the regular troops, consisting of one battalion of infantry and a company of artillery, with the retinue of some captains; a force scarcely sufficient to guard the Turkish prisoners.

“The Greeks had always pointed to the reduction of this place as the period when disorder and anarchy were to cease, and to be replaced by a regularly-organised system of government. It had now fallen; but such were the difficulties opposed to this most desirable object, that the event seemed only to have imbittered the dissensions of the leading men. Perceiving that his plans of melioration were opposed with scarcely less pertinacity than before, and that his influence was every day declining, Ypsilanti resolved to submit all the disputed points to a national congress, which was summoned to meet at Tripolitza. But a contagious disease, which broke out there in the beginning of November, spread with such rapidity, aggravated, probably, by the great number of putrefying carcasses, that it was found necessary to abandon the place altogether for a short time. The assembly was therefore convoked at Argos, whither the prince repaired, to attend the deliberations.”

Ypsilanti had another object in view in going to Argos; he wished to push the siege of Napoli di Romania, for which Colonel Voutier, a French officer, who at that time commanded the Greek artillery, had been actively engaged in making preparations. A

report having been spread, that that place was on the point of capitulating, thousands of peasants were soon collected from all quarters, attracted by the hope of sharing its spoils. They were, however, disappointed this time of their prey. On the 16th of December, an attempt was made to take the town by escalade; but, owing to a want of concert among the leaders and the misconduct of the native troops, the assailants were repulsed, with the loss of about thirty men in killed and wounded, while the scaling-ladders were carried off in triumph by the Turks. At Patras, too, the besiegers were routed by Yusuff Pasha, and Mavrokordato narrowly escaped in a boat. Galaxidhi, a flourishing Greek town on the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, had been burned by the fleet of the Capitan Pasha, at the beginning of October, when between thirty and forty Greek ships which were lying there, fell into the hands of the Turks, who, by this operation, became undisputed masters of the Gulf. In Macedonia, the insurrection wore an aspect not much more promising. Cassandra, where the Christians had strongly intrenched themselves, was taken by storm by the Pasha of Salonika on the 12th of November, and Mount Athos capitulated shortly afterwards. Such was the state of affairs at the close of the first campaign.

After the check sustained at Napoli, Prince Demetrius returned to Argos, and frequent meetings of the deputies collected from various points of the confederacy, were held at his quarters. On the arrival of Mavrokordato, however, Ypsilanti soon found the number of his partisans fall off; nor could he conceal the jealousy and aversion with which he regarded his more popular rival. But his attention was now called away to another quarter, and he left the scene of legis-

lation and intrigue, to join the troops before Corinth. Early in December, with a view to greater security, the Congress resolved to transfer their sittings to Epidaurus, in the Gulf of Egina. By the middle of the month, the number of representatives who had assembled there, exclusive of Mavrokordato and the military chiefs, exceeded sixty: they consisted of ecclesiastics, proprietors, merchants, and civilians who had for the most part received a liberal education in Western Europe. Their first act was to name a commission to draw up a political code; and on the 1st of January, 1822, was put forth the memorable declaration of Independence.* The draft of the provisional constitution† was presented at the same time; but, as many of the articles required to be discussed, it was not promulgated till the 27th, when the code was solemnly proclaimed amid the acclamations of the deputies, the soldiery, and the people.

By this legislative act, the established religion in Greece is declared to be that of the Orthodox Eastern Church, with full toleration of all other forms of worship. The government is composed of the senate and the executive power. The senators are to be annually chosen. The executive power is composed of five members, taken from the legislative body, and the president and vice-president are annual officers. The judicial power, formed of eleven members, chosen by the government, is declared to be independent of both

* “ In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. The Greek Nation, wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representatives, met in a national assembly, its Independence.”

† ΗΡΟΣΩΡΙΝΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ.

the senate and the executive. Civil and criminal justice is to be regulated according to the legislation of the Greek emperors; and with respect to all mercantile affairs, the French commercial code is to have the force of law in Greece.* Such are the leading features of the Greek constitution, which, upon the whole, reflects great credit on its authors by its moderation and enlightened spirit.† Its grand defect is, that, in common with all republican theories, it imposes shackles on the executive power, scarcely compatible with an efficient discharge of the functions of government, more especially under the exigencies of such a contest.‡ All experience proves that a state is in more

* The Greek code referred to is known under the name of the *Basilics*, and was the work of the emperors Basil I., Leon the Philosopher, his son, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, his grandson.—See GIBBON, c. xlvi. This code had not altogether ceased to be in force among the Greeks. The French commercial code was first established in some of the maritime towns of the Levant in 1817, the permission of the Turkish Government having been obtained by purchase by the Greek merchants. Two Greek translations of this code have been published; one at Constantinople, the other at Paris, in 1820.

† Article 2 secures to every individual of the Christian faith, whether a native or naturalised foreigner, an equal enjoyment of every political right; a liberality which the Spanish revolutionists either did not possess or durst not display. Article 46 gives every periodical writer a free entry in the sittings of the legislative body; an enactment more liberal, however, than prudent or convenient during a national struggle. Not only torture, but confiscation is abolished by Art. 99; and by Art. 107, the government charges itself with providing for the widows and orphans of those who die in defending their country.

‡ “No declaration of war, nor any treaty of peace, can be made without the participation of the senate. In like manner, every agreement, of whatever nature between the executive and a foreign power, must be previously approved by the senate, except in the case of a very short armistice.”—Art. 40. And even in such case, the executive is under the obligation of communicating it to the senate.—Art. 77. “The senate has the right of approving the

danger, at such a crisis, from the cabals of a faction, than from the ascendancy of any too-powerful citizen. It had been proposed to concentrate the executive power in a triennial president, and to make the senate re-eligible every other year. The rejection of this plan discovered an unseasonable jealousy on the part of the national representatives; and the issue has shewn, how much easier it is to frame a constitution than to create a government. Up to the present time, the Greeks may be said to be without a ruler, for the executive has not been invested with the power to rule. That power, it would seem, must either originate in usurpation, or in concessions made in the hour of public danger, by people willing to compromise their rights in order to obtain efficient protection.

The office of president of the executive body was conferred by the congress upon Prince Mavrokordato,

military promotion which the government proposes."—Art. 42. "It is likewise entitled to decree, on the proposal of government, the distinguished recompenses due to patriotic services."—Art. 43. "It is to settle a new system of money to be struck at the national mint, under the direction of government."—Art. 44. "The senate is expressly forbidden to accede to any transaction which threatens the political existence of the nation. On the contrary, if it perceives the executive engaged in negotiations of this nature, the senate is to prosecute the president, and after his condemnation, to declare his charge forfeited in the face of the nation."—Art. 45. By articles 63 and 64, the executive is authorised to contract loans, and to pledge the national property for them, "consulting the senate;" and to alienate, under the same condition, a portion of this property according to the wants of the state. By Art. 83, it is provided, that "as soon as an accusation against one of the members of the executive is received, the accused is considered as stripped of his office," and his trial is to proceed. Thus, the nominal inviolability of the executive power, "taken collectively," (Art. 54) is completely nullified; and the senate, by reserving to themselves the regal attributes of levying war, approving of military promotion, and settling the mintage, is, in fact, the fountain of honour as well as the depository of all real power.

whose talents and extensive information were eminently displayed in aiding the commission appointed to draw up the constitution.* Demetrius Ypsilanti was invited to preside over the senate, but he declined the proffered honour, having, it is supposed, conceived himself to be entitled to fill the highest station ; and the office was bestowed on Petro Bey Mavromikhali. The other members of the central government were Athanasius Canacari, vice-president, Anagnosti Pappaiannopoulo, John Orlando, and John Logothesi. Theodore Negri was appointed first secretary of state.

While the legislators of Epidaurus were thus occupied in organising a system of government, Ypsilanti was ineffectually endeavouring to obtain possession of Corinth by negotiation with the garrison. On this occasion he does not appear to have displayed either much address or much penetration. He had relied on the services of Kiamil Bey, a rich Turk, whose family had for nearly a century governed the district, but who, on the fall of Tripolitza, had affected to espouse the Greek cause, and had promised to induce the garrison to surrender. The cunning Moslem, aware of the preparations which Khourshid Pasha was making in Epirus, shewed little disposition to fulfil his engagement. At length, his equivocal conduct having drawn violent threats from Kolokotroni and the other chiefs, he wrote a letter to his wife and mother, commanding them to capitulate to the Greeks, while he found

* Mavrokordato's name is affixed to the provisional constitution as President of the Congress. Then follow the names of Adam Douka (Ducas), Athan. Canacaris, Alexander Naxius, Alexis Zimpouropoulo, and fifty-four others, among which occur those of Germanus, Archbishop of Patras, the bishops of Litza and Agrafa, Goumbosi, and Talantium, Th. Negri, J. Logothesi, J. Orlando, Petrobey Mavromikhali, J. Coletti, &c.

means of secretly apprising them of his real hopes and wishes. But the arrival of Panouria of Salona, a popular armatole captain, gave a new turn to affairs. " Having reproached the chiefs and soldiery with their inactivity, Panouria suggested various projects by which the Acro-Corinthus might be carried ; finding, however, but little disposition to adopt them, he determined to open a communication with the Albanian portion of the garrison. This plan succeeded so well, that a treaty was concluded, by which they consented to withdraw, on condition of being allowed to return home with their arms and a gratification in money. These terms being readily granted, they descended from the citadel, to the number of two hundred, on the 22d of January ; and having been escorted to the beach, were embarked in boats, which transported them to the opposite shore of the Gulf. The retirement of the Albanians having removed all further hope of holding out on the part of the Turks, they also declared themselves ready to capitulate. Such, however, was the altered state of things, that they were now obliged to accept the terms granted by the besiegers. It was then agreed, that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be conveyed to the coast of Asia Minor, in transports provided by the Government of Greece. The first part of these conditions was carried into effect on the 26th, and preparations were made to execute the second, which was also fulfilled to a certain extent ; but, owing to a delay in the arrival of transports, the peasants, who had been exposed to the innumerable exactions and oppressive acts of Kiamil Bey, rushed into the citadel, and gratified their irresistible thirst for revenge on many of the Turks. The conduct of Ypsilanti on this, as on every former occasion, was marked by the greatest humanity ;

and though his interposition could not entirely prevent the effervescence of popular feeling, it soon had the effect of calming the passions of the multitude." *

On the 27th of February, the newly-constituted executive, and the senate of Epidaurus, proceeded to take advantage of the fall of this important military position, by transferring thither the seat of government. Here, on the 31st of March, the President issued the declaration of blockade which gave so much umbrage to the Christian powers in alliance with the Porte. This was followed up by a spirited but unavailing appeal to the powers of Christendom, dated Corinth, April 15, 1822. Nor did Mavrokordato confine his exertions to such measures as these. He went in person to Hydra, to urge on the islanders the necessity of sending divisions of the fleet towards the Dardanelles and the Gulf of Lepanto; and on his return, a system of order and activity commenced, which had hitherto been unknown in the confederacy. With a view to make a beginning in the organisation of the army, a corps was formed, officered chiefly by European volunteers, which was to be styled the first regiment of the line. There being, however, a much larger number of these than was required, the remainder were embodied into a second corps, which assumed the name of Philhellenes. The organisation and command of the regular troops were intrusted to General Normann, a German officer who had recently arrived from Marseilles with a number of volunteers. Ypsilanti, having declined the presidency of the legislative body, and renounced the assumed title of generalissimo, joined a detachment of troops headed by Niketas, which was destined to watch the motions of

* Blaquiere, pp. 181—3

the enemy at Zetouni. A second corps of 3000 men was sent to re-establish the blockade of Patras under Kolokotroni; and a smaller body of troops was detached to Athens, under the French Colonel Voutier, in order to reduce the Acropolis. The force before Napoli di Romania was also strengthened, and the garrisons of Modon and Koron continued to be closely invested by the armed peasantry.

The critical posture of affairs called, indeed, for the most energetic measures, and the situation of the President was any thing rather than enviable. The cause of Grecian liberty appeared to most persons at this time little better than desperate. "On one side," remarks Col. Leake, "was a power larger in extent of territory than any in Europe, which had maintained its station, for nearly four centuries, in one of the most commanding positions in the world; whose integrity was admitted by all the other great powers to be essential to the general peace; ready, by the nature of its government, to enter upon war at a short notice, and furnished with all the fiscal, military, and naval establishments of a monarchy of long standing. On the other; were the inhabitants of a small province of this extensive empire, without any central authority, without cavalry, artillery, magazines, hospitals, or military chest; whose whole military force, in short, consisted only of a rude, undisciplined infantry, armed with an awkward long musket, to which was added, according to the circumstances of the individual, pistols, a dagger, or a sword, — ignorant of the use of the bayonet, acknowledging no discipline, and more uninstructed in war as an art, than the Greeks of the heroic ages, — led, indeed, by men possessing courage and enterprise, and some of the essential qualifications of command, but who were scarcely less ignorant and unenlightened

than their soldiers, and too selfish to lose any opportunity of enriching themselves, or to preserve that harmony with the other leading men, which was so necessary in the dangerous position of the country."

The fall and death of Ali, Pasha of Ioannina, had placed at the disposal of Khourshid Pasha such abundant resources, both in men and money, that had his plans been carried into execution with an ordinary portion of skill, they must have led to the destruction of the Greek cause. The conquest of Ioannina had put into the hands of the Turks the strongest and most important point in Western Greece, while the possession of Arta, Prevesa, and Vonitza, gave them the command of Acarnania, and the whole level on the northern side of the Ambracic Gulf. The surrender of Corinth might in some measure have counterbalanced these advantages, had the Greeks known how to turn it to account; and a circumstance still more in their favour, was the hostilities that had broken out on the Persian frontier, which gave the Asiatic Turks an excuse, at least, for keeping their contingents at home. Neither of these circumstances, however, had much influence in determining the successful issue of the second campaign.

The commencement of the campaign of 1822 was marked by one of the most atrocious and tragical exhibitions of Turkish vengeance and cruelty that are recorded in the annals of barbarian conquest: the scene of the catastrophe was the once fertile and flourishing island of Scio. The details we give in the words of Mr. Blaquiere.

"The people of Scio had been remarkable for their peaceable habits and quiet submission to the Porte, ever since the capture of Constantinople; and although the inhabitants of a spot where education had made

such rapid progress, could not be less interested in the regeneration of Greece than the rest of their countrymen, yet were there many causes to prevent them from taking any part in the revolt when it first broke out. The commercial relations of the island were more complicated and extensive than those of any other part of the confederation; there being scarcely a capital of Europe without some establishments kept by Sciot merchants, while a very large portion of their wealth was locked up at Constantinople and Smyrna, the trade between these two cities being almost exclusively conducted by them. Possessing such ample means of ministering to the avarice of their tyrants, the civil government had long been confided to the elders, whose administration was of the most paternal description. What with its palaces, country-houses and gardens, its colleges and general state of improvement, Scio presented so striking a contrast to the other islands of the Archipelago, that travellers could hardly be persuaded it was under the same dominion. No wonder, therefore, that such a picture of happiness and prosperity should have excited the hatred and jealousy of the infidels.

“ Occupied in their commercial pursuits, or in promoting the cultivation of learning and science, there was no attempt whatever made to participate in the revolution; so that the island remained perfectly tranquil until the beginning of May 1821, when the appearance of a small squadron of Ipsariots off the coast, furnished the aga, or military governor, with a pretence for commencing the same system of intolerable violence which had been already extended to Mytilene, Rhodes, and Cyprus. One of the first measures now adopted, was that of seizing forty of the elders and bishops, who were shut up in the castle as hostages

for the good conduct of the people. A large body of troops were brought from the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor; and, as in the other islands, the arrival of these lawless hordes was attended with every species of irregularity and excess. In addition to numerous assassinations, and plundering the most wealthy inhabitants, all the provisions that could be found were seized for the use of the garrison, while new imposts were levied to pay the troops and the pasha who had led them to the island. It was not until Scio had been during a whole year exposed to a system like the above, and when it seemed impossible any longer to bear up against it, that an attempt was made to rouse the people to resistance. Totally unprovided, however, as were the peasantry, either with arms or leaders, there is no doubt but they would have continued to suffer all the evils of their situation, had it not been for two adventurers named Burnia and Logothesi, who, without any previous communication with the Provisional Government, and merely to gratify views of personal ambition, concerted a plan of revolt. Landing from Samos on the 17th and 18th of March, at different points of the island, with a very small number of followers, they called upon the people to join them. Aware of the disastrous consequences which must follow this unexpected descent, the elders who were still at large, made every effort to prevent the peasantry from taking any part in the insurrection. In the meanwhile, a strong detachment of cavalry was sent out by the Pasha to oppose the Greeks, and on the 22d, the number of hostages already in the citadel was doubled, the victims being selected from the most opulent and distinguished inhabitants. Hearing, on the following day, that another body of men had landed from Samos, the Pasha sent to ascer-

tain whether they had been joined by the peasantry, and on his being assured they had not, a considerable force was ordered to march against them.

“ The Turks set forward for this purpose, but, on perceiving that the Greeks were determined to resist, they immediately retreated towards the town, pursued by the insurgents, till they were at length forced to shut themselves up in the castle ; thus leaving the Greeks in full possession of the open country. Encouraged by their success, Burnia and Logotheti appealed once more to the people ; and as matters had now gone so far that it was impossible to retrograde, a few hundred peasants flocked to their standard, many of these being merely provided with sticks for their defence. Although the elders and primates who had not been imprisoned, continued to remonstrate against the conduct of Burnia and his coadjutor, they now saw the necessity of acceding to the entreaties of all parties, that a local government should be established. A junta of twelve persons being named for this purpose, they began to make various requisitions, and to organise the means of securing the advantage which had been already achieved. It was, however, soon discovered, that there were really no means of arming the people to any extent, and that the expedition was itself but badly armed, as well as totally unprovided with cannon. Convinced, on the other hand, that union and perseverance could alone save them, several plans of organisation were adopted ; and had the Greek fleet anticipated the arrival of the pasha, there was every reason to hope the inhabitants would have been enabled to prevent the catastrophe which followed his appearance. This event took place on the 23d of April, when a fleet of fifty sail, including five of the line, anchored in the bay, and immediately

began to bombard the town, while several thousand troops were landed under the guns of the citadel, which also opened a heavy fire on the Greeks. It was in vain for the islanders to make any resistance: deserted by the Samians, most of whom embarked and sailed away when the Turkish fleet hove in sight, they were easily overpowered and obliged to flee. From this moment, until the last direful act, Scio, lately an object of so great admiration to strangers, presented one continued scene of horror and dismay. Having massacred every soul, whether men, women, or children, whom they found in the town, the Turks first plundered and then set fire to it, watching the flames until not a house was left, except those of the foreign consuls. Three days had, however, been suffered to pass, before the infidels ventured to penetrate into the interior of the island, and even then, their excesses were confined to the low grounds. But there was ample scope on these for gratifying their thirst for Christian blood. An eye-witness, who escaped as it were by a miracle, thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend: 'O God! what a spectacle did Scio present on this lamentable occasion! On whatever side I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, murder, and conflagration appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the villas of rich merchants, and others in setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the swords and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in favour of young women and boys, who were preserved only to be afterwards sold as slaves. Many of the former, whose husbands had been butchered, were running to and fro frantic, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, pressing their

trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a relief from the still greater calamities that awaited them.'

“ Above 40,000 of both sexes had already either fallen victims to the sword, or been selected for sale in the bazars, when it occurred to the Pasha, that no time should be lost in persuading those who had fled to the more inaccessible parts of the island, to lay down their arms and submit. It being impossible to effect this by force, they had recourse to a favourite expedient with Mussulmen, that of proclaiming an amnesty. In order that no doubt should be entertained of their sincerity, the foreign consuls, more particularly those of England, France, and Austria, were called upon to guarantee the promises of the Turks: they accordingly went forth, and invited the unfortunate peasantry to give up their arms and return. Notwithstanding their long experience of Turkish perfidy, the solemn pledge given by the consuls at length prevailed, and many thousands, who might have successfully resisted until succours arrived, were sacrificed; for no sooner did they descend from the heights, and give up their arms, than the infidels, totally unmindful of the proffered pardon, put them to death without mercy. The number of persons of every age and sex who became the victims of this perfidious act, was estimated at 7000.

“ After having devoted ten days to the work of slaughter, it was natural to suppose that the monsters who directed this frightful tragedy would have been in some degree satiated by the blood of so many innocent victims; but it was when the excesses had begun to diminish on the part of the soldiery, that fresh scenes of horror were exhibited on board the fleet and in the citadel. In addition to the w men

and children embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to the markets of Constantinople and Smyrna, several hundreds of the natives were also seized, and among these, all the gardeners of the island, who were supposed to know where the treasures of their employers had been concealed. No fewer than 500 of the persons thus collected were hung on board the different ships. When these executions commenced, they served as a signal to the commandant of the citadel, who immediately followed the example, by suspending the whole of the hostages, to the number of seventy-six, on gibbets erected for the occasion. With respect to the numbers who were either killed or consigned to slavery, during the three weeks that followed the arrival of the Capitan Pasha, there is no exaggeration in rating the former at 25,000 souls. It has been ascertained that above 30,000 women and children were condemned to slavery, while the fate of those who escaped was scarcely less calamitous. Though many contrived to get off in open boats, or such other vessels as they could procure, thousands who were unable to do so, wandered about the mountains, or concealed themselves in caves, without food or clothing, for many days after the massacre had begun to subside on the plains. Among those who had availed themselves of the pretended amnesty, many families took refuge in the houses of the consuls, who were indeed bound by every tie of honour and humanity to afford them protection. It has, however, been asserted, upon authority which cannot well be doubted, that the wretched beings thus saved from Mussulman vengeance, were obliged to pay large ransoms before they could leave the island; nay, more, numbers of those who escaped the massacre affirm, that it was extremely difficult to obtain even temporary protection

under the Christian flags, without first gratifying the avaricious demands of those who conceived this appalling event a legitimate object of mercantile speculation.

“As the massacre of Scio furnishes the best occasion presented by the war, to establish a comparison between the conduct of the Greeks and their inexorable masters, it is of consequence to prove, that so far from the atrocities in that devoted island having been the result of those excesses in which a soldiery, irritated by previous resistance and sufferings, have so frequently indulged, they originated in the cool and deliberate councils of the divan. With respect to the provocations given by the Sciots, their fidelity to the Porte had never been suspected before the revolution; and it has been ascertained beyond contradiction, that the number of those who joined the expedition from Samos did not exceed 2000; while it is equally true, that the whole loss of the Turks during the ephemeral conflict did not amount to 300, and these fell in the skirmishes which took place between the opposing parties, as there was no instance of gratuitous cruelty on the part of the Greeks. The readiness with which the elders and primates gave themselves up as hostages, and their efforts to prevent the peasantry from joining Burnia and Logotheti, afford ample proof of their perfect innocence. Yet, it was under all these circumstances, that a population of more than 100,000 souls was doomed to general destruction; not by an unbridled and undisciplined soldiery, stimulated by the opposition and privations attendant on a long siege, but by a positive order from a sovereign and government, whose legitimacy had been solemnly proclaimed by the Christian potentates assembled at Lavbach and Verona. That the whole of this terrific

drama had been got up at Constantinople, a variety of concurrent circumstances tend to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt. When the messenger who announced the descent from Samos reached the capital, it was decided in full divan, that the Capitan Pasha, whose preparations were still incomplete, should sail with all possible despatch, and take such measures with the people of Scio as would effectually prevent their joining the confederation. All the most opulent Sciot merchants resident in the capital, were at the same time seized and thrown into prison as hostages. The fate of these unfortunate persons leaves no room whatever to doubt that the proceedings at Scio were fully approved of at Constantinople; for it was immediately after the arrival of the Capitan Pasha in the former place, and when the steps he had taken must have been known, that the whole of them were impaled alive by a mandate from the Sultan himself.

“ Thousands of the Sciot women, remarkable throughout the Archipelago for their grace and beauty, continued to be exposed for sale, both in the island and at Smyrna and Constantinople, for several months after the massacre.* After detailing such

* “ On the 13th of May was the first arrival (at Constantinople) of slaves from that devoted island; and on the 18th, sixteen most respectable merchants, resident at Constantinople, but who were guilty of having been born at Scio, were executed. Three of these persons were by the Turks called *hostages*, which means, that they were persons of influence and character, who had been seized by the Government, and by it made responsible for the conduct of their countrymen. The continued sale of the Sciot captives led to the commission of daily brutalities. On June the 19th, an order came down to the slave-market for its cessation; and the circumstances which are believed to have occasioned that order, are extremely singular and purely Oriental. The island of Scio had been granted many years ago to one of the sultanas, as an appropriation, from which she derived a fixed revenue and a title of interference in all

scenes as these, it becomes a matter of trifling import to state, that the finest modern Greek library in existence, comprising above 60,000 volumes, was completely destroyed during the conflagration.

“Of all the errors laid to the charge of the naval chiefs of Greece, their delay in coming to the relief of Scio is unquestionably the best founded, as it is most to be lamented. This omission is doubly to be deplored, when it is considered, that the appearance of a squadron simultaneously with the Capitan Pasha, would have paralysed his operations and encouraged the inhabitants to greater resistance. Had the fleet arrived even after the slaughter had commenced, there is every reason to believe, that a few well-directed fire-ships could not have failed taking effect on the Turkish ships, a great part of whose crews were employed in aiding

matters relating to police and internal administration. The present patroness was Asma Sultana, sister of the sultan; and that amiable princess received about 200,000 piastres a year, besides casual presents, from her flourishing little province. When she was informed of its destruction, her indignation was natural and excessive; and it was directed, of course, against Valid, the pasha who commanded the fort, and the capudan pasha, to whose misconduct she chiefly attributed her misfortune. It was in vain that that officer selected from his captives sixty young and beautiful maidens, whom he presented to the service of her highness. She rejected the sacrifice with disdain, and continued her energetic remonstrances against the injustice and illegality of reducing *rayahs* to slavery, and exposing them for sale in the public markets. The sultan at length yielded to her eloquence or importunity. A license, the occasion of hourly brutalities, was suppressed; and we have the satisfaction of believing, that this act of rare and unprecedented humanity may be attributed to the influence of a woman.”—WADDINGTON'S *Visit to Greece*, p. 19. It is humiliating to reflect, that all this while, a British ambassador remained the passive and unconcerned spectator of these enormities; and that Lord Londonderry, in answer to a question put to him in the House of Commons by the Member for Norwich, coolly replied, that “a calamity had occurred, which had arisen out of the peculiar acts of barbarity perpetrated on both sides!”

to perpetrate the massacre on shore. From whatever cause it arose, the fleet did not arrive until the last week in May, when the catastrophe was already consummated. Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral who commanded, had, however, the satisfaction of saving a great number of both sexes, who succeeded in escaping to the mountains." *

The situation of those who succeeded in getting to Ipsara was most deplorable. There were no means of providing for their wants in that island, and thousands were obliged to sleep in the open air till they could obtain a passage to some other part.

* Blaquiere, pp. 188—200. Mr. Leeves, agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, visited Scio in the September following, and he thus describes the scene which it then presented: "Melancholy and utter desolation has befallen this beautiful and once flourishing island. I could not have conceived, without being an eye-witness, that destruction could have been rendered so complete. We walked through the town, which was handsome and built entirely of stone, and found the houses, the churches, the hospitals, the extensive college, where, a few months ago, 600 or 700 youths were receiving their education, one mass of ruins. On every side were strewed fragments of half-burned books, manuscripts, clothes, and furniture; and, what was most shocking to the feelings, numerous human bodies were mouldering on the spot where they fell. Nothing that had life was to be seen, but a few miserable half-starved dogs and cats. The villages have shared the same fate; and of a population of 130,000 Greeks, there remain, perhaps, 800 or 1000 individuals scattered through the most distant villages. In the town, nothing has escaped but the consuls' houses and a very few immediately adjoining them, which could not be burned without burning the consulates. From the painful sight of these dreadful effects of unbridled human passions, we were a little refreshed by visiting, in the afternoon, the country-house of the British vice-consul, Signor Giudice, who, during the sack of Scio, humanely received all the unfortunate creatures who fled to him for protection, and has redeemed many others from slavery. He has a little colony of 207 Sciots, chiefly women and children, huddled in his garden and premises, whom he feeds at his own expense, and who, under the British flag, have found protection amidst the wreck of their country. There are similar establish-

Being now joined by an Ipsariot squadron, Tombasi resolved to make an attempt on the Turkish squadron ; but a gale of wind separated the fleets, and the sailing of an Egyptian squadron for the relief of Candia compelled him to proceed toward that island. Shortly after his departure, Miaulis, the Hydriot admiral, who remained off this station, detached two fire-vessels, with directions to keep near the shore, as if they were merchant-ships bound to Smyrna. By this stratagem they were enabled to sail by night into the midst of the Turkish fleet anchored in the Scio roads, before they were discovered, and to attach themselves to two of the largest Turkish line of battle ships. One of these contrived to disengage herself without much damage ; but the fire-vessel commanded by the intrepid Canaris took full effect on the ship of the Capitan Pasha, who was destroyed, with nearly the whole of his crew.* The ship was loaded with the spoils of Scio, and it is feared that many Greek women and children perished in her.

So great was the effect of this exploit in confirming the fears which the Turks already entertained of the Greek fire-ships, that they durst not venture into the narrow extremity of the Argolic Gulf, either

ments in some of the other European consulates. Their food, at present, consists chiefly of the figs and grapes, which are now common property, there being no hands to gather in the fruits of the soil ; but, as this supply will soon fail, we have, since our return, commenced a subscription among the English residents at Constantinople, who have been ever ready to meet similar calls upon their charity during this calamitous period, in order to send them a supply of biscuit and flour for the winter months."—*Miss. Reg.*, Jan. 1823, p. 19.

* The Capitan Pasha was killed by the fall of a mast in endeavouring to reach the shore with the very small portion of the ship's company which escaped destruction. This took place on the 18th of June

in proceeding to Patras or in returning thence; although the success of their army, which was then entering the Morea, and the safety of Napoli di Romania, depended on their co-operation. The whole plan of the campaign on the part of the Turks was thus completely deranged by one bold and fortunate achievement, which tended powerfully to establish the character and confidence of the Greek Islanders. Nor were the dreadful transactions at Scio unattended by beneficial consequences: they superinduced upon the other motives to exertion, a general conviction among the Greeks, that there was henceforth no safety but in the success of their arms.

In the mean time, Mavrokordato, perceiving the importance of diverting the attention of the Greeks from the Morea, resolved on an expedition into Western Greece, having persuaded his colleagues to consent to his assuming the direction of affairs in that quarter. His plan was excellent, and, had he been efficiently supported, might have been productive of most important advantages; but his absenting himself at such a crisis from the seat of government, was scarcely justifiable, since, by weakening the executive, it greatly contributed to favour the growth of dissension and insubordination.* The expedition was to have been joined by 1,500 men from the army before Patras; but Kolokotroni objected to parting with any of his troops, so that Mavrokordato arrived at Messolonghi in May, with only the battalion of Philhellenes (about 100 in number), the regiment of regulars (of 600 men), commanded by a Piedmontese, a small body

* To his assumption of the military character on this occasion, Mr. Waddington ascribes the subsequent decline of his influence; and his absence from the Morea enabled Negri and others to intrigue against him with success.

of Suliots under Marko Botzari, and a few other armatoli. His first object was the relief of Suli, in which he was assisted by a body of Mainotes under Kiriakouli, the brother of Petro-bey. Having collected all the troops he could find at Messolonghi, Mavrokordato's whole force did not amount to 2000 men, being less than half the number at first proposed. With this force, however, he took the field, and having passed the Acheron towards the latter end of June, he proceeded through Loutraki towards the defiles of Makrinoros. At Komboti, near where the pass opens into the plain of Arta, several skirmishes took place with the Turkish cavalry, who were posted there in far superior force, but were uniformly beaten off by the Greeks. Too much elated by these successes, the Prince rashly consented to allow Botzari to proceed with 600 men to relieve Kiaffa; and while the main body under General Normann advanced to the village of Peta, Mavrokordato left the army, to raise levies and supplies in the neighbouring districts. The imprudence of thus dividing their force, already so much inferior to that of the enemy, was soon apparent. Botzari, being met at Plaka by some Turkish troops, was compelled to retreat to the mountains; and the treachery of an old captain of armatoli from Athamania, named Gogo, ruined the expedition. In the midst of a general attack from the Turco-Albanian forces at Arta, this coward, or traitor, to whom the key of the position of Peta had been entrusted, basely fled with all his followers, thus enabling the enemy to turn the flank of the Greeks, and to destroy or disperse their little army. Of 200 who were slain on the part of the Greeks, nearly one-fourth were officers, and General Normann, who was wounded, with difficulty escaped. The panic spread by this

defeat was increased by the arrival of the Capitan Pasha's fleet at Patras, and by the report that Mahmoud Pasha had reconquered the Morea. The greater part of the population betook themselves to the mountains, while a considerable number of the more helpless part of the community sought refuge in the desert island of Kalamos, from which place they were harshly expelled by order of the Ionian Government, on the pretence of maintaining the system of neutrality.* It was not long before tidings of a more favourable nature from the Peninsula, together with the retreat of the Turkish fleet from the western coast, revived the hopes of the Greeks. But the leader of the Mainotes having been slain near Suli, the Suliots, reduced to the utmost distress, and despairing of succour, were glad to accept of British mediation,† and to give up the castle of Kiaffa, on condition of being transported to Cefalonia.

Mavrokordato preserved for some time his positions in Acarnania; till, towards the close of September, the defection of another chieftain of armatoli, named Varnachiotti, obliged him to give up all the country westward of the Achelous, and to retire before an overwhelming force headed by Omer Vrionis, the new Pasha of Ioannina, and the bravest general in the

* "As those who took refuge in Calamos consisted almost exclusively of old men, women, and children, it was not thought likely that their presence on a desolate rock, which had not been thought of sufficient importance to require even a military post before the present contest, could tend in any way to violate the neutrality; while the wretched condition of the fugitives, without food or raiment, was such as to excite pity and commiseration in the most obdurate heart."—BLAQUIERE, p. 236.

† The British Consul at Prevesa, Mr. Meyer, was the individual to whose mediation they were indebted, and who guaranteed their safe transport to the Ionian Islands, with their arms and baggage.

Ottoman army. By the middle of October, after some attempts to defend the strong approaches to the Ætolian lagoons, the remnant of the Greek forces were invested by land and by sea in the peninsula of Messolonghi and the island of Anatoliko, while all the inhabitants who had the means of escaping, retired into the adjacent islands or the Morea.

“The town of Messolonghi” (we cite Mr. Blaquiere) “is built on a perfect flat, and though its walls are washed by an arm of the sea, the water is so shallow, as not to admit the approach of any vessels larger than fishing-boats, nearer than four or five miles. Its fortifications consisted of nothing more than a low wall without bastions, and surrounded with a ditch seven feet wide, by four in depth, and filled up with rubbish in many places. The parapet, which did not rise more than three feet above the counterscarp, was formed of loose stones, very much out of repair, and broken down in a number of places. Although the defence of this extensive line would require above 3000 men, the whole number of combatants whom the Prince had now with him, including those found in the town, did not amount to 500. The only cannon to be found within the walls, were four old ship guns and a dismounted thirty-six pounder. As to ammunition, there was not sufficient for a month’s siege, and with the exception of maize, every kind of provisions was extremely scarce. It was in a place thus destitute and exposed, that Mavrokordato and his followers formed the resolution of making a stand against an army of 14,000 men. For this purpose, not a moment was lost in repairing the wall and clearing the ditch, a work in which even the women were employed: the guns being placed in the most commanding points, all the houses built near the parapet were pierced with

loop-holes, from which a fire of musketry could be kept up. In order to deceive the enemy as to their numbers, a quantity of bayonets found in the town, being made bright, were attached to poles, and arranged round the walls. When the President quitted Anatolico, it was agreed that Marco Bozzaris should occupy the passes through which the enemy would be likely to advance, between that place and the sea. The temporary occupation of this point enabled the Greeks to drive a quantity of cattle into Messolunghi. They were, however, obliged to retire in two days; upon which, Bozzaris, followed by a small detachment of Suliot, succeeded in reaching the town, all the rest having dispersed among the mountains. A large division of the Turkish army appeared before the walls two days after, and immediately commenced a cannonade and fire of musketry, which continued with little intermission until the next day, when it was only suspended to propose a capitulation.* Profiting by the stupidity of the enemy in not attempting an attack, which must have ended in the total destruction of the Greeks, Mavrokordato, whose only chance of safety depended on gaining time till succours were sent, replied in such a way as to make Omer Vrioni imagine that his proposal would be accepted. Though these negotiations were frequently interrupted by the renewal of the enemy's fire, they enabled the Greeks to make considerable progress in their preparations for defence: such, however, was the total inadequacy of means and resources, that there seemed to be no hope of escape. Matters went on in this state of painful

* " One of the articles contained in this proposal, required that Mavrokordato and about twenty others, whose names were mentioned, should be given up, as a preliminary to any negotiation in favour of the garrison "

suspense, until the morning of the 9th of November, when the Turkish brig and schooner, which had been sent to blockade the place by Yussuff Pasha, were observed to steer towards Patras; but the former, being unable to reach the roadstead, owing to a strong southerly wind, bore up and stood for Ithaca, chased by six vessels, on board of which the Greek flag was seen flying. The ships were followed by the eager eyes of the Prince and his brave followers until night closed in, and they were once more left to ruminate on the perils of their situation. Although the appearance of this small squadron filled every breast with hope, yet, a vigorous attack during the night might enable the infidels to render all opposition fruitless: as it fortunately happened, no attempt was made, and their joy may be readily conceived on the return of daylight, to perceive the whole of the Greek squadron anchored as near the town as it could be approached. Having chased the Turkish brig until she was run on the rocks of Ithaca by her crew, the Greek commodore came to announce that a body of Peloponnesians were ready for embarkation at Chiarenza and Kata-kolo, destined for the relief of Messolunghi. A part of the ships were despatched on the following day for these most acceptable auxiliaries, and the remainder were joined by four Ipsariot vessels, thus forming a naval force which was of itself calculated greatly to diminish the hopes of the enemy. The long wished-for succours arrived on the 14th: they consisted of 1,200 men, headed by Mavromichalis, who was accompanied by Andreas Lundo of Vostizza, and Deligianapulo, both distinguished Mainote chiefs. These troops, having formed part of the army which had partaken in the victories gained on the plain of Argos, and before Napoli di Romania, were flushed with the

recollection of their recent successes, and could not brook the thought of remaining shut up within the walls of Messolonghi. A sortie was accordingly made on the 27th November, in which 110 Turks were left dead on the plain, while the loss of the Greeks did not amount to more than twenty in killed and wounded.

“ Such were the cruelties and excesses which followed the arrival of the infidel army in Acarnania and Etolia, that no sooner had the peasantry recovered from their consternation, than all those who had been able to retain their arms, rose, and greatly harassed the Turks, by interrupting their communications and preventing the arrival of any supplies. In order to second these efforts of the people, it was determined that a part of the troops sent from the Morea should embark, and landing at Dragomeste, co-operate with the inhabitants of Valtos and Xeromeros, for the purpose of re-occupying the defiles, and thus effectually cut off the enemy's communication with Arta and Vonizza. The command of this expedition was assumed by Mavromichalis, who sailed for his destination on the 24th of December. His departure reduced the garrison so much, that Omer Vrioni, who had remained for two months without attempting an assault, now determined to take advantage of this circumstance. Knowing also that Christmas day was generally passed by the Greeks in the performance of religious rites which would give them full occupation, he had an additional motive for carrying his design into execution at once. Aware, from the movements of the Turkish camp, that something was in agitation, Mavrokordato, Bozzaris, and the other chiefs, held a council of war, at which it was decided that every body should be on the alert during the night ; and con-

trary to the usual custom, the church bells were not to be rung, lest the noise might prevent a knowledge of what passed close to the walls. Both Mavrokordato and the other leaders continued to visit all the posts, so as to prevent surprise, and to give the necessary directions in case of an attack.

“ The plan of the Turks was to send eight hundred picked men with scaling-ladders to the weakest point ; these were to be followed by two thousand more, intended to draw off the attention of the Greeks, and induce them to quit their posts while the first party entered the town. Other divisions of the enemy were to advance simultaneously on every side. The signal for commencing the attack was made at five in the morning of the 25th, by firing a gun. A tremendous cannonade began along the whole Turkish line, and was as briskly answered by the Greeks. The escalading party contrived to approach within a few yards of the wall unperceived, and had even fixed some ladders, which enabled a few of the Turks to pass the parapet ; these were, however, instantly cut down ; two standard-bearers, who succeeded in planting the crescent on the walls, shared the same fate ; all, in fact, who attempted to mount the wall were precipitated into the ditch ; and as the Greeks felt that their existence depended on the issue of this struggle, they vied with each other in acts of valour and boldness. Though short, the conflict which followed was both desperate and sanguinary, for, when daylight broke, the whole of the glacis was seen covered with the dead. Though the Turks now perceived that they had nothing to hope from prolonging the contest, numbers continued to advance for the purpose of carrying off their dead companions, not one of whom was suffered to escape. The infidels lost above twelve

hundred men and nine stands of colours in this affair ; while, incredible as it may appear, the utmost loss of the Greeks was only six killed and about thirty wounded. Such was the result of an attack, upon the success of which the Turkish chief calculated so fully, that he assured those around him it was his intention to dine at Messolonghi on the great anniversary of the Christians. The immediate effect of this signal discomfiture was that of making the rising general throughout the neighbouring provinces. Those who had entertained any dread of the enemy before, were now quite disengaged from their fears ; and bands were formed in all directions to cut off their retreat whenever they attempted to recross the mountains. The only fear entertained by Mavrokordato was, lest the Turks should flee before the arming of the peasantry had been completed. On the other hand, it required all the efforts of the chiefs to prevent their men from sallying forth at once, and grappling with the whole of the infidel army on the plain.

“ Omer Vrioni, having sent Varnachiotti to Xeromeros, in order to procure provisions and forage, received a letter on the 31st from the traitor, informing him that Rongo, whom Omer had sent into Valtos for the same object, had abandoned the cause he had feigned to espouse, the more effectually to deceive the enemy, and that, at the head of three thousand men, he was marching to cut off Omer's retreat by Langoda ; that the people of Xeromeros had taken arms in spite of all his influence ; and that the Prince of Maina, at the head of fifteen hundred men, had just driven the Turks from Dragomeste, and was advancing to occupy the defiles by which the Pasha could alone effect his retreat to Vonizza. The Turks, whose characteristic is fear, were so panic-struck by this intel-

ligence, that it had not reached the camp two hours before their retreat commenced with the greatest disorder. This was so sudden and precipitate, that they left the whole of their artillery, consisting of eight fine pieces of brass cannon, with a complete field-train and tumbrils, two howitzers, ammunition, and camp-equipage, together with a large quantity of provisions and all the baggage. To increase their embarrassment, the infidels were scarcely in motion, when a detachment of five hundred men sallied from the town, and overtaking their rear-guard at Kerasova, killed a great number. On reaching the Acheron, its waters were so swollen by the continued rains, that the enemy could not pass, so that they now found themselves enclosed on every side and without provisions. It was while the infidels were in this situation and meditating the means of escape, that a large division of the Greeks under Marco Bozzaris appeared marching towards them. Such was the effect of this movement, that the Turks, more panic-struck than ever, determined to attempt the passage of the river, rather than risk a battle. They accordingly plunged into the stream, and several hundreds were drowned in crossing, while those who did not adopt this perilous mode of saving themselves, were under the necessity of surrendering as prisoners to the Suliot chief. Having gained the right bank of the Acheron, the Turkish hordes had fresh enemies to contend with at every step, in the armed peasantry of Xeromeros, Valtos, and the other districts through which their line of retreat lay; so that, of the large force brought into Acarnania only three months before, not more than half the number escaped; nor did the fugitives stop before they reached Arta and Anacori, beyond the passes of Macronoros.

Vith respect to Mavrokordato, whose firmness

and perseverance during this most arduous period are above all praise, he was now enabled to realise his favourite plan of civil organization. A local junta being formed at Messolonghi, measures were immediately adopted for carrying the Law of Epidaurus into effect throughout Acarnania and Etolia. Arrangements were also made for re-organising the military system of the provinces. The importance of Messolonghi being now more apparent than ever, it was determined that a moment should not be lost in remodelling its dilapidated fortifications. The completion of this task was considered so urgent, that, in addition to the regular working-parties, the inhabitants, of whom considerable numbers returned after the retreat of the enemy, were called upon to assist in throwing up the new works. This call being readily obeyed, they proceeded with such alacrity and spirit that, in less than three months, Messolonghi was placed in a state of perfect security from all future attacks. These important objects accomplished, the President re-embarked with all the troops that were not required for the defence of the town, and crossed over to the Peloponnesus, where he arrived in the early part of April, after an absence of ten months."

We must now return to the state of affairs in the Peninsula. Soon after the departure of Mavrokordato for Western Greece, the seat of government was again removed to Argos, a small garrison only being left to defend the Acro-Corinthus. No more striking proof of the weakness or incompetency of the new Government could be given, than its neglecting to secure this important post, which a small force, well provisioned, might have defended against all the power of Turkey. Either through want of means or of foresight, it was alike unfurnished with ammunition, engineers, and

provisions ; and on the approach of the Turkish army, the Hydriot papas who had been entrusted with the defence, whether through pusillanimity or treason, fled without making an effort to maintain the post confided to his charge.*

It was towards the end of May 1822, that Khourshid Pasha, having finally resigned the conduct of the war in Western Greece into the hands of Omer Vrionis, put himself at the head of the army which had been for some time collecting at Larissa and Zetouni. These forces consisted of about 30,000 troops of the Porte, more than a third of whom were cavalry, and between ten and twelve thousand horse furnished by the great feudatories of Roumeli, besides the personal guards of the respective pashas. The month of June had elapsed before the preparations for passing the Spercheius were completed. At length, the order to advance being given, the cavalry dashed forward, leaving the artillery and infantry far behind, and crossed the ridges of Othrys and Æta without opposition ; although Odysseus had successfully opposed a large army of Turks at the passes of Callidromus and Cnemis the preceding year.† The consequences of

* Previously to his evacuation of the Acro-Corinthus, he caused Kiamil Bey to be put to death, on the charge of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, or, according to another version of the story, for refusing to disclose where he had concealed his treasures. The secret, it is said, was subsequently revealed by his widow to Mahmoud Pasha, who married her after his retreat from Argos.

† “ Whether the inactivity of Odysseus on this occasion arose from a spirit of opposition to the central government, with which he had had some recent disagreement, or whether he calculated that, by allowing the enemy to spread over a larger tract of country, the Greeks would have it in their power to intercept his communications, and to harass him in detail with better effect, is perhaps known only to Odysseus himself. His courage and ability had

his negligence or policy, although at first alarming, proved ultimately beneficial to the Greeks.

The Turkish army, having crossed Phocis and Bœotia, “plundering, burning, and murdering, while they published the amnesty of the Porte,” arrived at Corinth without having met with any resistance. Elated by the surrender of that important fortress, they advanced in full security to occupy the Argolic plain, and to open a communication with the garrison of Napoli, which had already (in the end of June) agreed to deliver up the place, if they should not be relieved within forty days. As soon as the enemy entered the Argolis, the Vice-president Canacari, with the other members of the Executive, deemed it expedient to take refuge in a neighbouring island, and to abandon the entire management of the contest to the military leaders. On this occasion, Demetrius Ypsilanti displayed a courage and resolution which did him honour. Without money or provisions, having scarcely 1,300 men to oppose to an army of 30,000, he threw himself into the ruined citadel of Argos, in order to check the progress of this formidable enemy.

In the mean time, Kolokotroni had, on the 6th of July, suddenly raised the blockade of Patras without orders, and had proceeded with all his forces to Tripolitza, leaving the Turkish garrison at liberty either to penetrate into the Morea or to cross the Gulf of Lepanto. Whatever were his reasons for this extraordinary step,* it excited at the time the astonish-

hitherto been eminently useful to the cause of his country. He soon afterwards opposed Khurshid himself at the head of the reserve of the Turkish army with success; and has since repeatedly shewn how formidable a barrier to the South of Greece the Cætan passes are in his hands.”—LEAKE, p. 88.

* It is not likely that this step should have been taken without some urgent motive; and if Kolokotroni had obtained intelligence

ment as well as displeasure of the Government : so little concert or intelligence was there between the civil and military authorities. Scarcely had he been a week in his new quarters, when he received intelligence that the Turkish army had advanced to the walls of Corinth. And now, if his conduct had before seemed equivocal, it was marked by the greatest firmness and presence of mind, and his subsequent efforts entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his countrymen. The utmost force he could muster did not exceed 2000 men. Forming this small corps into two divisions, he sent the larger, consisting of 1,200 men under the command of his most confidential officer, Coliopulo, to occupy the passes between Corinth and Argos, while with the remainder he advanced into Argolis. After communicating with Ypsilanti, he intrenched himself at Lerna, a strong position on the western shore of the Gulf, to wait the arrival of reinforcements from Maina, Arcadia, and other points. Here he was eventually joined by Prince Demetrius, who, leaving by night the dilapidated fortress into which he had thrown himself, and which was entirely destitute of water, succeeded in joining the main body without losing a man.

The Turkish army, commanded by Mahmoud, Pasha of Drama, occupied all the eastern part of the Argolic plain, and Mahmoud entered Napoli ; but here ended his progress. So far from having brought supplies to the starving garrison of that fortress, the Ottomans had advanced without providing any means of subsist-

of the preparations making by the Ottomans, this might explain and justify his conduct. It is equally probable, that his troops began to want provisions or to murmur for pay, and that, in proceeding to Tripolitza, his object was to call together the senate, which, in fact, was subsequently formed here after the embarkation of the executive.

ence for themselves, fondly expecting that the Greeks would suffer the produce of the harvest to fall into their hands. In vain they now looked for the Turkish fleet to furnish supplies.* Threatened with all the horrors of famine and drought, it soon became impossible for the Pasha to continue in his position, or longer to delay his retreat towards Corinth. No sooner were the orders given, and the baggage-camels laden, than the Moslem army set forward in great disorder. Minutely informed by their outposts of what was passing in the plain, the Greek chiefs at Lerna had already sent off detachments by a mountain pathway, so as to overtake the retreating columns as they entered the defiles between Mycene and Corinth. "Kolo-kotroni himself advanced with the main body, the moment he perceived that the Turks were in motion; while a part of the troops employed before Napoli advanced on their right flank. These movements were so well contrived and executed, that the enemy, whose rear-guard had suffered severely on the first day's march, was attacked with such impetuosity on the second, that not fewer than five thousand were destroyed in the course of a few hours; and had it not been that many of the Greek soldiery paid more attention to the loaded camels than to the fugitives, the loss of the Turks would have been much greater. The fate of the advanced guard was little better than that of their companions. On reaching the defiles near Corinth, they were met by the Mainotes despatched from Lerna, under Niketas, and attacked so furiously, that above twelve hundred of them perished in the first onset. Many more were killed in trying

* Its detention on the coast of Asia had prevented its timely cooperation with the army.

to force the passes. A great quantity of baggage and a number of horses fell into the hands of the Greeks. These memorable successes occurred between the 4th and 7th of August. Some of the foreign volunteers who were present during this retreat, have expressed their astonishment at the tranquil manner in which the Turks, both infantry and cavalry, suffered themselves to be cut down, without making the smallest resistance, as if they had looked upon themselves as consigned to death by some supernatural power.

“ Having collected the remnant of his army under the walls of Corinth, and been joined by the reserves left there, Mahmoud Pasha made a movement on the 18th, with the seeming view of resuming the offensive and marching towards Argos: the real object of this movement was, however, to draw the Greeks, who had been watching him, into an ambuscade. Aware of his intentions in time, the Greeks, instead of attempting to impede him, got into his rear, when the Turks attacked them, but, owing to the advantageous position taken up by the Greeks, the enemy was again repulsed with great loss. A still more bloody affair took place on the following day. Determined to regain the position they had abandoned, the Turkish troops were headed by Hadji Ali, second in command to Mahmoud; this officer, one of the bravest of the Ottoman army, was killed while encouraging his men. In the above desperate effort, the enemy lost nearly two thousand men, together with a large quantity of baggage and several hundred horses.”*

* Blaquiere, pp. 218—20. Mr. Waddington states, that he possesses a copy of the letter from Niketas to Odysseus, giving an account of this affair, in which he estimates his own loss at fifteen killed and wounded, and eight missing; that of the Turks at 4,500. “ The Mussulman rode into the passes, with his sabre in

The Greeks unfortunately had no means of following up these successes. Their troops, not being regularly supplied with rations, and receiving no pay, became so tired of the service that great numbers deserted. The fugitive Government was loudly censured, although it is doubtful whether they had it in their power to remedy these evils. In the altercations which ensued on their return to Lerna, the members of the Executive were prevented from resuming their functions for some weeks. In the mean time, the senate had been called together at Tripolitza; and with them, as the only efficient organ, Kolokotroni now proceeded to concert measures for providing for the subsistence of the troops and for the vigorous prosecution of the campaign. Ypsilanti left the Argolis for Athens, to re-inforce the garrison there; but, on finding that the enemy did not attempt to approach that place, he returned to the Peninsula, and rejoined Kolokotroni and Niketas, who were blockading Napoli.

“The sufferings and privations of the Greek soldiers,” Mr. Blaquiere says, “whether employed before Napoli or in the passes, during November and the following month, were of the most harassing description. They had no shelter whatever at night, though exposed to the piercing cold and incessant storms which prevail on the mountains of Greece at this period, and without any other covering than the rude Albanian mantle; while the daily ration of each man did not exceed half a pound of the coarsest bread.

the sheath and his hands before his eyes, the victim of destiny. And if the Greeks, from fear or neglect, had not left one road entirely unoccupied, by which most of the enemy escaped, the whole of the Ottoman army might have fallen on that spot. The name of the pass most fatal to the invader is *Dervenaki*: it lies on the principal road from Argos to Corinth.”—WADDINGTON, p. 144.

Those stationed at the *Dervenachi* were frequently obliged to march over rocks and inaccessible crags from daylight till dark, and not unfrequently during the night. Nor was the situation of the blockading force before Napoli much better: it was very rare for these to have their arms out of their hands, while they were either exposed to chilling blasts on the heights, or inundated with rain on the plain below. It is true, the sufferings of the Greeks here were trifling when compared with those of the Turkish garrison, which had been reduced to the last extremity of want, for some weeks before its capitulation. Nor was it until all the horses were consumed, and that many of the wretched soldiery were driven to the horrible necessity of subsisting on the carcasses of their fellow-sufferers, that those charged with the defence of the Palamida, or citadel, built by the Venetians on a mountain which overlooks the town, suffered themselves to be surprised by a party of Greeks, without making the least resistance. On scaling the wall, there were not more than thirty men found in that part of the fortress, and these had nearly the appearance of skeletons. Hearing that the Greeks had entered, the remainder of the Turks descended into the town by a covered way. Notwithstanding the dreadful condition of the garrison, Ali Bey hesitated to enter into terms, even after he discovered that the Palamida had been carried. But there was now no choice between immediate destruction and surrendering. The gates were therefore opened, on condition that the lives of the prisoners should be saved, and that they should be transported to the coast of Asia Minor by the Provisional Government. Pursuant to the terms thus arranged, the Greeks took possession of this highly important place on the 11th of January,

the anniversary of St. Andreas, the patron saint of the Morea; a circumstance which could not fail greatly to enhance the value of the triumph in the eyes of the people.

“ The surrender of Napoli led to another triumph on the part of the Greeks, destined to form the last portion of that terrible fate which had awaited the army of Mahmoud Pasha. The object of the division which remained at Corinth being to relieve the garrison of the above place, there was no longer any motive for its continuance there. Want of provisions had, besides, rendered a change of position absolutely necessary. The Turkish commanders, therefore, determined to march towards Patras, the blockade of which place had been lately neglected by the Greeks. Setting out about the middle of January, with nearly 3000 men, of whom a large portion was cavalry, they had only advanced as far as Akrata, near Vostizza, when Lundo, who was returning from Messolunghi with a small body of troops, appeared on a height through which the road lay, while the infidels were reposing in a deep valley, and thus suddenly stopped their progress. There being no attempt made to force a passage, the Greek general had ample time to send off expresses for reinforcements, and was shortly joined by Petmezza, another distinguished chief, who occupied the opposite side of the valley. A new scene of horror was thus prepared for the devoted Turkish soldiers. Their scanty stock of bread being exhausted, they began to feed on the horses; when the whole of these were devoured, recourse was had to the herbs which grew on the surrounding rocks; having subsequently attempted to derive sustenance from their saddles, they were at last obliged to follow the shocking example furnished at Malvasia and Napoli. The

blockade had continued for nearly three weeks, when Odysseus, who had joined the other chiefs with about 200 men, chanced to recognise an old acquaintance in one of the two beys who commanded the Turks: negotiations were entered into, by which those who survived obtained permission to embark, on condition of giving up their arms and effects."

The remaining operations of the Turkish fleet in this year were equally inglorious. After the destruction of the Turkish admiral's ship by Canaris in the roads of Scio, the fleet proceeded to Patras, where it took on board the officer appointed to succeed the Capitan Pasha, and disembarked a small body of troops. It then sailed for the eastern coast of the Morea; but, long before it could reach the Argolic Gulf, the army of Mahmoud Pasha had been defeated, and had taken shelter under the guns of Napoli and Corinth. It was not till the end of September that it arrived near Spetzia, where it was met by a great number of Greek vessels. Unable to use their fire-ships in the open sea, the Greeks did not venture to approach the heavy artillery of the Turks, and the latter were equally afraid to venture into the narrow extremity of the Gulf near Napoli. Instead of entering it, therefore, the Turkish admiral sent in two vessels, which were intercepted long before they could reach the town. He then sailed to Crete, and thence to Tenedos, where, in the middle of November, he was attacked, while at anchor, by the same enterprising Ipsariot, Constantine Canaris, who had burned the ship of his predecessor. On this occasion, however, the Capitan Pasha's ship escaped, and it was another that suffered. After some further losses from the weather, the remainder of the fleet sought safety in the Dardanelles; and thus ignominiously closed the naval campaign.

Such was the termination of the second campaign, on the results of which the Porte had fondly calculated for re-establishing its iron despotism in Greece. The loss of the Turks in the Morea alone, by famine and the sword, is supposed to have been not less than 25,000 men; while of the large force which invaded Acarnania, amounting to between 13 and 14,000 men, it is supposed that not more than one half escaped. By the destruction of Scio, they had excited a spirit which could be subdued only by the extermination of the nation; and this was their only conquest. They still retained possession, indeed, of all the fortresses of the Morea except two, with just so much of the level country of Northern Greece as their posts at Larissa, Lamia, and the Eurípous could command. "In other respects, their embarrassments were increasing. The Porte found great difficulty in equipping its fleet, and it had resorted to such violent measures for sustaining its finances, that the piastre, which not many years before had been equivalent to an English shilling, was reduced in value to $5\frac{1}{3}d$.

"But, on the other hand," continues Col. Leake, "the wealth of the commercial islands and towns of Greece were equally exhausted by the exertions which had been made since the beginning of the contest: some of the powers of continental Europe continued to regard the insurrection as part of a general conspiracy against established governments; the others refused all countenance to the insurgents; and individual charity was very inadequate to supply the wants of a people in the situation of the Greeks. Hence they were unable to retain in their service, or to satisfy even the most moderate expectations of the numerous military men of experience, who had been left in idleness in every part of Europe by the general

peace, and who were anxious for employment in Greece. They were unable even to take into the service of Government their own private ships, by which all their naval efforts had been made, or to execute the repairs of a two years' war for them; so that the number of those ships in a state to oppose the enemy was considerably diminished. Still less could they organise an artillery, or create a corps of infantry, under the orders and in the pay of the Executive, without which it was impossible for the Government to follow any improved plan of military operations, or even to establish a national treasury, collect the taxes, and administer, for the benefit of the revenue, all that large portion of the property of the insurgent districts, which, having formerly belonged to the Turks or their government, was now confiscated to the state. A government without a treasury, a marine, or an army, was of course little better than a cipher."*

The second Greek congress was summoned by the Executive to meet at Astros, a small town on the maritime frontier of Argolis and Laconia, in the month of April 1823. So great was the anxiety of the people to participate in the deliberations, that, in addition to the prescribed number of representatives, no fewer than fifty delegates were sent from different parts, to be present at the national congress; and besides the soldiery, a large concourse was drawn to the spot. The meetings commenced on the 10th of April, and were held in a garden under the shade of orange-trees. The deputies and delegates amounted altogether to nearly 300. The ancient Bey of Maina, Mavromikhali, was named president of the congress.

* Leake's Outline, pp. 97, 8. Canacari the vice-president, died at Castries in January 1823

Its first act was to appoint a commission, composed of seven members, to revise the "Law of Epidaurus," with power to make such alterations as might seem necessary. The modifications proposed having been agreed upon, the Provisional Constitution was solemnly ratified and re-promulgated, under the title of the "Law of Epidaurus," as the political code of Greece. Its next important act was, to dissolve the local juntas of Epirus, Livadia, and the Islands, and to declare all the provinces and islands immediately dependent upon the General Government. By a third decree it was enacted, that the powers of the *archi-strategia* (generalissimo) and of the *archinavarchia* (admiral-in-chief) should severally last only during the expedition in which they might be employed, on the termination of which they should return to their original military rank. The military code of France, with a few modifications, was provisionally adopted as the law of the confederacy. A proposal was made to introduce into the juridical administration the trial by jury; but this was overruled, and a committee of nine was appointed to compile from the Basilics and the Code Napoleon, such penal laws as might appear most suitable and requisite. The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was referred to the minister of religion, who was to consult the clergy and make his report to the government.* The Congress then proceeded to nominate Petro-bey Mavromikhalis president of the executive; Kolokotroni was chosen vice-president, and George Conduriotti, of Hydra, was

* "They decreed the abolition, in the meantime, of imprisonment and the bastinado, which the members of the higher clergy were accustomed to inflict on the secular priests before the revolution, declaring those usages to be barbarous and tyrannical."—POUQUEVILLE, tom. iv. p. 313

elected president of the senate.* Odysseus, Goura, Panouria, and the two Hyoldaches, were named *stratarchs* of Eastern Greece; Constantine Metaxas was made eparch of Messolonghi; and Emanuel Tombazis was re-appointed *harmostis* (captain-general) of Crete. The Congress concluded its functions on the 30th of April, by issuing a declaration, in which they re-asserted the national independence, and returned thanks to the land and sea forces for their noble efforts during the two preceding campaigns.

The promulgation of this address was followed by the immediate transfer of the executive and legislative bodies to Tripolitza, where the seat of government was established for the present, and immediate steps were taken for opening the third campaign. For this, however, they were but slenderly provided with resources. "As the invasion of the Morea, and the operations in Acarnania, had rendered it impossible for the people to cultivate the grounds, little could be expected from the ensuing harvest; an arrangement, however, was made, by which the national property and the forthcoming crops, estimated at twelve millions of Turkish piasters, were farmed out for about a third of that sum; and this, together with a few millions furnished by the patriotic zeal of individuals, was all that the Greek government had, with which to enter the field a third time against the whole military and naval power of the Ottoman empire." †

Early in the summer, before the Greek navy could be brought to act, a powerful Turkish fleet had, with-

* The other members of the executive council were, Andrea Metaxa, Sotiri Charalambi, and Zaimi; the latter a captain, but a constitutionalist.

† Blaquiere, p. 263. "The collecting of the contributions in every part of Greece, except the islands, and with it all real power,

out opposition, conveyed supplies and reinforcements to the fortresses still held by the Turks in Negropont, the Morea, and Crete. The object of the Porte seems to have been, as in the preceding campaign, to make a simultaneous attack upon the northern coast of the Morea from Eastern and from Western Greece. An army of 25,000 men having been assembled at Larissa early in June, it was formed into two divisions, intended to act at separate points. One of these, under Yusuff Pasha, marched towards Thermopylæ; while the other, under Mustafa Pasha, proceeded to the pass of Neopatra near Zeitouni. The Greeks posted at the latter point were too weak to attempt resistance, so that the enemy advanced into Livadia unopposed, and encamped at Necropolis on the 20th of June, to await the result of Yusuff's operations. This Pasha, after laying waste the whole country round Parnassus and Livadia, and setting fire to Rachova and Delphi, at length received a check from the armatoli bands under Odysseus and Niketas, who joined their forces at Dobrena. A system of guerrilla warfare was now commenced, by which the Turks were so harassed, that they soon retreated in the greatest disorder, pursued by the Greeks, who killed great numbers, and took a large quantity of their baggage. Odysseus then pushed forward to attack the division under Mustafa Pasha, which he forced to take refuge in Negropont, leaving behind most of its baggage and military stores. In the autumn, the Turks found themselves under the necessity of withdrawing a part of their forces into Thessaly, while

still remained in the hands of the illiterate chieftains of the land forces, who, though brave and sincere in the cause, were too ignorant to see the necessity of giving way to others for the general advantage."—LEAKE, p. 99.

with the remainder they cruelly persecuted and plundered the inhabitants of Eubœa, "who the less deserved it, as they had hitherto been slow in joining the insurrection."* The Osmanlys were, however, soon followed into this island by Odysseus, who, having been speedily joined by some of the Thessalian armatoli, and assisted by reinforcements landed from the Greek fleet, compelled the enemy, before the winter, to retreat behind the walls of Carystus and the Euripus. After these successes, which removed all apprehension of any new attack on the side of Corinth, Niketas proceeded to Salona, to concert measures for the defence of that place.

In Western Greece, the management of the war was entrusted by the Porte to Mustafa, Pasha of Scutari, with Yusuff, Pasha of Serres (*Sirræ*), as his second in command. The whole of July had passed away before a sufficient force could be collected to take the field. At length, at the head of 8000 troops, chiefly Albanians, collected at Prevesa, Yusuff took up a position at Ponda (near the ancient Actium), where he awaited the arrival of the Pasha of Scutari. No sooner, however, had the Albanians received the allowances usually made before entering the field, than they mutinied and deserted in a body; the Pasha being compelled to consult his personal safety by embarking for Patras. This defection is said to have been either instigated or encouraged by Omer Vrionis, who had taken offence, and perhaps alarm, at the preference given to Yusuff Pasha, and determined to deprive him of all means of co-operating with Mustafa. The Albanian deserters passed round the Gulf and through the Makrinoro without any molestation from the Greeks,

* Leake, p. 105.

and the greater part ranged themselves under the standard of Omer Pasha, who took post at Lepanore, on the right of the Acheron.

The Greeks were not idle spectators of this transaction. Marco Botzaris and Joncas of Agrafa were stationed with 1,200 men at Katochi between Messolonghi and Vonitza. On reaching Patras, Yusuff despatched a body of troops to Crionero, with orders to attack them in flank. Apprised of their landing, the Suliot chief fell on the Moslems, and having either killed or captured the greater part, drove the rest to their boats. But a more formidable enemy having crossed the ridge of Agrafa, was on the point of entering Acarnania, and Botzaris resolved to dispute his passage. To effect this object, it was necessary to undertake one of those extraordinary forced marches by which, during the present contest, the Greeks have so frequently secured the victory. On the 19th of August, Mustafa Pasha, at the head of 14,000 men, had encamped on an extensive plain near Karpenisi. The Greeks could scarcely number 2000. Undaunted by such fearful odds, Botzaris proposed in council, a night attack on the enemy, and called upon those who were ready to die for their country to stand forward. The appeal was answered, and having selected 300 palikars, chiefly Suliots, to act immediately about his own person, Botzaris directed that the remainder of the troops should be formed into three divisions, for the purpose of assailing the enemy's camp at different points, while, with his chosen band, he penetrated to the centre. That this might be simultaneous, not a shot was to be fired nor a sword drawn till they heard the sound of his bugle. Every thing being prepared by midnight, his last directions were, "If you lose sight of me, come and seek me in the Pasha's tent."

Botzaris succeeded in deceiving the Turkish sentinels, by telling them, in Albanian, that he came with reinforcements from Omer Vrionis. On reaching the centre of the camp, he sounded his bugle, and the attack commenced on every side. The enemy, panic-struck, opposed an ineffectual resistance; and by daylight, the struggle had terminated, leaving the Greeks in possession of the Turkish camp, with eighteen standards, a great quantity of baggage and ammunition, a number of horses, and some thousand head of oxen. The loss of the Turks must have been very considerable; that of the Greeks was numerically small,—it is said, only thirty killed and seventy wounded; but the victory, decisive and important as it was, was dearly bought with the life of the heroic Marco Botzaris. Just as he had ordered the Pasha to be seized, his voice being recognised, he received a ball in the loins: he continued, however, to animate his men, until wounded a second time in the head, when he fell, and was borne from the field of his glory.* The command of the troops was devolved by acclamation on Constantine Botzaris, the hero's elder brother.

Notwithstanding these checks, the Pasha of Scutari was enabled, by superiority of numbers, to overcome at length all opposition on the part of the *armatoli* posted in the defiles, and to effect a junction, in the end of September, with the troops of Omer Pasha in the *Ætolian* plain, where they speedily established a communication with Patras and the Turkish squadron in the Gulf. They then penetrated through the defiles of Mount Aracynthus, and Messolonghi was again

* No chief stood higher in the estimation of his countrymen, for bravery, disinterestedness, and simplicity of character; and his loss was justly considered as irreparable at this crisis.

threatened with a siege. Early in October, the small town of Anatoliko, built on a neck of land at the eastern extremity of the gulf to which it gives name, about three leagues from Messolonghi, was closely invested by the Albanian army. An old dilapidated wall, with a ditch filled up in several places, was the only defence of the town; yet, for three weeks, the Turks continued to fire shot and shells into the place, without making any impression on the garrison, till their ammunition and provisions were alike exhausted,*

* The number of shot and shells thrown into the town, according to Mr. Blaquiere, was estimated at 2,600; yet, only about fifty Greeks were killed or wounded; while the Turks are represented to have lost above 400 in different sorties and skirmishes, besides 1,200 by the distemper. A very remarkable circumstance is mentioned by Mr. Blaquiere as occurring during this siege. "Being aware that there was neither water nor cisterns in the town, one of the first measures of the Turks was to possess themselves of the fountain on Terra Firma, at a distance of nearly two miles, where the inhabitants had always drawn their supplies; so that the blockade had not continued many days, before those who remained were in the greatest distress, and would have been forced to surrender, had not a small supply been occasionally sent from this place during the night. But every further hope was destroyed by the enemy placing a strong post and battery close to the narrow channel through which the boats had to pass, so that the garrison looked forward to their immediate destruction as inevitable, for the town was hemmed in on every side, and had been without any communication with Messolonghi for several days, when a shell from a ten-inch mortar, entering the front of St. Michael's church, and penetrating the flagged pavement, lighted on a source of excellent water! What adds to the singularity of the circumstance is, that a few women and children who continued in the town (for the greater part had been sent hither) took up their abode in the church, as the most secure asylum, and were in it when the shell entered, without receiving the least injury. With respect to the water thus miraculously discovered, it was not only most abundant, but fully equal in quality to that of the fountain of which the enemy had taken possession. It is needless to say that this fortunate coincidence was regarded as a miracle in every sense of the word; that it saved Anatoliko there is no doubt."—BLAQUIERE'S *Second Visit*, p. 44.

and an epidemic fever broke out in the Pasha's army, which proved the best ally of the besieged. At length, on the 19th of November, Mustafa commenced a disorderly retreat towards Albania, leaving behind a number of guns and a considerable quantity of baggage. Omer Pasha once more retired to his positions on the Ambracic Gulf; and a small squadron from Hydra and Spetzia about the same time relieved Mesolonghi from its naval blockade.

The garrison of Corinth had, in the mean time, obstinately rejected every overture to surrender, though frequently reduced to great distress for provisions, till the latter end of October, when, there being no longer any hope of succours from the Capitan Pasha, they capitulated to Staiko of Argos and Giorgaki Kizzo, who were maintaining the blockade, and were allowed to embark on board some Austrian vessels which conveyed them to Smyrna.* The Turkish admiral, on his return to the Dardanelles, was met by a Hydriot squadron under Miaulis, and sustained some damage, together with the loss of one of his ships of war. A convoy proceeding from Salonika to the Euripus, was about the same time attacked by the Greeks in the Bay of Opus, and suffered great loss. Descents were made during the autumn by the Greek navarchs on the coasts of Macedonia and Asia Minor, which served as useful diversions, detaining the Turkish forces in those quarters. In Samos also, and in Crete, the war was prosecuted with considerable

* Mr. Blaquiere states, that Kolokotroni and one or two other chiefs, hearing of the intended negotiation, repaired to the spot with a view to participate in the spoils; but the Turks refused to open the gates to any but the individuals mentioned in the text, and Kolokotroni, disappointed and mortified, was obliged to retrace his steps to Tripolitza. Giorgaki is brother to Vasilika, the favourite wife of Ali Pasha of Ioannina.

success on the part of the insurgents. Upon the whole, the campaign of 1823 was alike disastrous and inglorious to the Turks. After a three years' contest, unaided Greece was still so far from being conquered, that not a single step had been gained towards suppressing the insurrection.

On the other hand, the strong fortress of Egripo, on which the security of Eastern Greece mainly depends, together with Lepanto and Patras, which give the naval command of the Gulf of Corinth, being still in the hands of the Turks, the Greeks were far from having gained possession of the country.* Their excessive ignorance in the art of war, their want of union, and their poverty, had hitherto precluded their making good their claims to be recognised as a free and independent nation. The want of a treasury more especially had presented an insuperable obstacle to improvements in the conduct both of their civil and their military affairs, while the unhappy dissensions between the executive and legislative bodies threatened to occasion the ruin of the cause.

It has already been mentioned that, by the Congress of Astros, Petro-bey and Kolokotroni were made president and vice-president of the Executive Council (*Εκτελεστικον*), in the room of Mavrokordato and Canacaris. Having thus at once the civil and military powers in their hands, they soon reduced the Senate (*Βουλευτικον Σωμα*) to total imbecility. The latter attempted, indeed, to preserve its authority, and was engaged, during the remainder of the year, in checking

* "Nothing," remarks Colonel Leake, "can more strongly shew the inefficiency of the military government of Greece, than that a post so contemptible as the castle of Patras should have held out for three years after its investment by the Peloponnesian armatoli."

the abuses of the military government. But two successive presidents, Conduriotti and Mavrokordato, having been compelled to flee to Hydra, the Senate, supported by the islands and naval leaders, came to an open rupture with the Executive. The immediate occasion of the disagreement is thus stated. The seat of government had been removed from Tripolitza to Napoli, where it became necessary that at least three members of the Executive Council should reside, that number being required to form a quorum. Kolokotroni and Petro-bey, however, were with the army, when Metaxa,* one of the other three members of the supreme council, withdrew himself to Carilis, thus leaving the Executive in a state of political incompetency. For this act he was arraigned by the legislative body, and expelled, Coletti being named as his successor. The minister of finance was in like manner displaced, for having, without any authority, established a salt monopoly; and four representatives were also dismissed for not attending their duties when called on to do so. Irritated at these vigorous proceedings, the other members of the Executive sent Niketas and young Kolokotroni with two hundred men to Argos, whither the legislative body had transferred their session, to enforce an explanation. They

* Andrea Metaxa is a Cefalonian, who, together with his brother Constantine, (the defender of Anatolico in 1823,) passed over into the Morea at the beginning of the insurrection, and became outlawed by the Ionian Government. They appear to have been Hetarists, and publicly avowed their connexion with Ypsilanti. They were consequently, as well as Kolokotroni, decidedly anti-Anglican. "Metaxa," writes Col. Stanhope, "is a sly politician, who has injured his country and raised himself by his cunning. He is Pano's adviser." "Coray cuts up Metaxa for his petition to the Pope, in which he places Greece at the disposal of the Holy Alliance." Mr. Blaquiere represents Metaxa as the prime mover of the senseless quarrels.—STANHOPE'S *Greece*, p. 172; 182. WADDINGTON, p. 191.

found the assembly sitting, and proceeded to demand the reason of their removing Metaxa and the finance-minister from their offices. Niketas is said to have threatened to make law with his sword, and the affair ended by his directing the soldiers to seize the archives of the legislative body. They were fortunately recovered the same evening by a *capitanos* named Zacharapoulo, who had the address to intoxicate the principal officers, and then rob them with impunity of their spoil. The majority of the legislative body then transferred their sittings to Kranidi, at the extremity of the Argolic peninsula, near Spezzia. Here they issued a proclamation, protesting against the lawless act; and having previously summoned and deposed Petro-bey and Charalambi,* they proceeded to nominate in their room the Hydriote, Conduriotti, (as president,) and

* Kolokotroni, Mr. Waddington states, had voluntarily resigned some months before. The following are stated to be the charges of which the deposed members of the executive were found guilty by a commission of nine of the legislative body. "1. For having misapplied the funds of the land and sea forces. 2. For having allowed two members to carry on the functions of the executive. 3. For promoting officers contrary to law. 4. For having sold the cannon taken at Napoli without consulting the representatives. 5. For uniting the cantons of St. Pierre and Prastos without consulting the legislative body. 6. For selling Turkish slaves contrary to law. 7. For having proclaimed the sale of the national property without the consent of the legislative body. 8. For allowing the finance-minister to establish a monopoly of salt. 9. For sending M. Metaxa, a member of the executive, to Carilis, and leaving the supreme body of the state with only two persons, and from that period having avoided all correspondence with the legislative body. 10. For having allowed M. Metaxa to act as a member of the executive after he had been sentenced to dismissal by a commission of the legislative body. 11. For not having acknowledged M. Coletti as a member of the executive after he had been chosen by the legislative body. 12. For having allowed an armed body to depart from Napoli, and to act against the legislative body at Argos."—STANHOPE, p. 107.

Boutasi, a Spezziote ;* Coletti being already appointed in the room of Metaxa.† The minority, consisting chiefly of Moreote members, retired to Tripolitza, the residence of Kolokotroni and the other ex-ministers.‡ These events appear to have occurred in December 1823.

The main support of the constitution now rested on the Islanders, upon whom had fallen the principal expenses of the war ; for the Morea had not contributed its quota towards defraying them, owing, as was suspected, to the private extortion or embezzlements of the captains, which was one reason of the hostility between the mili-

* Since deceased.

† “ Of these” (the members of the executive), “ John Coletti, a physician by profession, and, as such, formerly in the pay of Ali Pasha, is by far the most clever and intelligent. Of his sterling patriotism, however, there are few in the Morea, or even among his own countrymen, who are not rather sceptical. The exactions which have been carried on in Romelia by his agents and with his approbation, have rendered him odious to the people whom he represents ; and his intriguing spirit, forbidding countenance, and repulsive manners, have gained him, both with the Moreotes and with foreigners, a character for cunning, avarice, and dangerous ambition. Nevertheless, his acknowledged abilities have given him such an ascendancy with the president and with the executive body, that he may be considered as the spring of its movements.”—EMERSON’S *Journal*, p. 86.

‡ “ I have presented myself three or four times at the levees of Colocotroni, and have received from him repeated assurances of his peculiar respect for the English nation, and his attachment to its individual members ; and in fact, he immediately provided me with an excellent lodging, which I could not otherwise have procured. These professions amuse me the more, as the old hypocrite is notoriously anti-Anglican, and is continually and publicly accusing the British Government of designs to occupy and enslave the Morea. His manners, however, to do him justice, are utterly devoid of urbanity, and, like his countenance and dress, are precisely those which best become a distinguished captain of banditti. His court seems to consist of about fifteen capitani, who seat themselves on the sofa which lines three sides of his spacious hall ; from the walls

tary and naval parties.* Napoli di Romania was still in the hands of the Moreotes, and Panos Kolokotroni, the eldest son of the old *archistrategia*, assumed there, under the title of phrourarch (commander of a garrison), an absolute authority. After the cession of this fortress had been frequently and vainly demanded, the Kranidiotes (as the constitutionalists were contemptuously called by the military party) determined to commence hostilities, and to reduce it to submission by blockade. A Hydriote and a Spezziote brig sufficiently enforced this by sea, while a party under Coliopulo

are suspended Turkish muskets, curiously inlaid, with many valuable pistols and sabres. His capitani are as filthy a crew as I ever beheld, and for the most part ill-looking and very meanly attired; but the most miserably-starving wretch that I have observed among them is a papas, or priest, bonneted and bearded, but still military. Their usual covering for the head is nothing more than the red cap of the country; but there are generally two or three of the party who think proper, from whatsoever feeling of vanity, to burden themselves with extremely large and shapeless turbans. Colocotroni takes little notice of any of them, and seldom rises at their entrance. The fourth side of the room is occupied by a number of soldiers, who remain standing. Upon some occasion, Colocotroni thought proper to command them to retire; they obeyed reluctantly and slowly, and in a very few minutes returned in parties of two or three, and re-occupied their station. . . . Petro Bey is a fat, dull, well-looking personage, who is addicted to no particular class of political opinions, and appears peculiarly unenlightened by any sort of foreign information: he is understood to have made great progress (for an oriental) in the science of gastronomy; and is believed to be willing to embrace any form of government which will leave him riches, and give him peace, abundance, and security. It is then imagined that he would introduce French cookery among the Mainotes, as an excellent substitute for the indifferent potations of their Spartan ancestors." Demetrius Ypsilanti was also living here in perfect privacy.—WADDINGTON, pp. 150—2.

* "It had been rumoured," Mavrokordato said, "that Western Greece wished to separate her interests from those of the Morea. It was not so; but, if the latter possessed resources beyond her wants, it was but just that she should contribute to a war carried on for the defence of her outworks."—STANHOPE, p. 66.

occupied without bloodshed the country between Argos and the head of the Gulf. Panos, however, held out till an accommodation took place between the Tripolitza faction and the constitutionalists.

The misunderstanding between the executive and the legislative bodies was at its height, when, on the 12th of December, Col. Leicester Stanhope arrived at Messolonghi, as agent of the Greek Committee of London. On the 5th of January, 1824, he was followed by Lord Byron. His Lordship's arrival had long been looked for with intense interest, and he was received with military honours and an expression of popular enthusiasm. Mavrokordato had previously arrived from Hydra, being appointed by the legislative body to the government of Western Greece; and here he proceeded to summon a congress, consisting of the primates and captains of the province, at which some wise and salutary regulations were agreed upon. But the spring and the chief part of the summer passed away without any effective exertion. During the few months that Lord Byron survived his arrival in Greece, his wisest and noblest exertions were continually frustrated by the impracticability and ingratitude of the objects of his exertions.* He began by taking 500 Suliots into pay, and having been officially invested with the command of about 3000 troops, he projected

* "Some thought that he aimed at the monarchy of Greece; others, that he was an agent of Government, charged to buy the country; and almost all were convinced that he had some private design which would hereafter develop itself."—WADDINGTON, p. 175. "Lord Byron had acted towards them (the Suliots) with a degree of generosity that could not be exceeded; and then, when his plans were all formed for the attack of Lepanto, and his hopes were raised on the delivery of Western Greece from the inroads of the Turks, these ungrateful soldiers demanded, and extorted, and refused to march till all was settled to gratify their avarice."—STANHOPE, p. 116.

to conduct in person offensive operations against Lepanto. The Messolonghi Government, however, he soon found, had not the means of undertaking the siege: the treasury was empty, and the troops murmured for their arrears of pay. The Suliots readily accepted Lord Byron's money, but refused to march against Lepanto, saying that they would not fight against stone walls. Arta was afterwards mentioned as the object of an expedition better suited to the military taste of those wild mercenaries; but neither Arta nor Lepanto was molested. In the mean time, the Suliots quartered themselves on the citizens, by whom they were both hated and feared, refusing to quit the place till their arrears were paid. Many wanton murders were committed by them; and the persons even of Europeans not being deemed safe, several of the engineers and workmen, sent over by the Greek Committee, abandoned the service in disgust.* Colonel Stanhope appears to have accomplished nothing beyond establishing two newspapers, the Hellenic Chronicle and the Greek Telegraph; a measure deprecated by both Mavrokordato and Lord Byron, as at once unseasonable and dangerous.† After quarrelling with his noble countryman for declaiming against the wild projects of the liberals, and reproaching him as a Turk, the Colonel left Messolonghi towards the close of February for Eastern Greece, where he attached himself to the interests of Odysseus.

* Stanhope, pp. 87, 113, 118, 119, 120.

† "He (Lord B.) said, that he was an ardent friend of publicity and the press, but he feared that it was not applicable to this society in its present combustible state. . . . The Greek newspaper has done great mischief both in the Morea and in the Islands, as I represented both to Prince Mavrokordato and to Colonel Stanhope, that it would do in the *present* circumstances, unless great caution was observed."—STANHOPE, pp. 92, 126.

On the 19th of April, Lord Byron expired, — an irreparable loss for Greece at that crisis, and it threw affairs into inextricable confusion. A loan had been negotiated in England for the Greek Government, which, had it been properly applied, would have been of infinite advantage in strengthening the constitutional Government, and enabling them to re-organise the civil and military systems. Owing to the intelligence received respecting the triumph of the military faction, and the expulsion of Mavrokordato from the Morea, measures of precaution had very prudently been taken to prevent the funds from falling into improper hands; but, as it turned out, the decisions adopted were most unfortunate. The three commissioners nominated to superintend the application of the loan, were Lord Byron, Mr. Gordon, and Lazzaro Conduriotti, of Hydra; Col. Stanhope being authorised to act for Mr. Gordon, until the latter should arrive in Greece. The loan was consigned to Messrs. Barff and Logotheti, of Zante; and on the 24th of April, Mr. Blaquiere reached that island from England with the first instalment.* The first thing he heard was, that Lord Byron was no more; and his death having invalidated the commission, Messrs. Barff and Logotheti refused to issue the money. As if a fatality attended the whole affair, a proclamation issued by the Provisional Government, in which Zante and Cerigo were inadvertently named as the depots for the future instalments, had the effect of eliciting a counter-proclamation from the Ionian Government, by which it was declared, that the transfer of the money sent to Zante would be regarded as a breach of neutrality, exposing the offenders to all the pains and

* 40,000*l.* in sovereigns and dollars.

penalties denounced in an edict promulgated by Sir Thomas Maitland in 1822. It thus became impossible to extricate a farthing of the loan. At this very time, a formidable expedition was preparing at Alexandria, the Turkish fleet was actually at sea, and an army of 60,000 men were marching on Salona, destined to cross over to the Morea, to co-operate with the Egyptian troops. Many persons who had engaged to furnish Messolonghi with supplies, now refused to fulfil their promises; while the Suliots became so ungovernable, that Mavrokordato's situation became most embarrassing, and not unattended with personal danger.*

The military party had always been averse to the loan, affecting to consider it as equivalent to the sale of the Morea; and one of their agents now repaired to Zante, to endeavour to prevent its payment, while a report was industriously spread, that the money was all to be sent back to England. The fact was, that they dreaded its falling into the hands of their antagonists, and depriving them of power. Col. Stanhope, with whom it seems to have rested to authorise the transfer of the loan, treated lightly the fears of Mr. Blaquiere and the moving entreaties of Mavrokordato, rebuking the "feverish impatience" with which

* It ought to be mentioned, that these intractable warriors had suffered the greatest privations, and they had strong claims on the Government. "All that they wanted," Botzaris, their leader, told Mr. Blaquiere, "was, an asylum and the means of existence for their families, whom they could not think of leaving destitute." And when assured that the Government had determined to allot them a fertile district in Acarnania, and that every effort was making to procure them the amount of their arrears, he seemed perfectly satisfied. At length, Mr. Blaquiere, on his personal responsibility, advanced 10,000 dollars; and trifling as this sum was, it not only enabled Mavrokordato to put the Suliots in motion, but to strengthen several points on the northern frontier.

the nation looked forward to its arrival ; * and by unseasonable exhortations to disinterestedness, insulting the people he came to aid. The Turks and the Egyptians were at hand, and the money, he was well aware, would " settle the government, and give it the means of repelling the enemy ;" yet, not deeming the government " sufficiently organised," he opposed the issue of the loan ; and the consequences were most calamitous. What renders the Colonel's conduct the more inexplicable is, that Kolokotroni and his party, having been deserted by their followers after a few skirmishes with the constitutionalists, had, towards the close of April, tendered their submission, and both Tripolitza and Napoli had surrendered to the constitutionalists. †

At length, instructions were received from England

* Stanhope, pp. 216, 224, 242. " Your common cry is for money . . . It is false to say, that gold and iron are the sinews of war : these are but the accessories !"

† Col. Stanhope writes to Mr. Bowring, April 12 : " The legislative and executive bodies, indeed all the people, think the loan will save Greece, if it arrives in time. Every preparatory measure has been taken towards the proper disposal of the money. The Greeks are careful of their money, and not at all disposed to squander the resources of the state. The only danger is, that it should fall into the hands of a few individuals, and be appropriated to their particular interests. The present crisis is favourable. The proffered aid could not arrive more opportunely. Had it come sooner, it might have fallen into the hands of the military oligarchs. At present, their fortresses are about to surrender to the constitutionalists, and the government makes progress towards improvement and strength. The loan will enable Greece to protect her frontier this year, her people to reap the fruits of their labour, and the Government to collect the revenue." On the 28th of the same month, finding that he was nominated a commissioner, the Colonel adopts a very different tone, but says : " When the fortresses are in the hands of the Government, I shall consider that they are in a condition to fulfil their contract, and to pay the interest of the money borrowed."

to place the money unconditionally at the disposal of the Greek Government. Not only was it then too late, however, to remedy some of the disastrous effects of the delay, but the abandonment of all precaution in delivering it, rendered it the source of fresh evils.* The first supply reached Napoli in July, and 90,000 dollars were paid over to the fleet, the rest being distributed among the army; but it was a scramble, and few were satisfied. Among others, Odysseus, not finding his demands complied with, made a seizure of government money, disbanded his troops, and retired to his fortress at Parnassus.

The campaign of 1824 commenced with the capture and destruction of the islands of Kaso and Ipsara by the Turks. On the 8th of June, an Egyptian squadron from Candia, consisting of seventeen vessels, appeared off the former island, and the Turks endeavoured to effect a landing, but were repulsed. Night put an end to the combat, but, the next morning, Ismael Pasha re-appeared, and opened a furious bombardment on the principal fortification. While the attention of the islanders was thus engaged, a party of the enemy, landing on the north-western part of the island, took them in rear. Four hundred Greeks died with arms in their hands; the rest fled to the mountains or the neighbouring islands, and most of the women and children fell into the hands of the enemy.†

* "This unconditioned concession of the money to the hands of the Greeks themselves, has eventually caused all but their utter ruin; and whoever were the instigators of this measure, theirs is the guilt."—HUMPHREYS'S *Journal*, p. 261.

† *Ann. Reg. for 1824*, p. 159. We know not on what authority this statement rests. Mr. Blaquiere gives a very different account. "Previously to the grand attack on Ipsara, a smaller armament had been sent against those islands, which, without being very formidable, had been distinguished for their hostility to the Otto-

Ipsara promised to oppose a more successful resistance, and the preparations on the part of the Turks were on a scale of proportionate magnitude. Housref, the Capitan Pasha, after having landed reinforcements in Negropont, and taken on board a body of Albanians at Salonika, assembled at Mytilene a powerful armament, amounting to upwards of 150 sail, with which, on the 2d of July, he appeared off the island. The firing opened upon the town was returned with spirit and considerable effect from the batteries; but during the night, a landing was effected at the back of the island, (by aid, it is said, of treachery,) and a large body of troops, having driven before them the outposts, made their appearance on the heights above the town. At this sight, the greater part of the Ipsariots retreated in confusion to their ships, and put to sea. Great numbers perished in attempting to gain the vessels; several boats were so overloaded that they sank, and several ships were intercepted by the Turkish squadron. The town was soon taken, and the greater part of the remaining population, men, women, and children, were massacred. Many of them, to avoid falling into the hands of the Turks, threw their children from the rocks into the sea, and then plunged after them. A party of Albanians, who, with a number of the inhabitants that could not escape, had shut themselves up in Fort St. Nicholas, after a brave de-

mans. At Scopolo, near the Gulf of Volos, the enemy was repulsed with great loss, and after several attempts to land. The infidels were, however, more fortunate at Cassos, a small island near the east end of Candia, which, like Ipsara, had acquired considerable wealth by the enterprising industry of its inhabitants. Here the Turks succeeded in effecting a landing; and though subsequently forced to retreat, they were enabled to carry off a large quantity of booty, and to destroy several of the vessels which lay in the harbour."—*Second Visit to Greece*, p. 77, note.

fence, in which they repelled the enemy with great loss, destroyed both themselves and their assailants by setting fire to the powder-magazine.*

The triumph of the Turks was of short duration. No sooner had tidings of this catastrophe reached Hydra, than the Greek fleet, commanded by Miaulis, which had been lying there in inaction, for want of funds for the payment of the sailors, animated with a desire of vengeance, immediately set sail for Ipsara. The Turkish admiral had withdrawn his armament before they could reach the island, leaving nothing but about twenty galleys in the harbour, and a garrison of 1,500 men. Of these, only between 2 and 300 escaped. Seven of the galleys succeeded in eluding pursuit; the remainder were taken or destroyed. The Greeks then brought away the cannon left in the fortresses, together with some Ipsariot fugitives who had concealed themselves in the hills; and the island has ever since remained desolate. All its citizens who have escaped slaughter or slavery, have been indebted for an asylum to the hospitality of their countrymen. The greater part established themselves at Napoli di Malvasia, on the coast of Maina.

The next attempt of the Capitan Pasha was upon Samos. For this purpose, a large body of Asiatic

* In the account inserted in the Ann. Register, the garrison is stated to have consisted of sixty men, under the command of a Greek named Maroaki. "Finding themselves unable to defend the place, they hoisted a flag, on which was inscribed, 'Liberty or Death,' and immediately blew up the fort, involving themselves and about 1,200 Turks in instant destruction." Mr. Blaquiere makes the number of the garrison amount to 500; but his whole account, though of Greek manufacture, bears very obvious marks of exaggeration and poetic invention. "Upon a moderate computation," he says, "4000 Christians of every age perished." The other account states, that most of the inhabitants had time to escape with their families to Syra.

troops was collected at Scala Nova. The Samians, aware of the enemy's design, sent their families to the mountains, and prepared to defend the passes, in case the Turks should effect a landing, while a division of the Greek fleet, under George Sakturi of Hydra, disputed the passage of the straits. On the 17th of August, in a fourth attempt of the Turkish fleet to run across, the brave Ipsariot, Canaris, attached his fire-vessel to a forty-gun frigate under sail; the fire very speedily reaching the magazine, the greater part of those on board were destroyed, as well as several transports to which the fire communicated. At the same time, other fireships burned a Tunisine brig of war and a large Tripolitan corvette. On the 21st of August, another fleet of transports, employed in conveying troops to the northern side of Samos, were intercepted and dispersed, a part being taken and destroyed. On the following day, the Turkish fleet again attempted the passage from Cape Trogilium to the opposite shore; but such was now the dread inspired by the Greek fireships, that the approach of only two or three of them was sufficient to drive back the Ottoman men of war to the Asiatic coast. The troops assembled on the shore of Mycale in readiness to embark, on witnessing this last disgrace of their navy, returned to their camp at Scala Nova; and it was not long before the greater part of the land forces which had been collected there, dispersed and withdrew into the interior.

“ The Capitan Pasha, feeling the necessity of giving up the attempt upon Samos for the present, proceeded to effect a junction with the Egyptian expedition at Cos and Halicarnassus. Sakturi in like manner united his force with that of the chief navarch Miaoulis, at Patmos, after which the Greeks proceeded to

observe the Mussulman armament. On the 5th of September, a small division of Greek vessels with two fireships approached the Turkish fleet, when the latter got under weigh; the Greek fleet then joined their comrades, and an action taking place, the Turks lost some men, and two fireships of their opponents exploded without having done any damage to the enemy. The Greeks then retired to Panormus, (the port of the ancient Branchidæ, in the district of Miletus,) now called Iéronda. It was the object of the Capitan Pasha to return with the united fleet to Samos. On the 8th and 9th of September, the Turkish vessels attempted in vain to effect a passage through the channel between Calymna and the coast of Caria, the wind not being favourable, and the Greeks advancing to meet them. On the 10th, they were still more unfortunate. Early in the morning, they had advanced with a favourable breeze against the enemy, who was becalmed near Calymna; and the nearest of the Greek vessels, exposed to the heavy fire of the Turkish ships, were in danger of being destroyed, or at least of being cut off from the rest of the fleet, when a breeze arising, the Greek ships were enabled to act more in concert. Such a desultory combat as the great inferiority of the Greek vessels will alone admit of, was kept up until the middle of the day, when two fireships were attached to a large Egyptian brig of war, and not long afterwards, two others to the frigate which commanded the Tunisine division. So confounded were the Turks with the boldness and skill of their opponents in thus attacking them with their small vessels, in the open sea and under sail, that not even the Greek ships accompanying the incendiary vessels suffered much from the Turkish fire. The Ottoman fleet returned in confusion to the anchorage near Budrúm (Halicarnassus),

and the burning ships drifting ashore were entirely consumed. Many of the seamen were drowned or slain in endeavouring to escape from the flames, but the Tunisine commander was taken, and remained a prisoner with the Greeks.

“After this defeat, the principal object of the Capitan Pasha seems to have been, that of effecting a safe retreat to the Dardanelles. Some ships of war having been left for the protection of the transports which had been sent to the upper part of the Gulf of Cos, to land the Egyptian troops, the remainder, as soon as the calms (which usually prevail for some weeks after the cessation of the Etesian winds) had given place to the equinoctial gales, took advantage of a southerly breeze, and after meeting with some interruption and loss near Icaria, reached Mytilene.

“On the 7th of October, the Turkish admiral, having left Ibrahim Pasha in the command of the naval forces, re-entered the Dardanelles. About the middle of the same month, Ibrahim, after some unsuccessful encounters with the Greeks near Chios and Mytilene, returned to the Egyptian armament in the Gulf of Cos; and in the month of November, his ships sustained considerable damage from the enemy on the northern coast of Candia.”*

In Western Greece, military operations were almost suspended during the whole year. Mavrokordato, indeed, took post at the head of about 3000 men, on the heights of Lugovitza, near the western bank of the Achelous, where they remained for three months; while Omer Pasha remained at Kervasara at the southeastern extremity of the Ambracic Gulf; but neither party was able or disposed to bring his troops to act. †

* Leake's Outline, pp. 152—5.

† A detachment of cavalry surprised the town of Vrachova, and

In Eastern Greece, an attempt was made by the Seraskier, Dervish Pasha, to penetrate from Thessaly to the Corinthian Gulf, by the route which leads from Zeitouni to Salona. In the month of July, he succeeded in passing through the defiles; but at Ampliani, about eight miles from Salona, he was attacked and defeated by the Greeks under Panouria; and after suffering some further loss in his retreat, he resumed his positions in Doris and in Thessaly, without having effected the smallest advantage.* In concert with this operation, an attempt to recover Athens was made by Omer Pasha of Egripo; but he was met at Marathon in the middle of July by the Greeks under Goura, from whom he received such a check as, combined with the ill success of the Seraskier's expedition, sufficed to confine him to Bœotia, and he ultimately withdrew behind the walls of Egripo.

In the Morea, an attack was made, in the early part of the year, on Modon; but this, with occasional skirmishes with the garrison of Patras, comprised the whole exertions on either side. Coron and Lepanto remained in the undisturbed possession of the Turks.

Upon the whole, the campaign of 1824 was one of the most inglorious and unprofitable to the Ottomans of any that had hitherto taken place, and at no period had the prospects of the Greeks assumed a brighter appearance, than towards the close of this year. The arrival of the loan and the submission of the military

took or killed about 300 of the inhabitants. The town, however, had been before nearly destroyed, and with this exploit Omer Vrionis was satisfied.—HUMPHREYS, p. 264.

* Captain Humphreys states, that the Turks on this occasion lost about 200 men; the Greeks four or five. "This was the most important engagement that took place by land during the whole campaign; and constituted the operations of the Turkish army of above 20,000 men, opposed to 4000."—HUMPHREYS, p. 268.

party had given new strength and apparent stability to the civil Government ; while, as to the most important of all its foreign relations, the Ionian Government, with whom there had arisen a serious misunderstanding, was now on terms of friendly neutrality, and the Lord High Commissioner had actually deigned to set his foot in Greece.* But unhappily, the renewal of those dissensions in the Morea, which it was fondly hoped that the loan would heal, or enable the Government to terminate, not only prevented the prosecution of the winter campaign, but placed the cause in the greatest jeopardy.

* An order had been issued by the British Government, towards the close of 1822, directing its officers in the Mediterranean to respect the right of the Greeks to blockade such ports of Greece as remained in possession of the Turks. This was a most important point gained, being a first step towards the recognition of their independence. It was, however, notorious, that among the transports hired at Alexandria and Constantinople, a great number were under the English and the Austrian flags. Irritated at these proceedings, and alarmed at the formidable preparations which were being made in both Turkey and Egypt, the executive council issued, on the 8th of June 1824, from Lerna, an edict authorizing their cruizers to attack, burn, and sink, all European vessels which they should find so employed. This infraction of international law, immediately called forth strong remonstrances from Sir Frederick Adam ; but these not being attended to, on the 6th of September he issued a proclamation, notifying, that till the Greek manifesto should be fully and authentically recalled, the British admiral in the Mediterranean had been directed to seize and detain all armed vessels acknowledging the authority of the Provisional Government of Greece. On the 27th of August, the Government had already revoked their edict, so far as regarded all neutral ships that had not Turkish troops on board ; but this not being satisfactory, Sir Frederick Adam, two days after the issuing of his proclamation, embarked for Napoli, where he was received with the highest honours, and all differences were immediately adjusted by a new decree limiting the order to neutrals found in the enemy's fleet. On the 17th of November, a proclamation from the Ionian Government enjoined all vessels bearing the Septinsular flag, to respect the blockade of the Gulf of Corinth maintained by the Greeks.

During the winter, these differences rose to an alarming height. Several instances of partiality shewn by the Government to the Roumeliots, had tended to irritate the Moreote chieftains, who were moreover jealous of not sharing in the increasing power of the Government. At length, as little conciliation was employed, the dispute produced an insurrection on the part of the Moreotes, at the head of which was Kolo-kotroni and his sons, Niketas, his nephew, Demetrius and Nicolas Deliyauni, General Sessini, Andrea Zaimi, Andrea Londos, and Giovanni and Panagiola Notapopuolo. The Government immediately called in the aid of the Roumeliots, two of whom, Generals Izonga and Goura, aided by the counsels of John Coletti, took the command of their forces. The Moreotes carried on the civil war with considerable spirit for some time, and proceeded so far as to attempt the capture of Napoli di Romania; but at length, after some delay and bloodshed, the insurgents were dispersed, and the rebellion was pretty well quelled by the end of December. The evil effects, however, of this civil contest were long felt, and one most disastrous consequence was, that it prevented the reduction of Patras, which might easily have been taken during the winter. Owing to the delay thus occasioned, it was the middle of January before a few vessels sailed up the Gulf of Corinth, and, aided by some land forces, recommenced the blockade; while an active pursuit was set on foot after the fugitive leaders in the late insurrection, who had taken refuge in the different holds of the Morea.

In the meantime, the Porte was very differently occupied. The Pasha of Egypt, prompted apparently by a Mussulman feeling, and by the hope at least of adding Candia and the Morea to his dominions, had entered cordially into the war, and his wealth enabled

him to take upon himself the chief pecuniary burthen. Unhappily for the Greek cause, the assistance of the Egyptian troops had enabled the Turks in Candia to produce a temporary suppression of the insurrection in that important island; and the great facility of communication which was thus established between Egypt and the Morea, enabled Ibrahim Pasha, the step-son and lieutenant of Mohammed Ali, to begin the campaign of 1825 without waiting for the return of spring. His fleet, having wintered at Suda in Candia, set sail on the 23d of December for Rhodes, where he took on board 5000 disciplined troops: with these he returned to Candia, to complete his armament, which detained him till the middle of February. At the same time, transports were being fitted out at Constantinople, for the purpose of relieving Modon and Patras. Omer Vrionis had been removed to Salonika, and the pashaliks of Ioannina and Delvino had been bestowed on the Roumeli Valisee, to which was to be added Karl-ili, in the event of his subduing it. He immediately began to form his camp at Larissa, intending, when his arrangements should be complete, to pass over to his new pashalik, and with reinforcements levied in his progress, to descend on Messo-longhi.

Affairs, however, wore a favourable aspect in Greece up to the commencement of February. The last remnant of the rebellion had been quelled. A few of the leaders (or *αυταγροί*, as they were called) had taken refuge in Kalamos, an island appropriated by the Ionian Government to the reception of Grecian fugitives. The remainder had surrendered to the Government, and it having been determined to remove them to Hydra, the same vessel which brought Conduriotti from that island to resume his functions at Napoli as

President of the Executive, returned with the chiefs of the rebellion on board. On the 17th of December, Kolokotroni and his companions embarked, and in a few days were landed at the place of their destination,—the monastery of St. Nicholas, on the craggy summit of one of the wildest hills of Hydra.

“The prospects of this moment,” remarks Mr. Emerson, who arrived in Greece in March, “were, perhaps, the most brilliant since the commencement of the revolution. The liberators were now in full possession of the Morea, with the exception of Patras and the unimportant fortresses of Modon and Coron. Almost all Western Greece was in the hands of the Government. The country was just freed from a rebellion, which had exposed the principles of three of the chieftains who were disaffected, and enabled the Government to remove them from their councils and measures; a fourth portion of the loan was at that time arrived, and a fifth expected; whilst, about the same time, a second loan had been effected in England, so that the funds of the Government were now replenished with ample means for a long campaign. Thirty ships composed the blockading squadron before Patras, aided by a large body of land troops. The garrison within was already reduced to straits for provision, as appeared by some letters which arrived at Zante from persons within the walls; and a capitulation was expected in a very short time. Constant communications being maintained between Messolonghi and Larissa, and the activity of the Roumeli Valisi’s movements being ascertained, it was determined to prepare in time to oppose him; and for this purpose, Nota Bozzaris, together with Generals Suka and Milios, set forward with a sufficient body of troops to occupy the pass of Makrinoro, the ancient Olympus, through which it

was necessary he should pass. Thus prepared at every point, the spirits of the soldiers were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and it seemed that Greece wanted but one step more to defeat her northern invaders, deliver the Peloponnesus, and complete the work of freedom.

“ It was, however, towards the end of the same month, that the first disastrous stroke occurred. Frequent letters from Crete had informed the Government of the return of Ibrahim Pasha from Rhodes, and of the vigour with which he was hastening the completion of his preparations. The progress of the blockade at Patras was now observed with double interest, as its fall was daily expected, and as there was no other probable means of checking the armament of the Egyptians, than by withdrawing the squadron which was cruising before the fortress. This, being a desperate resource, was of course deferred to the last moment; till at length, advices arrived of the immediate departure of the expedition from Candia: further delay was impossible, and just at a moment when the garrison was ripe for surrender, the squadron sailed, unfortunately too late. Such was the deficiency of communication across the Morea, that almost on the same day that the fleet sailed from Patras (24th Feb.), the Egyptian squadron of four corvettes and numerous brigs and transports, in all thirty sail, anchored off Modon, and disembarked 6000 soldiers, infantry and cavalry, well disciplined, and commanded chiefly by European officers. The troops immediately encamped around Modon, whilst the ships returned without delay to Suda in Candia. A few days after, Ibrahim Pasha, at the head of 800 men, advanced to the summit of the range of hills which rise at the back of Navarino. The inhabitants were instantly struck

with terror, and flew to arms, whilst 700 Roumeliots, under the command of General Giavella, poured immediately into the fortress. The Pasha's object, however, appeared to be merely to take a survey of the situation of the fortress; he remained quietly at his station for some hours, and then returned to his encampment. It was now clear that Navarino and the adjacent country was to be the immediate seat of war; the attempt on Patras was consequently totally abandoned, and the troops drawn off to be marched further south.

“ Both parties, however, remained quiet till the 20th of March, when Ibrahim Pasha, having received a second reinforcement from Candia, (his ships having evaded the Greek squadron,) took up his position, and placed his camp, with 14,000 soldiers, before Navarino. The capture of this town was a considerable object to the Turks not only from its position, but from the circumstance of its being the best, or one of the best protected ports in the Morea. The harbour, which is of considerable dimensions, is protected by the island of Sphacteria at its entrance, which is so narrow, that whoever has possession of the island can prevent all ingress or egress from the town by sea.

“ The situation of Navarino perfectly agrees with Thucydides' description of Pylos;* from some remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood, there can be little

* The modern Greek name of the castle is 'Αγαρίνος, whence the Italian names of Old and New Navarino. It had been left nearly in the same state in which it was found when taken from the Turks in 1821. The fortifications consisted of a low wall without any ditch, flanked on the land side by some small bastions, and still weaker towards the sea, where it had received only a slight patching, since it was battered by the Russians, from one of the opposite islands, in the year 1770.—LEAKE'S *Outline*, p. 165.

doubt of its identity : in fact, a village about half a mile distant, built immediately at the foot of the cliff, on which stands the fortress called Old Navarino, still bears the name of Pylos. New Navarino, or Neo-Castro, as the Greeks more usually call it, formerly contained 600 Turks and about 130 Greeks ; the former of whom were remarkable for their villany, the latter, like all the Messenians, for their sloth and effeminacy. It now contained merely 200 inhabitants and a small garrison, having fallen into the hands of the Greeks during the early stages of the revolution. The fortifications, like all the others in the Morea, were the work of the Venetians, and though not peculiarly strong, were in a pretty fair state of repair. Every precaution was now taken by the Greeks. A garrison amounting to 2000 soldiers, principally under the command of Hadji Christo, and Joannes Mavromichali, son to Petro Bey of Maina, were thrown into the fortress ; a small corps of artillery, amounting to fifty or sixty men, were sent off with all haste from Napoli ; and the command of the fortifications was given to Major Collegno, who lost no time in assuming his post. Provisions were sent in from all parts of the Morea, sufficient for a long siege. Large bodies of Roumeliots, under the command of their respective generals Giavella, Karatazzo, Constantine Bozzaris, brother to the hero Marco, and General Karaiskaki, took positions in the rear of the enemy. Conduriotti and Prince Mavrocordato prepared to set out from Napoli with fresh troops ; and though affairs were threatening, there existed the strongest hopes, from the spirit of the soldiery and the state of the fortress, that they would be able to make an effective stand against all assaults."

The army of Ibrahim Pasha consisted of about

10,000 infantry, 2000 Albanians, and an adequate proportion of cavalry and artillery. On the 28th of March, he made an assault on the town, but was opposed by the united force of the Roumeliot general, Karatazzo, and Joannes Mavromikhali. The loss on both sides was nearly equal: that of the Greeks is stated at 150 men, including their brave young leader, Joannes, who received a wound in his arm, which, being unskilfully dressed, terminated in a mortification. The Greeks succeeded, however, in taking from the enemy upwards of a hundred English muskets and bayonets, which were immediately forwarded to Tripolitza. A system of petty skirmishing was kept up during the ensuing three weeks without any important result. In the mean time, Austrian, Ionian, and even English ships, laden with Turkish grain and provisions, were daily arriving at Napoli, as prizes taken by the Greek cruisers; * and on the 13th of April, three Austrian vessels, laden with provisions for the enemy, who was reported to be already in possession of Navarino, appeared at the entrance of the harbour. The Greek commandant, suspecting their intention, hoisted the red flag on the fortress; and the three vessels, entering in full confidence, were declared lawful prizes, and their cargoes were applied to the supply of the garrison.

At length, on the 19th of April, Ibrahim Pasha attacked, in their position, the whole force of the Greeks, amounting to about 6000 men, and completely de-

* Emerson, p. 105. These vessels had invariably regular papers from their respective consuls, and cleared for the Ionian Isles: but in general, the confessions of the captains, or some other circumstances, condemned them. Several, however, were reclaimed, and though no doubt could be entertained of their being Turkish property, yet, as their papers were correct, the Greeks were compelled to surrender them.

feated them. The particulars of this important action are thus given by Mr. Emerson, on the authority of letters from Navarino, transmitted to the Government at Napoli.

“The positions in the rear of the enemy had been all occupied, with an intention of cutting off their communication with Modon, and were now extended almost in a circle. The left extremity was intrusted to Hadji Christo, Hadji Stephano, and Constantine Bozzaris; the right was commanded by the Roumeliot generals, Giavella and Karatazzo; whilst the centre was occupied by a body of Moreotes, under General Skurtza, a Hydriote, whom Conduriotti's interest had invested with a high command, together with a few other capitani. On the evening of the 18th instant, intimation of the intended attack in the morning had been received from a deserter, and notice in consequence sent to the different generals. The commanders of the positions on the extremities were fully prepared; but in the centre, Skurtza had as yet neglected to make the necessary entrenchments and petty lines, behind which alone the Greeks are capable of making any stand. He accordingly applied for additional assistance, and early in the morning, Bozzaris set out to his position with a chosen body of his soldiers. About nine o'clock, the attack of the Egyptians commenced on the position of Hadji Christo, who sustained the onset with extreme courage: at the same time, another party, with three cannon and one mortar, commenced the attack on the right, where they met with an equally brave resistance from Giavella and his followers; whilst a third, supported by a body of Mameluke horse, charged on the centre. The two extremities kept their position with astonishing bravery, though not less than three hundred shot and shells fell within the lines of

Giavella. In the centre, however, the want of their accustomed tambours soon threw the soldiers of Skurtza into confusion; and after a short stand, they commenced a precipitate retreat, leaving the soldiers of Bozzaris to oppose the enemy alone. These were soon cut to pieces; and it was with extreme difficulty, that himself and twenty-seven followers escaped with life, after witnessing the fall of almost all the chosen soldiers of his brother Marco, who had died in his defence. Upwards of two hundred Greeks lost their lives in this engagement. Xidi and Zapheiropuolo, two of the bravest leaders, were made prisoners; and four other distinguished capitani perished in the fray.

“The day following, the enemy, elated with their success, attempted an assault on the walls: the efforts of the garrison, however, assisted by a band of Arcadians in the rear of the enemy, were successful in driving them off with the loss of 100 slain and twenty prisoners; whilst the Greeks took possession of their newly-erected battery, but, not being able to carry off the cannon, contented themselves with spiking them all, and retired again within the walls.”

The negligence or pusillanimity of the Moreotes under Skurtza, to which Botzaris justly attributed the defeat of his troops, so materially widened the breach between the Roumeliots and the Moreotes, that shortly after, hearing that the Turks were advancing on Messolonghi, the former expressed their determination to leave the defence of Navarino to the peninsular troops, and return to defend their own homes. Accordingly, on the 30th instant, they arrived at Lugos, to the number of 3000, under their respective generals, Giavella, Karaiskachi, and Botzaris. The Moreotes, roused by this defection, now took arms with greater

spirit ; and the rebel chiefs Zaimi and Londo, driven from Kalamos by the English resident, returned to the Morea, having submitted to the Government, and began to raise troops in their native districts of Kalavrita.

In the mean time, the Roumeli Valisee had, on the 10th of March, reached Ioannina from Larissa. On the 20th, he arrived with 15,000 men at Arta ; and early in April, he succeeded in accomplishing his entrance by the pass of Makrinoro into the plains of Western Greece. The Roumeliots, under Nota Botzaris and Izonga, had deserted their post, and crossed the Achelous, without once coming in contact with the enemy, leaving the whole country north of that river open to his ravages, while the inhabitants of the villages took refuge under British protection in Kalamos. At the orders or entreaties of the Messolonghi Government, Generals Izonga and Makris were induced, however, to recross the Achelous, and attempt to seize the passes of Ligovitzi ; but the enemy was beforehand with them, and after a short conflict, they were obliged to retreat with all expedition, and prepare for the defence of Anatoliko and Messoionghi.

To return to the siege of Navarino. The object of Ibrahim Pasha was now to take Sphacteria ; but it was not till the arrival of his ships from Suda with a third division of land forces, that he deemed it expedient to make the attempt. On the 6th of May, a large division of the Egyptian army commenced the attack on the fortress of Old Navarino, with a view to cover the debarkation of troops from the fleet. The spirited defence made by the garrison under Hadji Christo and the Archbishop of Modon, together with the approach of the Greek fleet, defeated the plan. In the evening, after a smart action, which continued all day,

the enemy retired to their former position at Petrochori, while the fleet fell back in the direction of Modon. The Greek squadron kept beating off the town, and only eight ships, including that of the brave Anastasius Psamado, remained within the harbour.

Early on the next morning, the Turkish fleet was again observed under weigh in the direction of the fortress, and, about one o'clock, had advanced very near the island, while the Hydriot ships under Miaulis were becalmed at some distance from the shore. The island contained but one landing-place, on the western side, which was defended by a small battery of three guns, and a garrison of 200 soldiers, under the direction of a brave young Hydriot, Stavro Sohini, and General Anagnostara. For the purpose of working the guns more effectually, a party of sailors, headed by Psamado, were landed from the ships in the bay; and Prince Mavrokordato and Count Santa Rosa, a Piedmontese volunteer, remained on the island to direct the operations of the whole. If bravery could have compensated for the inequality of numbers, the Greeks would have triumphed. Fifty armed boats were sent off from the Turkish fleet, containing 1500 men, on whose approach the little garrison opened their fire, and for some time maintained their position nobly; but at length, surrounded from behind, cut off from relief or retreat, they were overpowered by numbers, and, after a desperate resistance, were to a man cut to pieces, their two brave leaders being among the last that fell. The divisions stationed at other points of the little island now fled in confusion, and all the Greek vessels in the harbour, except Psamado's, made their escape, passing unopposed through the division of the enemy's fleet placed at the mouth of the harbour to detain them. Mavrokordato and the governor of

Neo-kastro, both of whom were in the island, were so fortunate as to reach the remaining ship; but when the boats reached the shore a second time, for the purpose of bringing off others, the fugitives that eagerly crowded into them were too many, and sunk them. A few moments after, Psamado, desperately wounded, with a few followers, gained the beach, and was seen waving his cap for the assistance his countrymen could no longer render him. The Turks soon came up, and he fell, with his handful of men, under a shower of bullets. Not a Greek was now left alive on the island, and the solitary ship of Psamado had to make her way out through the fleet of the enemy, drawn up round the entrance of the harbour. During four hours of a dead calm, she maintained a desperate fight, but finally fought her way with great gallantry through the forty sail of the Egyptians, with the loss of two men killed and six wounded. Three hundred and fifty soldiers perished in the island, including the unfortunate Count Santa Rosa, who fought in the ranks with his musket and ataghan, and General Catzaro, besides ninety seamen in killed, wounded, and missing; a greater number than Hydra had lost during the four years of the war.*

* Mr. Emerson was at Hydra when the vessels arrived, bringing the melancholy intelligence of their fate. The sight, he says, of the anxious and agonized groupes of mothers and widows crowding the rocks on the beach, was most heart-rending. Count Santa Rosa had but a few months before come to Greece with Major Collegno, to offer his services to the Government, "disappointed in his attempt to free his own country from the Austrian Sultan." Without money, and unacquainted with the language, he discovered his error in joining a cause he could not serve in any situation becoming his rank and talents. Three letters written shortly before his death, (*Picture of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 180,) exhibit the ardent affection and despondency of a heart-broken exile. He had intended to return to England at the end of the campaign, and speaks

Two days after the capture of the island, the garrison of Old Navarino, who were now shut up with but little provisions, and water for only a few days, capitulated on condition of laying down their arms and retiring. For these favourable terms, they were unexpectedly indebted to two of the French officers in the Pasha's service; and on the faith of their representations, they ventured to march out, about a thousand men in number, under the command of General Luca and an American Philhellene named Jarvis. Having surrendered their arms at the feet of the Pasha, they were escorted for a few miles by a small body of horse, and were then permitted to depart in safety. The Turkish ships, having entered the harbour, now opened a fire upon Neo-kastro, about fifty pieces of cannon being placed in battery on the land-side; but not till the 23rd of May, after a week consumed in negotiation, the garrison marched out on the same terms as those of Navarino, and were embarked in European vessels for Kalamata, with the exception of Generals Iatracco and Giorgio Mavromikhali, who were detained prisoners.* By the fall of this place,

with fondness of his friends in this country; but on the day of the attack on Sphacteria, he disdained to flee: like the brave Roland of Campbell,

— “ he fell, and wished to fall.”

An account of the fatal conflict, drawn up by Mavrokordato's secretary, himself an eye-witness, will be found in the *Picture of Greece in 1825*, vol. ii. p. 169. See also Emerson's *Journal*, in vol. i. pp. 139—144. Leake's *Outline*, p. 167.

* Leake, p. 168. Emerson, pp. 152, 193. Count Pecchio states, that the garrison of Old Navarino attempted to force a passage by night through the enemy's camp; that they were surprised on the road, and obliged to surrender, with the exception of 140 Roumeliots, who opened themselves a road sword in hand; that Ibrahim Pasha detained as prisoners Hadji Christo and the Bishop of Modon, and set the rest at liberty. *Journal*, p. 73.

Ibrahim Pasha became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea, there being no other fortresses to oppose his progress, and the country consists of open plains, affording no impediment to the operations of cavalry; while the beautiful harbour gave the enemy a secure hold to winter in.

Shortly after the fall of Navarino, the Egyptian Pasha sustained a naval loss, which, though not of sufficient magnitude materially to affect the operations of the Ottoman fleet, served to revive the drooping spirits and rekindle the almost extinguished ardour of the Moreotes.

“Immediately after the loss of the Island, while the Greek fleet continued cruising off the coast, the squadron of the Pasha separated into two divisions, one of which remained in the vicinity and harbour of Navarino; whilst the other, consisting of two frigates and four corvettes, with numerous transports, moved down to Modon, where, on the 12th instant, they were followed by Miaulis, with four fire-ships and twenty-two brigs. In the evening of the same day, a most favourable breeze setting in from the south-east, he made his signal for the fire-ships to enter the harbour. Besides the Egyptian squadron, there were likewise within, a number of other, Austrian, Ionian, and Sicilian craft, making in all about thirty-five or forty sail. The enemy, on the advance of the fire-ships, immediately attempted to cut their cables and escape; but the same steady breeze which drove on the brulots, and blew direct into the harbour, prevented their egress. The consequence was, that they were thrown into the utmost confusion, ran foul of each other, and finally were driven, *en masse*, beneath the walls of the fortress; where the brulots still advancing upon them, the whole Egyptian squadron, with a few

Austrian and other ships, in all twenty-five, fell victims to the flames. Only a very few of the smaller European craft, which lay further out from the town, succeeded in making their escape, and brought the particulars of the event to the Pasha of Navarino. In the mean time, the missiles caused by the blowing up of the shipping and cannon, falling within the walls, set fire to a store-house containing a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, which blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was visible for several miles from sea. Owing to the panic on the first appearance of the Greeks, not the slightest opposition was made by the Egyptians; and after destroying the squadron of the enemy, the brulottiers succeeded in regaining their own ships, without the loss of a single man."

While the feelings of the Moreotes were still vibrating between joy and despondency, the cry for Kolokotroni was again loudly raised. Some of the provinces had before demanded his release, and he had himself besought the Government to allow him to engage the enemy, offering his two sons as hostages. Two members of the Government were in favour of his release, and two against it; * but, on the arrival of the President, it was referred to the legislative body, who decided the point in his favour, and a deputation proceeded to Hydra to conduct him back to Napoli.†

* Coletti, Kolokotroni's principal enemy, was one of those who opposed his release. Conduriotti, considering Coletti as the suborner of the Roumeliot troops who had abandoned the camp, wished him to be expelled; but, perceiving that he should soon require his support against Kolokotroni, he gave up this idea. Mavrokordato, however, was the most obnoxious to the Moreote party.

† "When I beheld Colocotroni sitting amid ten of his companions, prisoners of state, and treated with respect by his guards,

He arrived on the 30th of May, and on the next day, his reconciliation to the Government was celebrated with all due ceremony, amid the acclamations of the populace. A general amnesty and oblivion were mutually agreed to and ratified in the church of St. George; after which Signor Tricoupi delivered an oration to the people and the soldiers in the grand square. Kolokotroni replied without premeditation to the speech addressed to him by one of the legislative body. "In coming hither from Hydra, I have cast all rancour into the sea; do you so likewise; bury in that gulf all your hatreds and dissensions: that shall

I called to mind the picture that Tasso draws of Satan in the council of devils. His neglected grey hairs fell upon his broad shoulders, and mingled with his rough beard, which, since his imprisonment, he had allowed to grow as a mark of grief and revenge. His form is rugged and vigorous, his eyes full of fire, and his martial and savage figure resembled one of the sharp grey rocks that are scattered throughout the Archipelago." Such is the portrait of the old klepht, drawn by Count Pecchio. Mr. Emerson's description is not less picturesque, though he gives a different colouring to his hair. He obtained permission to visit the rebel chiefs at Hydra a short time before. "The generality of them exhibit nothing peculiar in their appearance, being, like the rest of their countrymen, wild, savage-looking soldiers, clad in tarnished embroidered vests, and dirty *juetanellas*. Colocotroni was, however, easily distinguished from the rest by his particularly savage and uncultivated air. His person is low, but built like a Hercules, and his short bull neck is surmounted by a head rather larger than proportion warrants, which, with its shaggy eye-brows, dark mustachios, unshorn beard, and raven hair falling in curls over his shoulders, formed a complete study for a painter. He had formerly been in the service of the English in the Ionian Islands, as a serjeant of guards, and spoke with peculiar pride of his acquaintance with several British officers. He was in high spirits at the prospect of his liberation. . . . During my visit, he spoke of his enemies in the Government with moderation and no appearance of rancour; he, however, said little, but, on the name of Mavrocordato or Coletti being mentioned, he gathered his brow, compressed his lips, and baring his huge arm to the shoulder, he flung it from him with desperate determination."—*Picture of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 164, 167; vol. ii. p. 86.

be the treasure which you will gain"—alluding to the excavations in search of treasure which were then being made. Proclamations were now issued by the Government, calling the inhabitants of the Morea to arms; all the shops of Napoli were ordered to be closed, except a sufficient number of bakers and butchers, and the whole population was to join the standard of Kolokotroni. By the 10th of June, he had assembled about 8000 men at Tripolitza. Pappa Flescica had already marched to garrison Arcadia, and Petro Bey was raising his followers in Maina.

In the mean time, Miaulis, the Hydriote admiral, had determined on a desperate but decisive service: this was no other than to enter the harbour of Suda, and attempt the destruction of the remainder of the Egyptian fleet. He was just about to sail, when news was brought, that the Turkish fleet had passed the Dardanelles, and was at that time within thirty miles of Hydra. Instantly signals were fired, and in a quarter of an hour, every anchor was weighed, every yard-arm spread with canvas, and the whole fleet steered for that island, to protect their homes. They had nearly reached it, when a caïque came off with the gratifying intelligence that, on the 1st of June, the hostile fleet had been met in the channel of Cavo Doro by the fire-ships of the second Greek squadron under Saktouri, when a line-of-battle ship, (the Capitan Pasha's, who escaped by sailing in a smaller ship,) a corvette, and a frigate, were destroyed, and the Capitan Aga perished in the flames. Five transports also were taken, laden with stores and ammunition, which were safely conveyed to Spezzia. The remainder of the fleet dispersed in all directions: one corvette was driven to Syra, where she was burned by the crew, after feigning to surrender, but 150 of the

men were made prisoners. The larger body succeeded in reaching Rhodes ; but it was some time ere they could be re-assembled. This brilliant success, besides relieving Hydra, had a powerful effect in raising the spirits of the Greeks. The vessels contained a large proportion of the stores intended for the siege of Messolonghi.

Miaulis now steering southward, was joined by Saktouri's squadron, making their united force amount to about seventy sail ; and it was resolved that the whole fleet, after completing their provisioning at Milo, should proceed to Suda, where the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were now collected. It was not before the evening of the 12th that they reached that harbour, owing in part to stormy weather, and partly to delays arising from the insubordination of the seamen. On the 14th, a light breeze springing up, enabled them to attack a division of the Ottoman fleet in the outer harbour ; and at the expense of three fire-ships and ten men killed, they destroyed a corvette with its equipage. They were prevented from further success chiefly by the dropping of the wind, and by the unwonted precaution of the Turks, who, in consequence of information given by a French schooner, had separated into four divisions. On the 17th, a severe gale separated the Greek fleet, and they retired to Hydra, leaving the Turkish admiral to proceed unmolested to Navarino, where he landed a reinforcement of 5000 men. Thence he pursued his course with seven frigates and several smaller vessels to Messolonghi, where he arrived on the 10th of July.

The siege of that place had now been carried on by Reschid Pasha for upwards of two months, without making any impression or gaining any important advantage. On the 27th of April, the first division

of 5000 had made their appearance, and they were soon followed by other parties ; but their whole artillery consisted of only two pieces of small cannon, and they were already in want of provisions. On being joined, however, by Yousef, Pasha of Patras, their numbers amounted to 14,000 men, and they had five cannon and one mortar ; others were subsequently obtained from Lepanto and Patras. Several smart skirmishes took place. On the 6th of May, a body of 200 Roumeliots attacked the enemy's position at the village of Pappadia, which was defended by 2000 men, under Banousa Sebrano, and succeeded in dislodging him, with a slight loss on the part of the Greeks. The Turks lost sixty killed and a number of prisoners. They then took up a new position, and were again obliged to retire before the Greeks with considerable loss, and to send to the camp for succours. At Anatoliko, similar success attended the efforts of the Greeks in repelling an assault. On the 10th of May, the Turks, having completed their preparations for attack, commenced throwing bombs and shot into Messolonghi, which the garrison returned with equal vigour. A constant discharge of shot and shells was now kept up by the besiegers, who gradually advanced their lines and position nearer to the walls ; but very little mischief was done by the artillery, and the spirit of the garrison and inhabitants remained unbroken. Their provisions and ammunition, however, became nearly exhausted, and both parties were looking with anxiety for their respective fleets.

On the arrival of the Capitan Pasha in July, the Seraskier was enabled to press the siege with increased vigour. The boats of the Ottoman fleet entered the lagoons, and the non-arrival of the Hydriote squadron rendered the situation of the besieged very critical.

The garrison of Patras were able with impunity to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Clarenza and Gastouni; and about the middle of July, the latter town was almost totally burned by a party of Turkish cavalry. Anatoliko surrendered on the 21st of July, the garrison of 300 men being made prisoners of war; and on the 1st of August, the Turkish commander, apprehensive of the approach of the Greek fleet, ordered a general attack upon Messolonghi. The works on the land-side were assailed in four places, while thirty boats occupied the lake. The Osmanlys were, however, every where repulsed, with the loss of part of their artillery; and two days after (Aug. 3) the Greek fleet, consisting of about twenty-five brigs, made its appearance. So critical was the moment of their arrival, that the town is stated to have been on the point of capitulating, their ammunition and provisions being exhausted, and their supply of water being cut off, when a dark night and a favourable wind enabled the Greek squadron securely to pass the Turkish line, and to take up a position between them and the town. On the 4th and 5th of the month, they succeeded in destroying two small ships of war, as well as all the boats on the lagoon, and in throwing sufficient stores into the town. About mid-day, the Turkish fleet, without firing a shot, withdrew, part of it retiring behind the castles of the Gulf of Corinth, and the greater part making sail for the Ægean sea, in the direction of Durazzo. This appears to have been a feint, for they soon afterwards steered southwards for Rhodes, followed by the Greek squadron.

The Seraskier was still sufficiently strong to maintain his position without much interruption; and he continued the siege, though with scarcely any other result except that of loss to his own troops, in expec-

tation of reinforcements from the Egyptian fleet fitting out at Alexandria. A bold but unsuccessful attempt had been made, on the 10th of August, to destroy this fleet. Three fire-ships succeeded in penetrating into the harbour undiscovered, but a sudden change of wind defeated the project, and though the brulots were burned, they did no mischief. Had this attempt succeeded, it would have greatly altered the aspect of affairs; but in November, the Turco-Egyptian fleet appeared in the Ægean Sea.

In the Morea, the campaign had proved the most disastrous that the Greeks had hitherto experienced. After the surrender of Navarino and Neo-kastro, Ibrahim Pasha remained there only a few days, for the purpose of directing the repair of the fortifications and the erection of a new battery on the island, and then, dividing his forces, advanced on Arcadia and Kalamata. The latter place, which possessed neither fortress nor defence, he gained possession of, after a well-maintained fight with a body of Greeks. But at Aghia, a strong position on the mountain which overhangs the town of Arcadia, a desperate conflict took place between the other detachment of Ibrahim's army and the Greeks under Pappa Flescia, supported by a few German officers. That valorous priest had taken post at the head of 800 men, but 150 only remained with him, the others having fled; and the whole of this valiant band perished sword in hand, overpowered by numbers. Pappa Flescia fell after performing prodigies of valour.* Ibrahim Pasha ad-

* Pappa Flessa, or Flescia, alias Gregorius Dikalos, at this time minister of the interior, was one of the most zealous apostles of the revolution, to which cause, however, he did credit only by his bravery. A priest by profession, he lived surrounded with a numerous harem. A patriot *par excellence*, he enriched himself amid

mitted a loss, on his part, of 250 men. After this victory, the Egyptians, in advancing on Arcadia, received a check from General Coliopulo, and fell back several miles; and on crossing the mountain called Makriplaghi, which separates the plain of Messenia from the valley of the Upper Alpheius, he sustained the loss of 150 men from the troops of Kolokotroni, who was now advancing to occupy the passes; but at length, after various skirmishes, in which the Greeks were generally worsted, Ibrahim Pasha succeeded in reaching Leondari.

It was now in vain to think of saving Tripolitza, which contained no garrison; and orders were therefore sent to the inhabitants to burn the town. Collecting whatever portion of their property they were able to remove, they surrendered their houses and their standing crops to the flames, and retreated towards Argos and Napoli di Romania. On the 20th of June, the Egyptians entered the abandoned and half-demolished capital; and three days after, hastening to profit by his advantage, Ibrahim Pasha advanced on Napoli. Kolokotroni, it seems, imagining that the Pasha's object would be to open a communication with Patras, had drawn off all his troops to occupy the passes in that quarter, thus leaving the route to Napoli undefended. When news arrived of his approach, Demetrius Ypsilanti, "good at need," with about 250

the miseries of his country. It is some proof of virtuous feeling in the Greeks, that though his military talents and courage and his valuable services procured him official employment, his immoralities gave general umbrage, and he was contemned by all parties. Count Pecchio met him on the road between Argos and Tripolitza, preceded by his harem and two pipe-bearers, in the oriental style, and with all the pomp of a pasha. He was handsome, and his countenance had even an expression of majesty, adapted to command the homage of the people; yet he was far from popular.— See *Pict. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 83; vol. ii. p. 136.

men, hastened to occupy the village of Mylos (the Mills).

“ Early on Saturday morning, the Egyptian line was seen descending the hills which lead to the rear of the village. About eleven o'clock they had gained the plain; but, instead of making any attempt on Mylos, they seemed to be only intent on pursuing their course towards Argos, and, for this purpose, passed down a narrow plain lying between the village and the surrounding hills. Just, however, as the rear of their line had passed Mylos, a volley of musketry was discharged by the Greeks, a ball from which wounded Col. Séve, a French renegade, who, under the name of Soliman Bey, has long been the chief military assistant of the Pasha, and the agent for the organisation of the Egyptian troops. Immediately the line halted, and, after some little delay, the main body passed on towards Argos, whilst about 2000 of the rear-guard remained behind, and advanced to the attack of the village.

“ Fortunately, the nature of the ground was such as to render the assistance of the cavalry impossible. They were obliged, after some useless manœuvres in front of the Greek intrenchment, to retire with the loss of a few men. The main body, however, charged the garrison so closely, that, driven from every post, they were obliged to retire behind the fence of an orchard on the sea-shore, where they had a defence of three tambours, or low walls, between them and the enemy. The two first of these were quickly forced, and, driven behind the third, with no possibility of further retreat, and nearly surrounded by the overpowering numbers of the enemy, their case now seemed desperate. The Egyptians, at length, advanced almost close to the third wall: ‘ Now, my brothers,’ exclaimed

a Greek capitano, 'is the moment to draw our swords.' With those words, he flung away his musket, and, springing over the fence, followed by the greater body of his men, attacked the enemy with his ataghan. A desperate conflict ensued for some moments, till the Egyptians, terrified by the sudden enthusiasm of their foes, at length gave way, and commenced retreating towards the plain, whither they were pursued, for some distance, by the victorious Greeks.* Here they again rallied, and formed in order; but, instead of again renewing the attack, they left the Greeks in possession of the village, and continued their march to rejoin their comrades, who about mid-day encamped within three or four miles of Argos.

“ The inhabitants of that town, on the first notice of the enemy's approach, had fled to Napoli di Romania, with what little of their property they were able to carry off, leaving their houses and homes to the mercy of the enemy. On Sunday morning, the flames, which were clearly visible at Napoli in that direction, told that the Pasha's troops were in motion: they had advanced to the town, and, finding it totally deserted, set fire to it in various quarters, and reduced the whole to ruins. The remainder of the day, all was quiet; but early on Monday morning, a party of cavalry were discovered on their march towards Napoli di Romania. All was instantly in bustle and confusion on their approach; however, as they proved to be only about 700 in number, the panic soon subsided; and a party of mounted Greeks, about eighty, who sallied out to meet them, succeeded in putting them to flight, with the loss of one man. They then retired

* It appears from other accounts, that several *misticos*, which lay close to the shore, opened a destructive fire upon the Egyptians, and contributed not a little to their defeat.

towards their encampment, and the same evening, having struck his tents, the Pasha set out on his return towards Tripolitza. Colocotroni, who had been advertised of his march towards Napoli, had, with all haste, returned from Karitena, to occupy the Parthenian passes in his rear, and by that means cut off his return towards Modon; he was now stationed with a large body of troops on the Bey's Causeway, where the slightest opposition must have proved fatal to the Pasha's army. Such, however, was his superior knowledge of the country and the movements of the Greeks, that, dividing his line into two columns, he passed on each side of the Moreotes, and uniting again in their rear, had reached Tripolitza in safety ere Colocotroni was aware of his departure from Mylos. Here he had again established his head-quarters."

Napoli di Romania presented at this moment a scene of confusion, perplexity, and disorder, not easily to be described. Mr. Emerson, who arrived there on the 30th of June, when the consternation was at its height, says, that nothing could exceed the melancholy and filthy scene. "On every side, around the walls, were pitched the tents of the unfortunate refugees from Tripolitza and Argos, who had not been permitted to enter the city, for fear of increasing the contagious fever; and within the walls, the streets were thronged with soldiers, who had assembled from all quarters for the defence of the town, or their own protection. Every shop was closed, and it was with difficulty that we could procure a few biscuits, some olives, and a little cloying sweet wine for supper; the peasantry in the vicinity having all fled on the appearance of the Egyptians, and no longer bringing in the necessary supplies of provisions for the inhabitants of Napoli. All the houses were filled with soldiers; my own lodgings

were occupied by eighteen. The streets were everywhere in confusion with the quarrels of the newcomers and the inhabitants, and the utmost efforts of the regular corps were scarcely sufficient to keep down the turbulence of the undisciplined soldiery. During the night, the whole body continued under arms, in the public square, awaiting every moment a general insurrection, threatened by the irregular troops, to plunder the town, and make up their deficiency of pay. This, however, did not occur; and after a sleepless night of alarm and anxiety, morning broke, and found all in a state of comparative quiet. Every Greek whom I met, appeared at the *acmé* of perplexity; and their gratitude for their present escape was almost overcome by their anxiety for future events.

“The Government seemed paralysed at the successes of the enemy, and at thus seeing a formerly despised foe advance openly beneath their very walls, and again return unmolested through the heart of their country. Neither were their hopes by any means raised on the receipt of a letter from Colocotroni, who was in the vicinity of Tripolitza, in which he loudly complained of the conduct of his troops, of their pusillanimity in formerly retreating and leaving every pass undisputed to the enemy; adding, that now, though his numbers were by no means deficient, and a spirited attack on Tripolitza might be attended with glorious results, he found it impossible to induce a single soldier to follow him.”

But they had still another source of perplexity in those internal factions and foreign intrigues to which the failure of the cause has hitherto been chiefly attributable. About this time, a French faction started up, headed by a General Roche, who had in April arrived at Napoli, furnished with credentials from the Greek

Committee of Paris. This gentleman professed himself a warm and disinterested Philhellenist, whose sole object was to obtain a thorough knowledge of the state of the country for the information of his colleagues, and he soon insinuated himself into the good graces of the Executive. A short time only had elapsed before he began to develop further views, by reprobating the idea of a republican government, and declaring his opinion to be in favour of a monarchy: he even went so far as to propose as sovereign the second son of the Duke of Orleans. This was merely thrown out, however, in conversation, till after the fall of Navarino, when he openly offered his plan to Government, promising, in case it should be accepted, the aid of 12,000 disciplined French troops. Although he met with no encouragement, the intrigues of the General and of the French Commodore De Rigny, still continued, and every new disaster gave a fresh opening to their efforts; its expediency was urged in the public *cafés*, and a party was even formed in its favour among the members of Government. Mavrokordato, Tricoupi, and the Hydriote party, however, strongly opposed it, declaring that, were the protection or interference of any foreign power found requisite, that of Great Britain would be the most efficient. In fact, while Capt. Hamilton* was at Napoli, a deputation from

* This distinguished officer has the rare good fortune of being nearly as much respected by the Osmanlys as by the Greeks; and the influence of his name in the Levant is as great as that of Sir Sidney Smith once was in Syria, or that of Nelson all over the Mediterranean. By the Greeks, the Chaplain to H. M. ship *Cambrian* assures us, "Captain Hamilton is regarded as a sort of guardian angel, whose benevolence is as unbounded as his power; yet, he has never once favoured them at the expense of justice, or when it interfered with the course of duty."—*SWAN'S Journal*, vol. ii. p. 155.

the Islands had solicited him to take them under British protection, — a request with which he, of course, explained to them that he had not authority to comply. The clamours and complaints of the French and English parties becoming daily more annoying, Mavrokordato repaired to Hydra, to unite with the primates in urging the fleet again to put to sea, in order, by some favourable diversion, to allay the tumult of faction ; but the sailors, taking advantage of the alarming crisis, refused to embark unless their pay (already amounting to six or seven dollars a month) were doubled, and two months paid in advance. This conduct was the more disgraceful, as their wages had always been regularly paid, even when the pay of the army had been allowed to run in arrears. On the 20th of July, another instalment of the loan fortunately arrived to rekindle the patriotism of the Hydriote seamen ; and they consented to sail in pursuit of the Capitan Pasha's fleet, which had been suffered, as already mentioned, to proceed to Messolonghi.

Whether it was owing to the loan or to the exigencies of the country, does not appear, but, towards the end of July, the French faction was so fast giving way, and the majority of the populace, as well as of the Government, so strongly and openly declared themselves in favour of British protection, that General Roche drew up a protest against their decision, in which, strange to say, he was joined by a young American officer of the name of Washington, who had arrived in Greece in June, furnished with credentials from the American Greek Committee at Boston. In this imbecile document, the French royalist and the American republican, united by a common hatred of England, affect to consider the wish for British interference as an insult to their respective

nations.* The paper was, of course, treated by all parties with merited contempt; and Mr. Washington, the soi-disant representative of America, shortly afterwards left Greece, under rather awkward circumstances.† In the mean time, it was determined at

* A verbatim copy is given by the Rev. Mr. Swan (Journal, vol. ii. p. 156). We give the first two or three sentences, which contain the gist of the protest. "*Les sous-signés Députés des Philhellènes de France et des Etats Unis de l'Amérique, ont eu connaissance que des individus dans leur simple qualité de citoyens Grecs, se sont permis de se mettre à la tête d'une faction, et contre les institutions de leur pays, ont signé et fait circuler une déclaration extrêmement injurieuse au caractère de leur nation et de leur gouvernement, qui ont toujours montré l'intérêt le plus vif pour la prospérité et l'indépendance de la Grèce. Les sous-signés savent que le Sénat et le Corps Exécutif, dans leurs séances du 22 de ce mois, ont décrété de demander des secours au gouvernement des Isles Ioniennes pour la conservation de leur liberté politique, menacée par l'invasion d'Ibraim Pasha. Quoqu'il ait été bien pénible aux sous-signés de voir le peu de confiance que le Senat Grec, dans cette circonstance si grave, a mis dans les Nations Française et Americaine, ils respectèrent néanmoins ses décisions,*" &c. In conclusion, they demand an explicit explanation, that they may lay the matter before "their respective committees!"

(Signed) "Le Général W. ROCHE.

"W. TORINGHEUIT WASHINGTON.

"Nauplie, le 28 Juillet, 1825."

† Emerson, pp. 291, 2. In the reply of the Greek Government, it is remarked, that "*M. Washington n'est pas un député d'aucun comité: il n'est qu'un simple particulier.*" Thus, he would seem to have been a mere adventurer. They go on to say, that the document by which they place their national independence under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, is not the act of a few individuals, but of all the deputies, primates, the army, and the navy of Greece; that they complain of no government, but that they do complain of certain agents of some European powers, who, in disregard of the neutrality proclaimed on the part of their governments at the congress of Verona and at Laybach, have pursued a conduct hostile to the dearest interests of Greece, and have endeavoured to change the form of their government; "*et personne ne connaît cela mieux que le Général Roche.*"—SWAN, vol. ii. p. 160. Ridiculous and arrogant as appears the conduct of these foreigners, it is but just to add, that they have not gone much further than certain

Hydra, that fresh deputies should be sent to London, while Signor Tricoupi was to proceed to Corfu, to consult the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles. Accordingly, the eldest son of Miaulis and one of the Hydriote primates embarked for England at the end of August, and General Roche soon after left Greece for his own country.

The Russian party appears to have now become quite extinct. Its death-blow was a semi-official note, put forth in the preceding year by the Russian cabinet, in which the idea was thrown out of forming Greece into principalities, on the same plan as the Dacian provinces; one principality to consist of Eastern Greece (Thessaly, Bœotia, and Attica); a second of Western Greece, (Epirus and Acarnania,) from the Austrian boundary to the Gulf of Corinth; the third of the Morea and Candia; and the islands to remain under a municipal government nearly in their former state. This middle course, it seems to have been thought, afforded the best basis for a treaty of peace between the belligerent parties, under the mediation of the Emperor. To the Greeks, however, the proposal appeared both insidious and degrading; and it had been the occasion of a spirited letter addressed by M. Rodios, secretary of the Greek Executive, to the British Government, bearing date Aug. 12, 1824, but which did not reach this country till the following

English Philhellenists, respecting whom Prince Mavrokordato is compelled to say, in a letter to Mr. Blaquiere: "The conduct on the part of these gentlemen is well worthy of the liberty of which they wish to boast. Can there be a more cruel despotism than that of a foreigner, who, without any right, wishes to command, without paying the least regard to the existing laws? Does the first comer think that he can tread us under his feet, or are we thought capable of being led by the nose by the first intriguer?"—BLAQUIERE'S *Second Visit*, p. 84.

November. The letter contains the following remarkable declaration. "The Greek nation, as well as its government, whose organ I have the honour to be, in offering their homage to his Britannic Majesty through your Excellency, solemnly declare, that they prefer a glorious death to the disgraceful lot intended to be imposed upon them." Mr. Canning's reply (dated Dec. 1, 1824,) assured the Greek Government, that Great Britain would "take no part in any attempt to impose upon Greece by force a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes;" and that it might depend on our continuing to observe a strict neutrality; but this was all, it was added, that could reasonably be required of the British ministers.* It was at least all that, under existing circumstances, the unhappy Greeks were warranted to expect, or that the policy of England enabled it to concede. The object of the deputation sent to this country in 1825, was, therefore, to consult the friends of the cause in England on the most expeditious and advantageous means of terminating the war, and to obtain the succour and support of certain well-known individuals, rather than to make a renewed application to the British Government.†

To avoid an unnecessary interruption of our narrative, the state of affairs in Eastern Greece during the year 1825 has not been distinctly adverted to, as

* "Connected as we are with the Porte," Mr. Canning goes on to say, "by the existing friendly relations, and by ancient treaties which the Porte has not violated, it can certainly not be expected that England should commence hostilities which that power has not provoked, and take part in a contest which is not ours." Both the Letter of M. Rodios and Mr. Canning's Reply will be found in the Annual Register for 1825, pp. 56*—60*.

† The assistance of Lord Cochrane was more especially pressed by young Miaulis.

they had little influence on the course of events ; but the death of Odysseus, which took place in June, and the circumstances which led to it, are of too interesting a nature to be passed over. This distinguished capitanos, the son of a Thessalian klepht, but a native of Ithaca,* had been brought up by Ali Pasha of Ioannina ; † a bad school, in which he is said to have learned how to play the tyrant. He was among the first to join the insurgents ; and from his favourite haunts among the caves of Parnassus, he harassed the Turkish armies by cutting off their supplies. In September 1822, at the head of about 200 palikars, he presented himself to the Athenians, who, “ thinking that they had an entire right to dispose as they liked of their own citadel, reconquered by their own exertions, resigned it, together with themselves and their property, to the ambiguous protection of Odysseus.” The Government had the prudence immediately to confirm their choice, and appointed him captain-general of Eastern Greece. ‡ The whole power, civil and military, legislative and executive, was thus placed in his hands, and he is said not greatly to have abused it. In imitation of his old master, he established an excellent police ; and the Athenians were at least the gainers by the change which gave them a Greek, instead of a Turkish master.

Such was the man whom Col. Stanhope, mistaking the crafty robber for a philanthropic liberal,—the despot for a republican, was anxious to see placed at the

* Hence his heroic cognomen, Ulysses.

† See page 109.

‡ Waddington, p. 76. Demetrius Ypsilanti and Niketas had been commissioned by the Executive to take possession of Athens ; but they found themselves possessed of only a nominal authority. Odysseus had been captain of Livadia, and he had acquired popularity by his military exploits.

head of the Greek nation, and to whose malignant hatred of Mavrokordato he so imprudently lent himself.* Considering the President as the greatest obstacle to his ambitious designs, Odysseus, in common with Ko-

* See Stanhope's Greece, pp. 125, 134, 197. "I have been constantly with Odysseus. He has a very strong mind, a good heart, and is brave as his sword; he governs with a strong arm, and is the only man in Greece that can preserve order. He is for a strong government, for *constitutional rights*, and for vigorous efforts against the enemy." "The chief Odysseus has been a mountain robber. . . *has refused to give up Athens to a weak government*, and has *lately sympathised with the people*, and taken the liberal course in politics. He is a brave soldier, has great power, and promotes public liberty. Just such a man Greece requires. . . . He is shrewd and ambitious, and *has played the tyrant*, but is *now* persuaded that the road to fame and wealth, is by pursuing good government. He therefore follows this course, and supports the people and the republic. Negris, who once signed his sentence of death, is now (May 1824) his minister." "The fact is," remarks Mr. Waddington, in commenting upon these panegyrical expressions, "that Odysseus, to gain any end, will profess any principles; and as the Colonel was believed to be the dispenser of the good things collected at Messolonghi, and to possess influence over the future distribution of the loan, he was obviously a person to be gained. Behold, then, the robber Odysseus, the descendant from a race of robbers, the favourite pupil of Ali Pasha, the soldier whose only law through life had been his sword, suddenly transformed into a benevolent, liberal, philanthropic republican! It is true, indeed, that in 1821, Odysseus signed his name to a constitution dictated at Salona by Theodore Negris, in which there is one article expressly specifying a wish for a *foreign constitutional monarch*; but circumstances, I suppose, and principles are now changed. However, it is not at last impossible, that Odysseus may be sincere in his desire that Greece should be left to govern herself. The little kingdom of Eastern Hellas suits him very well; and in the probable anarchy of the 'Hellenic Republic,' he may foresee the means of securing that independence which, in fact, he possesses at present. The Central Government, probably dreading some such intention on his part, are now elevating Gourra in opposition to his master. Their hopes, indeed, of establishing any degree of legal authority in that province, rest a good deal on the disunion of these two chiefs."—WADDINGTON, p. 82. Colonel Stanhope writes to Mavrokordato, on one occasion: "Among these bad men, the most odious and *black-hearted* are those who are intriguing in the dark to saddle on the Greek people

lokotroni, always singled him out as the especial object of his jealousy and hatred, never speaking of him without contempt; and in their English friends, they found persons too willing to assist in propagating their calumnies both in Greece and in this country. The breach which might possibly have been healed between the contending parties, was thus irremediably widened.

a foreign king." Whether the Colonel meant to *pun* on the Prince's name, or not, we learn from Mr. Blaquiere, that he meant Mavrokordato to take it to himself; for he had accused him of intriguing in concert with the metropolitan Ignatius for that purpose. This cool insult, the Prince rebuts with equal dignity and temper. "I have nothing to appropriate to myself of all that he writes. If he is attached to our constitution, I think that he whose boast it is to have contributed to its formation ought to be much more so than any other. I know (and have even all the documents in my hands) that M. Negris addressed, more than eighteen months ago, circulars in favour of a monarchical government, of which the ex-king of Westphalia, Jerome, was to be the head; and I also know that I was the first to combat his opinion. Can this M. Negris be the *bad man* of Colonel Stanhope? I know positively also, that under the shadow of the constitution, several captains do that which the greatest despots in the world would not, perhaps, do; that they break legs and arms, and leave in this state of dreadful torture innocent men to perish; that they kill, that they hang, that they destroy men without previous trial; that they revolt; that they even betray their country. Can these be the Colonel's *good men*? These latter I have always opposed, even at the peril of my life."—BLAQUIERE'S *Second Visit*, p. 83. That this is no libel on Odysseus, may be inferred from Mr. Waddington's brief description. "Odysseus is in no respect distinguished from his meanest soldier, otherwise than by the symmetry of his form, and the expressive animation of a countenance which, though handsome, is far from prepossessing; for an habitual frown and a keen and restless eye, betoken cruelty, suspiciousness, and inconstancy; and those who have derived their opinion of his character from the observation of his exterior, and the rumour of his most notorious actions, pronounce him to be violent, avaricious, vindictive, distrustful, inexorable. Those, on the other hand, who believe themselves to have penetrated more deeply into his feelings and principles, consider him to be under the exclusive guidance of policy and interest.'

The fall of Mavrokordato was the favourite object of the military party ; and on their accession to power, it has been seen, he was compelled to take refuge in Hydra. Odysseus is represented as having, in 1824, offered to mediate between the Kolokotroni party and the Constitutional Government at Argos ; and the surrender of Napoli is ascribed by Capt. Humphreys to his interference.* It seems to have been his object at that time, to secure his share of the loan, his soldiers being, according to his own account, in long arrears of pay. By Conduriotti, then president, he was well received ; but by the other members of the Government, he was viewed with a distrust which was not lessened by his requiring a body-guard of ten followers. This was very properly objected to, but no open rupture took place. There was even a talk of nominating him to the command of the forces opposed to Dervish Pasha ; but this nomination being delayed, and his demands refused, he took offence, and, accompanied by the Englishman Trelawney, who had married his sister, and by General Karaiskaki, quitted Napoli in disgust.† Soon after, learning that Goura, formerly his lieutenant, had been nominated to replace him in the command of Athens, he disbanded his soldiers, and retired

* Humphreys, p. 232. This gentleman represents Coletti to have been the implacable enemy of his friend Ulysses, who is stated to have been nevertheless at this time determined to support the Government.

† Humphreys, pp. 260—262. Capt. Humphreys states, that Ulysses was offered a command at Hydra, and refused it, as placing him too much in the power or at the disposal of the Government. The distrust was therefore mutual. Previously to his leaving Napoli, he is said to have been shot at when sitting at a window in the house of Niketas. This circumstance, if authenticated, would amply justify his "disgust," but it requires to be substantiated. Negris, whom he left behind at Napoli, died there after a short illness.

to his fortified cave at Parnassus. This stronghold he had lately prepared, in case of being reduced to extremities. It was a natural excavation, capable of accommodating 2000 persons, and containing a spring of fresh water. It could be reached only by ascending a perpendicular cliff a hundred feet in height, which was accomplished by means of three ladders, successively drawn up after passing them; a number of descents and windings then conducted from the small platform to the interior. Here Odysseus had placed a few pieces of cannon, a supply of small arms, and ammunition and provisions sufficient for a ten years' siege; and hither he removed his family and his treasures, determining to separate himself entirely from the Greeks and their cause, and to make his own terms with their enemies. The sequel, we give in the words of Mr. Emerson.

“ The Pasha of Negropont had been one of his early friends, and he now renewed the acquaintance for the purpose of answering his own views: what those were have never been understood clearly, but his means of accomplishing them were, at least, extremely liable to suspicion. Frequent letters, and, at length, frequent conferences, of all which the Government had due notice, passed between him and the Pasha. The object of Ulysses is stated to have been the possession of Negropont; it is at least evident, as well from his former conduct as from his treating with an inferior, that he had no intention of attaching himself to the party of the Sultan. Be it as it may, he was now declared a traitor by the Government. Unable, or perhaps too haughty to give an explanation of his motives to his personal enemies, he prepared to meet force by force. Goura, his own captain, and a wretch who had owed his fortune to Ulysses, was

placed at the head of the forces in Attica, to blockade the cave and reduce him to allegiance. Ulysses immediately assembled his followers, but never on any occasion accepted of the assistance of the Turks. Some slight skirmishes had already taken place; but, as the soldiers of Ulysses were daily deserting, as well from an unwillingness to fight against their countrymen and government, as from being allured by the threats and promises of Goura, he was beginning to feel himself somewhat straitened; and gradually retreating towards the country north of Eubœa, he continued to hold out against his pursuers, whilst the cave was left in charge of his family and a proper garrison."

This was in March 1825. Towards the close of April, deserted by his followers, Ulysses had retreated, with a very few attendants, to a monastery in the vicinity of Talanda, which Goura proceeded to blockade. Suddenly, it is said, on condition of being brought to trial, he came, unattended, and surrendered himself to Goura, by whom he was sent prisoner to the acropolis at Athens, the scene of his former power. Here he was confined in the lofty Venetian tower, where he lay till the 5th of June, when his death took place under somewhat mysterious circumstances. The story circulated was, that, in attempting to make his escape, the rope by which he was lowering himself broke, and he was dashed to pieces on the pavement at the base of the tower. Mr. Emerson inclines to believe that he was secretly put to death by order of the Government, but he gives no valid reason for fastening so black a charge on the Executive. If he fell by unfair means, the character of Goura would not be wronged by the supposition that his jealousy and his fears might conspire to prompt him to an act by which he would get rid of the man he had treated with such ingrati-

tude and baseness. And Mr. Swan states, that this was reported to be the case; that Goura let down the rope before the window of his prison, and that Ulysses, supposing it to have been furnished by friends without, fell into the snare.*

In the mean time, the cave of Ulysses in mount Parnassus, which was left under command of Trelawney, was closely blockaded, and every attempt was made to gain possession. Ulysses had been himself escorted to the spot, and forced to sign a summons to Trelawney to surrender, which was not complied with.† Among the inmates of the cavern was a Captain Fenton, a native of Scotland, who had arrived a mere adventurer in Greece the preceding winter, and, during his intercourse with the European residents in the Morea, had proved himself to be divested of every principle or feeling of a gentleman. He had even stooped so low, Mr. Emerson states, as to offer his services to a person in power as the assassin of Ulysses, for the remuneration of a few dollars. This proposal, so far from being accepted, led to his being ordered to leave Napoli,‡ on which he

* The official account, which is perfectly distinct and consistent, is given by Mr. Swan (vol. ii. p. 95), together with the affidavit of the physician. Mr. Emerson supposes the story to have been “feligned by the government, to cover their own imbecility in not daring openly to condemn or bring to trial a man whom they still dreaded, and of whose guilt they were unable to produce convicting proofs.” What other proofs could be requisite than his having advanced on Athens at the head of a body of Turkish cavalry, and openly warred against the Government?—See HUMPHREYS'S *Journal*, p. 292.

† Trelawney, Capt. Humphreys says, “had greatly determined Ulysses to leave the Turks, and proposed to him to quit Greece entirely for a time, and go to America; he could not, therefore, in honour betray the trust reposed in him.”

‡ Mr. Emerson does not name the person; he asserts, however, that “the proposal was accepted, but a disagreement in the terms, or some other circumstance, had prevented its execution.” From

determined on joining the party of the man he had offered to assassinate, and to whom his quarrel with the Government was a sufficient recommendation. He was accordingly received among the inmates of the cave, where he remained after the surrender of Ulysses, as the dependant rather than the companion of Trelawney; till, on the death of the chieftain, he formed the atrocious resolution of making himself master of the cave and its contents, which, by previous contract, were now the property of his benefactor. A few days

whom did he learn this? From Fenton or from Jarvis? Capt. Humphreys attempts to fasten the atrocious calumny on Mavrokordato. "Whoever," he says, "first made this infamous proposal, an argument used by Mavrokordato was, that Trelawney, as a native of Great Britain, being in the service of the Greeks, was out of the pale of his country's laws; and an American of the name of Jarvis, now a Greek lieutenant-general, was Mavrokordato's agent in the affair, and negotiated between them." This Jarvis (or Gervase), who is the same that headed the garrison at Neo-kastro, has admitted that he was the person who introduced Fenton to the Prince, but states, that "he discontinued his acquaintance on Fenton's intimating a design to murder his friend, the man upon whom he was dependent, and with whom he lived on the strictest terms of intimacy. He regrets," adds Mr. Swan, "as well he may, having had the least acquaintance with him."—*Journal*, vol. ii. p. 102. Here is not a word of any proposal made to Mavrokordato; nor is it credible that Fenton should have been expelled from Napoli by the Government, if such a proposal had been for a moment listened to? Whitcombe, however, in an intercepted letter to this same Capt. Humphreys, after accusing him of deserting one whom he called his friend, charges him in the plainest terms with being himself accessory to the intended murder of Trelawney. Possibly, he had been told this by Fenton, who perhaps told Humphreys that he was engaged by Mavrokordato. Humphreys, however, by his own confession, knew, while he was with Ulysses, that Fenton was carrying on the intrigue,—“under the pretence to us,” he says, “whether true or false, of entrapping Mavrokordato.” This privity must certainly tend to vitiate his evidence. Yet, before he left Greece, he had the temerity to write a virulent letter to Mavrokordato, accusing him of keeping in pay assassins.—HUMPHREYS, p. 330. SWAN, vol. ii. p. 100.

before he made the attempt, the cave was visited by a young English gentleman, named Whitcombe, whom Fenton succeeded in persuading to become his accomplice. The plan was, that they should fire at a target, while their host and benefactor stood umpire; and while Trelawney unsuspectingly advanced to examine the first shots, the conspirators both made the attempt at the same moment. Fenton's pistol missed fire; but Whitcombe's took effect with two balls, and Trelawney fell, desperately, though not fatally wounded. His attendants, rushing forward, poiniarded Fenton on the spot, while his confederate was secured in irons. Trelawney's recovery was long doubtful, but at length he was able to leave the cave, together with his wife, Goura having consented to grant them an escort, and in September, they embarked for the Ionian Isles. Before his departure, he generously gave Whitcombe his liberty, letting him loose again on society, in consideration of his youth (scarcely nineteen) and the respectability of his family.* The cave remained in the possession of the widow of Ulysses and her adherents.

The military events in Eastern Greece were of slight importance, the Seraskier having found it necessary to recall into Thessaly the troops that had entered Bœotia, for the purpose of supporting the operations of the Pasha of Egripo, in order to direct all his means to the protection of his position before Messolonghi.

To return to the Morea. Having failed in surprising Napoli, the object next in importance, to which Ibrahim Pasha turned his attention, was to open a

* " Mr. Whitcombe has returned to Hydra, very little sensible, as it seems, of the heinousness of his conduct. He is said to be an extremely weak young fellow, full of daring and romance, and desirous of aping the extravagant conduct of Hope's Anastasius."—SWAN, vol. ii. p. 187.

passage to Patras; but the mountainous districts of Arcadia and Achaia, which intervene between that city and the plains of Mantinea and Argos, are exactly suited to such troops as the *armatoli*, and Demetrius Ypsilanti was able effectually to bar his further progress in that direction. On the 10th of August, an engagement took place between a body of Egyptian troops advancing from Megalopolis and the Greeks posted near Phigalia, in which the former were repulsed with the loss of 250 killed and thirty prisoners, among whom was Deri Bey, their captain, who died of his wounds: the Greeks, firing from behind their *tambours*, had only three killed and five wounded. In a subsequent engagement, Ibrahim Pasha is stated to have been defeated in person by the united forces of Ypsilanti, Kolokotroni, and Coliopulo: his Moorish regulars having fled before the well-aimed fire of the Greeks, threw the whole army into disorder, and 300 were left dead on the field. At length, Tripolitza became an insecure position, and after the retreat of the Ottoman fleet from before Messolonghi, Ibrahim Pasha retreated with all his forces to Kalamata, there to await reinforcements and supplies. Symptoms of plague at Modon prevented his retiring on that place.

By a shew of clemency at the opening of the campaign, and the merciful observance of his treaties at Navarino and Neo-kastro, Ibrahim had expected to carry all before him. Proclamations of mercy and conciliation were made in his march to Tripolitza at every village; but the inhabitants, too well instructed by experience, invariably fled to the mountains at his approach. Disappointment and rage now led him to throw off the mask. Every deserted village was reduced to ashes as he passed, every unfor-

fortunate straggler that fell into his hands was unrelentingly butchered; and he openly declared that he would burn and lay waste the whole Morea.*

* The Rev. Mr. Swan, in September (1825), accompanied Captain Hamilton in a visit to Ibrahim Pasha, at Mistra, for the purpose of negotiating a change of prisoners. His person is thus described. "The Pasha is a stout, broad, brown-faced, vulgar-looking man, thirty-five or forty years of age, strongly marked with the small-pox; his countenance possesses little to engage, but, when he speaks, which he does with considerable ease and fluency, it becomes animated and rather striking. He frequently accompanies his words with a long drawling cry, which, to European ears, sounds ridiculously enough. His manner carries with it that sort of decision which is the common appendage of despotism. Deprived of this, he would resemble an uneducated, hard-favoured seaman of our own country. He was plainly clothed for a Turk; and his camp establishment altogether had none of that parade and luxury which we are accustomed to attach to eastern warfare." The Pasha professed his high regard for the English nation, and was at once most polite, wily, and evasive. "Speaking of the Morea," continues Mr. Swan, "although he regretted the necessity of his present proceedings, yet it was his intention to pursue them to the utmost. He would burn and destroy the whole Morea; so that it should neither be profitable to the Greeks, nor to him, nor to any one. What would these infatuated men, the dupes of their own imbecile Government, do for provisions in the winter? He knew that his own soldiers would also suffer—that they too must perish. But his father Mehemet Ali was training forty thousand men, and he was in daily expectation of a reinforcement of twelve thousand. If these were cut off, he would have more, and he would persevere till the Greeks returned to their former state. One of the castles on the plain, he said, had just been carried by assault, and the garrison all put to the sword; the other was expected to fall immediately. He repeated, 'I will not cease till the Morea be a ruin.' The Sultan has already conferred upon him the title and insignia of Pasha of this unhappy land; and, said his highness, 'If the good people of England, who are so fond of sending money to the Greeks, would send it directly to me, it would save them considerable trouble: eventually, it all comes to my treasury.'" Sulieman Bey is thus described: "He looks exactly like an ostler turned bandit: a strikingly vulgar face, marked with the small-pox, (as if in sympathy with his master!) is set off by small light-blue eyes, light hair, and a flat nose. This person was

“ Thus,” remarks Colonel Leake, “ was annihilated in a few weeks, that slight improvement which had been produced by a three years’ exemption from the blighting presence of the Mussulmans ; during which an increase of inhabitants, seeking refuge from other parts of Greece, together with the confidence inspired by a Government which, however imperfect, had been sufficiently composed of right materials to produce some beneficial reforms, promised in a short time to effect a favourable change in the whole peninsula. Schools of mutual instruction and other places of education had been established in several towns ; and no sooner had the government obtained the power of taking the collection of the revenue out of the hands of the old primates and captains of *armatoli*, than the national domains, formed of the confiscated Turkish property, were let for double the sum that had been given for them the preceding year.”

Such was the posture of affairs at the close of the fifth campaign ;—and here, for the present, we suspend our rapid sketch of the yet unfinished contest. The observations of Colonel Leake, in concluding the *Historical Outline*, to which we have had repeated occasion to refer, will assist the reader in forming a just view of the present state and prospects of Greece.

“ Upon reviewing the events of the contest since its first commencement in the summer of 1821, it will be seen how little has been done on either side, in a military point of view, towards its decisive termination ; raised from the ranks by Bonaparte, and became aide-de-camp to General Ney, for attempting to effect whose escape he was outlawed. He then served in the corps of the Mamelukes, which he organised ; and, finally, abandoning his religion for the polluted and degrading faith of the Crescent, he became Sulieman Bey, the associate, friend, and general of Ibrahim Pasha.”—SWAN’S *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 237, 246.

such children are both parties in the art of war, and so contemptible will their operations both by land and water generally appear to the military critics of civilized Europe. But there are two advantages possessed by the Greeks, which ought to prevent them from despairing of final success,—the strength of their country and the superiority of their seamen. The skill, the activity, and often the gallantry of the Greek sailors, have excited the approbation of some of our own sea-officers. It is true, that neither the numbers nor the size of their vessels is such as can give them the command of the sea, or ensure to them such a protracted blockade of the maritime fortresses as will lead to a surrender caused by famine, or prevent debarkations, such as those which have occurred during the present year; especially as long as the Greeks are unable to undertake a regular siege of the maritime fortresses. But the Turkish seamen always avoid the Greeks, and the Turkish squadrons are almost sure of receiving some damage whenever they meet. Their *brulotiers* in particular have furnished examples of enterprise and patriotic devotion, which are fully sufficient to establish the national character, and to cancel the disgrace of any conduct that may have occurred of an opposite kind, the unavoidable consequence of insubordination and of a privation of law both civil and military. In the strength of their mountainous districts, the Greeks have a still firmer anchor for their hopes. The more exposed parts of Greece, such as Crete, Macedonia, and Eastern Thessaly, may enter into temporary terms with the enemy; but this cannot occur in that great citadel of mountains which extends from the plains of Thessaly and Bœotia westward as far as the sea-coast, and southward as far as the centre of the Morea—at least until the Ottomans are much

further advanced in conquest than they are at present. It might be supposed that, military ignorance being nearly equal on both sides, the party which should first establish a disciplined force, and which should first obtain any important assistance from European officers of military experience, would be almost certain of success. But the discipline of the Egyptian infantry is not as yet, we apprehend, of a very high degree; and there is wanting in the Egyptian army the education, the intelligence, and those martial habits in every gradation of officers, without which the proficiency of the troops in the European use of the musket must lose a great part of its advantage. Mehmet Aly is yet far from having overcome those numerous vices in the Turkish system, both civil and military, which so often render Turkish councils abortive. The desolation of the Morea, together with the inefficacy of a Turkish commissariat, will place perpetual obstacles in the way of Ibrahim's progress, and will render the arduous task of subduing the mountains of Greece still more difficult. That tractability of disposition which has enabled Mehmet Aly to mould his Egyptians to the European discipline, is allied to an inferiority in hardihood and energy to the European and Asiatic Turks, with whom similar attempts have always failed. The Egyptians are precisely the troops least adapted to face the active and hardy Greek, in the rude climate, the barren soil, and the strong positions of his native mountains. We cannot easily conceive that Greece is destined to be subjugated by Egyptians. Even Sesostris drove his conquering chariot no further than Thrace; nor will those who have an opportunity of comparing the Greek with the Egyptian of the present day, think it probable that a conquest will now be effected, if it depends upon the

military qualities of the two people. In short, as not even Spain in the time of the Romans was better adapted for prolonging an obstinate contest, by the strength of the country and the elastic character of the inhabitants, there is the fairest reason to hope that Mehmet Aly may be tired of his present expensive undertaking, before he has made any great progress towards its completion.

“ In addition to the two principal advantages which have been mentioned, the cause of the Greeks derives considerable strength and hope from the impossibility, on their part, of submitting to such a state of vassalage as they were before subject to. They know too well, that to give the Turks such a power would be to consent to their own destruction ; and they did not want the declaration of Ibrahim to be assured, that if he should acquire the government of the Morea by right of conquest, which the Porte has promised him, he would exchange the enslaved survivors of the Peninsula for a colony of Egyptians. Such a termination, however, all history as well as common reason tells us, is impossible, if the Greeks have but ‘ the unconquerable will, and courage never to submit and yield.’ The utmost that can be expected is the retreat of a great part of the population of Greece into the mountains, a continuance of predatory warfare on both sides, and the desolation of every other part of the country, except the immediate vicinity of the fortified places.

“ Some politicians will perhaps be inclined to say that, however deplorable to the people of Greece such a result might be, it would be better that they should suffer, than that the general peace of Europe should be compromised. But, supposing the interior continent of Greece to be thus comfortably settled for the general repose, there still remains an extensive

sea-coast : in fact, the numerous islands, the winding shores, and the great proportion of maritime outline to the size of the country, render the Greeks more peculiarly a naval people than any other in Europe. If forced to the extremity of distress, they must be pirates by sea as well as freebooters by land. However disposed the nation might be to a better course, however deserving of a better fate, necessity would force the maritime population to those habits of life which are natural to Greece in a savage state, and to which its rocky creeks and islands have always afforded, and will ever give the greatest facilities. No alternative would then remain for the powers of Europe, but to give up all commercial pursuits in the Levant, or to suppress the Greek piracies by force—in other words, to assist the Turks in exterminating them from their native islands.”*

It is scarcely possible, that Greece and Turkey should, under any political arrangements, be re-united into one empire. This

———“ land, the first garden of liberty’s tree—
It has been, and shall yet be the land of the free.” †

The moment, it may confidently be hoped, is approaching, when the Christian Powers of Europe will not disdain to allow the Greeks once more to take the rank of a nation. They have a country, a language, literature, laws, and, with all its political defects, a national government, which admits of being rendered an efficient one, and which, such as it is, has proved a blessing to the people. Let it not be deemed a possible thing, that Christian Europe should consent to

* Leake, pp. 178, 184.

† Campbell’s “ Song of the Greeks.”

is being extinguished in Turkish or Egyptian darkness. It has not appeared to us advisable to lay much stress on the religious claims of the Greeks; and yet, though it be a spurious and nominal Christianity to which they are blindly but faithfully attached, and for which they have shed their blood, no sincere Christian can feel unconcerned respecting the issue of a contest which is to decide whether, in Greece, the Bible or the Koran shall be the acknowledged standard of faith. On the part of the Moslems, the warfare, it must not be forgotten, is animated by a hostility to the religion of Christ,—disguised, indeed, under idolatrous corruptions, but undistinguishable, in the eyes of the brutal Mussulman, from a purer faith. The longer such a contest lasts, remarks Col. Leake, “the more incredible it becomes, that Christian Europe will contemplate unmoved the destruction of a Christian people by the semi-barbarous followers of a religion hostile to the whole Christian name, because those infidels have for some centuries been suffered to abuse the possession of some of the finest countries in Europe, and because, in consideration of their proximity, and for the sake of the general peace, they have in some degree been admitted into the social system of the civilised world.”

The time is come, it may at length be perceived, when the interests of social order in Europe require that Greece, within whatsoever limits circumscribed, should be a free and independent state. “The Greeks in slavery,” it has been remarked, “invite the Russians: free, they would repel them.”* Greece, even if

* De Sismondi on the Extermination of the Greeks. See *New Monthly Magazine*, July 1, 1826, p. 93. “By the conduct of the Russians,” remarks M. Sismondi, “the Greeks have been so thoroughly compromised for the last half century, that there has

subdued, would be the weakness, not the strength of Turkey, a barren as well as a dreadful conquest, fatal to herself. If, therefore, the peace of Europe demands the toleration of the Ottoman empire in Turkey, in order to give stability to that empire, it is necessary that the Porte should be made to part with Greece, and that a new barrier should thus be created against those encroachments which threaten to sweep away the tottering fabric. "It is time to detach all the Christian subjects of Turkey from a Russian alliance, by giving them a country to fight for."* The aggrandisement of Egypt, at the expense of Greece, or even of Turkey, to whatever power it might be advantageous, cannot be for the interest of the Protectors of the Ionian Isles. † One thing seems certain: Greece cannot be restored to its former condition. It cannot, inhabited by Greeks, relapse into a province of the Turkish empire. A fearful responsibility rests upon that Christian nation upon whose rulers it mainly depends to determine, whether the Morea shall remain a frightful desert, or whether from the ashes of Scio, Kidonies, and Psara, new and flourishing communities shall spring up under the protection of a free government, and literature, the arts, and the faith which Paul preached at Athens and Corinth, once more flourish on the shores of the Levant.

only remained to the Turks the choice of massacring them or of acknowledging their independence."

* Sismondi.

† Even the Porte, it is said, begins to discover that Ibrahim, in the possession of the Morea, may be a more dangerous neighbour than even a Greek republic; in consequence of which, envoys have been sent from Constantinople to treat with the rebellious provinces.

THE MOREA.*

IN now proceeding to give, from the works of Modern Travellers, a topographical description of the country, we shall not unfrequently have occasion to give an account of things as they were prior to the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, rather than of their present aspect. We shall begin with the Peninsula.

No one would think of visiting the Morea without the Itinerary of Sir William Gell. Although it is more than twenty years since he performed the tour of the Peninsula, we may safely put ourselves under his guidance as a topographer. In January 1824, he landed at Navarino, the fatal spot where the Egyptian fleet, in May 1825, made their descent on the coast.

NAVARINO.

ON entering the port by the southern entrance,† a curious conical mountain, called *Pilaf Tepe*, rises in a line with the modern fortress. The mountain of *Agio Nicolo* lies immediately on the right of the passage. The harbour, “certainly,” Sir William Gell says, “one of the finest in the world,” is formed by a deep indenture in the coast, shut in by a long island, the ancient Sphacteria, famous for the signal defeat which the Spartans sustained here from the Athenians in

* The modern name of the Peninsula is said to have been given to it, on account of its resembling in figure a mulberry leaf.

† The other entrance, to the north, has not sufficient water to admit anything larger than boats, and is constantly becoming shallower. The port is pointed out from the sea by the ruined fortress of Old Navarino, seated on a lofty rock at its northern extremity.

the Peloponnesian war.* “ The island (still called Sphagia) has been separated into three or four parts by the violence of the waves, so that boats might pass from the open sea into the port, in calm weather, by means of the channel so formed. On one of the portions is the tomb of a Turkish santon, and near the centre of the port is another very small island or rock.

“ The remains of Navarino Vecchio consist in a fort or castle of mean construction, covering the summit of a hill, sloping quickly to the south, but falling in abrupt precipices to the north and east. The town was built on the southern declivity, and was surrounded with a wall, which, allowing for the natural irregularities of the soil, represented a triangle, with the castle at the apex, — a form observed in many of the ancient cities in Greece. The ascent is steep, and is rendered more difficult by the loose stones and broken tiles, which are the only vestiges of the habitations. Two or three curtains, with towers and gates, have formerly been placed across the hill, to secure the ascent, which continues for at least one thousand paces between the shore and the citadel. The foundation of the walls, throughout the whole circuit, remains entire; but the fortifications were never of any consequence, though they present a picturesque groupe of turrets and battlements from below, and must have been very imposing from the sea when the place was inhabited. From the top is an extensive view over the island of Sphacteria, the port, with the

* The island, according to Col. Leake, is two miles in length, and a quarter of a mile broad. The basin is six miles in circumference, having an entrance of 600 yards between Neo-Kastro and the south-eastern end of Sphacteria; the northern end being separated, by a channel of 100 yards, from a peninsular promontory anciently called Coryphasium.

town of Navarino to the south, and a considerable tract of the Messenian territory on the east, with the conical hill, which, though some miles from the shore, is used as a landmark to point out the entrance to the port.

“ This place is supposed to have been built on the site of the Pylos of Messenia ; but either the public buildings of Pylos must have been very insignificant, or this could not have been the spot, for we were unable to find any squared blocks of stone or marble, the usual indications of the existence of more ancient cities. There is a cave in the rocks below, which some Frank has taught the two or three Greeks who ever heard of Nestor, to believe was the stall where he kept his cows ; a mistake which some future traveller will probably magnify into an ancient tradition.

“ Towards the north, the island of Prote * is visible. Below us, in the same direction, we observed, between the sea and a salt lake which once formed part of the port, two points of rock, united by a semicircular causeway of sand, which the violence of the sea had driven into that form, and which the people called *Boudiou Chilia*, the Cow's Paunch. This sand is evidently formed by a modern deposite from the sea ; and the rock of Navarino Vecchio must at no very remote period have been an island, and may even have formed part of Sphacteria. Ruins probably exist on the hills, near the villages of Petrachorio and Leukos on the north-east.

“ The town within the walls of the fortress of Navarino, like all those in this part of the world, is encumbered with the fallen ruins of former habitations.

* The Prodano of Italian maps, but in the country retaining its ancient name.

These have generally been constructed by the Turks since the expulsion of the Venetians. They were originally erected in haste, and being often cemented with mud instead of mortar, the rains of autumn, penetrating between the outer and inner faces of the walls, swell the earth, and soon effect the ruin of the whole structure.

“ The soil about Navarino is of a red colour, and is remarkable for the production of an infinite quantity of squills, which are used in medicine, and asphodels, the flowers of which are very numerous and pretty during the winter months, though, in the summer, they are reduced to the state of dried sticks, without any traces of vegetation. The rocks, which shew themselves in every direction through a scanty but rich soil, are limestone: they have an extraordinary appearance, being curiously perforated in so great a number of small holes, where the softer particles have been decomposed by time, that a place to tie a horse or to moor a boat seems never to be wanting, either on the road or on the beach. The perpetual presence of rock has, however, a general appearance of unproductiveness round the castle of Navarino; and the absence of trees is ill compensated by the profusion of sage, brooms, cistus, and other shrubs which start from the innumerable cavities of the limestone.” *

The house of the archon (Sir William's host) was new, and is described as a specimen of the mansions in this part of the country. “ It is situated at the foot of a hill, sloping to the west of the port. From the extremities of the house two wings project backwards, of which one is the women's apartment, and the other the kitchen. The remainder of the square

* Gell's Journey in the Morea, pp. 19—23.

is enclosed with a wall, which surrounds a garden rising up the hill in terraces, the lowest of which is not entered from below, but from the gallery of the principal apartment, by a bridge over the court. Four or five good rooms, under which are magazines, open into a wooden gallery overlooking the court and garden. The gallery is reached by a flight of steps from the court, and serves, like the peristyles of the ancients, either as a place of conversation or for exercise, according to the season. It not unfrequently happens, that a part is separated from the rest by a rail or steps, and, being furnished with cushions, becomes the summer apartment; answering exactly to the *alæ* of the ancients, both in disposition and utility. The terraces of the garden, rising in regular gradation, with the plants and flowers, make a gay and delightful spectacle from within." *

The road from Navarino to Modon (or Mothone), after passing the castle, runs southward along a rugged hollow, between the mountain of Agio Nicolo on the west, and a lower range on the east, "both ugly and uninteresting." Here and there, are vestiges of a paved way, probably Venetian, composed of small stones well united; and where the road to Coron (or Korone) turns off to the left, the learned Traveller noticed small patches of arable ground. The rocky mountain on the left is perforated with caves. In about half an hour, the road leads to a wood of mulberries, interspersed with cypresses, and thence descends to a little plain at that time covered with olives. The village of Opshino lies on the left, seated on an eminence about three miles from Navarino; and still more dis-

* Among other plants, the sugar-cane had been cultivated by the archon, and appeared to thrive. The mean temperature of Navarino, Sir W. Gell supposes to be not lower than 66°.

tant is seen a pretty hamlet, ornamented with many cypresses, called *Dia-ta-Bathenai*. The village of *Metaxadi* is also seen on the left. Mount *Agio Nicolo* now approaches the road, and two or three ruined Greek chapels occur, with some old foundations. After passing a cave on the right, containing "something like holes for votive offerings," with an ancient quarry below, the plain of *Modon* may be said to commence. It was, at the time of Sir William Gell's visit, well cultivated, and being shaded by innumerable olives, presented a smiling and inviting appearance; here and there, were observed Turkish villas; and Sir William was convinced, that the Turkish despotism must be a blessing to the country.* He arrived at *Modon* after a ride of nearly two hours, a distance of about seven miles.

MODON.

"*MODON* consists at present of two portions; one within the walls of the fortress, and the other a considerable Greek village to the north of it: the latter is surrounded with an extensive tract of gardens, many of which are delightfully planted with oranges, lemons, and pomegranates. It is not easy to say whether the Greek or the Turkish town is the more wretched, one being built in the meanest and most irregular manner, while the other, though surrounded with walls, presents only a melancholy spectacle of deserted streets and dilapidated habitations."† Over the gate of the

* "The vicinity of the two forts of *Navarino* and *Modon* seems to have given the Turkish population the greater share in the soil in this district, and the Greek chapels on the road are all deserted and ruined."

† "The *Aga* seemed wretchedly poor, though the governor of the place, and his house was in scarcely a less filthy and ruinous

fortress,—“ a curious octagon fort, communicating with the town by a stone bridge,” the lion of St. Mark still attests the ancient sway of the Venetian Republic.

About two miles N.E. of Modon, is a place called *Palαιο Mothone*, (Old Modon). The walk to it lay along the plain through gardens and olive-grounds, extending over the site of the city. “ The place is marked out by mounds of earth, which point out in a very unsatisfactory manner the spot where it is supposed to have existed. The fields are strewn with broken tiles and pottery. A little ruined church, placed on a mount overlooking a dell, watered by a meandering brook, is possibly on the site of a temple, and contained an ancient pillar of white marble, now thrown down. There is nothing worthy of observation on the spot, which is, however, pretty and sequestered.”*

Modon has a small port, but ships generally anchor at the opposite island of Sapienza. Three batteries command the bay: the uppermost two have the appearance of being patched upon the dome of an old building. The surrounding country reminded Mr. Swan (in 1825) of the dark, barren land which occurs between Leeds and Pontefract in our coal districts, for the Turks encamped here had employed themselves in cutting down and burning the olive-trees. In other parts, the plain had a fertile aspect, and many

condition than that of the commandant at Navarino: so far is it from truth,” adds this zealous Philo-Turk, “ that the Turks live in ease and affluence, while the Greeks are condemned to filth and penury.” Sir William seems to consider this as a proof of the impartiality of the Turkish tyranny.

* Narrative, p. 49. In the Author's Itinerary, there are stated to be at *Palαιο Mothone*, “ vestiges of a city, with a *citadel* and a *few marbles*. It is difficult to determine the date of the ruins.”

of the Turkish tents were pitched amid extensive olive-grounds, and orange-groves.*

For a description of the route to Coron, we must have recourse to the florid pages of the Viscount de Chateaubriand, who visited this part of the Morea in the year 1806.

“ It was still dark when we left Modon. I fancied myself wandering among the wilds of America: here was the same solitude, the same silence. We passed through woods of olive-trees, proceeding in a southerly direction. At day-break, we found ourselves on the level summits of the most dreary hills that I ever beheld. For two hours we continued our route over these elevated plains, which, being ploughed up by the torrents, resembled forsaken fallows, interspersed with the sea-rush and bushes of a species of brier. Large bulbs of the mountain lily, uprooted by the rains, appeared here and there on the surface of the ground. We descried the sea to the east, through a thinly-sown wood of olives. We then descended into a valley, where we saw some fields of barley and cotton. We crossed the bed of a torrent, now dried up; it was full of rose-laurels and of the agnus-castus, a shrub

* “ The Abbé Barthelemy considered Mothone as so uninteresting, that he has taken notice of nothing but its spring of bituminous water. . . . The name frequently occurs in history, but never as the scene of any important event. From a fragment by Diodorus Siculus, we find that Brasidas defended this place against the Athenians. The same writer terms it a town of Laconia, because Messenia was a conquest of Lacedæmon. . . . Trajan granted privileges to Mothone. It was taken by the Venetians in 1124, and again, having reverted to its former masters, in 1204. A Genoese corsair dispossessed the Venetians in 1208, but the Doge Dandolo recovered it. In 1498, it was taken by Mahommed II., reconquered by Morosini in 1606, and finally recovered by the Turks in 1715.”—CHATEAUBRIAND'S *Greece*, vol. i. p. 81.

with a long, pale, narrow leaf, whose purple and somewhat woolly flower shoots out nearly into the form of a spindle. I mention these two shrubs, because they are met with over all Greece, and are almost the only decorations of those solitudes, once so rich and gay, at present so naked and dreary. Now I am upon the subject of this dry torrent, I shall observe, that, in the native country of the Ilissus, the Alpheus, and the Erymanthus, I have seen but three rivers whose urns were not exhausted; these were the Pamisus, the Cephisus, and the Eurotas.

“ On leaving the valley which I have just mentioned, we began to ascend fresh mountains. My guide several times repeated to me names which I had never heard; but, to judge from their position, these mountains must form part of the chain of Mount Temathea. We soon entered a wood of olive-trees, rose-laurels, agnus-castus, and cornel-trees. This wood was overlooked by rugged hills. Having reached the top of these, we beheld the Gulf of Messenia, skirted on all sides by mountains, among which the Ithome was distinguished by its insulated situation and the Taygetus by his two pointed peaks. As we proceeded, we discovered below us the road and harbour of Coron, in which we saw several ships at anchor: the fleet of the Capitan Pasha lay on the other side of the Gulf towards Calamata. On reaching the plain, which lies at the foot of the mountains, and extends to the sea, we left on our right a village, in the middle of which stood a kind of fortified castle; the whole, that is to say, both the village and the castle, were in a manner surrounded with an immense Turkish cemetery, covered with cypresses of all ages. My guide, pointing to these trees, called them Parissos. The rose-laurel there grew at the foot of the cypresses,

which resembled large black obelisks; white turtle-doves and blue pigeons fluttered and cooed among their branches; the grass waved about the small funereal columns crowned with turbans; and a fountain, built by a shereef, poured its waters into the road for the benefit of the traveller. From this cemetery to Coron is nearly two hours' journey. We proceeded through an uninterrupted wood of olives; the space between the trees being sown with wheat, which was half cut down. The ground, which at a distance has the appearance of a level plain, is intersected by rough and deep ravines.

“Corone, like Messene and Megalopolis, is not a place of very high antiquity, since it was founded by Epaminondas on the ruins of the ancient Epea. Coron has hitherto been taken for the ancient Corone, agreeably to the opinion of D’Anville. On this point I have some doubts. According to Pausanias, Corone was situated at the foot of Mount Temathea, near the mouth of the Panisus. Coron, on the contrary, is at a considerable distance from that river: it stands on an eminence, nearly in the position in which the same Pausanias places the temple of Apollo Corinthus, or rather in the position of Colonides. At the bottom of the Gulf of Messenia, on the seashore, you meet with ruins which may be the remains of the ancient Corone, unless they belong to the village of Ino. Coronelli is mistaken in supposing Coron to be the ancient Pedasus, which, according to Strabo and Pausanias, must be sought in Methone.”

What is supposed to be the site of Corone, exhibits, however, but a heap of modern ruins. According to M. Pellegrin, who travelled in the Morea between 1715 and 1719, the territory of Coron then comprehended eighty villages. “I am doubtful,” M. de

Chateaubriand continues, "if five or six could now be found within the same district. The rest of this devastated tract belongs to Turks, who possess three or four thousand olive-trees. The house of the French Consul overlooked the Gulf of Coron. From my window, I beheld the sea of Messenia, painted with the most beautiful azure. On the opposite side rose the lofty chain of the snow-capped Taygetus, which Polybius justly compares to the Alps, but to the Alps beneath a more lovely sky. On my right extended the open sea; and on my left, at the extremity of the Gulf, I discovered Mount Ithome, detached like Mount Vesuvius, which it also resembles in its truncated summit. What reflections are excited by the prospect of the desert coasts of Greece, where nought is heard, save the eternal whistling of the wind and the roaring of the billows! The report of guns, fired from time to time by the ships of the Capitan Pasha against the rocks of the Mainotes, (with whom he was then at war,) alone interrupted these dismal sounds by a sound still more dismal; and nothing was to be seen upon this whole extent of sea but the fleet of this chief of the barbarians."

The disturbed state of the country rendering it unsafe to proceed to Sparta by way of Kalamata, (a village nearly opposite to Coron on the other side of the Gulf,) M. de Chateaubriand determined to proceed to Tripolitza. Embarking in a skiff, he reached in a few hours the mouth of the Pamisus, "the largest river of the Peloponnesus," where the bark grounded for want of water. Here he landed, and proceeded through Nisi, "a considerable village" three or four miles up that river, directing his course towards Mount Ithome, leaving on the right the ruins of Messene. He passed through "Chafasa, Scala, Cyparissa, and

several other villages recently destroyed by the Pasha, in his last expedition against the banditti.....From the desolation that reigned around me," remarks the learned Frenchman, "it might have been supposed that the ferocious Spartans had again been ravaging the native land of Aristodemus." An uneven plain, covered, like the savannas of Florida, with long grass and droves of horses, conducted him to the extremity of the basin, formed by the junction of the lofty mountains of Arcadia and Laconia. The long and narrow defile which leads out into the plain of Leon-dari, strongly reminded him of the passage of the Apennines between Perouse and Tarni. We shall not accompany this Writer any farther in his route to Tripolitza; but must now return to Navarino, in order to trace the route of Sir William Gell and Ibrahim Pasha to Arcadia, and complete, from other sources, our description of the Messenian territory.

FROM NAVARINO TO ARCADIA.

THE first stage from Navarino, proceeding northward, is to Gargagliano. The track runs along the eastern shore of the port for some time, and then descends into an alluvial plain, leaving the little villages of Petrachorio and Leuka on the left, and Gephyræ and Lisaki on little knolls to the right.* A little beyond, the road enters a pretty wooded valley, watered by the river Romanus, which is crossed by a bridge; and about three-quarters of a mile further, a woody dell, where the Brussomavo † has also its bridge. Here, Sir William Gell was delighted with a thicket

* In the Itinerary written, Gephyre and Lirachi.

† In the Itinerary, Brisonero Nerro

of arbutus, which formed a beautiful shrubbery on either hand. The aspect of the intermediate country was neither fertile nor inviting, and much of it was neglected. Near the Romanos, there was a tract cultivated with lupins, and a crop of maize had recently been gathered from the plains. A steep and difficult ascent conducts from the arbutus grove to a summit affording a fine view of the sea and Prote; and Gargagliano soon becomes visible, distant from Navarino five hours and a quarter. Through the whole of this uninteresting journey, the travellers did not meet a single individual on the road.*

“Gargagliano is a very large Greek village, probably built under the Venetians, the name being evidently Italian. It is placed on a high flat, with a very steep descent towards the sea and the lower country on the coast, which terminates in a promontory opposite to the island of Prote: this is overlooked, though at some distance from the village. Prote is at present remarkable only for the number of oxen which it maintains, and for a port where small vessels frequently take shelter. Gargagliano is distinguished by the number of cypresses with which it is ornamented: these, together with the situation, give the town an air of prosperity and consequence from without, which

* Sir William's account of the road is truly appalling. “Nothing,” he says, “can equal the impracticability of a Greek road over a district of pointed limestone rocks perpetually appearing at the surface, except that across the succeeding valley or plain, when it has been well soaked by the autumnal rains. The short herbage, beginning to spring up in the winter, renders it necessary for the traveller to attend to his own involuntary agitations; while the luggage-horse, after a thousand slips and as many recoveries, almost invariably puts a stop to further progress for a short time, by receiving a desperate fall, after a slide of several feet, and a succession of unavailing struggles.”

the interior is ill calculated to maintain."* The village abounded with droves of swine ("the sure symptom of a Christian population in the East,") not absolutely wild, but with long legs and backs well arched and fringed with long bristles, resembling the boars on antique gems. Mill-stones are cut from a rock near this place, but the learned Traveller could hear of no other production for sale.

"Quitting Gargagliano at seven A.M.," continues Sir William, "we descended to the lower country on the coast, leaving the path to Prote on the left. On the right we observed several caves, and one called Barytospelia, once producing, as the name imports, nitre for the manufacture of gunpowder. Having passed an open grove of *Velania* oaks, and a plain spotted with shrubs, we descended to the river Longobardo, which we passed over a bridge of two arches. On the descent was a pretty fountain, with a Turkish inscription, and other eastern decorations added by the Turk who had erected it, and had conveyed the water for the use of travellers; but the pious zeal of some Greeks had just deprived it of its ornaments, and destroyed the water-course, by way of rendering a service to the cause of religion. The country had here and there small patches of cultivation, producing grain and lupins. After passing another river, called *Agia Kyriaki*, the hills receded from the coast, and we saw, over the tops of the nearest, the peaked summit of the lofty Mount *Mallia*, or *Mali*, which may be considered as the centre from which all the other hills of the south-western point of the *Morea* proceed.

* Gell's Narrative, pp. 62, 71. In the Itinerary, the houses of Gargagliano are stated to be good.

“ Three hours’ ride from Gargagliano brought us to the village of Philiatra, after passing through a very rich tract of vineyards and olive-grounds, and under a large oak with the ruins of a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicolo. The number of trees, and particularly of cypresses, formed so marked a feature in this spot, that we were not aware of the houses before we were on the point of entering the place.

“ Philiatra is a large and straggling village, situated in a plain, forming a cape between the mountains and the sea. The habitations are so interspersed with trees and vineyards, that scarcely any two are distinguishable together; and the site was then to be recognised from a distance only by a groupe of cypresses, one of which, of great height, is visible from a considerable extent both of sea and land. Philiatra may properly be styled a Greek village, though a few Turks, and among others, our Janissary Mustapha, had acquired property there. These Turks, as we were informed, held their lands upon a very uncertain tenure, for, by the strict letter of the law, they are not permitted either to buy or to inherit land from the Greeks; a regulation intended to prevent injustice, and probably one of the articles of the capitulation between the Turks and the Venetians on the cession of the Morea. By a law also of their own, a Turk is not allowed to buy land at any place where there is no mosque; yet, a mosque cannot be erected without a special licence from the Mufti, and a very considerable expense. In such circumstances, these Turks, being in some degree dependent on the good-will of their neighbours, become very good citizens, equally removed, by their condition, from the rapaciousness of tyrants, and the meanness of slaves.

“ We remained at Philiatra only a few hours. It

contains nothing worthy of observation; and the lanes which serve as streets, are during the winter rendered impassable, except on horseback, by the frequent recurrence of deep and muddy sloughs. A church or two in decent repair exist in the village; and several years after, I saw from a ship at sea the slender minaret of a newly-erected mosque, possibly the consequence of the very journey which we were making in the Morea. It is now in all probability, with the other buildings of Philiatra, reduced to a heap of ruins; as the village, being totally devoid of the means of defence, must have been sacked alternately by Christian and Turk. The Mainote pirates, attracted by the flourishing state of its olives and vines, have nevertheless made vain attempts to plunder Philiatra; for the inhabitants, headed by the few resident Turks, have always repulsed them with loss.

“ After dinner we again pursued our journey toward the city of Arcadia, the capital of the district. The river of Philiatra, a rapid mountain-current in a deep ravine, is passed by a lofty bridge near the villages of Kanaloupon and Kalazoni, the inhabitants of which cultivate the red and sandy soil of the plain, which here expands on each side. A mountain on the right is called Geranion; and we were told of a plain with an impregnable fortress upon a conical hill on Mount Mali, where there had been a great battle between the Turks and the Venetians, and which may probably again become the scene of contention, as it has always been the refuge of banditti.*

“ On the right, we saw the village of Balaclava, a name reminding us of the Tatars of the Crimea, which

* This is probably the spot where Pappa Flescia had entrenched himself, to dispute Ibrahim Pasha's advance on Arcadia.— See page 234.

we could account for in this place in no other way than by supposing it a colony of Armenians, who might at some period have settled at the next village of Armeniou. We crossed by a bridge, a river called from its branches Duopotamo, and passed through a country well covered with olives, and capable of any species of cultivation. This sort of scenery continued till the mountains again approached. On the right, near a fountain called Rondaki, and on a rocky summit attached to their most western point, the towers of the castle of Arcadia were discovered above the trees. The situation is so commanding and picturesque, that we could not but imagine we were approaching a magnificent city, none of the houses being visible. After a short ascent, however, and passing two ruined chapels situated on projecting points of the mountain, the wretched cluster of habitations which form the town broke at once upon the sight, and destroyed the illusion, though the prospect was more beautiful than ever."

ARCADIA.*

"THE town of Arkadia is long and narrow, and contains three mosques besides that in the fort: the inhabitants are Greeks and Turks. Its population (1806) probably does not exceed 4000. Some remains of the acropolis of *Cyparissiai* † enclose the modern

* Col. Leake writes this word Arkadhia; and Mr. Dodwell, Arkadia, for a fanciful reason, "to distinguish it from the ancient territory of that name," which he writes with a c.

† "It is written indifferently in the singular or the plural in ancient authors. I have followed Pausanias."—DODWELL. Col. Leake writes it Cyparissus; Sir W. Gell, Cyparissia. Pausanias speaks slightly of the place, but mentions the temples of Apollo and Minerva.

fortress, which is in ruins. It contains one mosque and some houses for the garrison. In the plain near the town are the few remains of a small Doric temple. The view from hence is highly interesting and extensive. The eye stretches over the broad expanse of the Cyparissian Gulf to the Ionian Sea, in which the Strophades, with the more distant islands of Zakynthos and Cephallenia are faintly visible. Towards the north, the spectator recognises Katakolo Kastro, Castel Tornese, and the low coast of Eleia, which scarcely peers above the horizon. At the extremity of this low coast begins the Cyparissian Gulf (Gulf of Arcadia), where the first objects are the hill of Samikon, the khan of Zakaro, the ancient city near Strobotiza, and the range of the Messenian mountains, overtopped by those of Arcadia, among which Olenos is the most conspicuous. The plain and acropolis of Cyparissiai and the modern town terminate the view. Mount Lycæon and the temple of Apollo Epikourios were concealed by the intervening hill of the fortress."* Arcadia has no port. The surrounding country is described by Sir William Gell as a fine grove of olives; but, in spite of its romantic name, the place itself is altogether insignificant.

Mr. Dodwell reached Arcadia from the north; and, as it will complete the description of this part of the Arcadian coast, we shall give his route

FROM OLYMPIA TO ARCADIA.

IT was two hours and a half before the Travellers could effect their passage, and get every thing over the rapid and intractable stream of the Alpheios, by

means of a rude canoe which is employed for the purpose.* The passage of the horses was the most difficult part of the undertaking, as they were to be driven into the water, when they swam across, after having been carried for a considerable distance down the stream. They landed at the wooded foot of a steep and picturesque hill, which they ascended by a narrow and dangerous path, bordered by the precipitous banks of the Alpheios on the left, and by projecting rocks on the right. It took them an hour to ascend to the Greek village of Palaio Phanari, consisting of about twenty-five thatched cottages, with a tower (*pyrgos*), then inhabited by a hospitable Turk. To the west of the village rises a pointed or conical hill, crowned with the remains of an acropolis, built of large square blocks, supposed to be that of Phrixa. The view from the summit is very extensive and interesting, commanding the course of the Alpheios meandering through the verdant meads of Olympia to the Ionian Sea. Katakolo Kastro is perceived as a spot upon the coast. On the opposite side of the river is seen the flourishing little town of Lalla, on some flat hills towards the north.† To the east is an extensive plain, bounded by

* The ferry boat, called a *monoxylon*, is the trunk of a large tree hollowed out, flat at one extremity and pointed at the other. Only one person at a time can embark in it, besides the two rowers, who sit at its opposite extremities; and whirled about by the violence of the current, it is carried down the stream, often a considerable way, before it reaches the shore. It is directed by two oars, shaped nearly like a spade, which also serve as rudders. "This kind of boat was used by the ancients: they are the *μονοξύλα πλοια* of Polybius, and are alluded to by Virgil (*Geog. I. 136*):

' *Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas.*'"

† Lalla is described by Mr. Dodwell as a town recently built, containing about 1000 houses, the inhabitants all Turks. They are, in fact, an Albanian tribe of Moslems, who took possession of the district by force.

the Arcadian mountains, and animated by the sinuous current of the Alpheios. The nearer hills are covered with forests, and the distant mountains also appear to be well wooded.

At five hours and a quarter (about fifteen miles and a half) from Palaio Phanari, is the Greek village of Vrina, very pleasantly situated. The road is "superlatively bad," but lies through "beautifully tortuous vales, in a state of variegated cultivation," and over hills covered with the waving pine. "There was something so peculiarly beautiful in the country," Mr. Dodwell says, "that it appeared a region of enchantment, as if we had reached the

—— *locos lætos, et amœna vireta*
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas."*

Near Vrina (*Βρίνα*) rises a fine pointed hill, surmounted with its *palaio kastro* or ancient citadel,—conjectured by the learned Traveller to be the ancient Minthe. An hour from Vrina is the village of Kal-lonia (by Sir W. Gell written Alona), on the left bank of a stream which waters a rich agricultural plain; and forty minutes further is a ruinous *derveni* or custom-house, above which rises a rocky hill crowned with the ruins of an ancient city, probably Samia or Samikon.† The walls and square towers are well preserved. This place is now called indifferently

* Virg. *Æn.* iv. 638. Mr. Dodwell travelled towards the end of January, when the fruit-trees at Vrina were all in blossom. "This early flower falls, and when the winter is over, a second blossom appears, which gives birth to the fruit."

† Strabo calls the city Samia, and the mountain Samikon. It was celebrated for a temple of the Samian Neptune, which stood in a grove of wild olives. It probably took its name from its lofty situation, as the Greeks called high places *Σαμοί*. Strabo and Pausanias take Samikon to be the same as Arene, which Homer places near the river Anigros.—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 344.

Derieni and *Kiaffa* or *Kleidi* (the Key), as being the pass or key of two contiguous plains. The foot of the hills is on the confines of an extensive marsh, covered with pines, reaching to the sea, which appears at the distance of about half a mile to the west. A precipice rises near the marsh, containing two large caves, which are entered by the waters of the marsh and of some springs at the foot of the hill. "Strabo mentions the two caves, one of which was sacred to the nymphs *Anigriades*, while the other was famous for the adventures of the *Atlantides*, and for the birth of *Dardanus*, son of *Jupiter* and *Electra*, daughter of *Atlas*, King of *Arcadia*. He says, that the marshes have been produced by the fountain near the cave of the *Anigriad* nymphs, mixing with the *Anigros*, which is deep and sluggish, while the surrounding country is sandy and low. *Pausanias* says, that the *Anigros* is fetid from its very source, which is at *Mount Lapithos* in *Arcadia*: he adds, that the mouth of this river is often retarded in its influx into the sea, by the violence of the winds, which prevent the progression of its waters. It is now called *Mauro-potamo*, the black river."*

The whole country was so much overflowed when *Mr. Dodwell* travelled, that it was difficult to distinguish the river from the marsh. There is a fishery here, in a lake formed by the waters of the *Anigros*: the fish are admitted in summer time by a canal, which is afterwards closed by sand-banks. The soil is a deep sand. Near where the lake ends, a road leads off to the left to *Xerro Chorio*. At two hours and

* *Dodwell*, vol. ii. p. 345. In like manner, the scirocco sometimes blows with such violence at *Ostia* in the rainy season, that the *Tiber* stagnates at its mouth, and occasions inundations in many parts

twenty minutes from the *derveni*, near where a stream flowing from the hills on the east enters the sea, is the Khan of Agio Isidoro (pronounced Ayo Sidero), a melancholy spot, nearly deserted. About two miles inland, ascending this stream, is a village called Biskini or Pischini, near which are small remains of an ancient city, conjectured to be the site of the Triphyliatic or Lepreatic Pylos, "and the river may be the Amathos."

The track continues to run along a cultivated plain, bounded by the sea and by sand-banks clothed with pines on the one hand, and by gentle hills on the other. At the end of about an hour and three quarters from the khan, a road to the left turns up a pretty wooded glen with a river, leading to the village of Strovitza. Mr. Dodwell left the road to Arcadia, to explore the traces of an ancient city in this direction. In three hours from the khan, he reached the first traces of the city, near where a rapid rivulet falls down the hill, turning some small mills in its course; and half an hour more brought him to the acropolis. "Two entire gates are remaining, of the common square form: one of them is almost buried under the ruins and earth, which reach nearly to the architrave. The towers are square; one of them is almost entire, and contains a small window or arrow-hole. Three different periods of architecture are evident in this fortress. The walls are composed of polygons: some of the towers consist of irregular, and others of rectangular quadrilaterals. The ruins extend far below the acropolis on the side of the hill, and are seen on a flat detached knoll. It was evidently an extensive city. Its situation corresponds nearly to that of Lepreos in Triphylia." Strovitza is about a mile and a half to the north. An extensive view is obtained

from this summit. Mr. Dodwell regained the road to Arcadia at the bridge of Boutzi, over the Neda; having passed in his way, an ancient site, distinguishable by old foundations and broken pottery, which he supposes to be Pyrgos, the last town of Triphylia.

The Neda rises on the west side of Mount Lycaeon, forming a deep and rocky glen, on the right bank of which are the ruins of Phigaleia, about two hours from the bridge. It anciently separated Triphylia and Messenia. It is not broad but deep, and, after hard rains, very rapid. The road now lies through swamps and pine forests, approaching the sea, and crosses a clear and shallow river, which has changed its course, rendering a fine bridge useless. Soon after, the olive re-appears. At three hours and twenty minutes from the khan near the bridge of the Neda, the traveller arrives at Arcadia: distance from the ferry of Palaio Phanari nearly fourteen hours.

FROM ARCADIA TO MESSENE.

FROM Arcadia, Mr. Dodwell proceeded to visit Mount Ithome and the fertile region at the head of the Gulf of Coron. At the end of five hours (4h. 21min. in the Itinerary) he reached Kleissoura, which derives its name from being near the gorge or defile that leads to the great Messenian plain. The inhabitants were chiefly Greek klephts. Near the village are some imperfect vestiges, "perhaps of the city of Dorion." Three quarters of an hour beyond this village, a rapid stream, called Kokla, runs southward to the Gulf. Forty minutes further, on the right, is seen a high insulated mount, of pointed form, crowned with a ruined Venetian castle, which is called indifferently, *Palaio-kastro*, *Klephto-kastro*, and *Mila-kastro*. The

ruins are fine modern towers, perhaps on old foundations. This part of the road, which is a narrow defile, was reckoned particularly dangerous from the robbers.* Soon after, the spacious expanse of the Messenian plain, encircled with mountains, bursts on the view, and Mount Ithome appears in all its beauty. At the end of three hours from Kleissoura, is the large Greek village of Konstantino. From a neighbouring hill, "the rich plain of Messenia was seen in its full extent, with Mount Ithome, the summits of Taygeton, and the broad Pamisos, winding its way through the vale of Stenykleros to the Koroneian Gulf."

From Konstantino to Mavrommati (or *Maura-matia*, black eyes), four miles and twenty-three minutes. The road lies through the village of Alitoura, half an hour beyond which are the ruins of a most curious ancient bridge, "perhaps unique in Greece," but resembling the triangular bridge at Croyland in Lincolnshire. It is built over the confluence of two rivers which run southward; the principal one, the Balyra, and the tributary stream, either the Leukasia or the Amphitos. The lower part of the bridge is ancient; it is constructed with large blocks of stone, with two pointed buttresses that are still left: the upper part

* The Author was witness to a regular battle at the village of Alitoura, between the klephts, who, to the number of 140, had obtained possession, and a besieging force, consisting of about 100 Greeks and 60 Turks. He afterwards met 30 armed Greeks headed by a *papas*, repairing, as a reinforcement, to the scene of action. The issue was not very bloody. Very few were killed on either side; and in the night, the robbers cut their way through the besiegers, and effected a retreat to their castle and to the forests of Ithome. "They were headed by a Greek, the terror of the Morea, known by the name of Captain George, who, as they told us, spared neither Greeks, Turks, nor Franks." His real name was no other than *George Kolokotroni*. He subsequently took refuge in Zante, and entered the English service.

is modern. Two piers remain above water, and one to a considerable height, whence arches, in three different directions, lead to the three points of land formed by the confluence.* At three hours from Konstantino is a monastery, beautifully situated on the side of Mount Ithome, the foot of which is here composed of little hills intersected by small valleys cultivated with corn. Nothing, Mr. Dodwell says, can exceed the beauty and interest of the view from this solitary spot: he pronounces it to be one of the finest in Greece. The magnificent range of Taygetus, covered with snow, and broken into a diversity of gigantic forms, was seen shooting up into the air, far above the rich and level plains of Messenia; while the continuity of the outline was finely broken by a beautiful cluster of cypresses in the fore-ground. The monastery, which they found deserted, but with signs of recent habitation, is of considerable extent. In the walls, are "two beautiful feet of a white marble statue." Having climbed still higher, the traveller reaches the summit of the pass between Mounts Evan and Ithome, and passes the walls of the ancient acropolis of Messene; he then descends to the village of Mavrommati, situated in the centre of the ancient city, at the southern foot of Ithome, now called Vulkanano. It had been Mr. Dodwell's intention to remain some days at this interesting spot, in order to accomplish an accurate investigation of these "stupendous ruins, which are so perfect that they exhibit a complete picture, and excite a most satisfactory idea of ancient Greek fortifications." The disturbed state of

* Sir W. Gell says, that the bridge "seems to have been constructed with approaching blocks, not an arch," a presumptive proof of its antiquity.

the country, and the panic alarm spread by the robbers, defeated his plans.

MESSENE.

“ PAUSANIAS,” remarks the learned Traveller, “ appears to have felt great interest in the history of the Messenians. His description of their wars is more minute and more animated than any other part of his narrative. His account of the city gives us a grand idea of what it must once have been ; and the present splendid remains produce a conviction of his veracity. He says : ‘ The walls enclose not only Mount Ithome, but also a space which extends towards the Pamisos under Mount Evan. The town is enclosed by a good wall of stones, and defended by towers and battlements.’ He adds, that the fortifications are the best he ever saw, and superior even to those of Ambrysos, Byzantium, and Rhodes.

“ The village is situated on the ruins, about three-quarters of a mile from the great gates, the most magnificent ruin of the kind in Greece. A circular wall, which is composed of large regular blocks, encloses an area of sixty-two feet in diameter. In this wall are two gates, one facing Cyparissiai, and the other opposite, looking towards Laconia. The architraves have fallen ; but that which belonged to the Laconian gate remains entire, with one end on the ground, and the other leaning against a wall. It seems to be pervaded by a fissure, which was occasioned probably by the fall ; and it is likely that, in a few years, this magnificent block, which is nineteen feet long, will be broken in two pieces. Within the circular court is a square niche in the wall, apparently for a statue.

“ These noble walls were probably constructed with the assistance of the army of Epaminondas, and the lintel was perhaps thrown down by the Spartans at the final subjugation of the Messenians, as its destruction could not have been effected without violence. Among the ruins of Messene are the remains of the stadium and of a theatre which is one of the smallest in Greece. Several other traces, masses of fine walls, and heaps of stones that are scattered about the plain, are overgrown or nearly concealed by large trees or luxuriant shrubs. Pausanias mentions a gymnasium, a stadium, a theatre, ten temples, and an infinity of statues, and particularly an edifice called *ισοβυσσιον*, which contained statues of all the gods worshipped in Greece. This, however, is inconceivable, as their number must have amounted to many thousands. Perhaps he means only the great gods.*

“ Many abundant founts and springs, issuing from Ithome, diffuse verdure and fertility over this interesting spot. Pausanias notices Klepsydra and Arsinoë, which still remain. The magnificent walls near the great gate are almost entirely preserved; they are composed of square stones of a prodigious size, rustic and chipped. The pavement consists of large square stones, in which we discern the track of ancient wheels. The towers are square, and composed of much smaller stones than the walls. A few steps lead up to the door in each tower, in the second story of which are two windows of the same form as the doors, diminishing towards the top.”

* “ The Abbé Fourmont, who visited these ruins (Mycene) seventy years ago, counted thirty-eight towers then standing. I think M. Vial (the French Consul at Coron) “ informed me that nine of these yet remain entire.”—CHATEAUBRIAND, vol. ii. p. 94. The Abbé cannot, however, be depended upon as an authority.

“ We ascended by a steep and winding way to the summit of Ithome. We passed by several blocks and foundations, and, in a small plain on the side of the hill, observed the few remains of a Doric temple of moderate proportions, consisting of some columns and capitals, and blocks of the *cella*, thrown down and almost covered with bushes. There was a bronze statue of Minerva on Ithome; perhaps, this was the temple dedicated to that divinity. The form of the area enclosed by the walls of this celebrated fortress, is an oblong square. In some places, the foundations only can be traced; in others, some masses of the walls remain, composed of large blocks, well hewn and united, but with some irregularity in their angles, which are frequently not right angles, but obtuse or acute. These were probably erected prior to the time of Epaminondas.

“ The town of Ithome consisted merely of what was afterwards the acropolis, that is, the summit of the mountain; as the lower town of Messene owed its origin to the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra. Ithome was strongly fortified by the Messenians in the first Messenian war, * when the inhabitants of the country abandoned most of their small cities, which were probably not fortified before that period. Indeed, few remains of very ancient date are observed in Messenia. The polygon or cyclopien walls are very rare, while they often occur in the neighbouring and warlike Arcadia. Most of the Messenian cities were re-established by Epaminondas.....It is difficult to imagine how the Messenians, when they abandoned their other cities, could be collectively crowded within the walls of Ithome. Probably, the declivities of the

* This began 743 B.C. and lasted twenty years.

mountain, outside the acropolis walls, were covered with habitations ; and this locality is still marked by several traces, composed of small stones and tiles. In time of danger, the inhabitants abandoned their temporary abodes, and retired within the walls. The temple of Jupiter Ithomates, of which there are no remains, is now replaced by the monastery of St. Elias, at the northern extremity of the hill, upon the edge of a steep precipice. The festival of Jupiter has ceded its oaken crown to the laurel-rose, with which the modern Greeks deck their heads in the annual dance which they perform on the summit of Ithome. An even pavement of a circular form, which appears modern, but which is composed of ancient slabs of stone and marble, forms the theatre for the celebration of this dance, which is attended by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and in which much pomp and ceremony are displayed.

“ Mount Ithome has a flat summit rising gently towards the north, where the monastery is erected. Few places in Greece combine a more beautiful, and at the same time a more classical view. It overlooks the whole extent of the once rich and warlike Messenia, which, however, in the time of Strabo, was greatly depopulated, as the cities mentioned by Homer had either entirely disappeared, had left only faint vestiges, or had changed their names. Vicissitudes, similar to those which occurred between the time of Homer and that of Strabo, have continued from the time of the geographer to the present day. This beautiful and fertile region is not half cultivated ; and though irrigated with numerous rivulets, and blessed with a delicious climate, at present exhibits only a few moderate villages scattered through the country.” *

* Dodwell, vol. ii. pp. 359—366.

On quitting Mavrommati, Mr. Dodwell proceeded along the northern side of Ithome, having in front the old Venetian castle of Mylæ, and soon came to a ruined church, with a long block of stone and tumulus near it; he then crossed a stream, and in an hour and twenty minutes from the gate of Messene, reached the triangular bridge over the Balyra, (now called the *Mavro Zume*, or black broth,) which, according to Pausanias, was thirty stadia from the city. He then struck across the plain, crossing a rivulet running N.E., and in twenty minutes passed by the foot of an insulated rocky hill of inconsiderable height, rising in the middle of the plain. Leaving the road to Scala on the right, he reached, at the end of three hours and a half from the gate of Messene, the khan of Sakona, a wretched hovel * at the foot of the mountains called Makriplai, which form the connecting link between Lycæon and Taygetus, and the line of separation between Messenia and Arcadia. From this place, he proceeded to visit the ruins of Megalopolis. Before, however, we accompany him farther in this direction, we shall rejoin Sir William Gell at this place on his road to Maina, in order to complete our description of the southern coast.

FROM SCALA TO MAINA.

THE road from the khan of Sakona to Scala traverses the Stenyclerian plain in a southerly direction, crossing several streams, and having on the left a pro-

* " This edifice consists, as usual in remote situations, of a long and low shed, with a sort of court, surrounded with smaller hovels and ill-constructed walls about eight feet high. There was also some attempt at a garden, or enclosure, attached to the khan, surrounded with a most dangerous hedge of tall Indian prickly fig."

jection from the great range of Taygetus, which, under the name of Mount Pala, advances towards Mount Vulcano (Ithome). The plain is marshy, but produces maize, and the whole country in this neighbourhood, when Sir William Gell travelled, seemed covered with wild lavender or hyssop, which, when trampled by the horses, sent forth an agreeable aromatic odour. Drovers of buffaloes were "wallowing in the marshes." Scala stands on a knoll, part of a low range of hills, dividing the plain of Stenyclerus from that of the Pamisus. It is an inconsiderable village, with several gardens protected by hedges of prickly Indian fig. Near this place, Sir William noticed a singular effect produced by a thin undulating stratum of rock, which being cracked into innumerable fragments, presented the appearance of an immense mosaic pavement. The view from these hills is described as very interesting. On the right are seen the two summits of Mount Ithome, beautifully wooded, each crowned with a little chapel, one of which occupies the site of the temple of Jupiter. Below is the monastery with its cypress-grove. Beyond Mount Vulcano, the peaks of Mount Mali, extending its branches westward as far as the town of Arcadia, and to Coron and Modon on the south, terminate the prospect on that side. Mount Pala forms the eastern boundary; * but, to the south, all is open to the gulf, the towers of Coron being distinctly visible in a S.W. direction, while Capo Grosso, the western promontory of Maina, is seen in the S.E. Below spreads the extensive plain of the Pamisus, † partially inundated by its broad stream, and bordered by many little villages, placed on the prettiest green

* Sir William Gell says, that Mount Pala formed the boundary on the west (Narrative, p. 192.); but this must be an error.

† Now called Pirnatza.

hills imaginable. In the lower part of the plain are two towns, Andrutza and Nisi; the latter in a sort of island, as its name imports. The whole plain is naturally fertile, and the eastern part of it near Kalamata is a scene of rich cultivation. The fields are divided by high fences of cactus, and large orchards of the white mulberry-tree are interspersed with maize-fields, olive-grounds, and "gardens almost worthy of Alcinous himself." The fineness of the climate is indicated by the presence of the *palma Christi*, here called *agra staphylia*, or wild vine, from which is obtained castor-oil.

About half an hour from Scala, in the plains, are the vestiges of a small temple, below which is a rock with a fountain, the source of the Pamisus. In the pool which it here forms, Pausanias states, the ceremony of ablution was anciently performed on infants.* At a short distance from this is another rock with vestiges of an ancient edifice, and a second source gushes forth, forming a river at once. A little farther is a third, equally limpid and copious, which has been walled round. Some fine trees here form the remains of a sacred grove, and a chapel dedicated to *Agios Giorgios* (St. George) marks the site of a fane dedicated to the old idolatry.† The road over the plain

* The waters were believed to have medicinal virtue. See *Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. chap. 40.

† The *agiasmata*, or holy fountains, may be ranked among the most classical superstitions of the modern Greeks. Circumstances of various import have conferred the reputation of sanctity upon many springs within the walls of Constantinople; but a romantic and solitary situation, the neighbourhood of a cavern or a grove, is the usual characteristic of an *agiasma*. To these fountains multitudes will flock at certain intervals, to invoke the saint (the *genius loci*) whose protection they are peculiarly thought to enjoy, and, by their songs and dances, to express the gay and joyous feelings which such situations have ever excited in the glowing constitutions of the Greeks. Their sick are brought in crowds to drink

is very excellent, owing to the gravelly soil. Several villages occur on either side: that of Palaio-castro, which is seen on an eminence on the left, a little way beyond a bridge over a strong stream from Pedimo, exhibits vestiges of antiquity, which mark the site of the ancient Thuria. In about two hours from Scala, the traveller arrives at a large brick ruin, called *Loutro* (the bath). That it was destined for that use, is evident from the pipes and aqueducts yet remaining: the building has been considerable, and is probably of Roman construction. The medicinal waters might yet be found on the hill: at present, they seem lost in the neighbouring marsh. After passing two ruined churches, the road, no longer good, runs between two high hedges of cactus, that, almost meeting over it, threaten to shed their brittle and prickly branches upon the passengers. The mountains on the left cease at a point near the village of Delli Hassan. The town of Nisi, of considerable extent, lies on the right. The plain produces figs and olives in abundance: under some of the larger trees are the stones of chapels long since destroyed. The village of Aïs Aga is well planted with cypresses; and towers and hamlets, with their gardens and orchards, occur in rapid succession, presenting all the delights of a southern coast. At the village of Asprochomo (white earth), the soil assumes a red appearance, and there are several scattered sand-hills. On a mount to the left is the monastery of Agios Gas. The road now descends into a hollow,

the waters, which, destitute of all medicinal qualities in themselves, owe their influence entirely to the patronage of some superior being; and it would be thought the greatest impiety and ingratitude in those who receive, or fancy they receive his help, to neglect affixing a lock of hair or a strip of linen, as the *votiva tabula*, which may record at once the power of the saint, and the piety of his votary." DOUGLAS on the *Modern Greeks*, p. 61.

planted with the mulberry-tree, the mastich, the fig, the cypress, the orange, the lemon, and the olive; and in another half hour, after crossing a rivulet, (the ancient Nedon,) which descends from Taygetus, the traveller enters the town of Kalamata, delightfully situated in the midst of these gardens on the banks of the stream: distance from Scala, four hours and a quarter; from Sakona, nearly six hours; and nine hours and a half from Leondari.

“ Sheltered as Kalamata is from the north by the high projection of Taygetus, and by the main mass of the mountain running down to Cape Matapan on the east, it is not surprising,” remarks the learned Traveller, “ that a fruitful plain should produce every thing in the greatest luxuriance, and that the climate, compared with that of the interior, should be of the most delightful temperature, about 61° of Fahrenheit early in the month of March, which is perhaps the most disagreeable season in the year on the shores of the Mediterranean.”

Kalamata * derives its name from Kaiamæ, a village about two miles further inland, which still exists, and retains its ancient name. The cultivation of the plains, and the modern buildings erected during the period that the Venetians possessed this fertile territory, have nearly obliterated the few remains of antiquity. Mr. Morritt, who travelled through this district in the year 1795, thus describes the appearance of the place. “ The modern town (consisting of perhaps 300 houses) is built on a plan not unusual in

* Mr. Morritt suggests, that Kalamata may probably occupy the site of Pheræ, which, according to Pausanias, stood at six *stadia* from the sea, in the way from Abia to Thuria, and near where the Nedon fell into the sea. The mouth of the stream of Kalamata is about a mile below the town.

this part of the Morea, and well adapted for the defence of the inhabitants against the attacks of the pirates that infest the coast. Each house is a separate edifice, and many of them are high square towers of brown stone, built while the Venetians had possession of the country. The lower story of their habitations serves chiefly for offices or warehouses of merchandise, and the walls on every side are pierced with loop-holes for the use of musketry, while the doors are strongly barricadoed. A small Greek church stands near the Nedon in front of Calamata; and behind the town, a ruined Venetian fortress rises on a hill, over the gardens and dwellings of the inhabitants. The Greeks who lived there, were rich and at their ease; the fields in the vicinity of the town belonged to them, and they had also a considerable trade, the chief articles of which arose from their cultivation of silk and oil.* They were governed by men of their own nation and appointment, subject only to the approval of the Pasha of the Morea, who resided at Tripolizza, and to the payment of a tribute which was collected among themselves, and transmitted by a Turkish Vaivode, who, with a small party of Janissaries, was stationed here for that purpose, and for the defence of the town against the Mainotes." †

The town has since been laid in utter ruin by Ibrahim Pasha; but the adjacent country, when Captain Hamilton passed through it in September 1825, exhibited few or no traces of Turkish devastation. Women were seen labouring in the vineyards; plantations of fig-tree and mulberry abounded in the plain; and in passing through the green shady lanes, formed by

* A quantity of figs (about 5000 okes) are annually exported to Coron and Trieste. SWAN'S *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 211.

† Walpole's *Memoirs*, p. 35.

the hedges of prickly pear, its red oblong fruit hung in rich clusters, festooned with bunches of grapes and blackberries.

Mr. Morrith describes some considerable ruins which occur between Kalamata and Palaio Castro, which might be taken for the place described by Sir William Gell, were not the direction in which they occur, apparently far to the eastward of his route. "Leaving Calamata," he says, "we passed the village of Kutchuk-Maina, (Little Maina,) and skirting the mountain of Taygetus, which rose on our right-hand, we came in about an hour to the ruins of ancient baths, of which the buildings that remain are very considerable. The structure is of brick. The principal entrance, which is to the south, leads into a large vaulted hall with groined, semicircular arches: on each side of the entrance are rooms which had rows of pipes in the walls for the conveyance of hot water, of which pipes the fragments still remain. The hall has a large arch on each side, and extends beyond the arches to the east and west extremities of the building. An arched passage between other bath-rooms, corresponding to the entrance, leads from the north side of the hall into a spacious saloon, the ceiling of which is also vaulted with groined arches; the aspect is to the north. In these bath-rooms remain contrivances for heating the apartments, and in one, the wall is cased with tiles, perforated for the admission of steam. A small bath is at the end of the eastern suite of rooms, which has been lined with stucco. This has been supplied with hot water from the pipes. The water used here appears, from the sediment near the pipes and on the walls, to have been impregnated with sulphur. A detached semi-circular reservoir, still traceable to the east of the building, supplied the water for

its use. The rooms to the north-east are in ruins; the rest, though stripped of the marble ornaments which once adorned them, remain entire. The bricks are of the size and feature of the Roman bricks, and probably the building itself must be referred to that people, though it appears to have been used long after the decline of the Roman dominion."

From this place, Mr. Morritt continued his journey to Palaio Castro, where he found a village, still inhabited, in the midst of the ruins of the ancient city. These cover an area of nearly two miles in circuit, and parts of the ancient wall of Thuria may still be traced, by the foundations that remain on a hill at the foot of Taygetus, which retains many vestiges of the former town. Among them were scattered several marble *tympana* of fluted columns of the Doric order; "probably the remains of the temple dedicated to the Syrian goddess." A large oblong cistern or tank hewn in the rock, still retains in some places the coat of cement with which it was lined: it is twenty-three yards in length, by sixteen in breadth, and about fourteen in depth, but is partially filled up. The vestiges of the city subsequently built in the plain, are far more indistinct: the soil there is rich and deep, and is broken into platforms and angles of a singular appearance by the waters from the mountains. Some of these are so regular as to present almost the appearance of a modern fortification. "Here, however, the Aris, an inconsiderable stream, still flows to the Pamisus; and while the ancient walls are visible on the hill, the fertility of the plain has obliterated the more recent habitations of the Thurians.

'Deep harvests bury all their pride has plann'd,
And laughing Ceres re-assumes the land.' " *

* Walpole's Memoirs pp. 37—39.

From Kalamata, the road runs eastward for about twenty minutes, before it turns to the south, to skirt the shores of the bay of Koron, while another branch turns off to the left to Kutchuk-Maina, and through the mountains to Mistra.* In about forty minutes, the number of trees and the signs of cultivation diminish, and on crossing a river, the traveller enters the Mainote territory. The road now lies under Mount Jenitza, within a few hundred yards of the sea, at the angle of the gulf formed by the mountains of Maina and the plain of Kalamata. The land is cultivated with corn, where tillage is practicable; and Sir William Gell noticed many stone enclosures, about thirty feet square, intended as a protection to young olive-trees. Here and there were fields of chamomile and lupins. A village called Kalithea-Chorio is seen on the side of a hill on the left, and near the road, the learned Traveller observed a new chapel, "a rare occurrence in any part of Turkey." On the right, a few minutes further on, is a saline spring, the waters of which are used as medicine by the Mainotes. At the distance of about an hour and a half from Kalamata, a deep ravine, the bed of a mountain torrent, crosses the road, affording a strong natural defence of the territory, which the Mainotes have improved by walls and two towers, so as to secure the pass between

* Dr. Bronsted of Copenhagen undertook to pass by this rugged and perilous route from Mistra to Kalamata, in 1804; and he accomplished his hazardous enterprise in personal safety, but with the loss of his watch, medals, and other valuables: these, however, he succeeded in recovering. "After a long ascent and passing a cultivated valley which extends on the east side of Taygetus between the main mass of the mountain and the lower range at its foot, he arrived at Pischino-chorio. Thence he employed six hours on the road to Kutchuk Maina, and from that place descended in three hours to Kalamata." GELL'S *Narrative*, p. 252.

Mount Jenitza and the sea.* The place is named from the salt source, Almiro. High up in the mountains is seen the village of Selytza.† Half an hour further, after crossing the beds of two more torrents, is a spot called Mylæ (the Mills), where a furious stream of salt water, gushing at once from a cavern at the foot of the mountain, turns the wheels of two or three mills, which give its name to the place.‡ The natives say, that the water runs through subterraneous channels from the Gulf of Kolokythia at Marathonisi, and that the volume increases whenever the wind blows strongly from the south-east; but this "strange fancy," which prevails in other parts of Greece, Sir W. Gell ascribes to the vulgar notion that all salt springs must have their origin in the sea. Close to the mills is a square stone tower, the residence of a Mainote chieftain;

* "We are assured," says Sir William Gell, "that this had been the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the Turks and the Mainotes, wherein the former had been completely routed, and beyond this line had never penetrated into Maina."

† "Armyros (Almiro) is at the distance of about a league and a half from Calamatté. This is, properly speaking, only a port where a tower has been built, with some shops occupied by bakers and other venders of provisions. The town of Selitza, to which this is the port, stands upon the declivity of a mountain facing the N. W., and contains about 300 houses. Its inhabitants, a hardy, athletic race, do not unite in marriage with the Greeks in the towns under the government of the Turks: proud of their liberty, they can with difficulty submit to their own bey. The little commerce they carry on in the Gulf of Coron is, however, negotiated entirely by this magistrate." *POUQUEVILLE'S Travels, translated by A Plumfretre, p. 108.*

‡ Mr. Morrith remarks, that these salt streams were anciently between Pheræ and Abia, "and now divide the district of Calamata from the Maina." Sir W. Gell, however, makes the boundary to be a river forty minutes from Kalamata, and about twice that distance from Mylæ. Almiro must be in the Mainote territory.

and near some old cypresses, is a manufactory of common tiles. Medenia, a small town, is seen on the left.* The road now runs under a low, overhanging cliff, which projects so as to leave room for only a narrow path along the beach, and after passing two little capes, leads to Palaio Chora (the old town), “now reduced to a single church, near which are several wells; and the broken tiles, together with the name, seem to shew that a population once existed on this spot. There is a fountain here, where ships sometimes water.”† The high snowy peaks of Taygetus are now visible. A little farther, the traveller passes another neglected church in a glen, and near it, a well, on a rapid and dangerous rocky descent, leading down to another tile-manufactory, at the head of a

* “Mandinies” (the Medenia of Sir William Gell,—Mr. Swan calls it Madela) “is the second town upon the coast immediately dependent on the Bey. It lies two leagues and a half from Calamattè, one league from Armyros, and half a league from the sea. The town, though consisting of not above 150 houses, is divided into Great and Little Mandinies. The latter division is built on the slope of Mount Saint Helias, the highest summit of Taygetus: the Great Mandinies stands at the foot of the slope. Its chief productions are oil and silk, and it is particularly celebrated for the purity of its air. The valley which runs at the foot of this mountain, is embellished with several hamlets picturesquely situated: in following the course of a little river which flows through it, we come to the ruins of an ancient town . . . called by the inhabitants, Palæochori. From the ruins of some temple, they have built a church, which is called *Stavros*. It is not surrounded with houses; but it is a place of assembly on festival days, and the inhabitants of Mandinies repair thither to hear mass, &c. *POUQUEVILLE'S Travels*, p. 108.

† This is apparently the place referred to by Mr. Morritt as the site of Abia, although the distance does not quite agree. The ruins, he says, are on the shore, about a mile southward of the salt springs. “One old piece of wall of massive masonry, of a circular form, and the remains of a mosaic pavement in the floor of a modern Greek church, are all the vestiges of antiquity that ascertain the spot where Abia stood, except the platform and marks on

little bay. On descending from the rock, some caves and another church are seen on the right. After crossing a glen watered by a little stream from Taygetus, another pass, between a projecting rock and the sea, leads to a bay with a stream; and now the towers of the castle of Kitries assume an imposing appearance, well seated on a rocky promontory, overlooking a little dark bay in which ships may anchor. The distance from Kalamata is rather more than three hours and a half.* Mr. Morrith thus describes the general appearance of this part of the coast.

“ From Myla, the mountains of Taygetus rise in high ridges to the east, and descend in rocky slopes to the sea. The country is barren and stony beyond conception; and yet, the earth, which is washed by the rains and torrents from the higher parts, is supported on a thousand platforms and terraces by the indefatigable industry of the inhabitants; and these were covered with corn, maize, olives, and mulberry-trees, which seemed to grow out of the rock itself. Through such a country we arrived at Kitreés, a small hamlet of five or six cottages scattered round a fortress, the residence (in 1795) of Zanetachi Kutuphari, formerly Bey of the Maina, and of his niece Helena, to whom the property belonged. The house consisted of two

the ground which indicate that other buildings formerly existed. In the tradition of the country, the circular ruin had been a bath.” The distance of Abia from Mylæ, according to Mr. Morrith, answers, however, more nearly to the situation of the caves and church mentioned by Sir W. Gell, a quarter of a mile from Palaio Chora. M. Pouqueville supposes Palaio Chora to be Pheræ.

* Kitries, which is in the canton of Zarnata, is reckoned ten miles from Kalamata, and thirty from Vitulo; eight hours from Mistra by the shortest route; or, over Mount Taygetus, ten hours; and twenty hours from Tripolitza; fourteen miles across the bay to Coron, and thirty to Modon.

towers of stone, exactly resembling our own old towers upon the borders of England and Scotland; a row of offices and lodgings for servants, stables, and open sheds, inclosing a court, the entrance to which was through an arched and embattled gateway."*

The reception which the English Traveller met with from the old laird was most hospitable, and the description conveys a pleasing idea of the manners of these Laconian highlanders.

"On our approach, an armed retainer of the family came out to meet us, and spoke to our guard who attended us from Myla. He returned with him to the castle, and informed the chief, who hastened to the gate to welcome us, surrounded by a crowd of gazing attendants, all surprised at the novelty of seeing English guests. We were received, however, with the most cordial welcome, and shewn to a comfortable room on the principal floor of the tower, inhabited by himself and his family; the other tower being the residence of the *capitanessa*, his niece, for that was the title which she bore.

"Zanetachi Kutuphari was a venerable figure, though not above the age of fifty-six. His family consisted of a wife and four daughters, the younger two of which were children. They inhabited the apartment above ours, and were, on our arrival, introduced to us. The old chief, who himself had dined at an earlier hour, sat down, however, to eat with us, according to the established etiquette of hospitality here, while his wife and the two younger children waited on us, notwithstanding our remonstrances, ac-

* Sir W. Gell was struck with "the effect of the architecture," as being "exactly that produced by many of the castles of Scotland, and at the same time full of picturesque beauty." Under the castle is a great natural cavern, where cattle are kept.

ording to the custom of the country, for a short time; then retired, and left a female servant to attend us and him. At night, beds and mattresses were spread on the floor, and pillows and sheets, embroidered and composed of broad stripes of muslin and coloured silk, were brought in. The articles, we found, were manufactured at home by the women of the family. As the Greeks themselves invariably wear their under garments when they sleep, the inconvenience of such a bed is little felt.

“As the day after our arrival at Kitreés was Easter Sunday, we of course remained there, and had an opportunity of witnessing and partaking in the universal festivity which prevailed, not only in the castle, but in the villages of the country round it. In every Greek house, a lamb is killed at this season, and the utmost rejoicing prevails. We dined with Zanetachi Kutuphari and his family at their usual hour of half-past eleven in the forenoon, and after our dinner, were received in much state by his niece Helena in her own apartments. She was in fact the lady of the castle, and chief of the district round it, which was her own by inheritance from her father. She was a young widow, and still retained much of her beauty; her manners were pleasing and dignified. An audience in form from a young woman, accompanied by her sister, who sat near her, and a train of attendant females in the rich and elegant dress of the country, was a novelty in our tour, and so unlike the customs which prevailed within a few short miles of the spot where we were, that it seemed like an enchantment of romance. The *capitanessa* alone was seated at our entrance, who, when she had offered us chairs, requested her sister to sit down near her, and ordered her attendants to bring coffee and refreshments. We

were much struck with the general beauty of the Mainiot women here, which, we afterwards found, was not confined to Kitreés; we remarked it in many other villages; and it is of a kind that, from their habits of life, would not naturally be expected. With the same fine features that prevail among the beauties of Italy and Sicily, they have the delicacy and transparency of complexion, with the brown or auburn hair, which seems peculiar to the colder regions. Indeed, from the vicinity to the sea, the summers here are never intensely hot, nor are the winters severe in this southern climate. The same causes in some of the Greek islands produce the same effect, and the women are much more beautiful in general than those of the same latitude on the continent. The men, too, are a well-proportioned and active race, not above the middle size, but spare, sinewy, and muscular. The *capitanessa* wore a light blue shawl-gown embroidered with gold, a sash tied loosely round her waist, and a short vest without sleeves, of embroidered crimson velvet. Over these was a dark green velvet Polouese mantle, with wide and open sleeves, also richly embroidered. On her head was a green velvet cap, embroidered with gold, and appearing like a coronet; and a white and gold muslin shawl, fixed on the right shoulder, and passed across her bosom under the left arm, floated over the coronet, and hung to the ground behind her. Her uncle's dress was equally magnificent. He wore a close vest with open sleeves of white and gold embroidery, and a short black velvet mantle, the sleeves edged with sable. The sash which held his pistols and his poniard was a shawl of red and gold. His light blue trowsers were gathered at the knee, and below them were close gaiters of blue cloth with gold embroidery, and silver gilt bosses to protect the ancles.

When he left the house, he flung on his shoulders a rich cloth mantle with loose sleeves, which was blue without and red within, embroidered with gold in front and down the sleeves in the most sumptuous manner. His turban was green and gold; and, contrary to the Turkish custom, his grey hair hung down below it. The dress of the lower orders is in the same form, with necessary variations in the quality of the materials, and absence of the ornaments. It differed considerably from that of the Turks, and the shoes were made either of yellow or untanned leather, and fitted tightly to the foot. The hair was never shaved, and the women wore gowns like those of the West of Europe, instead of being gathered at the ankles like the loose trowsers of the East.

“ In the course of the afternoon we walked into some of the neighbouring villages; the inhabitants were everywhere dancing and enjoying themselves on the green, and those of the houses and little harbour of Kitreés, with the crews of two small boats that were moored there, were employed in the same way till late in the evening. We found our friend Zanetachi well acquainted with both the ancient and the modern state of Maina, having been for several years the bey of the district. From him I derived much of the information to which I have recourse in describing the manners and principles of the Mainiots. He told me that, in case of necessity, on attack from the Turks, the numbers they could bring to act, consisting of every man in the country able to bear arms, amounted to about 12,000. All of these were trained to the use of the rifle even from their childhood, and after they grew up, were possessed of one, without which they never appeared; and, indeed, it was as much a part of their dress as a sword formerly was of

an English gentleman. Their constant familiarity with this weapon had rendered them singularly expert in the use of it. There are fields near every village, where the boys practised at the target, and even the girls and women took their part in this martial amusement.

“ We left Kitreés, not without regret on our part, or the kind expression of it on that of our hospitable friends, who supplied us with mules, and sent with us an escort to conduct us to Cardamoula, the ancient Cardamyle.”*

Kitries is described by M. Pouqueville in 1799, as little more than a heap of ruins. “ Burned by the Albanians, it is now composed only of some shops and a sort of castle or tower where the Bey resides: in fact, it is only the port to another town which lies eastward half a league inland.† This town is called Dolous: it stands in a fertile valley, which runs some way among the mountains of Taygetus, extending

* Walpole's *Memoirs*, pp. 45—48. Zanetachi Kutuphari (or Coutoufari) was descended from one of the first families in Maina. Morosini, the Venetian general, conferred on John Coutoufari, one of his ancestors, the honour of knighthood. The family were in possession of the lordship of three villages in the district of Kalamata, and had several mills—probably at Mylæ. They lost the greater part of this property owing to the troubles brought upon the Morea by the Russian war. In 1776, Zanetachi was appointed Bey of Maina by the Capitan Pasha, which had nearly proved his ruin. For some time he was a fugitive in Zante; and M. Pouqueville will have it, that in 1787, he was strangled by order of the Capitan Pasha; but if so, he must have come to life again in 1795, when Mr. Morritt was his guest.

† In like manner, Almiro forms the port to Selitza. This may serve to account for the deserted state of the coasts, which give little idea of the condition of the interior. Sir W. Gell ridicules the Greeks for submitting to the inconvenience of residing in the sterile fastnesses of the mountain tops, “ for the sake of calling themselves free,” when under the mild and beneficent government of the

almost half a league in breadth. Dolous is divided into the higher and lower towns, one-half being upon the declivity of the mountain, and the other spreading out in the valley. It is very populous, the number of houses being estimated at more than 500: they are all inhabited by numerous families, and, if necessary, the town could easily furnish 600 warriors. On the slope opposite to Dolous, and about half a league from it, stands a large village called Varousi, where the bishop of the canton (who is always called the bishop of Zarnata*) resides. Varousi is very inferior to Dolous in extent and population, as it does not contain above 150 houses; but, to make amends, it abounds with churches, and is inhabited by a number of clergy and papas. Half a league further eastward, on the same slope with Valousi, stands Moulitza, another village of the canton of Zarnata, consisting of about 100 houses. Silk, oil, wine, and corn abound in all this part of the country, and its population has increased exceedingly during the last twenty years. Some rivulets and a number of springs water these defiles. At the bottom of the valley near Varousi, is a village called Cambro Stavro."

In 1825, when Captain Hamilton landed at Kitries on his way to the camp of Ibrahim Pasha, the village, though consisting of not more than eight or ten cot-

Turks, (the objects of Sir William's unbounded admiration,) they might live "in the luxury and plenty of the plain below." The fact appears to be, that the coasts are rendered unsafe by piratical depredators.

* M. Pouqueville asserts, that there is no town of this name, but that it is a canton, "the richest, the most populous, and the most fertile of the whole country," containing fifty villages not very widely scattered. Mr. Morritt, however, enumerates it among the villages.

tages, was crowded with inhabitants, the retainers of the far-famed Pietro Bey Mavromikhalis, who was then residing here. The Bey had 200 followers constantly about him. Mr. Swan thus describes the place. "Kitries stands upon a rock deeply embayed within surrounding mountains. The northern shore presents a series of natural terraces rising one above the other. There is great depth of water in the bay, even up to the very rocks, so much so, that it is necessary to secure vessels by a hawser attached to the shore. The place abounds with fig-trees. Behind the Bey's house is a small ruined castle, once held by the Turks, but blown down with cannon during a civil war." The Bey himself is thus described:— "A goodly personage, corpulent and short. His features expressed extreme goodnature, but not much understanding. His eyes project; his face is broad and chubby; and his mustachios, by undue training, unite with his whiskers, which are clipped above and below, but suffered to run wild in the centre, and are therefore drawn out to a prodigious length. He wore an Albanian dress, begirt with a splendid shawl of rich gold embroidery: a silver gilt pistol, highly chased, was attached to his belt. His presence was that of a respectable old gentleman, of about fifty years of age, over whom the finger of care has moved lightly, leaving none of those impressions which prey upon and overpower the mental energies.* He was attended by a number of military chiefs, in a common sort of chamber, for the appearance of which he thought it neces-

* See p. 200, *note*. M. Pouqueville, with his accustomed disregard of accuracy for the sake of effect, speaks of his "*port majestueux, pareil à celui des races héroïques, de beaux traits, &c.*!"—*Histoire de la Regen., &c.*, tom. ii. p. 579.

sary to apologise. It was a *barrack*, he said; his house was upon Capo Grosso, where his family then resided.

“ We were called to dinner,” continues Mr. Swan, who gives the account, “ at five o'clock; and though a fast day with our worthy host, he entertained us sumptuously, while he abstained himself. As the night drew on, a dependent with a long black beard held over us a lighted lamp, and stood like a statue the whole time we were eating. This again reminded us of ancient Highland torch-bearers; an instance of which, if I mistake not, we find in the ‘ Legend of Montrose.’ Soups and fishes in every form, all excellently cooked, with country wine of admirable flavour, were abundantly supplied. At eight, our couch was spread (for we were to start at daylight) where we had dined. That part divided from the rest, and called the *divan*, (it had once, doubtless, been a Turkish residence,) with the space between, was occupied by our company, including the Greek and Turk who travelled under our escort. On the left of the entrance was a small door leading to a kind of balcony, which overlooked the sea. Here, with the clear blue sky for a canopy, and the murmuring ocean for their lullaby, our host had deposited the females of his family, among whom was an Arab slave, the most comely-looking creature of the kind that I have seen. Close by, in our own apartment, the Bey took up his rest. Two other Greeks, his attendants, lay on the side opposite to him, where stood a lamp, suspended from a short wooden stick. Over the partition forming the *divan*, was a small recess, in which the **PANAGIA** (All holy, applied to the Virgin) slumbered — or watched over her votaries, assisted by a lamp of oil, lighted up as the dusk approached, and secured by

a small glass door covering the recess. The whole scene before us was very striking. Our situation being at the higher end of the chamber, we had a good prospect of its entire length, for the lamp was suffered to burn through the night. The party were extended on mats in various portions of the room, the walls of which were decorated with weapons—guns, pistols, and swords; a broad-head lance or two rested in the corner. I could scarcely prevent my fancy from revelling in all the luxury of romantic adventure. Our old host, having divested himself of his scull-cap, outer drawers, and jacket, lay along his mat in the shape of a huge mound, swelling gradually to the apex. His secretary kneeled beside him, armed with pen, ink, and paper, and employed in scribbling the despatches he was dictating for Colocotroni and the captains we were likely to meet with in our way. The lamp stood near them, and cast a strong gleam upon their countenances, made more picturesque by the long hair of the Bey, which swept the ground as he reposed.

“ In the morning, we resumed our conference with the Bey relative to the release of his son. Tears stood in his eyes when he told us the misfortunes of his family. One of his children fell at Carysto, another at Neo-Castro, while a third remained prisoner at Modon—one of his nephews was killed at the beginning of the Revolution, and his brother, at this time, was a member of the senate at Napoli. These circumstances he enumerated to prove the sincerity of his patriotism, and to shew the exertions his family had made. He had supported the Revolution almost from the very commencement; and could we be the means of emancipating his son, nothing within the compass of his ability should be wanting to testify his gra-

titude — not though it were the last drop of his blood.”*

We now return to Mr. Morrith, whom we left on the point of setting out for Kardamoula, distant three hours (about ten miles) from Kitries. The southern point of the bay is formed by a rocky promontory about half a mile in length. “On leaving the village,” continues Mr. Morrith, “we ascended by a winding road in a south-easterly direction, until we came to the top of this stony ridge, and looked down on a valley enclosed by mountains still more to the east. Several little villages and churches are scattered over the vale and on the sides of the hills that surround it. Behind them rose a high, black, and barren range of mountains, the summits of which were covered with snow. In one of these villages we were shewn, on inquiring after antiquities, an old ruined tower, of a construction more recent than the Grecian age, and we thought it was probably of Venetian workmanship. The valley itself and the lower hills were cultivated like a garden, and formed a scene of great beauty. The principal villages in this tract are Dokyes, Barussa, and Zarnata, and among these may perhaps be discovered the traces of some of the ancient towns of the Eleuthero-Laconians, enumerated by Pausanias, near Gerenia.

“We were amused, in passing through several of these little hamlets, with the simple curiosity of the people. The men who escorted us, requested with great submission that we would stop on the road, until they could apprise their friends of our arrival, because most of them had never seen a stranger, and none of them had ever seen an Englishman. The word was no sooner given, than off they ran, and as

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 202—9. See p. 220, and 226.

the tidings were spread, and shouts were heard and answered from the fields, labour stood still, and men, women, and children flocked round us on our approach. Their appearance was such as I have described; the men well-formed and active, the women in general fairer than the other Greeks, and very beautiful. The men in succession shook us cordially by the hand, and welcomed us to their country, and crowds followed us as we proceeded on our journey. The road from hence led us in a southerly direction over a most stony and barren ridge to the shore, and afterwards continued along the sea until our arrival at Cardamyla. The country round it, though cultivated in the same laborious manner, was still more stony and barren than at Kitreés. Even in the small fissures of the rock, olives and mulberries were planted, and spots of only a few feet in diameter were dug over, and sown with corn and maize. On the hills, there were many apiaries, and the produce is of the finest sort of honey, equal almost to that of Hymettus, but of a paler colour.*

* "The dry, stony rocks of Cardamoula, exposed to the sea air, abound with the wild thyme, the favourite food of the bees; and, on our return, we were served with a plate of honey, to which even that of Hymettus yielded in point of flavour and pureness, being of a transparent amber colour. We were also served with some *phaskomelia*, sage-apples, the inflated tumour formed upon a species of sage by the puncture of a *cynips*."—*Extracts from Dr. Sibthorp's Papers in Walpole's Memoirs*, p. 62. Dr. Sibthorp made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the summit of Taygetus from Cardamoula. He had proceeded about six hours, and had advanced two-thirds of the way up the mountain, when he was compelled to halt, the guides agreeing that, from the snow and the distance of the summit, it would be impossible to reach it and return to Cardamoula before night. "Though we had reached the region of the silver fir," says Dr. S., "we were not sufficiently advanced to find those Alpine plants which the height of the summit promised. We dined under a rock, from whose side descended a purl-

“ Cardamyla * is now a small village, in which were three or four towers, the property of chieftains who possessed the country round it. We had letters to them from Zanetachi Kutuphari, and from the merchants of Calamata, and a dispute again arose for the pleasure of receiving us. At last, we were shewn to the largest of these towers, and treated with all possible hospitality. The whole village flocked to our house, and we found that nearly all the men were relations of the chiefs and of each other; as, in these districts, families seldom migrated, and the different branches of the clan remained with the principal stock, in whose house there was a collection of brothers, and nephews, and cousins, to a remote degree of affinity, who, as they became too numerous, settled themselves on the land in other houses, but seldom at a distance from the family.

“ Behind the town is a small rocky eminence, on whose summit were a few vestiges of the ancient acropolis of Cardamyla. Just enough remained to point out the situation; the rock itself was split by a deep chasm, ascribed by tradition to an earthquake. At the foot of this rock was seen a heap of stones, the monument of Turkish invasion. These were pointed out to us with all the enthusiasm of successful liberty,

ing spring among violets, primroses, and the starry hyacinth, mixed with black *satyrium*, and different-coloured orches. The flowering ash hung from the sides of the mountain, under the shade of which bloomed saxifrages and the snowy *isopyrum*, with the *campanula pyramidalis*, called *χαρυσόβνη*, and yielding abundance of a sweet milky fluid. Our guides made nosegays of the fragrant leaves of the *fraxinella*; the common nettle was not forgotten as a pot-herb; but the *imperatoria* seemed the favourite sallad. Among the shrubs, I noticed our gooseberry-tree, and the *celtis australis* grew wild among the rocks.”—*Ib.* p. 63.

* Sir W. Gell writes it Scardamula.

such as I had witnessed and remembered among the Swiss on shewing the monuments of their former glory, before they yielded their independence and their feelings to the thralldom of France. Here, amid the scenes of slavery that surrounded us, the contrast was still more striking. Below the acropolis were several caves, and the remains of ancient sepulchres. We were shewn the spot where the children of the village are taught the use of the rifle, and found that they practised it at ten, and even eight years of age. A groupe of girls and women on the village green were slinging stones and bullets at a mark, and seemed very expert. Their figures were light and active, but neither these nor their faces were more coarse or masculine than those of their enervated and languid countrywomen. The chief of Cardamyla assured us, that, in their petty wars, they had more than once followed their fathers and brothers to the field, and that the men were more eager to distinguish themselves before the eyes of their female companion, and partakers in the danger. Dances on the green succeeded in this season of festivity to these female gymnastics, until the evening closed on our gaiety.

“ We remained great part of the next day at Cardamyla, in compliance with the wishes of our host and of his neighbours, and partook of the amusements on the green. After dining with him and his family, he attended us in his boat, the inland road being scarcely passable from the stony, rugged hills that it surmounts. We viewed the situation of Leuctra, a small hamlet on the shore, still retaining its ancient name, but found there few and inconsiderable traces of antiquity. About two miles and a half from hence we came to the little creek of Platsa, shut in by the rock of

Pephnos, near which was a tower, the residence of the Capitano Christeia, a chief to whom we were recommended.

“ We had sent our letters to this chief by a messenger from Cardamyla, in consequence of which he met us at the port on our landing, attended by a large train of followers. We took leave of our friends of Cardamyla, who paid us a compliment at parting, not unusual in this country, by firing all their rifles over our heads. As this was not very carefully or regularly performed, and the pieces were always loaded with ball, the ceremony was not altogether agreeable. The tower of Capitano Christeia was at a small distance from the port, and adjoining to it were out-buildings and a long hall of entertainment as at Kitreés.

“ Here, according to Pausanias, was formerly the little town of Pephnos, the situation of which is now marked only by the rocky islet of the port. The place was at that time inconsiderable, and the island contained nothing except two small bronze figures of Castor and Pollux, which were, however, miraculously immovable, even by the winter's storm and the sea which beat upon them. The miracle is no longer performed, and the statues are gone.

“ We walked from the shore with our host to his castle. Capitano Christeia, the owner of it, was one of the most powerful, and at the same time the most active and turbulent chieftain in the district. He had paid the price of the renown he had acquired, for he bore the marks of three bullets in the breast, the scars of two more upon his face, besides slighter wounds on his legs and arms: in fact, his life was a continued scene of piracy by sea and feuds at home. He was about forty-five years of age, and shewed us

with much satisfaction the spoil he had amassed in his expeditions.

“ In the tower to which we were shewn, we lived in a neat and comfortable room ; but the walls were thick and strong, the windows barricadoed with iron bars, and barrels of gunpowder were arranged along the shelves below the ceiling. The men who attended in the castle had an air of military service, and the whole place bore in its appearance the character of the master. We stayed a day at this singular mansion, and were prevented in the morning by a heavy rain from extending our rambles beyond the castle. We dined with the family at twelve o'clock, and after dinner, went to the great room of the castle. In it, and on the green before it, we found near a hundred people of both sexes and of all ages assembled, and partaking of the chief's hospitality. They flocked from all the neighbouring villages, and were dancing with great vivacity. The men, during the dance, repeatedly fired their pistols through the windows, as an accompaniment to their wild gaiety ; and the shouts, and laughter, and noise were indescribable. Among the other dances, the Ariadne, mentioned in De Guy's Travels, was introduced, and many which we had not yet seen in Greece. The men and women danced together, which is not so usual on the continent as in the islands. On my complimenting the Capitano on the performance of his lyrist, who scraped several airs on a three-stringed rebeck, here dignified with the name of λύρη, a lyre, he told me with regret, that he had indeed been fortunate enough to possess a most accomplished musician, a German, who played not only Greek dances, but many Italian and German songs ; but that in 1794, his fiddler, brought up in the laxer morals of Western Europe, and unmindful

of the rigid principles of the Maina, had so offended by his proposals the indignant chastity of a young woman in the neighbourhood, that she shot him dead on the spot with a pistol. As evening approached, the strangers departed to their homes after a rifle salute. We again passed the night at Christeia's house, and set out for Vitulo the next morning.

“ We left Platsa on mules, attended by a strong escort of armed men, sent with us by the chief's direction. We first proceeded eastward, up a narrow rocky vale, and then turning to the south, ascended by a winding road up a high ridge of crags. We passed some villages with scanty spots of cultivation round them, and keeping high along the side of Taygetus, came in about two hours to the verge of Christeia's territory. Here our escort left us, and a guard belonging to one of the chiefs of Vitulo took charge of us, and conducted us down the southern side of the promontory of Platsa to their master's, which is at two hours' distance.

“ The whole of this tract is as barren as possible. The mountain of Taygetus is a continuance of naked crags; the cultivation disappeared as we proceeded, and the coast which lay before us towards Cape Grosso, seemed more bare and savage than any we had passed. The villages seemed poorer, and the people less attentive to comforts and cleanliness, from the extreme poverty of the country. Still, in the scanty spots where vegetation could be produced at all, their industry was conspicuous. Not a tree or bush is seen. We found many specimens of variegated marble in the mountains, and passed by some ancient quarries. We at last came to Vitulo, formerly *Ætylos*, a considerable town in this desolate country, built along a rocky precipice. Below it is a narrow, deep creek,

that winds inland, and is the haven to the town. A mountain torrent falls into it, through a deep and gloomy glen that is barely wide enough to afford a passage for its waters. On the opposite rocks that bound this glen to the south, is another village with a square Venetian fortress. Our guides conducted us through a street, filled with gazing crowds, to the house of a chief to whom we brought letters of recommendation. We found the master of the house was absent, but were hospitably received by his family, and remained there till the next day.

“ In the afternoon, we examined the situation and environs of Vitulo for the remains of the ancient town of *Ætylos*. We found in the streets several massive foundations and large hewn stones still left, supporting the more slight buildings of modern times. We went to the church, which, in most places built on the situation of the old Grecian cities, contains the fragments of ancient architecture. We found there a beautifully fluted Ionic column of white marble, supporting a beam at one end of the aisle. To this beam the bells were hung. Three or four Ionic capitals were in the wall of the church, employed for building it, together with common rough stone-work. The volutes and ornaments were freely and beautifully executed, and different in some degree from any I have elsewhere seen. The cord which encircles the neck of the column is continued in a sort of bow-knot round the scroll of the volutes at each side of the capital, and is very freely carved. On the outside of the church are seen the foundations of a temple to which these ornaments in all probability belonged.”*

* *Ætylos* (sometimes written *Betylos*, and by Ptolemy, *Bitula*)
 is, as well as *Leuctra*, in the time of Pausanias, a city of the

Mr. Morritt was very desirous of pursuing his survey of the Maina as far southward as Cape Matapan, and of visiting the site of the ancient Tænarus; but he was informed that, from Vitulo, the road is impassable even for mules; and the country round Tænarus was in so disturbed a state, that none of the chiefs could undertake to conduct the travellers thither in safety. Of the ancient cave and temples there, he could obtain no consistent account.* Sir Wm. Gell was told,

Eleuthero-Lacones, who possessed, by virtue of a grant from Augustus, some of the maritime towns of Laconia. Of these, nine were on the promontory of Taygetus, to the south and west of Gythium, which also belonged to them; viz. three on the eastern side, Teuthrone, Las, and Pyrrhichus, Cœnepolis at Capo Grosso, and on the Messenian Gulf, Ætylos, Leuctra, Thalamæ, Alagonia, and Gerenia. The rest were beyond the Laconian Gulf on the Malean promontory. Leuctra, Cardamyle, and Pephnos, Mr. Morritt remarks, we are enabled by decided remains of antiquity or coincidence of situation, to fix at Leutro, Cardamoula, and Platsa. Thalamæ, which Meletius erroneously fixes at Kalamata, was only eighty stadia from Ætylos, and must be sought for between Platsa and Vitulo. Gerenia, Mr. Morritt supposes to have been near Kitries. In the account of the villages of Maina furnished by the Bey, given in Gell's Itinerary, there occurs the name of Garanos "near the sea," on the shore of the Laconian Gulf, between Vathi and Kolokythia. The latter he supposes to be Gythium, and the coincidence of name seems to favour the opinion; but Gythium, according to Polybius, was only thirty stadia from Sparta. Above Kolokythia is a castle called Leucadia, and in the sea are ruins and inscriptions. Mr. Morritt was told that there are considerable remains of an ancient city on Capo Grosso, agreeing, so far as the distances could be ascertained, with Pausanias's description of Cœnepolis. At Gerenia, was the tomb of Machaon, the son of Esculapius, who was worshipped and had a temple dedicated to him at Abia.

* "Tænarus, a city of Laconia, the harbour of which is sufficiently large to contain a great number of ships, is situated near a cape of the same name, on which is a temple, as there is on all the principal promontories of Greece. These sacred edifices attract the vows and the offerings of mariners. That of Tænarus, dedicated to Neptune, stands in the middle of a consecrated grove, which serves as an asylum to criminals. The statue of the god is at the

that above Cape Matapan is a castle called Kisternes, from the number of cisterns it contains; and at a place called Borlachias, there were said to be ruins of a temple of Diana and Bacchus.* The southern extremity of the peninsula is called Kakaboulia, and the natives bear a very bad character, even among the Mainotes, for their barbarous and piratical habits. The precise limits of this district are not easily ascertained. M. Pouqueville says loosely, "On the other shore of the Bay of Vitulo is the town of Tchimova (Gimoba) containing about 250 houses, and commanded by a captain named Pietro Mavromikhalis.† Beyond this begins the country of the Cacovouniotes or Cacovougnis (Kakabouliots)," whose name, he says, signifies mountain-robbers; and he gives the following account, of course from hearsay, of the district and the people.

"The rugged rocks with which this region abounds, their summits blackened by thunder or by time, the red earth which appears at intervals among them, present but a fearful coup-d'œil to the navigator. A few scattered habitations are seen among the mountains, while here and there, on the borders of some

entrance; and at the bottom opens an immense cavern greatly celebrated among the Greeks.... You behold, said the priest, one of the mouths of the infernal shades.... It was through this gloomy cavern that Hercules dragged Cerberus up to light, and that Orpheus returned with his wife.... We left Tænarus, after having visited in its environs some quarries, from which is dug a black stone as valuable as marble."—*Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. ch. 41.

* "Every information which I was able to obtain respecting this country," says M. Pouqueville, "confirmed me in the assurance that it is rich in remains of antiquity. It was, according to Pausanias, full of temples."

† Mr. Swan, however, makes Mavromikhalis say, that his family residence was at Capo Grosso, in the supposed country of the Kakabouliots.

creek made by the sea, stands a solitary village. The principal of these are Kolokythia, Boularias (Bourlachias), Cariopolis, Mezapiotes,* and Porto Caillo,† upon the Gulf of Laconia: the former of these is considered by the Cacovouniotes as their capital. The country is every where barren and destitute of wood, and depends almost entirely for a supply of the first necessary of life, water, upon some springs and natural cisterns found in their caverns. They have only one river, the Skyras, in the neighbourhood of Porto Caillo; but this has water the whole year through. The land is not sufficiently productive to support the inhabitants; and they would be constrained to abandon their country, if the sea did not offer inexhaustible resources in their fisheries, and the rocks were not the asylum of an immense quantity of birds, partridges, and other game. At the times of the equinox^c before the seas are agitated by the turbulence of the winds, thousands of birds of passage assemble at Cape Tenarus, previously to taking their flight towards the country of Libya.

“ The Cacovouniotes, the wretched remains of the people of Nabis, whose very name denotes the estimation in which they are held by other nations, these pirates, few in number, but equal in ferocity to the Arabs of the Syrts, form a distinct society from the Mainotti. Bold and adventurous upon the element from which their chief support is drawn, they fall, equally under favour of a tempest or of a perfidious calm, upon all vessels who come within their reach, and are not of sufficient force to defend themselves;

* In the Itinerary, Messapo castle and port.

† Written by Sir W. Gell, Porto Kallio, “ the Port of Achilles,” and Porto Quaglio.

a fate more terrible to them than being struck with lightning or dashed upon the rocks. Neither the fear of danger nor of punishment can destroy in the Cacovouniotes this dreadful propensity to plunder; they cannot resist, they say, the alluring spectacle of so many European vessels continually passing before their eyes.

“ A Cacovouniote may be distinguished at the very first glance from a Mainote. The latter is well made, has a florid complexion, and a tranquil cast of countenance: the former has a dark and suspicious eye, and is squat and stunted like the plants of his country; he has a withered skin and an expression of countenance which betrays at once the gloomy assassin. The tone of voice of the Mainote is full and sonorous; that of the Cacovouniote is hoarse and guttural. The one walks with a brisk and airy step; the other rushes forward like a wild boar. The Mainote attacks with fury and plunders with delight the Turk, whom he detests: the Cacovouniote has but one enemy, but that enemy is the whole human race, whom in his blind fury he would gladly tear to pieces and extirpate.” *

There is probably not a little of the exaggeration of romance in this account; and it may be questioned, after all, whether the Cacovouniotes are a race more distinct from the other inhabitants of Maina, than

* Pouqueville's Travels by Plumptre, pp. 112—14. From this statement, it would seem that Kakaboulia lies principally on the coast of the Laconian Gulf, and it seems to answer to what Zanetachi-bey called “ the coast of Paganía;” Vathl, however, which is on that coast, belongs to Maina. South of Kolokythia, is a port called *Porto Pagano*, near, and probably formed by, the Island Scopos. The name of this port seems connected with that of Paganía.

the smugglers, wreckers, and fishermen of the southern coast of England are from the other people of Cornwall and Devon.

Abandoning with reluctance the journey to Tænarus, Mr. Morrith resolved to strike across the Peninsula to Marathonisi,* then the residence of the Bey of Maina, and claiming on that account to rank as the capital of the territory. He gives the following account of his journey.

“ A very steep and rugged road descends into the little glen below Vitulo, and continues winding along the banks of the torrent for several miles, shut in by rocky and wooded precipices. Emerging from these defiles, we came to a more open and fertile tract of country, covered with groves of oak and a few scattered villages. The chief at whose house we had been at Vitulo, was in one of these, and our guards gave him notice of our arrival by a discharge of all their rifles. Their salute was answered from the village by a similar discharge, and the Capitano issued immediately with about sixteen armed followers, and welcomed us in the plain. He then, with this additional escort, went forward with us to Marathonisi. We had come about ten miles, and had nearly the same distance to proceed. The country grew more open and better cultivated, as we approached the eastern shore of the Maina. We came in about an hour within sight of the sea; and then pursued our journey in a north-easterly direction through several villages, in one of which was a square Venetian fortress, until we arrived at Marathonisi.

“ This town, then the residence of the Bey, and

* The proper name of the town appears to be Marathona, and that of the island, Marathonisi.

the capital of the Maina, consists of little more than a single street along the shore, in front of which is a small roadstead, formed by the island of Marathonisi, the ancient Cranaë of Homer. The Bey of the Maina, Zanet Bey, had a large and strong castle within half a mile of the place, but received us at a house in the town, where he was resident at this time, with great kindness and cordiality. We found he was of a character more quiet and indolent than many of the subordinate chiefs we had visited. This, as Christeia told us, was the reason why they had chosen him in the room of Zanetachi Kutuphari, the more intelligent and enterprising chieftain of Kitreës. After an early dinner, he retired to his siesta, and we went to view the situation and ruins of the ancient Gythium, which stood a little to the north of the present town. What vestiges remain of Gythium, appeared to me to be chiefly of Roman construction, and the buildings of earlier date are no longer traceable. The situation is now called Palæopolis, but no habitation is left upon it. The town has covered several low hills which terminate in rocks along the shore, on one of which we found a Greek inscription, but so defaced as to be nearly illegible. A salt stream that rises near the shore out of the rocks, was probably the ancient fountain of Æsculapius. The temples and other monuments enumerated by Pausanias are now no more. Marble blocks and other remains of antiquity are still found occasionally by the peasants who cultivate the ground; and the pastures in the neighbourhood are even now famous for their cheeses, which were, in the time of the Spartan government, an article of trade much esteemed in the rest of Greece.

“ The rock near the salt-springs which I have

mentioned, is cut smooth, and marks remain in it of beams, which, with the roof that they supported, have disappeared. There are two large tanks, lined with stuccoed brick-work, once vaulted over, and cut in the rocky hill, divided by cross walls into two or three separate reservoirs, for the supply of water. Beyond these are two adjoining oblong buildings of brick, with niches for urns, containing the ashes of the dead, exactly similar to the *colombaia*, now so well known in Italy. The doors at the end of the buildings are their only entrances. There are also near the shore, ruins of baths, much like those of Thuria, but far less perfect; on which, however, we found a scallop-shell ornament in stucco still remaining in one of the niches. There are other ruins on the shore, of which a part is now under water; but a floor of mosaic work may be still seen. Rubbish and old walls, many of which are of brick, cover great part of the ancient Gythium, but we sought in vain for the temples or any antiquities of value. The following day was spent in examining those parts of the old city which we had not previously visited. The island Cranaë is rather to the south of Gythium, and secured the port. It is low and flat, and at a distance of only a hundred yards from the shore. The ruined foundation of a temple supports at present a Greek chapel."

Marathonisi is represented by M. Pouqueville to be the most important place upon the Laconian Gulf: its principal trade is in cotton and gall-nuts. Above it is a post named Mavrobouni.* At three hours

* According to information received by Sir W. Gell from the natives, proceeding southward from Mavrobouni, it is three hours to Scutari, passing the village of Capitano Antoni; from Scutari to Vatika, three hours, passing Kastri; from Vatika to Vathia, two hours; thence to Kastagnia, six hours; to Porto Quaglio (or

from Marathonisi, in the plains on the eastern side of the Eurotas, is the village of Helos, (corrupted into Helios,) the chief place in the rich but defenceless country of the ancient Helots. From this place, it is reckoned a journey of fourteen hours to Mistra, the road lying along the banks of the Eurotas and through the country of the Bardouniots, a tribe of lawless Mussulman banditti. Before, however, we turn our backs upon Maina, we shall here throw together a few general remarks on the country and the character of the natives.

The whole district of Maina, including Kakaboulia, is formed by the branches of Mount Taygetus, (now known under the name of Mount Saint Elias,) and, with the exception of a long tract of low coast, called by the Venetians *Bassa Maina*, is mountainous and for the most part barren. The mountain, famous in all ages for its hones, is formed of a slippery rock, so hard as not to be broken without difficulty, and bristled with little points and angles on which the gentlest fall is attended with danger. The population is distributed into little villages, while here and there, a white fortress denotes the residence of the chief. According to M. Pouqueville, the province contains about a hundred of these *chorions* (towns or hamlets)

Kallio), six hours; (the port which gives name to the village is two hours below;) to Jalli, four hours; to Pyrgi, two hours; to Cape Matapan, two hours. Distance from Mavrobouni to Cape Matapan, twenty-eight hours. This road, which lies through the interior, leaving the coast at Scutari, has never been explored by any English traveller. Jalli is only one hour from Capo Grosso. Kastagnia, which M. Pouqueville places erroneously to the east of Kardamoula, is said to derive its name from the number of chestnut-trees in the environs. At this place, he adds, "the Capitan Pasha was beaten and put to the rout two and twenty years ago, after having driven the Albanians out of the Morea."

under fourteen *capitanos* ; but this appears to be incorrect.* The Maina is, in fact, divided into eight hereditary captaincies, or what in other countries would be termed lairdships, seigniories, or sheikhdoms ; the government, in many respects, strikingly resembling the ancient feudalism of the Highland clans of Scotland. Its origin, as well as that of the people themselves, is problematical ; but the Italian title assumed by the chieftains, together with the style of the architecture of their castellated mansions, seems to point to the time of the Venetians as the era of its introduction. The jurisdiction, Mr. Douglas states, “ was long administered by an assembly of the old men, from among whom the *protogeronte* (arch-senator) was annually chosen. The misbehaviour of the last person who enjoyed that situation, led to the abolition of his office.” Since that time, Maina has been nominally governed by a Bey, elected by the capitani from among themselves, but who receives his investiture from the Capitan-Pasha. In what respect the Bey differs in office and authority from the *protogeronte*, who appears to have been the doge or captain-general of the little republic, does not clearly appear, and the change seems to have been little more than nominal.

In the year 1776, Maina was separated from the pashalik of the Morea, and placed, like the Greek Islands, “ under the protection” of the Capitan-Pasha. On this occasion, it seems, Zanetachi Kutuphari, of Kitries, was first raised to the dignity of *bey-boiouk*

* Sir W. Gell speaks of the 117 towns and villages of Maina, but cites no authority. Zanetachi, in 1785, stated them at about 100, and the population at about 40,000 ; while another *capitanos* more distinctly stated, that Maina contained 70 villages, comprising 7000 houses, and a population of 30,000, of which 10,000 were male adults.—POUGUEVILLE'S *Travels*, p. 464. Zanetachi, however, in 1795, estimated the effective male population at 12,000.

by a firmaun of Gazi Hassan Pasha, which constituted him chief and commander of all Maina for the Porte.* He had not enjoyed this post more than two years, when, having incurred the displeasure of the Capitan Pasha through the intrigues of his drogueman, he was compelled to quit Kitries, and to take refuge in Zante. Through the intervention of the French ambassador, he obtained his pardon, and returned to Maina, where Mr. Morritt visited him in the spring of 1795. At that time, Zanet-bey, of Mavromouni in the canton of Marathonisi, enjoyed this invidious office, and he is stated by M. Pouqueville to have held it for eight years; at the end of which he was, by rare good fortune, permitted to retire quietly to his patrimony, and to end his days in peace as a *capitanos*. His successor, Panayotti Comodouro, of Cambo Stavro near Varousi, after holding the office for three years, fell under the displeasure of the Porte, and was, in 1801, a prisoner at Constantinople. To him suc-

* A copy of this firmaun is given by Pouqueville in the Appendix to his Travels. In this document it is intimated, that the Sultan, in issuing this firmaun, had "changed his anger into compassion, his vengeance into clemency," having pardoned all the faults of the therein-mentioned Zanetachi, therein and for ever. The fact appears to be, that the nomination, as Sir Wm. Gell intimates, was a compromise, "into which the Turks entered to save themselves the trouble of an exterminating war," or the disgrace of failing in the attempt, "and the Greeks, for the sake of having no foreigner in the country." The Bey was no otherwise distinguished from the other *capitani*, than as their representative in all public transactions with the Turks, and the responsible agent for the *haratsch* or capitation-tax. But, as all foreign commerce passed through his hands, or could be carried on only with his license, the post must have been a lucrative one. No Mainote engaged in commerce, and this might be one reason for their often turning pirates. The title of Bey seems, however, to have been borne by one of the family of Mavromikhali, before the separation of Maina from the pashalik of Tripolizza.

ceeded Antoni Coutzogliori, of Vathi, who, "at sixty years of age, impelled by the thirst of dominion, solicited the dangerous post, and became the dependent of the Capitan Pasha." In 1805, when Sir Wm. Gell visited the Morea, this same Antoni or Andunah Bey was still in office. He was then at Kitries, to which place he had, it seems, repaired for the purpose of paying the annual tribute of 35 purses (of 500 piastres each), equal to about 800*l.*, which the Turkish squadron then in the bay had been despatched to receive: his residence was at Marathona. This tribute, comparatively small as it may seem, was raised with difficulty, so that, if Sir William Gell may be credited, "the Bey, having advanced the sum to the Turks, was obliged to call in their assistance to enable him to obtain the re-payment, in consequence of which he was considered rather too intimate with the Turks." His successor, Constantine Bey, "formerly a merchant, bought his investiture at Constantinople, and, by the aid of an army of Moreote-Albanians, deposed his father-in-law, who had been elected to the office.* His authority, however, was contested, and a civil war was the consequence. What became of him, we are not informed, but, at the breaking out of the Revolution, the ruling Bey was the redoubtable Pedro-bey Mavromikhali, who has been so often referred to.

The Mainotes are said to boast of being descended from the ancient Spartans. "It is the name by which they are known among themselves, while the histories

* The Hon. Mr. Douglas, who visited Greece in 1811, speaking (in his Essay on the Modern Greeks) of Constantine as the "present" Bey, says: "Five, however, of the eight captains are in open rebellion against him, and the power of the veteran Anton (Andunah?) is much more substantial than all the assistance the Turks can confer on the usurper."

of Lycurgus and Leonidas, partly as saints and partly as robbers, are still figured in their popular traditions. On the other hand," remarks Mr. Douglas, "the destruction in which Nabis is said to have involved all the Spartans, greatly diminishes the justice of this claim. Probably, the writers who trace this nation from the *Ελευθεροὶ Λακωνεῖς*, or the inhabitants of the sea-towns of Laconia, who were separated from the dominion of Sparta by the decree of Augustus, may be nearest the truth. De Pauw, Pouqueville, and Chateaubriand are at issue upon these points; and perhaps Spartans, Laconians, and Slavonians are all, more or less, confounded in this singular people." * Little stress can be laid, however, on either of these authorities. De Pauw's account of the inhabitants of Maina partakes largely of the fabulous: he ascribes to them the most horrid and unnatural rites, and an unbounded licentiousness. Chateaubriand will not allow them to be Greeks at all, although their customs, as well as their language, preserve the most striking resemblance to those of the ancient Greeks. Even Sir W. Gell speaks of the Mainotes as having "at least more claims to the honour of Grecian descent, than the inhabitants of other parts of the Morea." Mr. Morritt states, that, among their chiefs, he found men tolerably versed in the modern Romaic literature, "and some who had sufficient knowledge of their ancient language to read Herodotus and Xenophon, and who were well acquainted with the revolutions of their country." Possibly, this gentleman's classic enthusiasm may have led him to

* Douglas on Mod. Greeks, p. 172. If there really be the marked difference of physiognomy and character between the Kakabculiots and the other Mainotes, that M. Pouqueville represents, it will strongly favour this opinion that they are of a mixed race.

overrate their attainments; but his testimony as to their general character must be allowed to have great weight. Even their piratical habits seem to have descended to them from the heroes of the *Odyssey* and the early inhabitants of Greece. The robbery and piracy which they exercise indiscriminately in their roving expeditions, they dignify by the name of war. "But," remarks this Traveller, "if their hostility is treacherous and cruel, their friendship is inviolable. The stranger that is within their gates, is a sacred title; and not even the Arabs are more attentive to the claims of hospitality. To pass by a chief's dwelling without stopping to visit it, would have been deemed an insult, as the reception of strangers is a privilege highly valued. While a stranger is under their protection, his safety is their first object, as his suffering any injury would have been an indelible disgrace to the family where it happened." It would seem that the Homeric maxim is not yet worn out in this country—

τον ξεινον παρεοντα φιλειν, απειοντα δε πεμπειν·

"Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest."

The hospitable reception which Mr. Morrith met with is the more remarkable, as M. Pouqueville represents them as regarding all foreigners with distrust; and he accuses their papas, more especially, of cherishing in their countrymen that *ξινηλασια* (hatred of foreigners) which he represents to be the common sentiment of these modern Lacedæmonians. The Rev. Mr. Swan, who, in 1825, accompanied Capt. Hamilton in his journey to and from *Mistra* over *Mount Taygetus*, confirms the favourable account given by Mr. Morrith of the state of things thirty years before. "Through the whole of this journey," he

says, " the respect and attention of the Greeks were unremitting. We were placed in circumstances where any disposition to pilfer must have been successful, and where we could not have offered the least effectual resistance. It is true, we were furnished with the pass of Pietro Bey, and we were proceeding on a mission which had for its object the release of his son from prison, as well as that of a large number of Greeks. But the robber finds the opportunity of effecting his purpose, and has no further concern. Before he could be apprized of our views, explanations must be given : for these, the mere plunderer does not wait. He is perched like the eagle in his eyrie, and the talon is fixed upon its prey before the victim is aware that he is on the wing. We slept securely in the wildest passes ; our resting-place was known to hundreds of the mountaineers, who guarded them, and we experienced not the slightest alarm. We slept in houses which they occupied, our baggage scattered about the chamber ; we kept no watch, we entertained no fear, and we suffered no injury. Whenever we met with them, we were welcomed with a respectful salutation : when we departed, it was with the kind expressions of all. One of our party, at least, who had been carried away with the wretched cant of the utter worthlessness of the Greeks, became a convert. He plainly saw that they were *not* so bad as they might have been. They did not take advantage of our situation ; they neither robbed nor insulted us." *

The religion of the Mainotes is that of the Greek church in its most fantastic and barbarous forms. Christianity made no progress among them till many

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. p. 258.

centuries after the conversion of Constantine;* and its precepts are now but little known or regarded. Their churches, Mr. Morrith states, are numerous, clean, and well attended; and their priests have an amazing influence,† which is too seldom exerted to soften or reclaim them. “The papas of Maina,” M. Pouqueville says, “are the least instructed of any of the Greek priests. After the example of the major part of their brethren, they allege the dearness of books and the difficulty of procuring them, as reasons for excusing themselves from saying the breviary. Not less determined plunderers than the rest of the Mainotes, they share in all their expeditions, that they may be sharers likewise in the booty.” A Mainote priest, to whom the Hon. Mr. Douglas complained of the robberies charged upon his countrymen, replied that it could not be helped; “that it was a custom handed down to them by their ancestors in the νόμοι του Λυκουργου (the laws of Lycurgus.)”‡ With such teachers and guides, it is not to be wondered at, that the religion of the Mainotes should differ little

* “Though not to be conquered by human efforts,” says Pouqueville, “they submitted to the Christian religion at the epoch when Basil the Macedonian swayed the sceptre of the East.”

† In this respect, the Mainotes would seem strikingly to differ from the Suliots and Roumeliots, who are said to pay little deference to their clergy. See p. 53.

‡ A more plausible apology for his lawless countrymen was offered by Zanetachi-bey in a letter given by Pouqueville, written from Zante in 1785. “I can assure you that the character of the Mainotes is that of all people who are not properly enlightened upon subjects of commerce. Deprived of the arts and conveniences of life, interest, or often urgent necessity, leads them to seek illicit means of compensating the want of conveniences, of wealth, or even of necessaries. A Mainote who has wherewithal to satisfy his wants, never seeks fortune by illicit means.”—*Travels*, p. 470
“The number of their desert havens,” remarks the Hon. Mr.

from that which once prevailed among the rude clans of the Scottish border, or from that of their Pagan ancestors. Their fondness for amulets and charms, and their faith in their efficacy, are the natural effect of superstition, and are not, perhaps, carried to a greater height than among the rest of their nation.

A more pleasing feature in their character, is that domestic virtue which is on all hands admitted to mark the intercourse of the sexes. "Their wives and daughters," says Mr. Morrith, "unlike those of most other districts in the Levant, are neither secluded, corrupted, nor enslaved. Women succeed, in default of male issue, to the possessions of their fathers; they partake at home of the confidence of their husbands, and superintend the education of their children and the management of their families. In the villages, they share in the labours of domestic life, and in war, even partake of the dangers of the field. In no other country are they more at liberty, and in none were there fewer instances of its abuse, than in Maina at this period. Conjugal infidelity was extremely rare, and indeed, as death was sure to follow detection, and might even follow suspicion, it was not likely to have made much progress."

"Amid the sort of barbarism in which the Mainotti are plunged," remarks M. Pouqueville, "one is forced to admire the practice of certain virtues that are conspicuous among them. Their old men are held in the highest respect: their counsels are considered as oracles. Never do the women or young men approach

Douglas, "has always encouraged the crime of piracy among the Greeks. But the cruelty shewn in exercising it is much exaggerated to strangers by the trembling merchants of Scio and Scalanova."

them but with marks of the most profound veneration.*.....The wives of the Mainotti, not less courageous than their husbands, sometimes share with them the greatest dangers: if they fall, their loss is deeply lamented by these women, for they love their husbands with extreme tenderness. The Mainote women are models as mothers, after having been so as daughters." "Under such a government," remarks the Hon. Mr. Douglas, "we are not surprised to find a race of bold and licentious robbers; yet, seclusion from the contagious effects of neighbourhood, has preserved among these lawless men the virtues of constancy, fidelity, and truth. A traveller is immediately struck with the peculiar manliness of their look and carriage; and I have seen the proudest Turks sink into the most abject servility, on discovering that the Greek whom they had insulted was a Mainote."

The climate in the northern and higher parts of Maina is esteemed very salubrious: as the mountains decline in elevation towards *Cape Matapan*, the country is less healthy, and the inhabitants are not equally robust. The produce of the soil consists of oil, silk, vallony and gall-nuts, honey, wax, cotton, and vermilion.† Maina contains six good ports, viz.

* Sir Wm. Gell is ingenious enough to pervert this reverence for the hoary head into the matter of splenetic ridicule. His testimony to the fact is not the less important. "In almost every Greek expedition, on foot, on horseback, or in a boat, this *most awkward veneration for hoary locks* yet exists, as in the history of ancient Sparta....A Greek boat has always some old, obstinate, and ignorant monster on board," &c. Strange, that a learned antiquary should deem either old age, or the reverence for it, monstrous!

† According to Zanetachi-bey, the productions of Maina, in a good year, were about 13,000 barrels of oil; 16,000 lbs. of silk; and of vallony and gall-nuts about 1,500,000 *oltes* each. (POUQUEVILLE, p. 467.) In a Table of the Territorial Productions,

Kitries, Vitulo, Porto Kallio, Vathi, Marathonisi, and Trinisa. Porto Kallio, which seems to answer to the ancient Pyrrhicus, is the port opposite to the north-western point of the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythera, and the most southerly of the seven Ionian Islands. Of this once celebrated isle, we must give a brief description.

CERIGO

ACCORDING to M. de Vaudoncourt, is situated five miles S. of the island of Servi, and 14 E.S.E. of Cape Malio. It is 17 miles long from N.W. to S.E., 10 miles wide, and about 45 in circumference. The most northern point is Cape Spati (anciently Platanistus), on the extremity of which stands a chapel, occupying, probably, the site of an ancient fane. "To the S.W., opposite to another point, is a rock known by the name of Platanos. Three miles to the S. is a small port, near which is the church of S. Nicholas de Mudari. Four miles farther southward is Cape Liado, opposite to which are three small islands, called Deer Islands (Elaphonisia). From thence to Cape Trochilo, one of the southern points of the island, the distance is six miles S.E. The other southern point, Cape Kapello, is four miles E. of Cape Trochilo; and between these two points, a small harbour opens (Porto Delphino), at the bottom of which, on the declivity of a mountain, is the small town of Kapsali,

given by the same writer, however, those of Maina, from Cape Matapan to Kitries, are estimated at 8000 barrels of oil, at 20 piastres the barrel; 6000 *kilos* of pulse, at two piastres each; 4000 *okes* of vermilion, at eight piastres each; 4000 *okes* of silk; 6000 quintals of vallony; and 2000 *okes* of yellow wax: total value, 272,000 piastres. The annual tribute, according to Sir Wm. Gell, was fixed at 17,500 piastres, being about 15½ per cent.

containing about 4000 souls, which has succeeded to the ancient Cythera. The fort is to the S.W. on the sea-shore, and at the mouth of a torrent. Four miles N. of Kapsali, and near the sources of this torrent, is the village of Potamos, the ancient Scandea.* Between this village and Kapsali, we discover the ruins of the temple of Venus Cytherea. Beyond Cape Kappello, the coast stretches to the N. for about five miles, and then bending to the E. for about two miles, forms a kind of harbour, called Port St. Nicholas or Avlemona. To the N. of this harbour, near an inlet, is a fort, called Palaio-Kastro, which occupies the site of the ancient Menelais. From Point Avlemona, the coast irregularly ranges to the N.W. as far as Cape Spati, and is steep and rugged. The island is barren and little cultivated, and is in want of wood as well as of all kinds of provisions." †

" Though celebrated as the ancient Cythera and the birth-place of Helen, its present aspect," says Dr. Holland, " is rocky and sterile, and the number of inhabitants (in 1811) does not exceed 9000: of this number, 165 are priests, and there are said to be not fewer than 260 churches or chapels of different descriptions in the island. The chief products are corn, oil, wine, raisins, honey, and wax; some cotton and flax also are grown upon the island, and there is a considerable produce of cheese from the milk of the goats which feed over its rocky surface.‡ It is estimated that, in

* This seems to be an error, as Scandea was the port of Cythera.

† Vaudoncourt's *Ionian Islands*, p. 403.

‡ " The name of Cythera had awakened in our minds the most precious ideas. In that island has subsisted from time immemorial the most ancient and most venerated of all the temples dedicated to Venus. There it was that she for the first time shewed herself to mortals, and, accompanied by the Loves, took possession of that land, still embellished by the flowers which hastened to dis-

the year 1811, there were in the island, 16,000 sheep and goats, about 1300 horses, and 2500 oxen. The number of bee-hives, the same year, was reckoned at 1,280, producing honey of very good quality."*

Some writers have described Cerigo as a volcanic country, containing many extinct craters; a statement which this writer considers as very questionable, but which claims the attention of future travellers. The rock is limestone, and, as in the Morea, is worn into large caves, some of which are reported to exhibit very beautiful stalactitic appearances. This island sends one deputy to the legislative assembly of the Ionian Isles. Instead of a Lacedemonian, Roman, or Venetian, it has now a British garrison; and from their solitary station, the mountains of Peloponnesus are seen on one side, while on the other, though at a greater distance, may be descried the classic shores of the ancient Crete.

close themselves at her presence. Ah! doubtless, in that fortunate region, the inhabitants pass their days in plenty and in pleasure. The captain, who heard us with the greatest surprise, said to us coldly: 'They eat figs and toasted cheese; they have also wine and honey; but they obtain nothing from the earth without the sweat of their brow, for it is a dry and rocky soil. Besides, they are so fond of money, that they are very little acquainted with the tender smile. I have seen their old temple, formerly built by the Phenicians in honour of Venus Urania. Her statue is not very suitable to inspire love, as she appears in complete armour. I have been told, as well as you, that the goddess, when she arose out of the sea, landed on this island; but I was likewise told, that she soon fled from it into Cyprus.' From these last words we concluded, that the Phenicians, having traversed the seas, landed at the port of Scandea; that they brought thither the worship of Venus, which soon extended into the neighbouring countries; and that hence originated those absurd fables concerning the birth of Venus, her rising out of the sea, and her arrival at Cythera." *Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. chap. 41.

* Holland's Travels, 8vo. vol. i. p. 61.

FROM MARATHONA TO MISTRA.

We must now transport the reader back to the mouth of the Ere Potamo or Eurotas, at the head of the Laconian Gulf, which seems to be the eastern boundary of the coast of Maina. The port of Trinisi (Trinesus) is between the mouth of that river and Marathonisi, and takes its name from three islands. Here the Mainotes have two small castles. The river flows through marshes, bounded eastward by the rich and fertile plain of Helos, over which lies the road to Mistra. Mr. Morrill, who took this route in 1795, having passed the night at a village called Prinico, near the mouth of the river, proceeded next day across the plain to Helos.* "Soon after," he continues, "we came to the Eurotas, and continued along its banks through a beautiful and varied vale, in some parts so narrow as to resemble a defile, at others wide and fertile, abounding in woods and varied scenery, but everywhere rude and uncultivated, except a few fields immediately near the villages, where a scanty and negligent culture ill provided for the wants of the inhabitants. The villages were the habitations of Albanese peasants, and were dangerous to the traveller, as every crime was easy, and the people were in the habit of marauding with impunity. The plain and mountains were infested alternately by the roving Mainotes, and the Turkish or Albanese borderers." Though conducted by the artifices of their Albanian guides by a circuitous route, in order to persuade them

* From Marathonisi to Helos, three hours. From Helos to Mistra, fourteen hours. GELL'S *Itinerary*, p. 234. Mr. Swan, however, states, that, from the plain of Helos to Mistra, including a slight deviation from the road, the distance is only ten hours.

that Mistra was more distant than it was in fact, Mr. Morrill and his friend continued their journey till they arrived there in safety.

The tract of country bordering on the vale of the Eurotas, between Marathona and Mistra, is the district of Bardounia, then inhabited by a colony of Albanian Moslems, resembling the Mainotes in their warlike and predatory habits, but reported to be far more lawless and inhospitable. The capital of this district is Potamia, so named from its river, about four miles from Helos. Five miles from Mistra, on a projecting branch of Mount Taygetus, is another of their villages, called Dakne (written by Sir William Gell, Daphne), which had been set on fire by Ibrahim Pasha, and was still burning when Captain Hamilton passed it in his way to the Egyptian camp. On the plain of Helos, half a dozen villages were smoking, and the conflagration had been spread in every direction. It was here that the interview took place between the English Commodore and the Egyptian Pasha, which has been referred to in our historical sketch.* The object which had led Ibrahim into this quarter, was, to gain possession of the two castles at Trinisi. "When we reached the main camp," writes Mr. Swan, "which might be four miles from the place of action, such a scene of confusion displayed itself as I had never before witnessed. Miserable-looking beings were everywhere stretched upon the ground, oppressed by extreme fatigue, while the whole character of what passed, reminded me of nothing so much as the turbulence, without the merriment, of an English fair. There was but one tent in the plain, and thus, their ragged, wretched bodies

* See page 255. Ibrahim was then retreating to Kalamata from Mistra.

were exposed to the burning heats of noon, except where olive-trees supplied a shade; but the greater part of the army were entirely deprived of such protection. The most fortunate had stationed themselves on the banks of a beautiful stream, which was full of excellent water, and as clear as crystal, broad, but shallow.* That stream was the Eurotas.

FROM LEONDARI TO MISTRA.

Sir William Gell and Mr. Dodwell, whom we must now follow in exploring the antiquities of Laconia, reached Mistra by way of Leondari. This is a large village situated on a rising ground at the southern extremity of the plain of Megalopolis, and was at that time inhabited by both Greeks and Turks. Though deserted and ruinous, it presented the most picturesque groupes of buildings and trees; and in and about the village are ancient vestiges which have been supposed to mark the site of Leuktron, the border town of the Spartans and Megalopolitans.† The mountain to which it gives name, is in fact the northern point of that range of which Mount Taygetus is the nucleus, and which ends at Cape Matapan. Here, consequently, the roads divide to Mistra eastward and to Kalamata on the west. The castle of Leondari stands on one of its lowest rocks, yet is suffi-

* Swan's Journal, vol. ii. p. 236. Ibrahim Pasha declared that, "for that time, he spared the territory of the Bey of Maina, out of compliment to the English." He was in fact intriguing to gain over Pedro-Bey.

† Leondari (more frequently written by the Greeks Lontare) is mentioned as a large town by a writer in the fifteenth century. The origin of the name, which signifies lion, is unknown. Some have supposed the castle to mark the site of Belemina (Blenina or Blemmina,) which others fix at a place called Agia Eirene, where are some interesting remains.

ciently elevated above the plain to command a very extensive and interesting prospect, described by Sir William Gell in very glowing terms. "The variety of arable and pasture land, richly interspersed with villages and the country-houses of Turkish Agas, is encircled with vast forests and open groves of oak; and these are surrounded again with the most picturesque and magnificent mountains, full of natural beauties, and exciting a cloud of classical recollections, unrivalled, except in the vicinity of Athens. In front, on the west, lay Mounts Cerausius and Lycæus, where Jupiter was nursed, and Pan was revered. On the summit, human sacrifices are said to have been offered at a period beyond the reach of history. There, the Lycæan games, the temple of the great goddess, the Archaic Lycosura on its lofty peak, the feast of Lycaon, the flaming valley of the gods and giants, and a thousand other circumstances, rush upon the mind. Below, Megalopolis, founded in vain by Epaminondas to check the power of the Spartans, Philopœmen, the Alpheus, are recalled to the senses or to the imagination. The hope, almost amounting to certainty, that, by looking for any object which once existed, its vestiges would surely be found on some now lonely eminence, on some rock, or near that fountain in the forest which induced the founders to settle on that particular spot, the name of Arcadia, and its connexion with all that history has related or poets have sung, conspire to render the view from the castle of Leondari one of the most interesting and enchanting of the Peloponnesus.

"Nothing can exceed," continues the learned Traveller, "the beauty and variety of the glens and eminences which alternately presented themselves on our route: the prettiest valleys, each watered by its little

rivulet, and reminding us perpetually of the parks and pleasure-grounds, which in England are often contrived by art and study, are here produced in endless succession by unaided nature. All the streams flow ultimately into the Alpheus, having first joined the main river of the valley formed by the mountain of Leondari and Mount Chimparou. After a gradual ascent for an hour, and passing the village of Limatero on the left, we reached the highest part or head of the valley whence the currents flow to the Alpheus; and at this elevation, the cold was considerably increased. Perhaps this spot was the confine of the Laconian and Arcadian territories; at least, it seems the natural boundary; and in Greece, the form of the mountain generally decided the extent of the province. There had been a town, either ancient or modern, on the platform or crest, as was proved by the fragments of tiles and pottery on the ground.

“The mountain of Leondari, almost ceasing on the right, is, after a narrow valley, replaced by another branch of the mass, called Cherasia, the source of many torrents, which accompanied or crossed the track by which we now descended towards Mistra and the Eurotas. Here and there we observed vestiges of the ancient road, and of walls, which had once served to retard the predatory excursions of the rival countries. Still descending for another hour, in a beautiful forest, we passed the ruins of a church, vineyards, and habitations of a modern village, now no longer inhabited. A church, with vestiges of antiquity near it, might perhaps be taken for the site of an ancient temple; and after a ride of two hours and twenty minutes from Leondari, we saw some vestiges of antiquity upon a knoll projecting from Mount Cherasia, and near it, on the right, the site of two temples in a field.

“ All this valley is copiously irrigated by rivulets, which produce a most delightful shade, by encouraging the growth of magnificent plane-trees, some of which we observed from six to seven feet in diameter. Soon after, we passed a beautiful fountain and a ruined church, the substitute for the temple which once had adorned it; but these were only the appendages of a city, the walls of which we not long after entered, and which stood upon the sides and base of a pointed and conical hill, called Chelmo or Chelmina. If I had not promised to avoid all antiquarian discussion, I might perhaps be inclined to suggest, that possibly Belmina stood here, and that Chelmina might be the remains of the name. The hill of Chelmo, though not high, is so situated in the centre of the valley, that it is seen both from Sparta and Megalopolis. The fields, on quitting these vestiges, seemed to assume a new aspect, and to be better cultivated; we found also vineyards; and descending to the bottom of a valley, between the end of Mount Chimparou on the left, and Xerro Bouno, a name now assumed by the range on the right, we found in a little triangular meadow, watered by a brook, a large green tumulus, probably the burying-place of some one hero, or the common sepulchre of many, probably not difficult to be recognised in the page of history. A road here turns off on the left to Tripolitza, falling into the valley of Franco-bryssos, Asea, or Anemoduri, which occurs in the route from Leondari.

“ On the side of the Xerro Bouno, or the Dry Mountain, we observed the large village of Longanico, and crossed the river of the same name, at its junction with another stream, near the foundations of a temple.

“ On an ugly ascent from this spot, we found a der-

veni, or guard-house, to protect the road ; but, as we had not met a single person during the whole journey, we could not help remarking the wretched prospect which the plunder of travellers must hold out to those who were to gain a support from such a precarious source.

“ At the top of this ascent, we found a large flat table-land, spotted with heaps of stone and stunted, wild pear-trees, where we thought we observed the vestiges of a city. Our guides called it Agrapulo Campo, which might be either a corruption from wild pear-trees, or the acropolis of an ancient city. On the descent from this, is the source which might have occasioned the selection of the spot for habitation. It is now known by no distinguishing appellation ; for that of Cephalo-brysson, which it bears, is common to any other natural fountain. Here, however, we found the foundations of a temple and other fragments of white marble, and were soon convinced that it was the real fountain of the Eurotas in the valley of Sparta, whether it derived or not its original source from the same mountain with the Alpheus, and sunk in the lake below Anemodouri. The city was probably that called Pellane. The water is clear and excellent, and gushes out of the rock in a considerable stream. A khan now in ruins, has once existed near the spot, founded by some pious Turk, who probably left no money to support it, or did not foresee that no *khangi* could be found to remain in it in times of turbulence, or the prevalence of banditti. A little below the source, the stream joins a river called Platanata, and then assumes the classic name of Ere or Eurotas. After passing two little villages on the left, Partali and Trupes, we came to a fountain with a shade of poplars, now in early leaf ; and on the right, after

passing the foundations of walls, we observed the ruins of a citadel, rising in terraces that forcibly recalled to our recollections, the town of Characomæ, or the Bastions, the ruins of which were to be expected in this district. Here we found another khan, which was at that moment tenanted; but it being only two o'clock, the evening fine, and the place not offering any particular object of curiosity, while we were impatient to arrive at Sparta, we proceeded on our journey, which we had on that day commenced at nine. On the hill, about a mile on the right, is the large village of Periboglia, a name implying a wall or *peribolus*, and from that circumstance now used more than *κηπος* for a garden. Possibly, it might originally have some connection with the neighbouring ruins of Characomæ.

“ We had not proceeded far, when, on crossing a river, we observed the foundations of a temple on the right, and, in the same direction, the villages of Alevrou and Alitea. The traces of the ancient inhabitants seemed now to multiply, and the country to become at the present day more populous. The river which rolled on our left, now entered among the little hills, which seemed to impede its further passage. On the left, we saw the village Chorithitza, and a white house called Lai, a name which had a sort of Lacedæmonian sound. A peasant passed us, and offered for sale a large brass medal of Sparta, with the club of Hercules on the reverse; but, as he had formed too magnificent an idea of his good fortune in finding it, and asked something quite preposterous, we were obliged to relinquish the purchase, and he to postpone *sine die* the days of his promised affluence.

“ Another great stream from the right adds very much to the volume of the waters of the Ere; and whatever may be the merits of the original Cephalo-

bryso in the summer, most certainly it was entitled, at the time we saw it, to very little honour as the main support of the Eurotas. The glen was now confined to the breadth of the road and the river. Across the flood we observed, on two conical rocks, the churches of St. Georgios and St. Nicola; and, not long after, passed a place, where all further progress had been once prohibited by an ancient fortification at a narrow pass, between the rocks and the river. We passed several islands in the Eurotas; and before the pass opened into a wider valley, we crossed the ruins of two walls, which shewed, that though the Spartans were so loud in the boast, that their city of Lacedæmon was defended without walls, they had taken very good care to render it on every side difficult of access by distant fortifications.

“ In many places, we found the road supported by ancient walls of massive blocks; and nothing could surpass the beauty of the tall oleanders, called by the Greeks rhododaphne, or rose-laurel, and which may possibly be the Laconian roses, which flower twice in the year. We crossed, by a bridge, another river from the right, and saw a cave with steps cut in the rock, near which we found an inscription, much defaced. We found other traces of walls of defence, and near the river, two tumuli, one of stones, and the other apparently natural. Here we discovered the little village of Papiote, where we arrived after a ride of seven hours and a half from Leondari.” *

From Papiote, a road turns off on the left to the ruins of Sparta, while that to the right leads to Mistra,

* Narrative, pp. 314—23. In the Itinerary, from Lontari to the Khan of Perivolia, 4 h. 57 min.; from Perivolia to Papiote, 2 h. 37 min.; from Papiote to Mistra, 1 h. 14 min. Total distance from Lohtari to Mistra, eight hours and three-quarters.

striking into a little range of hills, and leaving the Eurotas on the left. In a valley on the right, Sir William Gell noticed a ruined aqueduct and a church, and soon after, passed "an aqueduct of the lower ages, consisting of a lofty pier, and two smaller, with an arch." Mount Taygetus here begins to assume a more imposing aspect, "rising in bolder massés to a far greater elevation than the surrounding branches, and then producing a forest of pines, above which are seen the peaks of St. Elias covered with snow. On passing the hills, Mistra presents itself in all its magnificence, so well displayed on the sides of its lofty rock, that every house is visible, rising in gradation one above the other, to the grey towers of the citadel on its summit. The city looks more like the capital of a kingdom, than of the deserted vales of Laconia. The Benaky houses, on a nearer approach, form the most conspicuous portion of the ruins above; and the mosques, with the dwellings of the rich Turks, beautifully interspersed with trees, add much, by the contrast of their white slender minarets with the dark cypresses, to the picturesque effect below. I know of nothing," adds Sir William, "that exceeds the first sight of Mistra, though a nearer approach destroys the illusion of magnificence which it has excited. We soon crossed a large stream, before which, on the left, were the ruins of a temple, and, not long after, another river, both rising in Taygetus; (one of them running from Trupæ, a village famous for a cypress-tree of enormous magnitude;) and a few minutes more brought us to the lower houses of Mistra."*

* Mr. Dodwell appears to have followed a somewhat different route, having proceeded from Leontari to Agie Basile, a large vil-



SCULPTURE BY AGATE

RUINS AND PLAIN OF SP. TA. MOUET TAYGETIS AND TOWN OF MISTRA



MISTRA.

THE origin of this place is unknown. There is no reason for supposing it of ancient date, although, as

lage which Sir William Gell left on the right. "It occupies the upper part of a hill called Longaniko, which unites the chain of Taygeton and Lycæon. The spot is picturesque, and ample forests furnish it with verdure and shade. It overlooks a fine plain, or rather a deep hollow, bounded by rugged mountains, and beautifully varied with soft hills and green vales." The village of Longaniko, which Sir William Gell, in his Itinerary, places on a hill to the right of his road, Mr. Dodwell saw in a valley to the left. At the distance of an hour and a half from Lontari, this Traveller traversed an ancient site, marked by foundations of walls and ancient bricks, which it took him twenty-five minutes to pass over. Having passed the night at Agie Basile, the next day, in forty-five minutes, he crossed three streams, which turn some small mills; and in an hour and thirty-five minutes, came to "a fine *kephalobrusi*, or spring, rushing copiously from the ground, and immediately accumulating into a rapid current in the direction of Sparta. This is one of the sources of the Eurotas. The spot has been much ornamented, and several large blocks of stone and foundations are seen scattered about, which perhaps mark the site of the city of Pellana, as the fountain is the Pellanis." Crossing the stream, Mr. Dodwell proceeded on its western side, through a grove of mulberry-trees, which abound in the Spartan plain, and leaving the village of Trupe at a short distance on the left, in three-quarters of an hour crossed six rivulets, all descending from Taygetus: the last, which is of considerable size, has its source near the village of Kastania, and is called Kastanias Potamos. They all enter the Eurotas, after a short and rapid course. That river, which flowed to the traveller's left, has its left bank supported by a strong ancient wall of considerable length, composed of well-joined irregular polygons. After crossing two other streams, which enter the river, Mr. Dodwell came to some sepulchral caverns, near which he found an ancient inscription; and not far from this spot are two round hills, in the form of tumuli, but apparently too large to be artificial. Forty minutes from this place, he crossed a stream, and came to the ruins of an aqueduct, formed of arches, and built of Roman brick. The view of these remains, with Taygetus in the back-ground, is pronounced to be one of the grandest and most picturesque in Greece. A short way from the aqueduct, he crossed

Mr. Dodwell remarks, " it may appear surprising that so strong and advantageous a situation should have been neglected by the Spartans. It must be recollected, however, that, in early times, even their capital was unprotected by walls: they despised all defence except that which arose from the terror of their name and the valour of their arms, and disdained to be indebted for their security to strong walls and artificial ramparts. It is probable that Misithra arose out of the ruins of Sparta, which appear to have been abandoned by the unworthy descendants of the Heraclidæ about the time of the Turkish invasion, when they sought, in the rocks and precipices of Taygeton, that protection which they could not find in the low hills and gentle eminences of the Spartan plain.

" Misithra was regarded as one of the strongest places of the Peninsula in the lower ages. The despots of the Morea made it their principal residence; and the despots Thomas and Demetrius, brothers of the last Constantine, took refuge in this strong hold, when the Morea was ravaged by the troops of Mohamed II. It was occupied for some time by the Venetians, and finally retaken by the Turks. It is at present (1806) governed by a voivode, and contains nearly 7000 inhabitants, who are principally Greeks, and carry on a considerable commerce in silk. Several ancient inscriptions and some sculptured and architectural fragments may be seen at Misithra, which have no doubt been brought from Sparta or Amyklai.

a rivulet; in forty-six minutes further, a river, supposed to be the Tiason; and in twenty minutes more, reached Mistra, distant six hours from Agie Basile.—DODWELL, vol. ii. pp. 398—400. Sir W. Gell, in his Itinerary, makes Mistra only five hours from where he saw " Agios Basili on a high part of Mount Cherasia."

The sculpture is generally indifferent ; but, near the southern extremity of the town, is a marble sarcophagus, now serving as the receptacle of a fountain, which is ornamented with sculpture in a good style, but much defaced by constant friction.”*

The best account of Mistra is that which is given by M. Pouqueville, who was there in 1798: it conveys no very high idea of the Laconian capital. † “ Mistra rises in an amphitheatre upon a mountain which faces the east. Exposed thus to the rays of the sun, the heat in summer, not being tempered by the north wind, is insupportable. It is commanded to the west by Mount Taygetus, whence, in the great heats, snow is brought to cool the sherbet and other liquors. The castle stands on the summit of the mountain of Mistra, on a platform of about 500 fathoms in circumference. It is governed by a *sardar* or commandant, who has under his command some cannoniers. The artillery by which it is defended, consists of about a dozen pieces of cannon, every one of a different calibre. The magazines, if such a name may be given to two or three cellars and half a dozen sheds, have no powder but what the Bey delivers out, and which he purchases in the neighbouring maritime towns for the celebration of the *baïram* and the *courban baïram*, and for firing upon some extraordinary occasions. There are no magazines of corn ; funds are wanting to incur an expense of any magnitude ; and I believe

* Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 401. The population must be under-rated at 7000 souls, and M. Pouqueville's estimate is supported by Sir William Gell.

† “ It is not very obvious,” remarks M. Pouqueville, “ whence this name is derived. M. Scrofani tells us that it means *soft cheese*, which is as good an etymology as if one were to derive Neufchâtel from the cheeses of that name. That of Sparta, *Σπαρσιον*, describes extremely well the nature of the ground on which it stands, covered with broom.”

that, since the expulsion of the Russians about thirty years ago, this citadel has not been considered as of any importance. The Russians themselves, at the time that they gained possession of Mistra, did not appear to concern themselves much about the citadel. It cannot, indeed, be of any other importance than as it gives the power to overawe the town in case a disposition to revolt should appear there. A mosque, some cisterns of marble, and some wretched habitations, built with the spoils of antiquity, compose the *tout ensemble* of this citadel. The form of the enclosure is an octagon: it is surrounded with a regular crenated wall, the parapet of which is tolerably broad, but very much in ruins; for the ravages made by time are never repaired, and the Turks themselves have ceased to consider the fortress as impregnable.

“ In descending from the castle, the eye embraces without difficulty the whole extent of Mistra. The town is surrounded with walls in a very ruinous state, in which are two gates, where a toll is required of all who enter the town: one is to the north, and leads to the castle; the other is to the east. Two principal streets divide the town, crossing each other almost at right angles. The most considerable, in which are some antique remains, is the street of the market.*... Near the mosque, (built of the ruins of the Aphelion,) is a spacious khan, frequented by a great number of merchants. The metropolitan church of the Christians, ruined by the Albanians, but since restored, merits notice. A metropolitan archbishop officiates there, who is poor as the pastors of the primitive church.

* Called by the half-learned natives, *Aphetëus*, from the erroneous notion that Mistra occupies the site of Sparta. Its being the residence of the bishop of Sparta may have given rise to the mistake.

The place stands recorded to have been the theatre of the most extraordinary miracles, and the sick are daily brought and laid at the doors, as at the gates of the ancient temples, that those who repair thither for the purpose of worshipping the deity, may indicate to them the remedies by which their health may be restored.* To the south is the *Pandanesi*, not less devastated by the horrors of the last war. The nuns who had a convent there, were massacred by the Albanians, and the *Pandanesi* is now only a Greek church.

“ The streets of Mistra are narrow, dirty, and very uneven. The houses, surrounded with cypresses, plane-trees, and orange-trees, have a pleasing and picturesque appearance. The gay colours with which the Moslems paint their houses, the brown and sombre hue of those that belong to the Greeks, the domes, the temples, the mosques, — all announce that we are in a foreign country; and when the eye is cast towards the Eurotas, one reflects with astonishment that this country is Lacedæmon.

“ On quitting the walled enclosure properly called Mistra, we arrive at Mesochorion (the middle village), which is to the south, inclining to the east. Thirty years ago, this suburb contained 3000 houses, and, though this number is much diminished, it still occupies a considerable space; but the houses are scattered about and mingled with trees and gardens. They form some streets, however, which extend to the bank of the Eurotas. But we no longer visit this spot, to admire the churches of Perileptos and Agia Paraskevi: they would ill repay the curiosity of the traveller since

* By this circumlocutory phrase, M. Pouqueville means, that the ~~pas~~ prescribe for them, or undertake their miraculous cure.

they were plundered by the Albanians. In this second town, there are bazars and immense *conaks*. The air appears better than in Mistra.

“ To go from Mesochorion to Exochorion (the outer village—called also *Maratche* and *Evreo-castron*), the Eurotas must be crossed. The river here is about twenty fathoms wide, and an old stone bridge of six arches connects the one suburb with the other. Exochorion may be considered as a third town: it is principally inhabited by people of that nation which are to be found everywhere, and everywhere are strangers. One might believe one’s self suddenly transported into the fields of Idumea, on seeing the multitude of Jews by whom this place is peopled. We hear another language; we see a totally different cast and expression of countenance, different manners and customs, and a different mode of worship. These Jews, being divided into two classes, the orthodox and the heretics, afford the Turks a constant pretence for the exercise of impositions and exactions. The sects will not intermarry nor form connexions with each other in any way. Nay, their burying-places are separate, their mutual hatred being carried even to the grave.* There is nothing in Exochorion particularly worthy of remark.

“ The ruins of the temple of Venus Armea are half a league from the fountain called *Doræa* by the natives, in going westward from Exochorion towards Taygetus.....The river is bordered by delightful meadows. One sees the *Platanistas* and the *Dromos* (or circus); and there still remain by the river side, the marbles with rings in them, to which the galleys

* M. Pouqueville must mean the Talmudist and Karaite Jews; but it is not a little remarkable, if true, that any of the latter sect should have settled at Mistra.

were fastened that used to come up to Sparta at certain times in the year. The *Platanistas* is still planted in the centre with plane-trees ; on its borders are weeping-willows and eytisesuses, hanging over and reflected in the water, while scattered tufts of rose-trees, laurels, and silk-trees, charm the eye and perfume the air. Hither the townspeople come to smoke their pipes, to drink coffee, or to resign themselves to pleasing meditations. From this island the eye wanders over Taygetus, with its snowy summits glittering in the bright rays of the sun. Here it was that, according to Theocritus, the flowers were gathered with which Helen was crowned on the day of her marriage ; and hither, in the early part of spring, the daughters of Sparta repair in crowds, and adorning their heads with garlands, join in the festive dance.* * *

“ The men are tall in stature, their features masculine and regular. They are the only Greeks of the Morea who look up to the Turks with an eye of manly confidence as feeling themselves their equals. Why am I obliged to add, that they have an innate inclination to rapine, which, joined to a sort of natural ferocity, renders them extremely vindictive and dangerous ? Even the Turks of Mistra, who are born of Spartan women, are more intrepid than other Mussulmans ; there is not the same apathy and taciturnity which form the distinguishing characteristics

* We have not thought it worth while to insert the writer's very poetical eulogy on the flaxen hair, large blue eyes, pride, modesty and majesty, lustrous charms, enchanting attitudes, and thrilling tones of the Spartan ladies, the “ rivals of Diana.” De Pauw, as determined a *μισελλην* as Sir William Gell, describes the Laconian Greeks as the impure remains of a parcel of wretches who have escaped punishment ; an imputation on M. Pouqueville's “ Dorian Spartans,” which he resents with warmth ; and their panegyrist has certainly the advantage over the calumniator.

of their nation. Less zealous observers of the precepts of the Koran, they drink wine publicly, and swear, like the Greeks, by the Virgin and Jesus Christ. The common language of Mistra is that of the other Moreotes: the Mussulman inhabitants of this town speak it in preference to the Turkish, or, if they speak the latter, it is with the Greek accent. The Jews among them commonly make use of the Portuguese tongue. The Turks rank them very much below the Greeks, teasing and vexing them in various ways, and treating them with the utmost contempt; they are, however, forced to make use of them, and finish by being their dupes, as the Jews are always the agents for commerce and exchange, and the interpreters of the country. The population of Mistra is not so much diminished as that of some other parts of Peloponnesus, since the town is supposed still to contain from 15,000 to 18,000 souls: of these, a third are Mussulmans, and about an eighth Jews." *

The town, Sir W. Gell says, is divided by the natives into five parts: the Kastro, Meso Chorio, Kato Chorio, Tritsella, and Parorea. The castle is situated on a magnificent detached rock, on the south side of which, in a tremendous chasm, flows the river Pantalimona. It is a Venetian fort, occupying, probably, the site of the ancient acropolis, and is now in ruins. The surrounding country is luxuriant to a high degree. The plain, when Sir William Gell travelled, was well wooded and cultivated. Olives and fig-trees were abundant, and the high lanes were bordered with vineyards, where the grapes hung in beautiful clusters. The ravine next to the castle has a paved causeway up to

* Travels, pp. 87—93.

the mountains, of extreme beauty, lined with fruit-trees and other trees. The opening upon the plain, which affords a glimpse of the town and the distant mountains, is uncommonly grand. On the lofty conical rock upon which the Venetian fortress stands, are the remains of an old town, built, apparently, when the place was in the possession of the Republic. The architecture, Mr. Swan describes to be a mixture of Saxon and Gothic.

This last-mentioned Traveller reached Mistra from Tripolitza, having followed the track of Ibrahim Pasha, who was retreating towards the coast in September 1825. He thus describes the appearance which the country at that time presented. "On reaching Bruliah, a point of our descent towards Mistra, the whole range of Taygetus, now called *Penedactylon** (five fingers), whose summits we had perceived for some time, opened upon us with surprising magnificence. A deep ravine close by, lined with olive-trees, led to an opposite mountain, on which, immediately after our appearance, we heard signal guns fired, one by one, along the whole line of the

* Taygetus is designated by this name, *Πεντεδακτυλος*, by Constantine Porphyrogenetos, on account of its five principal summits. Its outline, particularly as seen from the north, is of a more serrated form than the other Grecian mountains. It runs nearly north and south, its western side rising from the Messenian Gulf, and its eastern foot bounding the level plain of Amyklai, from which it rises abruptly. This adds considerably to its apparent height, but it is probably inferior, Mr. Dodwell remarks, only to Pindus, Cyllene, and Olympus. It is visible from Zante, distant, in a straight line, at least eighty-four miles. The northern crevices are covered with snow during the whole year, and the vicinity is in winter extremely cold. In summer, it reflects a powerful heat upon the Spartan plain, and, by intercepting the salubrious western winds, renders it one of the hottest places in Greece, subjecting the inhabitants to fevers.—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 410.

station. Twenty or thirty Greeks presently surrounded us, who skipped like goats over the rocks. After chattering at a great rate for some time, hearing and imparting news, and examining the pass of Pietro-bey, they permitted us to proceed, saluting us with the mountain farewell, *καλὸ*.

“ From this place we observed Mistra, and saw with regret that the town was smoking in a variety of places. The way conducted us through many beautiful valleys, ornamented, as well as the higher regions, with olive-trees. Lanes of the laurel-rose were intermingled with a multiplicity of flowering shrubs,* and watered by fine streams. We presently crossed the celebrated Eurotas, *Βασιλι Ποταμος* (the king of rivers),† once covered with swans, and worshipped by the Spartans as a god,—now shallow, muddy, and neglected. The late rains had caused it to swell, and it ran at this time very rapidly. An hour and a half’s ride from Mistra, and on the right of Sparta, we passed the brick pier of a double arch, formerly an aqueduct. In the same line, we also distinguished a

* Beyond Mistra, Mr. Swan describes the road as lying through groves of olive and mulberry-trees at the foot of Taygetus; and “ after a while, the country assumed the appearance of nicely arranged shrubberies, all the plants usually seen in English pleasure-grounds, being found indigenous here.”

† “ According to Plutarch, the first name of the Eurotas was Marathon” (the name still preserved in the town on the Laconian Gulf); “ it then took the name of Himeros, from a son of Lacedæmon and the nymph Taygeta, who drowned himself in it. It afterwards assumed the name of the Spartan Eurotas, who also perished in its stream. But Pausanias asserts, that it received its name from Eurotas, because he made a canal which conducted its waters to the sea. It was also called Basilopotamos, which name it retains to the present day, though its most common name is Iri (Ere or Eres.)”—DODWELL, vol. II. p. 409.

ruined gateway. Sparta is close by. We observed on our left the walls of an acropolis, or of a temple, dedicated, possibly, to Jupiter Acreus. As we drew near to Mistra, fire broke from the houses, but not a soul was visible. A few Greeks, attracted by the hope of collecting what had not yet perished, appeared afterwards. We entered the town, and beheld the flames all around us; household utensils were broken and scattered in all directions;—nothing, in short, could equal the desolation, or the interest which it excited. In one place, a cat remained the only inhabitant; in another, a dog barked at us as we passed. The Greeks before mentioned conducted us to a house yet untouched, although surrounded with flames. Here we slept, expecting, indeed, to be aroused in the night; but the escape was so easy, that we had no apprehension of the consequence. Ibrahim left Mistra in the state I have described only this morning (the 14th). He is gone forward burning and destroying: we shall follow, and be eye-witnesses of the devastations he has caused.”*

SPARTA.

THE ruins of Sparta are about three-quarters of an hour from Mistra, the way leading across the plain in an easterly direction. After crossing the river from Trupæ, in half an hour the traveller reaches the ham-

* Swan, vol. ii. p. 231.—Three days after, they again passed through the town on their return from the Egyptian camp. On the way, between three and four miles S.E. of Mistra, they found, on the summit of a small hill, a church, of which the Turks had consumed all that they could. The door-posts were formed of ancient inscriptions still legible, which Mr. Swan commends to the attention of future travellers.

let of Magoula,* where there is a bridge over the rapid stream, supposed to be the Tiason. Here he reaches the first remains of the Lacedemonian capital, consisting of uncertain traces and heaps of large stones tossed about in promiscuous wreck: the spot is now called Palaio-Kastro. In ten minutes from Magoula, he arrives at the remains of a magnificent theatre, apparently of Roman construction. The *koilon* or pit is excavated in the hill, which rose nearly in the middle of the city, and which served as an acropolis. The walls of the proscenium are principally of brick, and the white marble, of which Pausanias says it was composed, has disappeared. Near the theatre are the remains of a Roman brick tower, which, Mr. Dodwell was assured by his Greek cicerone, was the *pyrgos* of Menelaus! †

Sparta, however, can boast of scarcely any thing that can with certainty be cited as a remnant of the real city of Lycurgus. A fine sepulchral chamber of a square form, regularly constructed with large blocks, is found nearly opposite the theatre, at a short distance from it: it has been opened, and the interior is composed of brick-work. This may possibly be one of the monuments of the Spartan kings Pausanias and Leonidas, which, according to Pausanias, were oppo-

* By Sir W. Gell written Maoulia and Magoulia, and calculated to be 28 min. from Mistra: 17 min. further, are an aqueduct and ruins; and in seven minutes more a Doric metope, and the city of Sparta is entered by an ascent.

† A traveller, Mr. Dodwell remarks, must not expect to derive any correct information respecting the antiquities of the country from the generality of Greek natives. The individual referred to was a wealthy and hospitable archon of Mistra, who, to evince the lively interest he felt in the history of his Spartan ancestors, had named one of his sons Lycurgus, and the other Leonidas, while he taught them the Hellenic language. His name was Demetrius Manusaki

mian hills fall in rich succession of forms and tints to the rapid stream of the Alpheus, here seen forcing its way through a deep bed of rocks below. The junction of the Katchicolo (Gortyna) is also seen, running from high mountains on the left; and above the fortress of Karitena, the immense mass of Mount Mænalus rises in a variety of majestic peaks, among which, that called *Salto tes Elatas* is distinguished, black with the firs whence its name is derived. The road now descended for more than an hour in steep and dangerous declivities to the banks of the Alpheus, which we had scarcely time to admire, before we found our path intercepted by an envious torrent, so beautiful and so copious, that we at first took it for the main stream. After following this branch for a short time, under a thick shade of platanus and ilex, we turned short to the left, over a rock, and were surprised to find that we had passed round the source which issues from its foot. Nothing can exceed the beauty of this sequestered spot; and if deep glens, spreading trees, and gushing waters, constitute the delights of Arcadian scenery, the poets have not sung in vain the praises of this region.

“ On looking southward up the mountain of Diaphorte, we descried the village of Tragomano in so elevated a situation, that the descent to the fount occupies nearly an hour. Half an hour higher up is the Hippodrome of the Lyceæan games, and twenty minutes more would bring to the summit a person who should be disposed to climb into what is perhaps the most interesting among the most interesting mountains in the world.

“ Our fount was not without its temple, or at least its sacred enclosure, of which some indications remain. Hence, we climbed to another summit, where we found

the church of St. Athanasius, and, on our next descent, passed the leaning minarets of a mosque which has long ceased to exist; our guides called the place, Palaio Karitena. The view of the present town and its castle has a fine effect from this spot; but the Alpheus, which flows between the houses and the spectator, runs in so deep a glen and below such tremendous precipices, as to be wholly invisible. At the end of a long descent, we reached the bridge of Karitena, situated at a point where the stream begins to contract, on entering the chasm below the town. The bridge, though a wretched specimen of the art of masonry, is not wanting in picturesque beauty, having a sort of chapel against one of its piers, which would seem to give it a Venetian origin. The river, which is in fact the great drain of the plain of Megalopolis and all the interior of the Morea, is subject to such rapid increase of its waters, that a few minutes are sufficient to render the bridge impassable, and even to carry away the main arch, under which alone it usually precipitates itself in a very deep bed, leaving the others dry. From the bridge, an ascent of more than twenty minutes brought us to the town."*

ASCENT TO THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT LYCÆUS.

MR. DODWELL, in travelling from Karitena to Leondari, ascended the summit of Mount Lycæus, which is known under the modern name of Tetrauzi or Tetragi. Quitting Ampelone (Ampeliona), he crossed a small stream, and descended into a narrow cultivated vale, which winds into the mountains. In fifty minutes he came to a fine copious spring, rushing

* Gell's Narrative, pp. 120—3.

to range from the Strophades and the city of Arcadia to Mount Ithome and the Messenian Gulf; while, on the east, the two highest summits of the Nomian mountains, Tetrauzi and Diophorti, terminate the view over hills covered with thick forests of oak.*

Pursuing his journey in a northerly direction, Sir W. Gell followed the course of the Limax, which, above the springs of Tragoge, is a mere rivulet. Half an hour from the village, some old fig-trees mark the site of a deserted village called Palaio Tragoge. Half an hour further, is a fountain called *Tou Kalili Idris*,† with a ruined chapel near it, shewing that the spot has at one period possessed the attractions of an *agiasma*. After another hour of abominable road through the most beautiful scenery imaginable, formed by hill, and grove, and brook, the fount of Panoura (or Banoura) presents itself. On the banks of a rivulet about a mile further, are found fragments of green and red jasper. The same sort of scenery continues, with a succession of rivulets, till the traveller reaches a height within a short distance of Andrutzena, where an extensive view of the vale of the Alpheus opens upon him. On the left, on a lofty peak of the Nomian range, are seen the ruins called Zakouka, on the north side of which is the large modern town of Phanari, surrounded with clumps of cypresses; and on

original height, which was twenty feet six inches from the pavement, and consequently about fifteen feet from the spectator's eye; their want of symmetry would then, at all events, be less apparent, and the general effect probably be very different.

* "Across the Neda and south of the temple, is a village called Kacoletri, near which are ruins, which some think those of Ira, the capital of Messenia in the time of Aristomenes."—GELL'S *Itinerary*, p. 84.

† Perhaps *Tou Καρλιλι Ιδρυσις*. Sir W. Gell supposes it to have been named from the Turk who constructed it.

the south, in the forest, is the village of Vervitza. Towards the Alpheus are seen the village of Kouphopoli, and, on a rocky summit, the fortress of Nerrovitza (the site of Alipheræ). The snowy peaks of Mount Olonos tower in the distance above the tops of a magnificent range, only less striking by comparison. Passing through the villages of Sanalia and Upper Andrutzena, the traveller enters the large straggling town of Andrutzena, consisting of about 300 mean dwellings picturesquely grouped amid groves of the evergreen oak. Distance from Tragoge, three hours and a quarter; from Arcadia, thirteen hours and a quarter. Yet, it is less than thirty miles from that city.

From Andrutzena, Sir William Gell's route lay eastward along the northern base of the Nomian range, and in a direction nearly parallel to the course of the Alpheus, to Karitena; a distance of five hours and three quarters in time, but not more than ten computed miles. At the end of the first hour and a half, a rugged descent through a grove of ilex, leads to the river Sourtena, which is crossed by a bridge of one arch. In a little triangular plain, where this river is joined by another stream from the mountains, are vestiges of a town, with its *palaio-kastro* on the summit of a conical mount, now called Labda. The beautiful fountain which once supplied the city, issues from under a rocky hill; and above the source, a ruined chapel dedicated to the Panagia, with a spreading plane, marks the site of a more ancient temple. On the top of an ascent from this place is caught the first view of Karitena, proudly seated on a rocky summit in the midst of the most enchanting scenery. "The fore-ground is a height covered with oaks, from which, on the right, many wooded ridges of the No-

site the theatre. Many other detached ruins are dispersed in this direction, some of which are evidently Roman. They appear to have suffered more from sudden violence than from gradual decay, and have, no doubt, been torn to pieces, to supply materials for the modern town of Mistra. Several imperfect inscriptions have been found among the ruins, and many others, Mr. Dodwell says, might yet be discovered, notwithstanding the infamous labours of the Abbé Fourmont, who gloried in having exterminated every relic of Sparta.* The idiotic vanity of this Gallic

* The Abbé Fourmont travelled in Greece, by command of Louis XV., in the year 1729. On his return to France, he produced a vast mass of inscriptions; (he says he copied 1,500,—300 at Sparta alone;) many of these are authentic, and have since been copied in Greece, and published by Dr. Chandler and other travellers. But with regard to the most curious and most questionable part of his collection, his inscriptions of Sparta and Amyklai, he boasts, in a letter to the Count de Maurepas, of having destroyed the inscriptions, that they might not be copied by any future traveller. Mr. Dodwell has cited several passages from his original letters, in which he glories in his real or pretended dilapidations. "*Sparte est la cinquième ville de Morée que j'ai renversée; Hermione et Trezène ont subi le même sort—je n'ai pas pardonné à Argos, à Phliasia,*" &c. "*Je suis actuellement occupé à détruire jusqu'à la pierre fondamentale du temple d'Apollon Amycléen,*" &c. "*Depuis plus de trente jours, trente, et quelques fois quarante ou soixante ouvriers, abattent, détruisent, exterminent la ville de Sparte,*" &c. "*Je n'ai plus que quatre tours à démolir.*" That he obliterated many inscriptions is pretty certain. After Mr. Dodwell had copied some at Sparta, he observed Manusaki turning them over and concealing them under stones and bushes; and the reason he assigned for this precaution, was, that many years ago, a French *milord* who visited Sparta, after copying a great number, had the letters chiselled out and defaced. He actually pointed out some fine slabs of marble from which the inscriptions had evidently been thus barbarously erased. The Abbé's principal object is supposed to have been, to acquire the power of blending forgery and truth without detection, and his fear of competition was subordinate to that of being convicted of palæographical imposture. Sir Wm. Gell, however, has triumphantly proved the falsehood of some of Four-

Alaric has led him to exaggerate the extent of the mischief he achieved; and the fact is, that the proximity of Mistra and its numerous population, together with the effect of earthquakes,* will sufficiently account for the few vestiges which are left of the Lacedæmonian capital. The hill which rises from the theatre, and which, apparently, is not more than sixty feet above the level of the plain, has been surrounded with walls, which appear to have been constructed in haste, being composed of fragments of columns and inscribed marbles, small stones, bricks, and mortar.† A minute

mont's statements, while Mr. R. P. Knight had already exposed the suspicious character of some of his pretended inscriptions. The story is in the highest degree incredible, that, in a country governed by the jealous Turks, and watched by the still more envious Greeks, M. Fourmont really went about tearing down marbles and overturning cities unobserved or unpunished. And the fact is, that in the neighbourhood of Amyclæ, Sir W. Gell found a great many inscriptions, which exhibit no signs of any extraordinary ill-treatment. Among others, the Abbé discovered, at Amyclæ, two marbles of an era so remote, that human sacrifices were represented, the feet of the victims being already cut off. "These broken marbles," says Sir William, "I saw at Amyclæ quite perfect. The human feet, proofs of primeval barbarism, have long been recognised as the *slippers* of the priestess, with her other trinkets and ornaments." Yet, this mendacious Abbé has found vindicators in his learned countrymen, MM. Raoul Rochette and Louis Petit Radel!—See GELL'S *Narrative*, pp. 339—347. DODWELL'S *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 405—8.

* "Laconia was very subject to earthquakes; and Strabo mentions a traditionary report, that one of the summits of Taygeton had been precipitated into the plain. We know from Diodorus, Plutarch, Pliny, and others, that, in the reign of Archidamos, the whole of Sparta was destroyed by an earthquake, except five houses. According to Strabo, the *Κεῖαδαι* were fissures in the mountains, formed by earthquakes; and to the same cause we may ascribe the *barathron* upon Taygeton, down which, according to Plutarch, deformed children were precipitated."—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 410.

† Sparta was originally without walls, and Lycurgus prohibited their erection; but it was surrounded with walls by the tyrants

description of the principal remains is furnished by Sir W. Gell.

“ The theatre, which we visited first, is partly scooped out of the little hill, which may in after times have formed a sort of citadel, and partly erected of stone, projecting at each side from the eminence. If it be very ancient, which I much doubt, it has been restored at a late period ; but it must have been intended for the amusement of a very great population, as the radius of the orchestra is 70 feet, and the diameter of the whole is 418. The scene seems to have been only 28 feet deep, and the seats were divided into three cinctions, of which the breadths ascending were 20 feet for the lowest, 23 feet for the next, and 40 for the highest. Above this was a space only 13 feet wide, and behind that, the last, which might have been a portico, was 32 feet deep. The upper surface of each seat was divided into two portions, of which a sinking, one foot four inches in breadth, received the feet of the person who occupied the seat above, and a space only one foot one inch in width was left for the seat of the person below. About twenty yards to the northward is an opening in a wall, which may have been the entrance to the upper seats. The whole is a strange mixture of good and bad workmanship. Stretching to the southward from the theatre is a long wall, not exhibiting the appearance of very remote antiquity : it has at some period served as a defence to that part of Lacedæmon which might be called the citadel, and is connected with the theatre. In this wall, which is about a stadium in length, and may possibly have formed part of one, though we found the pipes of a bath, we observed an and strongly fortified by Nabis. These walls, however, must have been of modern date.

inscription, perhaps a dedication of some temple to Apollo, by the emperor Julian. The marble on which this is cut is white, and is formed for the pediment of a small edifice. There were upon it the marks of a pick-axe, very recently made, as if with the design of effacing the letters, though without effect: whether this was done by some traveller, whose jealousy found gratification in preventing his successors from copying it, or by some native who wished to appropriate the slab to another use, I could not determine. In either case, the failure was equal, for the inscription, which was only a fragment, remained legible, and the marble was still in the wall of which it formed a part.

“ There is scarcely any thing else at all curious on this elevation, except the remains of what I have no doubt was a small temple, or other very ancient edifice, the plan of which might yet be ascertained. It consists at present of two doors, distant about forty-six feet six inches from each other. We found a piece of mutilated, but beautiful sculpture, in pure white marble, on the spot. I imagine the doors, the architraves of which yet remain, and consist of large single blocks of marble, were the opposite doors of a cell; and that the columns, or at least the plan of the whole, might be ascertained by excavation. The architraves are seven feet eight inches long, two feet deep, and three wide; the doors are four feet eight inches wide; and on the east side of the edifice, there is a flight of steps, or the seats of a theatre, of ancient workmanship, which rise from the doors to the distance of forty-eight feet. There seems no reason to imagine this a staircase, except that the doors are now filled up almost to the architraves, which proves that the pavement is at a very considerable distance below the present soil. It might be a school, and on

these steps persons might have been disposed as in a theatre. At all events, this is almost the only relic of ancient Sparta; and it appears as if it would afford a variety of curious information, and possibly inscriptions or sculptures, to any one who should undertake the excavation of it, when such a work shall become again feasible. The hill of the theatre, being the highest, has been esteemed the citadel of Sparta: the still higher elevation on the north does not seem certainly to have been included in the city. It would appear, that, at some period, the theatre itself has, with its immediate vicinity, served as a species of castle.

“ Considering the northern groupe of elevations as one hill, Sparta may be considered as having stood upon four insulated eminences, lying along the right or western bank of the Eurotas, a river running on the eastern verge of a plain, bounded on that side by a chain of red hills, anciently called Menelaion, and on the west by the mighty Taygetus, from the foot or which, at Mistra, the theatre is about 4000 yards distant. Between this main hill and the next, toward the south, a road must always have passed to the Eurotas, which is there separated into two streams, by an island covered with oleanders. The descent from the eminences to the river lies between two ranges of rocks, about twenty feet high, and about forty yards asunder. This glen has been fortified at some period or other, or very much filled up with buildings which answered the same purpose; and from the river, which is 380 steps further eastward, I remarked how Lacedæmon was enabled to boast that she had no need of walls, by being situated on a chain of eminences, which would, in those days, have been rendered impregnable by the contiguity of the habitations alone, and the long chain of rocks, which

at once rendered unnecessary 880 yards of wall, from the hill of the citadel to the southern elevation. There was a bridge over the Eurotas, but of what age I could not determine. I passed the stream without difficulty, in March, on horseback. The river Tchelephina falls in a little above the ruins."*

Little addition, in fact, Mr. Dodwell remarks, can be made to the brief but accurate description of the ancient city given by Polybius. He says: "It is of a circular form, forty-eight *stadia* in circumference, situated in a plain, but containing some rough places and eminences. The Eurotas flows to the east, and the copiousness of its waters renders it too deep to be forded during the greater part of the year. The hills on which the *Menelaion* is situated, are on the south-east of the city, on the opposite side of the river. They are rugged, difficult of ascent, of considerable height, and throw their shadows over the space which is between the city and the Eurotas. The river flows close to the foot of the hills, which are not above a *stadium* and a half from the city."†

The *Menelaion* hills, which bound the eastern side of the plain, are not, however, Mr. Dodwell says, so high as would appear from this description: "their

* According to the Abbé Barthelemy, around the hill on which stood the acropolis, with a temple of Minerva and sacred grove, were ranged *five* towns or distinct suburbs, separated from each other by intervals of different extent, and each occupied by one of the five tribes of Sparta: viz. 1. that of the *Limnatæ* (from *λίμνη*, a lake or marsh, which formerly occupied the ground to the northward of Sparta); 2. that of the *Cynosuræans* (supposed to take its name from a branch or spur of Taygetus, resembling the tail of a dog); 3. that of the *Pitanatæ*, whose hamlet extended in front of and included the theatre; 4. that of the *Messoatæ*, near the *Platanistas*; and 5. that of the *Ægidæ*, between *Messoa* and *Limne*.—See *Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. iii. ch. 41, and note 27.

† B. v. p. 399. See Dodwell.

sides are steep, furrowed and shattered by earthquakes, but they are mere hillocks when compared with Taygetus. Their summit forms a flat and extensive surface. From the western side of the plain rise the grand and abrupt precipices of Taygetus, which is broken into many summits. The bases also of the mountain are formed by several projections distinct from each other, which branch into the plain, and hence produce that rich assemblage and luxuriant multiplicity of lines, and tints, and shades which render it the finest locality in Greece." "All the plains and mountains that I have seen," adds Mr. Dodwell, "are surpassed, in the variety of their combinations and the beauty of their appearance, by the plain of Lacedæmon and Mount Taygeton. The landscape may be exceeded in the dimensions of its objects, but what can exceed it in beauty of form and richness of colouring?"

About two hours to the south of Mistra is the village of Sclavo-Chorio, which occupies the site of the ancient Amyclæ. The road runs in a southern direction along the foot of the mountain, leaving the site of Sparta on the left, to the large village of Parora, which joins the suburbs of Mistra. Here, some of the finest precipices of Taygetus rise in fantastic forms, from glens covered with wood and irrigated with numerous streams. In an hour and forty minutes, the traveller reaches the pretty village of Agiani, ornamented with a beautiful mosque and fine orange-groves, and watered by a fine stream, called *Kephalo-bryso*. Sir William Gell explored the source, and found there a beautiful fragment of sculpture, representing a stag and hounds, and, in a village near it, a large marble, sculptured with a well-preserved *relievo* of the battle of the Amazons. He supposes

that a temple of Diana may have stood here. In ten minutes from Agiani, he came to the Greek village and church of Agiani Cheranio, and not long after, crossed the little river of Tsoka, descending from a village of the same name in the mountain. Ten minutes further, is another *kephalo-bryso*, or spring-head, with a mill, and the village of Godena is seen on the left.* In less than a quarter of an hour beyond this, the traveller reaches Sclavo-Chorio,—“a straggling hamlet, like all the others in the plain of Mistra, with houses, towers, and gardens of oranges and cypresses.” This place exhibits “a more confused wreck of ruins than even the Spartan capital. Accumulations of stone, broken inscriptions, imperfect traces and foundations, that are almost covered with bushes, mark the site of the place which was celebrated for the birth of Castor and Pollux and for the death of Hyacinthus.”

Amyclæ was an episcopal city, and a place of some importance in the lower ages, as is testified by the number of ruined churches scattered over the surface. It still retains its nominal dignity, and the bishop of Lacedæmon and Amyclæ resides at Mistra. The place was known by its present name, however, as early as the year 1447: from what circumstance it arose, does not appear, but it would seem to imply

* There is a strange discrepancy here, between Sir W. Gell's Narrative and his Itinerary. In the latter, the supposed site of the temple of Diana, with an Ionic capital of white marble, a stag and hounds well sculptured, a statue, and some architectural fragments, is placed at the source of the second *kephalo-bryso*, to the right of Godena, written Kodina; not at that of the stream of Agiani. The site of the temple is moreover stated to be occupied by a church. In the Itinerary, the distance from Mistra to Sclavo-Chorio, is stated to be only one hour, forty-five minutes; in the Narrative, two hours, twenty-three minutes.

be worse," says Mr. Swan, "than the present state of Tripolitza: it could not be defended half an hour against a regular attack. The gates are in so dilapidated a condition that they might almost be kicked down, and the walls are in little better condition than the gates. The greater part of this extensive town is in complete ruin." The recommendations of the site are so few, that, notwithstanding its central position, the town is scarcely likely to regain its former importance, and it is certainly ill adapted for the capital of the Peninsula. Tripolitza is twelve hours from Mistra, (it may sometimes be accomplished in ten,) six and a half from Leondari, eight and three quarters from Karitena, nine and a quarter from Argos, (it may be performed in seven and three quarters,) and twenty from Kitries. Before we proceed further northward, we shall retrace our steps to accompany Sir William Gell on his route

FROM ARCADIA TO TRIPOLITZA.

DESIROUS of exploring the ruins of Phigalia, the learned Antiquary took the road to Sidero-kastro (Saint Isidore's Castle*), distant not quite four hours to the N.E. The road lies over the plain of Arcadia, which, strange to say, is in Messenia: in about an hour and a half, it crosses, at a ford, the river of Arcadia, and at length enters a very narrow glen, almost choked up with shrubs. The wildly undulating country thus far is covered with the oak, the arbutus, the myrtle, and the salvia. The village of Sidero-

* It is a constant practice of the modern Greeks, we are told, not only to cut off the first, and often the last, letter from a name, but, as a general rule, to reverse the long and short syllables, so as to turn *Agios Isidoros* into *Ayo Sidero*.

kastro is placed in a hollow between the two points of a steep hill, on one of which are the ruins of a small castle of modern architecture, "without a trace of antiquity beyond the age of the Greek emperors." The houses of the village (thirty-two in number) are built of rough stone, without any ceiling to the roof; the windows are only closed with shutters; and the whole furniture of the hut in which our Traveller obtained a lodging, consisted of a single brass kettle and two pans of coarse earthenware. In fact, it is what Sir William would call a genuine Greek village. The population, amounting to about 150 souls, were "possibly among the most indigent in Greece." "We here," he continues, "first began to use our own beds, which were extended upon carpets on each side of the fire, having brought with us every thing necessary for our own comfort. We found this sort of night's lodging commonly our lot in the mountains; but, as we ascended and quitted the shore, we were obliged to content ourselves with only one side of the fire, leaving the other to our attendants. Indeed, more than once it has happened to me, to find so little room for the whole party, that the horses became part of the society; and I have even been obliged to get up and shorten my horse's halter, to prevent his treading upon me as I slept. Sleep, however, can, in that case, take place only at intervals, as the Greeks insist upon keeping the saddles upon the backs of the poor animals all night, causing them, as they shake themselves, to produce from the brazen stirrups an alarming harmony like the bells of a team of waggon horses." It does not appear that the inconveniences of Greek travelling are greater than the traveller has to encounter in other mountainous regions,—for instance in Spain; and "the

somewhat imposing, and with a setting sun, throwing the town into shadow, and lighting up the fine range of mountains beyond, rises to magnificence. "Ugly as it is," says Sir William Gell, "and ill-situated on a dead flat, without a single tree of any size, it has the air of a large city when viewed from a distance, being surrounded with a high wall in good repair, perfectly defensible against small arms, which are all that can easily be carried to the spot to be employed against it. I should imagine the wall to be about three miles in circuit, which would make it about the size of Athens, which contains 10,000 souls; but Tripolitza is entirely occupied with houses, while the wall of Athens incloses large tracts of neglected ground." The walls, which are of stone, were constructed, M. Pouqueville says, by the Albanians, not more than fifty or sixty years ago. There are six gates. The khan, he states to be the only solid edifice in the town: it is built of stone, and closed by doors well strengthened with iron, which at night were barricadoed with large chains. There is a magnificent lintel, which once decorated the principal gate of Megalopolis, as the inscription upon it attests; it is now part of a basin which serves to water the cattle. In the mosques also, are "many precious antique columns and inscribed marbles." The appearance of the Turco-Grecian capital in 1799, is thus described by the French Traveller.

"The seraglio, or palace of the Pasha, a vast wooden building, capable of containing 1,200 men, is at the north-eastern extremity of the town, between the gates of Napoli and Calavrita. It is, in fact, a sort of suburb, having its own particular walls and gates. Towards the middle of the principal street, which intersects the town from north to south, is the

bazar. This is divided into a variety of streets, and is shaded by planes and other large trees, upon which the storks build their nests very peaceably, although this is the place of public execution, those who are sentenced to be hung being suspended from the branches. Fountains extremely well kept, are to be seen all over the town, and every house has its well; but the water, which is at a small depth in the ground, is generally of a very indifferent quality. The town has no running water, except what comes from the mountains to the north-west: this stream supplies the public baths and the tanneries, but is commonly dry in summer. A canal from the south conveys the waters of another small river to the town, but the supply is by no means abundant. The Pasha, apprehensive of an invasion from the French, had ordered a redoubt to be thrown up to protect this canal, this being an object of the greatest importance.....There are four large mosques and five or six Greek churches, which are in a very ruinous state. The streets, except the principal one, are paved only in the middle, and are intersected by drains, which receive all the waste waters and ordure of the houses, and are extremely offensive: over them are many small bridges. Some of the rich and powerful Turks have very large houses, but the poorer inhabitants, driven into the streets which run along the ramparts, inhabit houses, or rather huts, with the roof for a ceiling; the fire is made upon the ground, and the smoke finds its only vent through the numerous vacancies in the tiling."

The palace of the Pasha no longer exists, having been rased to the ground by the Greeks in 1821; and the town, alternately sacked by Mainotes and Arabs, exhibits an unsightly mass of ruins.* "Nothing can

* See vol. I. pp. 128—145

the settlement of some Slavonian emigrants in this neighbourhood. The Καθολικον, or cathedral, is described by Mr. Dodwell as "almost destroyed;" Sir W. Gell mentions a church which contained a portion of an Ionic cornice, the pillar which sustained a table for offerings, a small Ionic and two Doric capitals, a granite column, a headless dog in marble, and an inscribed fragment, with the word Amyclæ still legible. The former Traveller speaks also of the remains of a large temple, "perhaps that of Apollo, composed of large slabs of variegated marble, near which are some imperfect bas-reliefs in a bad style." Polybius speaks of the temple as magnificent, and the colossal statue and throne of the Amyclæan Apollo were among the wonders of Greece. Above these ruins rises one of the detached hills of Taygetus, upon the summit of which are the remains of a fortress; perhaps, the site of an ancient acropolis. Not far from its base, Mr. Dodwell was informed, there is an entrance to a subterranean aperture, of artificial formation, possibly an ancient quarry. Strabo informs us, that the rich marbles of this mountain were excavated by the Romans. Both here and at Sparta, are many fragments of serpentine of a green colour, and some with a purple hue; evidently, from their number and size, the production of some spot in the vicinity. The principal colour is a dark green, with spots of red and white, resembling, Mr. Dodwell says, the species called by the Italians *Affricano*, but inferior in quality to that which is seen at Rome.

According to Plutarch, the ancient name of Taygetus was Amykleos; or rather, perhaps, this was one of the names under which different parts were known. The summit, according to Pausanias, was named Talleton, and was sacred to the sun, to whom horses and

other victims were sacrificed on the spot now occupied by the church of Saint Elias,—a corruption, probably, of Ηλίας. The country round Amyclæ abounds with olives, mulberry-trees, and all the fruit-trees of Greece: it was anciently reckoned the most fertile part of Laconia.*

“The mountaineers of Laconia,” Mr. Dodwell says, “the Tzakoniotes, are the finest people in Greece. Robust, warlike, and hospitable, they retain more of their ancient customs, language, and liberty, than the inhabitants of any other part of the Peninsula. They are the remains of the Eleuthero-Laconic confederation which was rendered independent of Sparta by Augustus. They name their country Tzakonia, an evident corruption of Laconia.” It would seem that this Traveller is speaking of the Mainotes under this general appellation. Zakonia is now generally understood to be the term applied to the country eastward of the Eurotas, stretching along the western shores of the Argolic Gulf, and terminating in the Maliac promontory. Of this district little is known, as it

* “Proceeding from Amyclæ toward the Eurotas, at the distance of about two miles, is a church on an eminence, called *Agio Kuriaki*, from which there is a fine view of the course of the Eurotas, near the banks of which Mr. Gropius discovered a curious circular edifice resembling the treasury at Mycenæ. Potamia and Daphne are seen to the south.”—GELL'S *Itinerary*, p. 225. The church is probably that to which Mr. Swan refers. The circular edifice appears to be what is thus described by Mr. Dodwell: “On quitting the ruins of Amyklai, we left the mountain on the right, and proceeding about an hour to the S. E., came to a small hill or tumulus near the village of Baphio. The side of the hill has been excavated, and a gate discovered, similar to the entrances of the treasuries of Mycenæ, but of smaller dimensions. It is impossible to penetrate the building, as it is filled with earth and stones, the roof having apparently fallen in. There is every reason to suppose that it is a circular building, resembling those of Mycenæ. This ruin is not generally known.”—DODWELL, vol. ii. p. 415.

does not appear to have been visited by any English traveller. Here, however, at the distance of fourteen hours from Mistra, is the important maritime town of Monembasia, commonly called Napoli di Malvasia, which gives name to the excellent wine called Malmsey. We must have recourse to M. Pouqueville for an imperfect description of this part of the country.

“ The distance of Monembasia from Mistra is two long days’ journey, which may be estimated at twenty-four leagues. The road lies almost entirely among mountains, on which are large forests of fir, with a great deal of brushwood and heath. There are also some ponds and woods, but the principal features of the whole country are large rocks of granite. The place of rest for the night is at Zizima, the inhabitants of which always come out to meet travellers, in hopes of getting something from them. There are commonly some of them posted on the look-out for persons who approach the village ; and when they see any one coming, they hail him by blowing a large shell, in order to advertise him that a village is to be found among the rocks. On quitting Zizima, we traverse a fine valley intersected by a river, in which there is some appearance of cultivation. Four leagues further to the east, after passing some high mountains, whence the sea is to be seen, we come to a large village of Albanian shepherds, standing on the left bank of a river which flows toward the south. All this tract of country deserves to be visited by a geologist, who would find here granites and lava, as in the vicinity of a volcano ; but little would be found to gratify the antiquary, and the botanist would discover only a few plants in a stony and arid soil. The productions of nature are not more worthy of admiration as we approach Monembasia : the town may be said to

be cased up in the mountains by which it is bounded on the west. I know not how its wines have obtained their high reputation, as I am informed by M. Rousset, the French commercial agent in the town, that they are in reality of a very middling quality.

“Nauplia di Malvasia, or Monembasia, as it is called by the Turks, is built from the ruins of the ancient Epidaurus Limera,* upon a little island. It is the seat of a bey, the residence of an archbishop, and contains a population of nearly 2000 inhabitants, Turks and Greeks. Its port is little frequented at present, because it is not considered as very secure; yet, it still maintains some commercial relations with Nauplia di Romania, twenty-six leagues further to the north. A chapel dedicated to St. George has inherited in part the reputation of the ancient temple of Esculapius: it is much visited by the people around, who carry with them *colyva*, (a sort of boiled wheat,) cakes, and wax tapers, as presents to an old papas who is chaplain there.” †

Having now completed our *periplus* of the Arcadian, Messenian, and Laconian coasts, we must take leave for a while of the Grecian highlands, with all the picturesque remains and heroic recollections which give them pre-eminent interest, and proceed to visit the remains of the Turkish capital of the Morea,

* Pausanias states, that the Laconian Epidaurus was a colony from the mother town of the same name in the Gulf of Argos, where stood the more famous temple of Esculapius. M. Pouqueville calls the island on which Monembasia is built, Minoa; but, according to Pausanias, his Translator remarks, Minoa appears to have been the cape by which the bay is closed to the N.E.: the island is on the south-western side, and is connected with the continent by a wooden bridge of twelve arches. Epidaurus stood on or near the promontory of Minoa.

† Pouqueville's Travels, pp. 95—7.

where other ruins will present themselves than those which charm the imagination of the poet, or fascinate the antiquary. We must then, after visiting some other interesting sites in Arcadia, explore the Argolic peninsula and the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, terminating our survey with a notice of the coast of Elis, which forms the north-western angle of the Peninsula.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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